

Notes on Ohio's Regular Army Infantry Regiments, 1812 to 1815
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Recruiting and Organization

At the beginning of the War of 1812, the regular army establishment was a hodge-podge of units, seemingly similar, but organized, authorized, and structured differently under separate acts of Congress. The acts of 1802, 1808, and early 1812 had created an army that consisted of 17 infantry regiments, 4 artillery regiments, two regiments of dragoons, a regiment of riflemen, the Corps of Engineers, plus six companies of rangers drawn from militia volunteers. The number of privates in a company varied from 64 to 100, battalion structures differed, and the number of companies in a regiment ranged from 10 to 18. Combined, the Army had an authorized strength of almost 35,600 men, but despite efforts to increase its size, Army strength in early 1812 was about 6,900 men scattered among small outposts. When Congress increased the size of the Army to 25 regiments in June 1812, it standardized the organization of all regiments into ten companies, with 90 privates per company. Authorizations varied slightly throughout the war years, but approximately 1,000 soldiers comprised a regiment. Congress sometimes reduced the authorized strength for individual regiments when it became apparent the full strength could not be reached.

Ohio contributed soldiers primarily to four infantry regiments during the War of 1812: the 17th, 19th, 26th, and 27th United States Regiments. Ohioans also comprised Daniel Cushing's company of the 2d Artillery Regiment and a few rode with Captain Samuel Hopkins' company of the 2nd Light Dragoons. In 1814, elements of the 2nd Rifle Regiment were recruited in Ohio. The state also sent soldiers to the 1st Infantry Regiment, the 7th Infantry Regiment, the light artillery regiment, and the Regiment of Rifleman, later designated as the First Rifle Regiment.

In January 1812, Congress passed legislation entitled, "An Act to Raise an Additional Military Force" that added ten infantry regiments to the existing seven. The legislature, however, was reluctant to fully implement the act in part because of its cost and in part for fear of a large, peacetime standing army. As a result, recruiting was sluggish. Recruiting for the 17th Regiment, for example, did not begin in earnest in Ohio until June.¹ Earlier, in April, dissatisfaction with the bill and increased tensions with Great Britain prompted Congress to authorize 15,000 enlistments for eighteen months in an attempt to counter objections to a large army, yet still prepare for the likelihood of war.²

The 17th Regiment was the first of the new regiments for the additional army with an Ohio connection. As originally organized, the regiment consisted of two battalions of nine companies each, with recruiting based in Kentucky and Ohio. In June 1812, a subsequent act of Congress eliminated the two battalion structure of the regiment. The first, or Kentucky, battalion formed the core of the 17th Regiment while the second battalion became the nucleus of the Ohio-based 19th Regiment, although the Kentuckians

maintained a recruiting presence in Ohio. Perhaps not too surprisingly, elements from the two regiments frequently served together throughout the war.

To manage recruiting operations for the additional army, the War Department in March 1812 divided the states and territories into six departments and forty-eight subordinate recruiting districts. Brigadier General James Winchester commanded Department Number One, an area that included Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the western territories. Alexander Smythe, the War Department's Acting Adjutant and Inspector General, ordered Winchester to establish his principal rendezvous at Lexington, Kentucky, and provided Winchester \$10,000 for contingencies and another \$10,000 for bounties and premiums. Smythe also transferred several officers to Winchester's command to conduct recruiting operations. Winchester assigned these subordinate officers to districts throughout his Department with orders to "recruit in such places as will best promote the interests of the recruiting service." To support his Ohio operations, Winchester divided the state into two recruiting districts. Lieutenant Colonel John Miller superintended the Chillicothe district and Major George Tod of Youngstown superintended the second recruiting district in Zanesville.³ Winchester also provided Miller and Tod copies of the War Department's recruiting instructions which included a recruiting notice addressed to "Men of Patriotism, Courage, and Enterprise" for publication in local newspapers as well as an example of the enlistment form for recruiters to use.⁴

In late August, the War Department dissolved the recruiting service and placed recruiting on a regimental footing with commanders reporting directly to the War Department. General Winchester was relieved of his duties as recruiting superintendent and ordered to march to Detroit with the soldiers that had been enlisted in Ohio and Kentucky. Thomas Cushing, the newly assigned Adjutant and Inspector General, directed Winchester to turn recruiting operations over to appropriate field grade officers: Lieutenant Colonel William McMillan of the 17th Regiment and newly-promoted Colonel John Miller of the 19th Regiment. In his subsequent instructions to them, Cushing ordered McMillan to recruit for Captain Samuel Hopkins' troop of the 2d Regiment of Light Dragoons and Miller to recruit for Captain Daniel Cushing's company of the 2d Regiment of Artillery.⁵

Regimental commanders who were on recruiting duty were primarily administrators. They were required to establish "the good conduct and discipline of their corps" – training, in other words - and forward weekly returns – strength reports - to the adjutant general's office. They did not become field commanders until enough soldiers were recruited to justify a colonel's command. For example, in October 1812, Major General Harrison, in anticipation of a campaign into the Indiana Territory, ordered Lieutenant Colonel James B. Campbell of the 19th Regiment to assume command of that portion of the regiment already in the field. Colonel Miller chafed at the order. "I trust the Secretary of War will permit me to take command of that part of my Regt that are out and direct Lieutenant Colonel Campbell to superintend the recruiting service."⁶ At the time, the 19th had recruited 270 men, 150 of whom were in the field under General Winchester.

The regiments' principal rendezvous point was usually co-located with the regimental headquarters. It was to this location recruiting parties sent volunteers and the Quartermaster Department delivered clothing and equipage.⁷ At the direction of the Commissary General of Purchases, Callendar Irvine, the Quartermaster Department transported clothing, arms, equipment, and medicines from Schuykill Arsenal through the military storekeepers at Fort Fayette in Pittsburg and the federal armory at Newport, Kentucky, to these rendezvous points. Storekeepers sent materiel for all branches of service within the district to the principal rendezvous, frequently noting that the supplies were for the "Additional Army", the regiments authorized in January 1812. In March 1813, Irvine notified Colonel Miller at Chillicothe to expect "for the recruiting service 700 complete sets of Infantry, 100 ditto for the artillery, and 50 ditto of Dragoon clothing".⁸

In May, 1813, the War Department reinstated centralized recruiting and redefined the recruiting districts and boundaries in an effort to balance the burden of supporting the war throughout the country. Ohio, Kentucky, and the territories of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri became part of the 8th Military District. William Henry Harrison, the District commander, was responsible for the recruiting service, although he delegated recruiting responsibility to subordinate field grade officers. In 1813 and 1814, several regiments made up the 8th Military District: the 7th, 17th, 19th, 26th, 27th, and 28th Regiments of Infantry. As before, the superintendent maintained a principal rendezvous point within the district with as many minor stations as needed. In Ohio, Chillicothe remained the main rendezvous point for the Ohio regiments, but military storekeepers sent shipments directly to rendezvous locations in Zanesville and sometimes to "Places of Deposit" directly in the field.

A regimental recruiting party usually consisted of an officer, a non-commissioned officer, a few soldiers, and, if available, a drummer or fifer. If musicians were not available, recruiters could hire local musicians. Lieutenant Joseph Larwill, while recruiting for Cushing's company of the 2d Artillery, hired a Stuebenville fifer for ten dollars a month to assist him on the recruiting service.⁹

The money regimental commanders provided the recruiters paid for enlistment bounties and kept the recruits fed and housed until sent to the regiment's rendezvous point. Recruiters sought volunteers between the ages of 18 and 45 and at least five feet six inches tall. Recruits between the ages of 14 and 18 could, with parental consent, be enlisted as musicians, but "no person ... who has sore legs, scurvy, scald head, ruptures, or other infirmities" could be accepted.¹⁰

The recruit stayed with the recruiting party until a sufficient number could be sent as a group to the rendezvous point under the care of either a non-commissioned officer or, if available, a junior officer. Lewis Cass, recruiting for the 27th Regiment, unsuccessfully recommended against sending such small parties to the rendezvous point. "It will much facilitate the service if the men are permitted to remain within their districts in which they are raised, until the companies are nearly filled."¹¹

At the rendezvous point, the attending surgeon certified the recruit's fitness and vaccinated the soldier against smallpox. Once declared fit for duty, a local magistrate administered the oath of enlistment. The volunteer was then issued his uniform and equipment; provided with two meals a day; had the Articles of War read to him; and maybe given some rudimentary training.¹² If he had not already been paid, the recruit received a partial bounty payment and an advance on his pay. The War Department believed that recruits would use the advance pay to settle any debts and, by so doing, ward off any attempts by the local sheriff to arrest the soldier for debt.¹³ To prevent desertion, he was given the remainder of his bounty money once he joined his regiment in the field – sometimes a month or more after enlisting.¹⁴

The new soldier was also issued his weapon and other equipment: a .69 caliber smoothbore musket equipped with a 15 inch bayonet. With the state militia clamoring for muskets, the Secretary of War ordered military storekeepers to retain some weapons for issue to regular troops only: “Four thousand stand of arms with accouterments are on the way to Newport (Kentucky) from Harpers Ferry and Philadelphia intended for the use of recruits of the United States Army in the western country. You will not issue them on the requisition of the governors of the states and territories.”¹⁵

Even with this directive in force, recruits often had to wait to receive their arms. The 26th and 27th Regiments initially received 500 muskets in May and June 1813, but did not receive additional muskets until late August. Cass' 27th Regiment received 100 Springfield muskets as part of his initial issue and both regiments received an additional 390 contract arms in late summer.¹⁶ Major Thomas Rowland of the 19th Regiment wrote Brigadier General McArthur in 1814 from Zanesville complaining that he had to march his men to Chillicothe to draw arms.¹⁷

At the rendezvous point, the soldiers were organized into companies and the companies into squads. In mid-1812, a company consisted of 106 soldiers: 90 privates, ten non commissioned officers, two musicians, and four officers. Although the authorized strength of a company was 90 soldiers, actual strength varied. In May 1813, Captain Chunn's company of the 19th Regiment drew rations for as few as 63 men and one woman to as many as 94 men and six women.¹⁸

A non-commissioned officer supervised each of a company's five squads. Soldiers within the squads organized themselves into messes of about six men in each. Army regulations recognized this practice and allowed “to every six men, one common tent, one sheet iron camp kettle, or pot (of four gallons) and two tin pans.”¹⁹ In July 1812, there were 15 heads of messes in Captain Chunn's company, each of whom was accountable for one tent, one camp kettle, and a tin pan.

As soon as a sufficient number of recruits was assembled at the rendezvous point, usually enough to constitute a company, the soldiers joined the army in the field. Colonel Wells departed Georgetown, Kentucky, with two companies of the 17th Regiment, but arrived in Dayton with between three and four hundred regulars.²⁰ Companies of the 17th and 19th Regiments joined Winchester at Cincinnati, Dayton, Urbana, and along his route.

Newspapers typically reported such troop movements. “On Tuesday last (25 March 1813), about 130 United States regulars marched from this town under the command of Captain Asahel Nearing for the Rapids to join Gen. Harrison’s army.”²¹ Miller noted that Nearing’s company was the fourth company of the 19th Regiment raised and sent to the field.²²

For a variety of reasons, the regiments filled slowly. An insufficient number of recruiting officers was a common grievance. In a letter to the Adjutant General, Miller complained that ten officers had not yet reported for duty, thirteen had been ordered to the field, and three had resigned.²³

Additionally, the government provided little financial incentive to enlist. In an agricultural state like Ohio, military service did not make much economic sense. Duncan McArthur summed up the situation to Senator Worthington, “In short, money is plenty and labour high, common labourers ask, and some receive from \$14 to 16 per month, and altho the monthly pay and bounty of a soldier, is considered high in many parts of the union, yet it is no object, in the lower end of the state of Ohio.”²⁴ A year later, still higher wages made the situation worse. Miller commented to the Army’s Inspector General in April 1814. “From \$15 to \$20 per month are given to labourers, affecting recruiting.”²⁵

Unfortunately for both soldiers and recruiters, the government was often negligent in upholding its part of the enlistment contract. Regulations stipulated that a soldier’s pay could be no more than two months in arrears, but it was not uncommon for soldiers pay to be as much as six months late. Whether due to lack of funds or purposely withheld to prevent desertions as many soldiers believed, late pay adversely affected morale, the soldier’s family’s welfare, and recruiting. Major Todd’s inspection report of Captain Collins’ company is typical. “Several months pay yet due. This neglect is the subject of a special report.”²⁶

In order to meet the manpower needs of these new regiments, Congress took several steps to make military service attractive. Recruits were offered a \$16 recruiting bounty to enlist and given 160 acres of land and three months pay if, at the end of five years, they had served honorably. In April 1812, Congress offered an eighteen month enlistment option, but eliminated the land bounty for those who took advantage of it. In December 1812, Congress added a third option: enlistment for the war with all entitlements.

In July, 1812, recruits received \$8 bounty money, had \$8 bounty due, and were given \$12 advanced pay plus their pay for the current month of \$6. Congress increased the soldiers’ monthly pay later in 1812: privates received \$8; corporals received \$10; and sergeants and drummers received \$11. Realizing that enlisted pay was insufficient inducement, Congress increased bonuses and incentives throughout the war. By 1814, a recruit could expect to receive as much as \$124 in bounty money after signing, three months’ extra pay, and 320 acres of land in the Illinois, Indiana, or Louisiana territories upon discharge.

Congress added other inducements to include a monthly disability pay if a private or non-commissioned officer was disabled in the line of duty. Disabled officers could receive the

equivalent of half pay. Dependents of soldiers killed in the line of duty were eligible to receive benefits for five years. The legislature also abolished flogging and prohibited the arrest of soldiers for debt.

These initiatives met with limited success. In July and August 1812, for example, Captain Wilson Elliott's recruiting party in Trumbull County attracted only 5 volunteers for the 19th Regiment. Major George Tod, also of the 19th Regiment and a former Ohio state senator, in June 1812, had orders to recruit enough men for two companies, including officers. By the end of the month, he reported just 6 recruits.²⁷ A year later, at the end of May 1813, the 19th Regiment had 585 men assigned; barely half of what it was authorized.

Recruiters published notices in local newspapers appealing to "Enterprising, patriotic, and courageous men" and offered the standard bounty of 160 acres of land and three months' extra pay upon expiration of the time of service. Captain Elliott added, if the recruit should die while in service, his heirs would receive the land. This condition prompted one individual to comment, "Who the devil will turn out to get himself killed for 160 acres of land?"²⁸

In addition to a drummer or fifer, the War Department advised recruiting officers to include a "few handsome, well-dressed men who, from their activity may be able to give a spirit to the business", hoping that a display of military pomp would attract candidates.²⁹ While it was possible to hire and/or enlist musicians, well-dressed men were not to be had. Colonel Miller wrote Senator Worthington, "If it is not too much trouble, as to mention to the Adjutant Genl. that I am entirely destitute of winter clothing at this place, for [illeg.] and the recruiting service were of necessity go on very slow until clothing is furnished - I have applied at Newport Ky, for clothing but could not obtain any."³⁰

Individual recruiting officers often took unusual measures to secure enlistments. Captain Angus Langham, of the 19th Regiment, wrote the War Department requesting permission to re-enlist Edward Walsh, a former soldier charged with desertion. Walsh's original enlistment had expired on 27 August 1812, but because he left the Army without receiving a discharge, the War Department considered him a deserter. Cushing replied that if Walsh would enlist for five years, his desertion would be overlooked.³¹

One major reason for the slow recruitment was that the Army competed with itself. In mid-summer 1813, both the 19th and 27th Regiments established recruiting offices in Warren, Trumbull County. Lieutenant Andrews Bushnell of the 27th Regiment, in exchange for one year's service, offered prospective soldiers a sixteen dollar bounty. Lieutenant William Levitt, of the 19th Infantry, in exchange for five years or the war, offered a forty dollar bounty plus 160 acres of land. But, in exchange for an eighteen month enlistment, Levitt offered volunteers a sixteen dollar bounty, the same as Bushnell's inducement for twelve months' service.³² In 1814, Miller noted that three regiments recruiting in Ohio hurt his chances to find recruits for the 19th Regiment.³³

In their efforts to fill the regiments, poaching of recruits occurred in at least one instance. Isaac Riley, a Third Lieutenant in the 7th Regiment on recruiting duty in Ohio, complained to Senator Thomas Worthington that he had recruited ten soldiers for the 7th Regiment and forwarded them to the rendezvous in Chillicothe. "I do not understand how it happens", he wrote, "that the soldiers who enlisted for the 7th get into the 19th when the orders expressly say that soldiers enlisted by any officer of a particular regiment shall be given over to that regiment ..."³⁴

Recruiters also vied with the militia for volunteers. Unfortunately for the Army, militia service was more attractive than regular service to potential recruits for several reasons. Ohio law allowed militiamen to purchase substitutes to take their place in the ranks. At one time, substitutes could ask for and receive \$200, prompting Lewis Cass to comment, "Such large sums are given for substitutes that the bounty held out by the government is no inducement to enlist [sic]".³⁵

Not only was militia service potentially more lucrative, so too, was it less intrusive; the standard tour length for the non-federalized militia seldom extended beyond three months. These short tours of duty, coupled with the fact that the militia could elect their officers through popular election, made it difficult for recruiters to compete. Brigadier General McArthur, while recruiting for the 26th Regiment, said as much to Senator Worthington, "The frequent calls on the militia of Ohio operates much against the recruiting service, whilst from one to two hundred dollars is given for a substitute for a few months we cannot expect to enlist men to advantage."³⁶

Many of those who joined a militia unit, particularly in early 1812, were from the upper and middle classes; people who had a personal interest in their local community. To them, militia service was in keeping with idealized traditions of a Republic. It was both an individual responsibility as well as a civic duty and the notion of a citizen-soldier was a noble concept. Many viewed the training, subordination, and discipline associated with regular service as demeaning to free born citizens. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell summed it up: "the temper and habits of the people of the country [are] very opposed to military subordination."³⁷ And, as many no doubt noted, officers of the regular army had surrendered the posts of Detroit, Mackinaw, and Dearborn (Chicago).³⁸

These negative perceptions of the regular army affected recruiting efforts. "Many are disposed to enter the service [but] cannot reconcile it to their feelings to be associated with those who (as it is generally believed) are gathered from the dregs of society", wrote William Trimble to Senator Worthington, adding, "The volunteer corps witness young men of wealth & the first respectability in the camp, men who would think themselves disgraced by inlisting." Duncan McArthur predicted that raising a 12-month regiment would be difficult adding, "These 12 month regulars ... will not be easily raised on account of the name. I am sorry they could not have been called volunteers. Much better men could be had."³⁹ Lewis Cass remarked, "There is an aversion against entering into the regular service which will not be overcome. But volunteers are ready to engage in every quarter of the country."⁴⁰

As the war progressed, recruiters in Ohio actively sought out the disadvantaged and displaced to fill the ranks of the regular army. Not only was this class of citizens most likely to accept the inducements offered, they also represented those whose services Ohio could most do without for long periods of time. For example, surviving recruiting returns for the final three months of 1814 indicate that 19 men enlisted in the 17th Regiment. Six listed laborer as their occupation, one was a wagoner, two listed no occupation, and one was a farmer. The others cited a variety of skills ranging from hatter to silver smith. Their average age was 24 with the youngest at 18 and the oldest at 40. Three were born in Great Britain with the others from New England (7), Pennsylvania (3), Virginia (2), Kentucky (2), and the Indiana Territory (2).⁴¹

Recruiters also had to compete with war weariness. Even though militia service was less onerous than service with the regular army, Ohioans, particularly those furthest from the frontier, were tired of the many call up's. By late 1812, Governor Meigs' numerous alerts had created an attitude towards military service that recruiters found difficult to overcome. Military service was no longer considered exciting or glorious. It meant monotonous garrison duty, slow pay, absence from home, exposure to illness and disease, economic hardship at home, possible injury, and even death. After the battle of the Thames when the immediate threats to Ohio faded, one newspaper predicted that the necessity for military service was no longer valid.⁴²

Recruiters frequently had to contend with those who opposed Ohio's involvement in the war. "Every exertion is made by the Tories to prevent the success of the recruiting business, every pain is taken to vilify and abuse those engaged in it, every recruit who signifies his wish to leave the service and sues out a writ of "habeas corpus" is certain of being dismissed by some of our Judges, and from their decision there is no appeal", wrote Duncan McArthur.⁴³

In Columbiana County, acting on the counsel of a lawyer named Reddick, relatives of many of those who had enlisted in the 27th Regiment sought their release, feeling the enlistments had been under false pretenses. To prevent writs of habeas corpus being served on him, Thomas Rowland, the company commander "marched his company out of New Lisbon in the form of a hollow square, with himself in the middle and in this order travelled an entire day."⁴⁴ As late as February and April 1815, writs of habeas corpus continued to cause recruits' discharge.

Wording of the recruiting regulations sometimes caused confusion. Both Major Trimble of the 26th Regiment and Major Todd of the 19th Regiment requested clarification of the regulations. Trimble questioned some of the administrative aspects, particularly the amount paid to a recruiting officer for each soldier enlisted.⁴⁵ Major Todd requested clarification of the phrase "parent, guardian, or master" when a 19-year old soldier of the 19th Regiment deserted after serving with Colonel Wells in the field. When apprehended he claimed that, at the time of enlistment, he lacked parental consent to enlist, even though his father was deceased, his mother had remarried, and he was living on his own.⁴⁶

The shortage of volunteers and the provision that allowed recruiting officers to receive \$2.00 (later increased to \$4.00 and then to \$8.00 in 1814) for each soldier enlisted, prompted some recruiters to take short cuts. In at least one instance, recruiters enlisted underage young men. "Six recruits have been taken from me within a few days past, 3 of which wanted but 3 or 4 weeks of being of age," wrote Colonel Miller.⁴⁷ Colonel Miller preferred charges against Ensign Armstrong of the 19th Regiment for enlisting two men at Athens, Ohio, and discharging them for a premium. Armstrong dismissed one recruit for ten dollars and the other for 16 dollars. Miller disallowed the discharges and detained the men as soldiers of the United States stating, "They having been legally enlisted, but illegally discharged.

Many recruiters frequented taverns and grog shops hoping to enlist those who were impaired and susceptible to the recruiters' enticements. Ensign Cochran of the 19th Infantry (and who was probably in the minority) decried such practices. "I enlisted no man who was under the influence of liquor, but treated him well, gave him breakfast in the morning, and then if he wished to enlist, I brought him up, gave him the bounty, and he would sign the enlistment, be sworn in and feel perfectly satisfied."⁴⁸

Complaints about recruiting practices were widespread, prompting General Harrison to issue a general order requiring "the superintendant of each recruiting district to give the most prompt attention to each allegation."⁴⁹ Harrison was undoubtedly aware that recruiting was essentially a political process and the perceived fairness with which it was conducted could affect support for the war. Harrison's orders were published in local newspapers, but it is not clear how effective they were as the widespread use of writs of habeas corpus continued.

In January 1813, Congress once again expanded the Army and added an additional twenty regiments for a one-year term of service, resulting in a total of 44 infantry regiments. The 12 month regiments were raised in the states "nearest the theaters of war and in those parts of the states nearest the enemy: Kentucky, Ohio, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, and some of the seaport towns most exposed to the enemy."⁵⁰ Congress added a second major to each regiment and a third lieutenant to each company to carry on recruiting operations even after the regiments were completed. In a related action, Congress repealed the law accepting federal volunteers from the militia.⁵¹ Secretary Armstrong explained his reasons for expanding the regular army in a letter to Worthington, "Should we be successful in filling these new corps and of the 17th and 19th Regiments already organized, we should have a regular force competent to the whole service of offense and defense, in your quarter, and what is much to be desired, be in a condition to leave to their civil pursuits, the Militia of the Country."⁵²

In February, 1813, the Senate confirmed Lewis Cass' and Duncan McArthur's appointments as colonels in the regular army. Both men were former Ohio militia colonels and veterans of Hull's Detroit campaign. Detailed to recruiting duty, McArthur superintended recruiting for the 26th Regiment west of the Scioto River while Cass did the same for the 27th Regiment east of the river. When promoted to brigadier general the following month, the two were assigned to Harrison's army as brigade commanders, but

remained on recruiting duty until mid-summer. Both had the authority to conditionally appoint the regiments' officers, subject to Senate confirmation. McArthur appointed Warren county resident, Thomas B. Van Horne, to command the 26th Regiment in April, 1813. Cass offered command of the 27th Regiment to George Paull, of St. Clairsville, after Simon Perkins of Trumbull County declined. Zanesville, Ohio, located on the Muskingum River, served as the rendezvous point and place of deposit for the supplies and equipment destined for both regiments.

The 26th and 27th Regiments differed from the 19th Regiment in more than just their term of enlistment. These one-year regiments were an attempt to combine the best features of militia service with the economies of a regular unit. Unlike the state-wide recruiting area of the 19th Regiment, the 26th and 27th Regiments were more localized with companies raised in the same, or nearby, counties. The local character of the company leadership muted complaints about unknown and unfamiliar officers in leadership positions. For those desiring a commission, the short term of duty made regular service attractive, particularly when compared to the mundane escort and garrison tasks relegated to the Ohio militia at that time. And for those with an eye to the future, a regular army commission could provide important social and political advantages after the war.

But, for all the positive aspects of the one-year regiments, there was a flaw in the logic that created the units. By the time the regiments were recruited, organized, trained, and equipped, it was too late in the 1813 campaign season to participate in anything other than a piecemeal fashion. Similarly, when the 1814 campaign season was at its height, these regiments were at the end of their enlistments. Ensign Cochran considered the one-year regiments a failure. Major George Tod was more vocal in his condemnation of them. "Troops of the above description cannot be relied on, they are two [sic] nearly allied with the militia & they think nothing but speedy discharge. They are good men & are fine material for soldiery – but the character of their enlistment reduces them to the level nearly of militia, where hearts beat fast for emancipation."⁵³

The War Department was keenly aware that the expiration of the one year regiments' enlistment would adversely affect the 1814 campaign season. In an effort to maintain the Army's end strength, the government extended the 'for the war' enlistment option to the soldiers of the one-year regiments.⁵⁴ At the same time, the War Department involuntarily transferred those non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates with time remaining on their enlistments to other regiments; particularly the 25th Infantry, the 1st and 2nd Dragoon regiments, and the Rifle Regiment. The soldiers did not object to the reassignment, but did protest the fact that they had no choice in the selection of their new unit.⁵⁵

Other factors also hindered the recruiting of the short term regiments. Except for establishing the regiments' authorized end strength, the federal government neither mandated nor assigned Ohio quotas for the regiments. Without a requirement forcing the state, county, town, or village to provide a certain number of recruits, local communities had little role (or interest) in either raising the regiments, offering qualified applicants for leadership positions, or helping to sustain the regiment once it was in the field. Absent

some sort of quota system, those responsible for raising the regiments had to rely upon volunteerism and not compulsion to achieve their numbers. Conscription was not an option.

Duncan McArthur addressed several issues facing his recruiters in a published appeal for volunteers. Engaging in a bit of hyperbole, he proclaimed, “The inducements held out by your government are greater than any country ever offered to the patriotism of its citizens. A gratuity of sixteen dollars, the monthly pay of eight dollars and clothing are the offers for the service of a year. Your officers will be men who are your friends, your neighbors . . . years of honorable peace and security will be cheaply purchased by a few months of activity and enterprise.”⁵⁶

Although Zanesville remained the primary rendezvous point for the 26th and 27th Regiments, Lieutenant Colonel Van Horne chose to supervise the 27th Regiment’s recruiting from his hometown of Lebanon and established a second rendezvous point there. It was a decision Major William Trimble opposed. He complained that the town was too far from the financial institutions and banks of Chillicothe and the sporadic mail service made communications difficult. He added in a letter to the Acting Adjutant General that “here there is neither Surgeon, Quarter Master, Military store keeper, nor public stores” and transportation for the recruits from Lebanon to Franklinton was difficult and expensive.⁵⁷

Despite the presence of former Ohio militia officers in command positions, recruiting was slow. By June, the 26th Regiment reported just 279 recruits. The 27th Regiment was more successful in its recruiting efforts. General Cass reported “about 700” recruits in late June 1813.⁵⁸ While engaged in recruiting the rank and file of their units, both Cass and McArthur encountered the same difficulties Miller had: little interest from potential recruits, lack of clothing, and competition from the militia.

In a particularly candid letter to the Adjutant General, Van Horne wrote in 1814, “I have long been under an impression that the 26th was never to assume a character in the Army – It has never been completely officered . . . there are now officers for five companies, no promoting have taken place [sic] – neither have appointments been made to fill vacancies . . . I have even thought that three regiments to be raised in Ohio was an extravagant calculation.” Van Horne summarized his regiment’s personnel strength, citing a number almost unchanged from a year before: one hundred men at Detroit and Sandwich, sixty at Put-in-Bay, and another hundred at Lebanon and other recruiting stations.⁵⁹

Van Horne’s pessimism was understandable. He was a lieutenant colonel and he was the senior officer of the regiment. There was no colonel. Carlos Norton probably spoke for many when he asked Senator Worthington, “Have you an idea who is to be colonel of the 26th Regiment? I think it is almost time we had one.”⁶⁰

It was not certain that Ohio could produce enough recruits for three regiments. McArthur expressed these doubts to Secretary of War John Armstrong and suggested that the 26th and 27th regiments be combined and the recruiting area expanded to include Virginia and

Pennsylvania.⁶¹ McArthur also wrote Ohio senator Worthington adding to the litany of complaints about recruiting difficulties. “The frequent calls on the militia of Ohio operate much against the recruiting service ... we cannot expect to enlist men to advantage.”⁶²

Cass generally agreed with McArthur, but Cass was more hopeful than McArthur that he could meet his numbers. He was optimistic that the “whole of the 27th Regiment [would be ready] for the field by the time our naval ascendancy is secured on the upper lakes.”⁶³ He added, “I hope we shall never see an Eastern Division of the American Army attacking Malden.”⁶⁴

Not all the problems facing Cass and McArthur were specific to Ohio. Bureaucratic snarls in Washington also affected recruiting for the one-year regiments. Lieutenant Colonel Van Horne appointed Joseph Brady as First Lieutenant in the 26th Regiment and placed him on recruiting duty. Four months later, the War Department notified Brady that the Senate had not confirmed his appointment and suspended him from duty. Major Trimble sought to have Brady paid for the time he was in uniform, but made no mention about whether or not the soldiers Brady recruited had been legally enlisted.

On several other occasions, the War Department neglected to distribute copies of revised recruiting regulations. As a result, in the 26th Regiment at least, some recruiting officers were reluctant to commit government funds for subsistence and lodging of their recruits for fear that they would be found liable for illegal dispersal of funds.⁶⁵

Cass and McArthur faced an additional problem. Many who joined their two regiments were paroled veterans of Hull’s surrender waiting exchange and not able to serve on active campaign – to include Cass and McArthur.⁶⁶ As McArthur wrote the Secretary of War “... several of those Captains and Subalterns which I have appointed, and who are now recruiting men under the Act of Jan 29th, are of those officers surrendered at Detroit.”⁶⁷

Even though the men would be of marginal utility, the regiments nevertheless enrolled these men. Not surprisingly, they were of little use to General Harrison. “I have been joined by Colo. Paull with 350 effectives of the 27th reg. Unfortunately, ten of the officers of the Regiment and nearly one third of the men are prisoners of war; of the two companies of the 26th with me Capt Puthuff (an officer that would do honor to any service), one of his subalterns, and more than one third of the Company are in the same situation.”⁶⁸

The large number of parolees may have been a contributing factor in Harrison’s decision to detach McArthur’s brigade of 700 men to occupy Detroit and leave Cass’ brigade at Sandwich after he invaded Canada. In March, 1814, Harrison, concerned about parole violations, ordered the commander at Detroit to send all officers “performing such military duty as their obligation forbids honorably to perform” sent on recruiting duty.⁶⁹ Allowable duties included recruiting, drilling recruits, guarding prisoners and stores, and serving as paymaster or purchasing agent. Bearing arms in the field or in garrison was prohibited.⁷⁰

The regiments needed officers just as they needed soldiers and there was no shortage of volunteers to lead the Ohio regiments. One observer noted, "Every man wants to be an officer. We could raise three regiments of colonels and captains."⁷¹ Each company initially required four officers (later increased to five): a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign. The regimental staff included at least four field grade officers to perform various administrative and logistical duties plus a surgeon and a surgeon's mate. Many former militia officers sought regular army commissions in the Ohio regiments, particularly the short-term 26th and 27th Regiments. Their presence provided not only a local quality to the companies, but added a degree of military experience. As Thomas Hindl of Chillicothe wrote, "I have uniformly been of opinion from the Commencement of the present war, that our principal officers of distinction were either subalterns or in the Ranks ..."⁷²

When the war began, the Secretary reassigned many officers who hailed from the same region from which the regiments were raised. In the 19th Regiment, with the exceptions of David Gwynne, Abraham Edwards, and Ashael Nearing, all the new company commanders and field grade officers claimed Ohio as their state of residence. Additionally, three Ohioans in the 19th – Thomas Jesup, John Chunn, and Abraham Edwards - were serving Army officers when the regiment was established, providing the 19th with an experienced core that boasted a strong Ohio connection.⁷³ The War Department did the same in the 17th Regiment, transferring many Kentucky officers to that regiment.⁷⁴

Those interested in receiving an appointment made their desires known to their congressmen, senators, the governor, and/or the War Department. It was common practice for regimental commanders to appoint candidates conditionally to regimental vacancies and then forward the roster of names to the War Department for Senate confirmation. Upon receipt of the names, the Senate formed multiple sub committees consisting of the state's two senators to confirm the nominations. Once confirmed, the adjutant general notified the new officer of his appointment with instructions on where and when to report to his regiment.⁷⁵

Ohio senator Thomas Worthington was instrumental in acquiring appointments to fill the officer ranks. His recommendation to the War Department virtually assured the applicant a commission, a fact not lost on Lieutenant Jesup who noted, "Letters in this way receive more attention [than to the Secretary]."⁷⁶ Individuals seeking appointments solicited endorsements from family, friends, and local dignitaries, but the endorsements accompanying many of the letters were of doubtful utility. Many only noted the individual's desire to serve while others merely included a prediction of meritorious service. "Permit me sir to recommend [militia] Col. Robert McConel of Muskingum County as a man well qualified and every way worthy of being appointed to an important command, the Col. would accept of a majors commission", wrote James Cadwell of Chillicothe to Senator Worthington. Caldwell also recommended "Wm. Brown Jun of St. Clairsville as a proper person to be appointed a Lieutenant in the new army" and "Dr. Elisha G. Lee of Guernsey County, who wishes the appointment of a surgeon in the new army."⁷⁷

Many who wrote to Senator Worthington were not shy about telling what they wanted. Carlos Norton pestered Worthington numerous times for a commission. "I understand that an additional army is to be raised. If so, I wish to be considered an applicant for a commission ... I do not wish an appointment of a higher grade than a captaincy - and lower, I certainly would not accept."⁷⁸ Duncan McArthur wrote Senator Worthington telling him "If the officers surrendered on the 16th of Augt at Detroit are exchanged the most of them will be anxious to receive appointments in the regular army" adding "Our state is certainly entitled to a Gen. Officer, and in that event I should be very glad to be appointed."⁷⁹

Serving officers appointed friends and relatives to fill regimental vacancies. In the 27th Regiment, McArthur appointed the company officers, many of whom were veterans of McArthur's militia regiment, and sent their names to the War Department for submission to the Senate and eventual confirmation. Thomas Jesup solicited Senator Worthington for an appointment for his younger brother as a "Cadet in one of the old Regts. of Artillery or Ensign in the 7th. Regt. of Infantry". James Manary, a ranger captain and former Ohio militia general, sought an ensign's commission for his son, James. Thomas Van Horne, Ohio's adjutant general and later commander of the 26th Regiment successfully sought a commission for his son, Isaac.

Denouncing candidates was almost as brisk as it was recommending them. McArthur wrote Worthington, "The Governor and Colo. Cass may perhaps recommend Major Munson, but I do not think his appointment would give satisfaction to the Republicans of Ohio."⁸⁰ A Cleveland physician wrote, "The surgeon of the 19th Regiment is a better Quaker or Methodist than a surgeon who holds the lives of hundreds in his hands."⁸¹ John Harmon did not think highly of many potential appointees from his town of Zanesville. "J. Harvey is a notorious drunkard and sluggard. T. Ferree was a follower of Burr and openly avowed it. S. Dent is unworthy of confidence and Benome Pierce is of the same cast."⁸²

If there was any discriminator for an appointment, it was the applicant's political affiliation. "Doctor Wilson of this place (Lancaster, Ohio) has been a violent Federalist ... he would have joined Burr if Burr had been successful," wrote Samuel Carpenter.⁸³ James Caldwell retracted his endorsement of Archibald Hamilton when he learned "that Hamilton is inimical to the present administration ... and an improper person to receive any appointment from the government."⁸⁴

Applicants with previous militia experience seemed to have fared better than those without it. Four of the twelve captains in the 26th Regiment and half of those in the 27th Regiment had experience in the Ohio militia. The War Department used the "original vacancy" precedent, positions that were authorized, but had never been filled, to appoint Cass and McArthur directly to general officer rank, partially because of their previous militia experience, but also because of their political connections.

The many new appointments caused a storm of protests from officers overlooked in the scramble for appointments and command assignments in the newest regiments of the

expanded army. George Jackson wrote Worthington advising him of the officers' dissatisfaction. "Considerable discontent prevails generally among the officers of the 19th and 17th Regts. on account of some appointments having been lately made from a Bunch of citizens over officers who have seen some service."⁸⁵ Colonel Miller similarly complained to Worthington over sergeants who had received lieutenants' commissions. Officers from the 17th and 19th Regiments complained directly to Congress, noting "private citizens [were] made captains over the heads of subaltern officers who have long been in service" and "subalterns [have been] appointed over the heads of superior officers."⁸⁶

Major George Tod of the 19th Regiment wrote, "The new appointments which have taken place has caused a general resignation of the lieutenants of the 24th Regiment and I am well convinced the example, though premature, will be followed by the officers of the 17th and 19th Regiments, should the Senate confirm many of the appointments."⁸⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, also of the 19th Regiment, wrote the War Department to protest the fact that Ensigns Harrison and Mitchell, "both noted in reports, were passed over and a sergeant appointed as lieutenant". Campbell also reported that the regiment's surgeon's mate, Dr. Charles Marvin, would resign because Dr. Rogers, "a Methodist preacher, quack, and pettifogger, was appointed over him."⁸⁸ Despite the grumbling and dire predictions, there does not seem to have been wide spread resignations in the 17th and 19th Regiments.

In response to the many complaints throughout the Army, the Secretary of War explained how officers were appointed in both the old (pre-1812) and new regiments. Noting that the process had Senate approval, he explained the method: "original vacancies shall be supplied by selection – accidental vacancies by seniority. Original vacancies are such as have never been filled under the law providing them, accidental vacancies are those created by death, resignation, dismissal, etc. and which have already been filled."⁸⁹ Armstrong added that the principle of original vacancies allowed Harrison to be promoted to major general over Brigadier Generals Hull and Winchester and emphasized the point that the Government might fill an original vacancy "with a person in or out of the Army, as they thought best."⁹⁰ Subsequent versions of the Army's regulations contained these rules for promotion. In a rather cavalier statement, the Secretary commented on those officers who disagreed with the promotion policy. "These gentlemen may find their pretensions on the score of greater personal merit – but of this, claimants cannot be supposed to be the most important judges."⁹¹

Within the officer corps, promotions and dates of rank were serious matters. There were two ways an officer could be promoted within the Army: by seniority - lineal rank, as it was called - and by brevet. The regulations directed that if an accidental vacancy occurred within the officer's branch of service, the next senior officer in line, regardless of his current regimental assignment, moved up to take the position. Officers were prohibited from appointments in other branches. An infantry officer could not be promoted into the artillery, for example. Seniority was based upon the officer's date of rank. Captain Thomas Jesup of the 7th Infantry was an officer on parole when a major's position opened up in the 19th Regiment. Jesup accepted the appointment and served at

Camp Harrison near Cleveland supervising the construction of bateaux for Harrison's planned invasion of Canada.⁹² Promotions to the rank of captain and below could be made within the regiment.

A brevet promotion was often given in recognition of gallant conduct, meritorious service, or ten years time in grade. Brevet rank allowed the recipient to hold the new rank and wear the insignia of the new grade, but not receive the pay or seniority that accompanied a lineal promotion. In an era where awards and decorations were unknown – or where no vacancy was available - brevet promotions were an effective and inexpensive way to recognize meritorious service.

The rapid expansion of the officer corps in 1812 and 1813 forced the War Department to address the issue of seniority among the many new officers; particularly those of field rank, majors and higher. The War Department established three categories for these officers: those who were in uniform prior to the first expansion in January 1812 were the most senior. Officers who had held commissions in either the Army or Navy, but had a break in service, were the next senior. For the third category, those who had never held a federal commission, the War Department determined seniority by lottery. Samuel Wells and John Miller had identical dates of rank (6 July 1812), but in lineal rank, Wells, a former militia officer who had served in the Revolution and the Indian wars of the Northwest, was senior to Miller.⁹³

Because permanent promotions were based upon lineal rank, the issue of seniority was of such importance that the War Department published an annual *Register of Officers* beginning in 1813. The War Department in June 1812 had issued a circular requesting each officer to lay claim to his date of rank by verifying previous military service and in 1813 required regimental commanders to rank order their officers.⁹⁴ The resulting *Register* soon became an important document for promotion and retention and any discrepancy became a matter of note. Lieutenant Carlos Norton quickly pointed out to Senator Worthington errors in the 1814 *Register*. "The names of officers of the 26th who resigned in August (1813), are contained in the *Register* as still being in service. Lieut. Col. Morrison of the 27th reg. is dead."⁹⁵

In the 19th Regiment, Captain Alexander Hill, formerly of the 27th Regiment, resigned his commission when he learned that Captain Joel Collins, previously a captain in the 26th Regiment and who he believed was two months his junior, outranked him according to the Army *Register*.⁹⁶ Beginning in 1815, regimental commanders personally verified the ranks and dates of appointment of their subordinate officers.

By 1813, though, the promotion-based-on-seniority rule for field grade rank was fading, primarily because the War Department ignored seniority in appointing officers to the new regiments. In the following year Captain William Puthoff, formerly of the 26th Regiment and Captain David Gwynne of the 19th Regiment, both received major's rank upon assignment to the 2d Rifle Regiment.⁹⁷

Once commissioned, an officer could be assured of receiving some type of evaluation on his abilities several times during his career. Honorable mention in dispatches was the most career-enhancing, but the War Department also used other means to evaluate officers. In May 1813, Charles K. Gardner, the acting adjutant general in Washington, ordered Major Tod to, “1st, distinguish those officers whom you know to be meritorious and of whom you know nothing meritorious; 2nd, of whom you have a knowledge and of whom you know nothing; 3d, what of your own knowledge and what by repute.”⁹⁸

Recognition in general orders, a routine practice, probably did more to enhance morale than to earn promotion. For officers not in combat, the regiment’s inspecting and mustering officer evaluated a company’s leadership and his report became a matter of official record. In October 1814, for example, Major C.S. Todd of the 19th Regiment inspected Captain Joel Collins’ company stationed at Detroit. Todd described the unit’s leadership as “ignorant of the many central points of duty” and lacking “ardor which is the life of the army.” Todd described Collins as “slow in his movements” but added “Lieut. Shields is the most promising officer in the company.” Todd ended his inspection report with a comment directed at Detroit’s previous commanders, “When it is considered that the company has generally been stationed at a regular garrison under the immediate observation of several distinguished officers – its present condition exacts no little surprise.”⁹⁹ These evaluations became important when the Army reverted to a peace establishment in 1815 and the War Department had to decide upon whom to retain and whom to discharge.¹⁰⁰

Not surprisingly, many of the new officers were unfamiliar with the Army’s rules, regulations, and drill manuals. There were few experienced Army officers and non-commissioned officers to serve as instructors and trainers. The military academy had been in existence for just ten years and graduates were unavailable to drill and discipline the new regiments and teach them the parade ground maneuvers that mirrored a unit’s tactical movements on the battle field. Consequently, officers had to learn and teach at the same time. In 1812, the Army replaced von Steuben’s Revolutionary War era drill manual with Alexander Smyth’s, *Regulations for the Exercise, Manoeuvres, and Conduct of the Infantry of the United States*, primarily an abridged translation of the 1791 French infantry manual. Writing to the Inspector General of the Army, Major George Tod, then of the 17th Regiment, requested copies of the drill manual in order to teach the recruits at the regimental rendezvous points.¹⁰¹ To offset the scarcity of drill manuals, field commanders published extracts in their daily orders. Brigadier General Winchester included passages from Smyth’s manual in his General Orders with instructions that the regimental adjutants assemble the non commissioned officers and teach them the drills.¹⁰² Many field commanders, however, to include those in the militia, continued to use von Steuben’s Blue Book

Copies of the Army’s Regulations and Articles of War were just as important and just as scarce as the tactical manuals, particularly for the conduct of courts martial’s. The Articles of War, primarily a list of crimes and misdemeanors, allowed regimental and garrison commanders to convene courts martial’s to address minor breaches of discipline: drunkenness, slovenliness, and so on. General court martial’s were reserved for capital

offenses: mutiny, desertion, false statement, etc. While the composition of the court martial board varied - three to five officers for a regimental court martial and five to thirteen for a general court martial - it was expected that the members of the court be knowledgeable not only with the Articles of War and Army's regulations, but also with court martial proceedings. In late August 1814, McArthur received a shipment of McComb's *Military Law*. He ordered twelve copies sent to Miller at Malden, eight to Trimble at Fort Erie, and kept twenty-five copies for the use of officers in Chillicothe.¹⁰³

Manuals governing the conduct of courts martial were very much needed. In mid-1813, according to Ensign Cochran, one-fourth of the 19th Regiment was deserters from the rendezvous point at Chillicothe. If caught, a general court martial could impose the death penalty on the deserters. But, during the first year of the war, the death penalty was often commuted. As a result, many of those who deserted felt there was little risk to taking unauthorized leave. Desertion remained a problem even after the soldier joined the regiment in the field. Shortly before Harrison invaded Canada, he ordered a deserter shot. A witness described the scene. "On the 24th a soldier of the regular forces was shot for desertion. He had deserted three times - had twice before been condemned to suffer death and as often pardoned; he met his fate with stoical indifference, but it made a very sensible impression on the troops. Two platoons fired on him at a distance of five paces and perforated his body like a sieve."¹⁰⁴ Even when Harrison began making examples of many deserters, the numerous court martial's suggest his actions were not much of a deterrent.¹⁰⁵

Uniforms, Accouterments, and Equipment

Uniforms were an important and obvious part of the recruit's transition from civilian to soldier. Over the course of a year, a soldier could expect to receive a summer and winter issue consisting of "a coatee; one hat; one vest; two pair of woolen and two pair of linen overalls; one coarse linen frock and trousers, for fatigue clothing; four pair of shoes; four shirts; two pair of socks; two pair of short stockings; one blanket; one stock and clasp; and one pair of half gaitors."¹⁰⁶ The regulations described the uniform coat as a "coatee, blue with scarlet collar and cuffs ... single breasted, with one row of ten buttons in front, with blind holes worked on each side, white linings, ... standing collar ... the button holes in front, on the pocket flaps and cuffs, and the collar laced with white binding."¹⁰⁷

In the first year of the war, new soldiers seldom, if ever, received a complete uniform issue. The increase in the Army's strength, changes in uniform styles, and transportation problems presented clothing woes for the War Department. Initially, both the 17th and the 19th Regiments received summer uniforms of linen roundabout jackets and overalls.¹⁰⁸ In early May, Acting Adjutant and Inspector General Alexander Smythe notified Brigadier General James Winchester that 320 suits of summer dress clothing had been forwarded to Ohio; one half to Zanesville and one half to Chillicothe.¹⁰⁹

While recruiting for the 19th Regiment during the summer of 1812, in Trumbull, Warren County, Captain Wilson Elliott received ten roundabouts for soldiers and 2 jackets for sergeants. Other items included a drum and fife, hats with cockades and eagles, pantaloons, shirts, socks, shoes, blankets, stocks and clasps, gaitors, knapsacks, and 27 dozen buttons.¹¹⁰

In September 1812, Callendar Irvine, the Commissary General of Purchases whose office was responsible for purchasing military clothing, was very much aware of the urgent need for uniforms. (The Quartermaster Department received, transported, and issued the uniforms.) Responding to complaints from Harrison and Ohio Governor Return Jonathon Meigs, Jr., Irvine ordered 10,000 pair of shoes, 5,000 blankets, 5,000 drab woolen round jackets and 5,000 pair of pantaloons sent to clothe the North Western Army. In response to Eustis' directive in August 1812, Irvine also ordered his Assistant Commissaries to furnish each soldier of the Northern and North Western armies "two good flannel shirts in lieu of two cotton ones ... no matter what color."¹¹¹

Unfortunately for the soldiers, winter arrived before the new uniforms did. With their linen uniforms in tatters, the soldiers suffered greatly from the lack of warm clothing. On the march from Fort Wayne to Defiance in October, Private Levi Wells wrote, "The situation of the 17th is truly a disagreeable one – shoes and every other necessity to render men comfortable is wanting in this regt."¹¹² To bolster morale, Winchester announced in late October that a shipment of clothing had been sent from Philadelphia, destined for the left wing of the Northwestern Army. When the warm, woolen clothing arrived, Winchester predicted his soldiers would be "capable of resisting the Northern Blasts of Canada either from the Bellows of Boreas or the muzzle of British cannon."¹¹³ In the interim, Secretary Eustis authorized Colonel Wells to draw from the woolen round jackets and pantaloons sent to General Harrison.¹¹⁴

The 17th Regiment eventually received uniforms of the proscribed, fully trimmed pattern but the coatees were of black wool, not the regulation blue. Blue wool was in short supply. In September, Callendar Irvine had approved the substitution of uniforms of various colors for the regulation blue for the expanded army. Writing to William Duncan, his Superintendent of Military Stores at Philadelphia, Irvine sought to accommodate the wishes of the various regimental commanders in terms of uniform colors, but noted that it "cannot with propriety nor ought it to be done at so high a price as the nakedness of troops in other sections of the United States – particularly those on duty in the westward ... The black coats shall be finished by Wednesday next but I think they had better be immediately packed for Colonel Wells," wrote Irvine. White thread, binding, and buttons were provided separately for the regimental tailors to apply.¹¹⁵

Irvine sent Colonel Wells enough clothing to outfit at least 500 men with additional uniforms sent to Lieutenant Colonel McMillan at Lexington to clothe recruits. Sent from Philadelphia in September, the shipments included 600 shoes, 1,000 stockings; 500 felt hats with cockades, eagles, feathers, and hat bands; 500 dark wool overalls, probably brown, gray, or drab; 500 trowsers; 500 white wool overalls; 1100 privates coats; 400 painted knapsacks; 100 unpainted knapsacks; 490 fatigue frocks; 360 privates vests; 15

Instructions for Infantry; and the regiment's standard and colors. In October, the Secretary authorized Wells to draw clothing for his regiment from General Harrison, "in case the regular supply of clothing for the companies of the 17th should not arrive in season."¹¹⁶ In December, Harrison wrote Eustis that "the clothing for the regular troops is coming up the Scioto."¹¹⁷ Unfortunately for Wells' soldiers, complete shipments did not reach the regiment until after the battle at the River Raisin in January. The 17th Regiment did not receive hat plates until 1814, concurrent with the receipt of leather shakos.

When issued its winter uniforms, the 19th Regiment likely received the regulation, fully trimmed blue uniform. In November, Irvine wrote, "I contemplated furnishing blue coats for the 8th, 10th, 18th, 19th, 24th Regiments of Infantry, but if there are enough coats of another color for a complete regiment, please send them."¹¹⁸ The *Trump of Freedom* reported in October that winter clothing for Col. Miller's regiment had shipped from Fort Fayette in Pittsburgh. Beginning in December, uniforms for the 19th began arriving at Chillicothe. With an adjusted end strength of 850 men, Miller received an assortment of items: 310 woolen coats and 600 linen jackets. In January, he was issued, among other items, over 2600 shirts and 1100 vests. In February, the 19th received shirts, overalls, shoes, knapsacks, gaiters, frocks, linen jackets, hats, 90 cap plates, and "1 Regt Color Painted and 1 Regt Standard Painted".¹¹⁹ In March, Irvine sent Miller 900 uniforms for the recruiting service: 700 infantry, 100 artillery, 50 sets of dragoon clothing and 50 for the rifle regiment. He sent a similar number to Lieutenant Colonel McMillan of the 17th Infantry.¹²⁰ Upon arrival at Chillicothe, Major Tod packed the uniforms and equipment destined for units already in the field in bags, loaded the items in wagons, and trans-shipped them to the appropriate company commander.¹²¹

Even though the regiment was receiving its winter issue, Irvine wrote Miller suggesting his men draw only one pair of woolen overalls each. "As mild weather is approaching ... it is conceived best not to encumber the soldier with unnecessary clothing."¹²² Irvine no doubt made his suggestion as much with an eye toward future requirements as the soldiers' welfare. By April, the soldiers' initial clothing issue was complete with the receipt of 514 coats.¹²³ The 19th Regiment did not receive any additional cap plates until 1814 when it, too, switched from felt to leather caps.

By the summer of 1813, the clothing and transportation situation had stabilized enough that recruits received a fairly complete set of uniforms. Jacob Burt, Thomas Alderick, and Henry Hutching, recruits for the 19th Regiment, were issued at Chillicothe the following items: 2 privates coats; 2 woolen vests; six drill pantaloons; three trousers; six shirts; 3 pair of shoes; three caps, cockades, and eagles; three plumes; three stocks and clasps; three gaytors [sic]; one pair socks; three fatigue coats; one linen roundabout; three knapsacks; and three blankets.¹²⁴

For both the 26th and 27th Regiments, in April 1813, the Commissary General of Purchases forwarded to Zanesville 500 sets of summer and winter clothing, camp equipage, and arms and ammunition with a promise to forward the balance "as early as it is possible"¹²⁵. But, by mid-June the uniforms had not yet arrived. Even if they had, Cass

felt the quantity was insufficient. Cass requested and received permission to draw upon the “large quantity of clothing lying at Chillicothe and Franklinton for the 17th and 19th Regiments”.

Clothing shipments arrived for Cass and McArthur in late June, negating the need to draw uniforms from elsewhere. Still, there were problems, particularly with subsequent uniform issues, camp equipment, and blankets. In December, Major Jeremiah Munson, superintending recruiting operations in Chillicothe wrote Secretary Armstrong, “Of the clothing ordered for the 27th Infantry, but a part of the 150 blankets has been issued at the rendezvous – neither arms, hospital stores or camp equipment of any kind has arrived – a want of the cloathing, blankets in particular and camp kettles and mess pans has been a serious injury to the service.”¹²⁶

When issued, the 26th and 27th Regiments received uniforms of a simplified style. In March 1813, Irvine had changed the regulation uniform coatee by eliminating much of the trim in an effort to get clothing to the field quickly. Writing to his subordinate Superintendents of Military Stores, Irvine described the change, “The white binding for infantry coats is abolished, excepting on the collar as usual – white tip and red diamond on the skirt, plain breast, one row of buttons, cross flaps ... cotton epaulets.”¹²⁷ A week later, he added, “The full trimmed infantry coat may be dispensed with the present year. Red collar and cuffs, two button holes of tape on each side of the collar in imitation of lace, plain breast, single row of buttons, cross indented flaps.”¹²⁸

The 26th and 27th Regiments each received 1,000 cap plates in June 1813, with their initial issue of uniforms. It is not know whether or not these plates were regimentally marked although there is some indication that the regimental designation was left blank.¹²⁹

The Articles of War required company commanders to report deceased soldiers’ personal effects so that the War Department could compensate the soldier’s survivors (or representatives as they were called) with the monetary cost of the items. Captain Joel Collins of the 26th Regiment described the personal effects of seven of his soldiers who died at Sandwich in December 1813. Private Samuel Henry, who was typical of the group, possessed, “1 cap, cord, and tassels; 1 plate; cockade and eagle; 2 pair shoes; 1 pair woolen overalls; 1 linen jacket; 1 woolen vest; 1 shirt; 1 pair linen overalls; 1 pair gaiters and buttons; 1 pair fatigue overalls; 1 blanket; 1 coat.” All the soldiers had fatigue overalls and frocks, blankets, knapsacks, socks, stocks and clasps, and shoes, but only four had hat plates.¹³⁰

Officers typically provided their own uniforms. Uniform regulations for officers permitted coats of different patterns: a full dress coat, an undress coat, and a winter overcoat, or surtout. Given this wide latitude in officer clothing, it is not surprising that Major Tod wrote the Acting Adjutant and Inspector General for a copy of “the pamphlet describing the uniform dress of the United States.”¹³¹

Officer uniforms were generally of the same cut and fashion as those of enlisted soldiers, but made of finer materials with appropriate trimmings for rank. Unlike the enlisted ranks who had their uniforms issued to them, officers procured their own uniforms, purchasing the material and hiring local tailors to sew the garments. Lieutenant Larwill noted that an ensign, recently promoted from sergeant, was wounded while leaving Fort Meigs for Franklinton “to have himself equipped.”¹³²

Battal Harrison of the 19th Regiment wrote Major Tod from Franklinton requesting him to send enough superfine, blue cassimere (wool) and sufficient trimmings to make two pairs of overalls. Ensign Joseph Duncan of the 17th Regiment paid fifteen dollars for an undress coat (a dark blue, single breasted coat with long tails), silver braid, a cockade, two pairs of pantaloons and two vests.¹³³ Dr. Charles Martin of the 19th Regiment asked Joseph Larwill to look for 8 ½ yards of white cassimere and epaulets while Larwill was on recruiting duty as none was available in Chillicothe.¹³⁴

When Captain Nearing died at Fort Meigs, Major Tod itemized his belongings in a letter to the Secretary of War. In addition to personal items such as combs and brushes, Nearing owned a silk sash, a coat, a dress coat, four pairs of pantaloons, six shirts, one velvet vest, a silver cord and tassel, an epaulet, and two pairs of boots. His weapons included two pocket pistols, a silver hilted sword, and a silver mounted dirk.¹³⁵ Nearing’s comrades purchased many of his items (Lieutenant Hoffman paid \$15 for the sword) and the proceeds, amounting to \$146.13, were forwarded to the War Department for dispersal to Captain Nearing’s family.¹³⁶

Occasionally, officers were allowed to draw uniforms from public stores. General McArthur permitted officers who had returned from the Niagara Frontier to draw “one pair pantaloons, one woolen waist coat, and one flannel waistcoat” if their baggage had been lost in transit. McArthur required all officers to certify on their word of honor that they had lost their belongings.¹³⁷ Officers could also requisition swords from the War Department for their personal use. In lieu of the “Damascus saber” General Cass requested, Irvine offered instead a “sword, of yellow metal, and a lighter blade.” Major Tod of the 19th Regiment also requested a sword of the War Department.¹³⁸

In September 1813, Irvine sent Robert Irvine, the Assistant Commissary at Detroit, an invoice for two bales of rose blankets specifically intended for officers’ use. “These blankets are sent with a view to accommodate the officers of the army,” he wrote. “They are of an excellent quality and may be sold to the officers at the price quoted in the invoice. You are authorized to sell to any officer of the army as many as he may require for his own use ...”¹³⁹

Once the soldiers received their initial uniform issue, subsequent issues were problematic. The War Department required regimental quartermasters to provide an annual clothing estimate on or before the first of December stating what clothing was surplus from the previous year’s issue and what was needed for the upcoming year. The Office of the Military Storekeeper sent out semi-annual clothing issues to the Commissaries of Clothing based upon these estimates. Regimental quartermasters made

requisitions of the Commissaries for new or replacement issues. The 1814 clothing estimate for the 17th, 19th, and 26th Regiments, then at Sackett's Harbor, included items sufficient for twenty sergeants, ten musicians, and 343 privates.¹⁴⁰

Even so, there was little guaranteeing that the clothing would either be available or of sufficient quantity and quality. In a letter to Senator Worthington in January 1814, Duncan McArthur blamed the poor health of his soldiers at Sackett's Harbor on shoddy and inadequate clothing. "Unfortunately for our army they are not provided with Clothing to enable them to appear respectable in summer much less to shield them from the inclemency of winter. From the want of this Clothing of the proper kind and quantity...many hundreds of valuable lives have been lost and are daily losing for want of Clothes to keep the Soldiers Clean and warm. The Clothes issued in many cases scarcely deserve that name, especially the socks and shoes, they are generally too small and of the worst quality, entirely unfit for wind, or winter. The socks are course thin and worthless, and the shoes badly made of the worst of leather. . . . The Blankets issued to our troops are so small and worthless, that they neither cover nor keep them warm, and consequently many lives are lost."¹⁴¹

Captain Langham described his soldiers' plight to Senator Worthington, echoing McArthur's complaint. " . . . in addition to the general want of provisions, the regular soldiers have received no winter clothing as yet and no pay since 1st August. I mention this because you ought to know as our Senator"¹⁴².

Colonel Paull, commander of the 19th Regiment in 1814, asked McArthur for help to clothe the recruits of his regiment. Noting that uniforms destined for the "old 26th" were at Chillicothe, he received McArthur's approval to issue the clothing to the 19th Regiment.¹⁴³

Lost or mis-placed shipments caused delays in units receiving timely uniform issues. In October 1814, the 17th Regiment had not yet received its winter clothing. In response to a complaint from Robert Irvine at Detroit, Callendar Irvine replied that it was a "matter of astonishment" that the 17th was destitute of clothing as the uniforms had been sent out some time previously. Robert Irvine found the clothing deposited at Presque Isle and issued the items to the regimental commander upon the unit's arrival at Erie.¹⁴⁴

As their enlistment periods expired, but prior to discharge, the soldiers of the different regiments settled outstanding debts and turned in their weapons and public property, but retained their clothing and personal gear. William Gulbridge, a private in Lieutenant William McDonald's company of the 26th Regiment who had enlisted for the war and was reassigned to the 19th Regiment, was discharged for disability on 6 October 1814 at Greenbush, New York. As part of his entitlements, Gulbridge retained his uniform coat, one hat, one cockade and eagle, one stock, one woolen vest, three shirts, two pair linen overalls, two woolen overalls, one fatigue frock, one fatigue trowsers, three pair socks, one pair stockings, two pair shoes, one blanket, one plume. He also received his pay and transportation to Urbana.¹⁴⁵

In May 1813, Callendar Irvine again changed the uniform to one of all blue, eliminating the red collar and cuffs. He directed that “The coats, all blue ... are not to be issued till those with red collars and cuffs and the few fully trimmed are disposed of.”¹⁴⁶ At the same time, leather shakos replaced the cylindrical felt hats. Subsequent clothing issues included these changes although clothing records do not identify specific uniform patterns. However, shipments of the new hats (also called caps on invoices) destined for the North Western Army began in March 1814 with a consignment of 300 cap plates and pompoms (vice plumes) sent to James Gibson, the military storekeeper at Fort Fayette, Pennsylvania. Another shipment of 850 hats, plates, and pompoms followed at the end of April. Colonel Paull of the 19th Regiment received a shipment of 200 leather caps, plates and pompoms in early April.¹⁴⁷

It is not clear when units in the field received the new pattern uniforms. An inspection report of Captain Joel Collins Company of the 19th Regiment at Fort Shelby in October 1814 indicates that Collins’ men still wore the old style felt hat with feathered plume, minus the plate. Those units of the North Western Army serving on the Niagara frontier and closest to active operations, drew clothing and equipment from the assistant commissary in Buffalo. It is likely they received the new pattern clothing at that time.¹⁴⁸

In addition to his musket and bayonet, a soldier’s accouterments consisted of a cartridge box and belt; bayonet scabbard and belt; gun sling; brush and pricker; ball screw; and screwdriver worth a combined total of \$13.00. Inspection reports noted the quantity of each in a company with an annotation of the number missing. Other items of personal equipment included a knapsack, a canteen, blanket, and a haversack. Typically, the recruit received these items at the rendezvous point, but such was not always the case.

As part of the shipment of uniforms sent to Colonel Wells in the field in late 1812, the 17th Regiment received 500 knapsacks, probably of the Lhelette pattern. Lieutenant Colonel McMillan received 266 additional knapsacks for the 17th Regiment’s recruiting service in December of that year. From that time on, the regiments received regular issues of both painted and unpainted knapsacks. The 19th, 26th, and 27th Regiments received knapsacks described in invoices as painted, linen, or merely noted as knapsacks. On 28 September 1813, though, Robert Irvine, received at Detroit 612 hair knapsacks for issue to Harrison’s army.

The first official mention of haversacks issued to an Ohio regiments is on an invoice dated 26 November 1813 when Lieutenant Colonel Campbell of the 19th Regiment received 408 haversacks for the recruiting service. Alfred Brunson a sergeant in the 27th Regiment, who fought at the Thames, commented on their absence: “... we were supplied with jerked beef and hard bread, which we carried in our knapsacks - haversacks not being known then to military science.”¹⁴⁹ Irvine had previously estimated that the army would require 33,700 haversacks in 1813, but few reached the North Western Army until the spring of 1814 when the 17th and 19th Regiments received shipments of haversacks in April.

When the war ended, the War Department directed the officers commanding the recruiting rendezvous to inventory, pack into casks, and forward to the depot at Newport, Kentucky, all remaining clothing, camp equipage, arms, uniform items and equipment. Unissued items for the 19th Regiment included pompoms, plates, haversacks, drill jackets, accouterments, and plumes.¹⁵⁰

Operational Assignments, Attachments, and Detachments

It is difficult and often confusing to trace the movements of the different Ohio regiments over the course of the war. Typically, a regiment operated in two main locations: at the recruiting rendezvous and at the front, but there were often many points in between. The regiment sent companies and detachments to the field from the rendezvous point as quickly as they were formed. Senior field commanders attached these elements to other units and the regimental returns that should have accounted for the location and size of the various detachments were either not submitted, were incomplete, or were otherwise lost. Others were either improperly completed or illegible, a situation that vexed General McArthur. "There is scarcely one of them (the officers) who can, with the help of a form, make out a report that can be understood."¹⁵¹ Depending upon circumstances, when mentioned in reports and letters, a detachment could refer to an operational entity that was smaller in size than a company or it could be a series of orphaned companies attached to a different regiment. As a result, elements of the different Ohio regiments represented their parent units in operations ranging from Machilimackinac on Lake Huron to Sackett's Harbor on Lake Ontario. Secretary of War John Armstrong condemned this practice commenting that it "has been the fruitful source of mischief to the army", but did not stop it.¹⁵²

Miller wrote the Adjutant General describing the dispersed condition of his soldiers. "There are at Picqua, on the frontier of this state, 130 infantry troops, one hundred of which are under the command of Capt Angus L. Langham and his subalterns are First Lieutenant George W. Jackson, Second Lieutenant Timothy Danielson, and Ensign John E. Morgan and the balance are commanded by First Lieutenant David Gwynne, and 23 recruits who were recruited by Captain Hugh Moore at Cincinnati were transferred by Genl Winchester to a Captain in Colonel Wells regiment on the march from Kentucky to Fort Wayne, making all that have marched from this state 153. I will march in 10 or 12 days one captain, one lieutenant of artillery and 40 men to Dayton by order of Genl Winchester."¹⁵³

Two years later on a Regimental Return Colonel Miller noted the disparate locations of his regiment. He reported seven companies, but had information on only five. "The 17th Regt is cut up in so many detachments that it is impossible for me to make a current report of the Regiment's strength." He added that two companies of the 17th were at Detroit under the command of the 24th and 28th Regiments and reported another 36 men in the Indiana Territory under an unknown officer, but not of the 17th.¹⁵⁴

This piecemeal introduction of detachments into different operations began in June 1812. At that time, the War Department ordered Colonel Samuel Wells, then commander of the 17th Regiment, to Detroit to reinforce Brigadier General Hull with the troops he had available – about one hundred and twenty men. Winchester was to remain in Kentucky overseeing the recruiting service. In August, the War Department ordered Winchester to the field as overall commander of the reinforcements for the Northwestern Army; a force that also included additional recruits for Wells' regiment. In September, a detachment of the 19th Regiment under Captain Langham, a senior captain in the regiment, joined Winchester in Urbana and was placed under Wells. Later, in December, Captain Wilson Elliott, the next senior captain in the 19th, commanded a company of the regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell on the Mississinewa expedition. And, in 1813, as the commander at Fort Meigs, Colonel John Miller had operational control of two companies from the 17th Regiment (Holt and Bradford) and six companies from the 19th Regiment (Graham, Chunn, Nearing, Elliot, Langham, and Herron).

In late September 1813, just before the invasion of Canada, Harrison organized the regulars into two brigades. He placed General McArthur in command of the 17th, 19th, and 24th Regiments and General Cass in command of the short-term regulars of the 26th, 27th, and 28th Regiments. McArthur cross-leveled the number of soldiers in his companies to create platoons of equal strength: 15 men from Holt's company to Bradford's in the 17th Regiment; 8 men from Elliott's company to Herron's in the 19th Regiment, and 5 men each from Langham's and Nearing's company to Chunn's company, also of the 19th Regiment.¹⁵⁵

But, even though brigaded together, regimental integrity was not guaranteed. Just before the battle of the Thames in early October 1813, Harrison detached 120 regulars under Colonel Paull of the 27th Regiment of Cass' brigade (whose packs and camp equipment had arrived from Middle Sister Island) and used them in the pursuit of Proctor.

After the Battle of the Thames and postponement of an attack on Fort Mackinac, Harrison's forces within the 8th Military District became a source of additional military manpower for operations on the Niagara frontier. McArthur's brigade was reorganized to include the 19th and 24th Regiments of Infantry; Smith's recently-arrived battalion of regular riflemen; Lieutenant Colonel James V. Ball's command consisting of Puthuff's, Swearingen's, and Kisling's companies from the 26th Regiment; plus Hopkins' dismounted dragoons, totaling about 1300 men.¹⁵⁶ Ordered to Buffalo in October, 1813, the majority of the brigade, to which were added Holt's and Adair's companies of the 17th Regiment, garrisoned Fort George, Upper Canada. In November, the bulk of the brigade moved to Sackett's Harbor, New York, in support of the Chrysler's Farm campaign. A company of the 24th Regiment under Lieutenant Adam Peck and a company of the 19th Regiment under Lieutenant Henry Frederick remained behind on the Niagara frontier and were taken prisoner at Fort Niagara in December.¹⁵⁷ Puthuff's, Swearingen's, and Kisling's companies were reassigned to Miller's 19th Regiment on 24 November.¹⁵⁸ Swearingen's company of the 26th was later involuntarily transferred to Edmund Gaines' 25th Regiment in February 1814, a move Swearingen unsuccessfully opposed.¹⁵⁹

When ordered back to Detroit, the brigade left behind at Sackett's Harbor detachments of the 17th, 19th, and 26th Regiments. Major James McDonald of the Rifle Regiment described those soldiers of McArthur's brigade remaining at Sackett's Harbor as a "mere skeleton" and described Sackett's Harbor as "the damdest [sic] hole I ever saw in my life."¹⁶⁰ While at Sackett's Harbor, many of the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of the 26th Infantry were indiscriminately transferred to the 1st and 2nd Light Dragoons, the 25th Infantry, or the Rifle Regiment.¹⁶¹ McArthur remained in New York as a witness in Brigadier General Hull's court martial. In March, the War Department ordered six officers of the 19th Regiment and six officers from the 26th Regiment to return to the 8th Military District to conduct recruiting operations.¹⁶²

The return of McArthur's much-reduced brigade was a welcome relief to General Cass. Charged with the defense of Detroit, Sandwich, Malden, and other posts throughout the Northwest, he had too many places to defend and too few troops with which to defend them. He wrote the Secretary arguing for more men noting, "The first surrender of the country cost the U.S. too much reputation and its subsequent recovery has cost too much treasure to be lost for the want of adequate preparation."¹⁶³

Cass had reason to worry. By the beginning of 1814, he had over 1200 men sick and his Present for Duty strength had dropped from 643 a month before to just 470, in part because his men were housed in "huts covered with old bark" and not protected from the elements.¹⁶⁴ He pleaded for an additional supply of medicine, adding that "any delay may cost the lives of many valuable men."¹⁶⁵ The situation did not soon improve. A few months later, Lieutenant Colonel George Croghan, in command at Detroit after Cass' departure for General William Hull's court martial, reported his Present for Duty strength of the Detroit garrison as 483. This number included detachments from the 17th, 19th, 24th, and 28th Regiments of Infantry as well as 57 men of the 2d Artillery. Additionally, 108 soldiers of the 26th Regiment garrisoned Sandwich. Detachments at other posts included Major James Whistler of the 19th Regiment at Fort Wayne, Indiana Territory, and First Lieutenant Daniel McFarland of the 26th Regiment at Fort Seneca in Ohio.

To replenish the ranks and in anticipation of the expiration of the 26th and 27th Regiments' terms of service, Harrison ordered many of the returning officers, including Captains Chunn, Herron, Elliott, and Jackson, on recruiting duty. In February 1814, the 19th Regiment had 21 recruiting stations established in Ohio plus one in the Indiana Territory and another in Detroit. Similarly, the 17th Regiment had 23 officers on recruiting duty, mostly in Kentucky, but recruiters also sought volunteers in Cincinnati and West Union, Ohio.

A large-scale reorganization of the 17th and 19th Regiments further complicates tracing the operational movements of the regiments. Because of the difficulties that the 17th and 19th Regiments (and others) had encountered in recruiting, Congress, in March 1814, passed legislation authorizing the Secretary "to consolidate deficient regiment or regiments."¹⁶⁶ Interestingly, President Madison, the commander-in-chief, learned of this consolidation after the fact. The 26th and 27th Regiments were merged into the 19th Regiment. Four captains from the 27th Regiment and three captains from the 26th

Regiment formed the nucleus of the reorganized 19th Regiment. Colonel Paull of the 27th Regiment assumed command of the 19th Regiment until his resignation in October 1814. The original 26th and 27th Regiments were reconstituted as New York and Vermont regiments, respectively. Excess officers were released from their duty obligation.

The original 19th Regiment merged with the 17th Regiment and became the reorganized 17th Regiment. Three field grade officers and three captains from the 19th Regiment joined the four remaining captains of the 17th Regiment. Colonel Miller replaced Colonel Wells as commander when Wells resigned his commission. A change in the recruiting regulations allowed soldiers to re-enlist in regiments other than their own and many of the 19th Regiment joined either the 25th Regiment or the newly formed 2d Rifle Regiment.¹⁶⁷

In May, 1814, 150 regulars from the 19th Regiment under Captain William McDonald and Captain John Chunn's company of the 17th Regiment, with a large force of Pennsylvania militia participated in the raid on Port Dover, Upper Canada, under brevet Colonel John B. Campbell, formerly of the 19th Regiment. When later assigned to Scott's brigade, Captain McDonald was detached as an aide to General Ripley and his company placed under the command of First Lieutenant David Riddle of the 15th Regiment. Riddle's and Chunn's companies served with the 21st Regiment in the Niagara campaign, seeing action at Chippawa and Lundy's Lane. Both Chunn and McDonald received brevet promotions to major for "gallant conduct" at Niagara.¹⁶⁸

Major William Trimble, in charge of the sick and wounded of both armies at Buffalo, wrote General McArthur praising the two officers. "Wm. McDonald took an active part in the battle of Chippawa and gained much credit. Capt Chunn and him, tho they belonged to the second Brigade, which was not in action, went with the volunteers and Indians on the left flank where they done their duty."¹⁶⁹

Barely four months after their return from Niagara, in June 1814, the Secretary of War, John Armstrong ordered Brigadier General Duncan McArthur, commander of the 8th Military District upon Harrison's resignation, to organize "all recruits and others of the 17th, 19th, 24th, and 28th Regiments (leaving the necessary recruiting parties) into companies and immediately march [them] with a competent number of officers ... for a speedy junction with the 2d Division at Buffalo."¹⁷⁰

McArthur ordered Miller at Chillicothe to "hasten the collection of recruits of the 17th Regiment, have them mustered, formed into companies and marched to the mouth of the Portage River on Lake Erie ... for transportation by water to Buffalo."¹⁷¹ McArthur directed Colonel Paull of the 19th Regiment to march his recruits to Cleveland for transportation to Buffalo. McArthur wrote General Brown in early July notifying him of what to expect. "About 400 men of the 17th Regt of Infy are ordered to rendezvous at the mouth of the Portage River on the 22d instant ... and between 200 and 300 of the 19th Regt will be at Cleveland about the same time."¹⁷²

Unknown to McArthur, though, the Secretary of War had also planned an expedition against Fort Mackinaw and had placed Lieutenant Colonel Croghan, then in command at Fort Detroit, in charge of the operation. In preparation for the campaign, Croghan had ordered Captain Sanders' and Lieutenant Scott's companies of the 17th Regiment from Ohio to Detroit to augment his expeditionary force. McArthur was unaware of either the planned attack against Mackinaw or the movement of the two infantry companies. In a letter to Secretary Armstrong, McArthur asked, "How an expedition can be carried on by the land forces within the District without my knowledge, whilst I am acting as commander in charge of it, is to me unaccountable." McArthur closed his letter threatening to resign, but did not when the Secretary replied with a conciliatory letter of apology.

McArthur opposed the Michilimackinac expedition for reasons other than professional pride. McArthur objected to dividing the 17th Regiment between two theaters of war as the departure of Croghan's force would seriously weaken Detroit's defenses. At Detroit and Malden, McArthur would have a combined militia and regular force of 231 soldiers. McArthur not only needed men to garrison the three Detroit area fortifications (Malden, Sandwich, and Detroit), he needed troops to defend the newly erected Fort Gratiot on the St. Clair River. McArthur was concerned that the British would learn of his weakened defenses in the Michigan Territory, move on Fort Gratiot, and seal Commodore Arthur Sinclair's fleet, with Croghan's force, on the upper lakes.

Once made fully aware of the Secretary's plans, MacArthur acceded to the Michilimackinac expedition, but unsuccessfully attempted to dissuade the Secretary of War of the transfer of the 17th and 19th Regiments to Buffalo. He argued that he had not had a chance to teach the recruits the rudiments of drill and discipline. If sent in harm's way, he predicted, "we cannot rationally calculate on them doing credit to themselves or their country much less to the officers who may attempt to command them."

In late July, McArthur tried to convince General Brown that the reinforcements were unnecessary. Knowing that General Brown had re-crossed the Niagara River to the American side and believing further offensive action was unlikely, McArthur wrote, "I presume the raw recruits could be of little service to you, and beg leave to suggest the importance of having them immediately embarked for Detroit."¹⁷³

McArthur had written General Brown from Erie, Pennsylvania, where he had marched with two companies of the 19th Regiment. The original plan had been to move both the 17th and 19th Regiments to Buffalo by water, but communications with Captain Edmund Kennedy, commander of the Lake Erie fleet, convinced McArthur to instead march overland from Cleveland with two companies to meet the fleet at Erie, Pennsylvania. Miller and the 350 men of his command remained at Sandusky. By early August, McArthur was in western New York where he met with General Brown at Brown's headquarters. Brown agreed with McArthur that Detroit needed protection and allowed the en-route 17th Regiment to turn back to Detroit. Brown believed that the British were not strong enough to retake Fort Erie and the Americans were not strong enough to

venture out of Fort Erie. With an apparent stalemate on the Niagara frontier, a British advance against Detroit was a likely possibility.

Brown retained the soldiers of the 19th Regiment who had already arrived, noting “the necessity of having the reinforcements.” The force that remained at Fort Erie included Major Trimble and about 118 recruits of the 19th Regiment. Trimble and his soldiers formed part of the Fort Erie garrison and Trimble wrote McArthur asking that all detachments of the 19th Regiment within the 8th Military District be ordered to Fort Erie. Trimble reported that in addition to the men at Fort Erie under Captain Alexander Hill, there were forty more of the Regiment’s soldiers garrisoning the blockhouse at Erie. He speculated that there were possibly two companies at Detroit and Captain Talbott’s company of recruits “somewhere” in Ohio. In fact, Talbott’s company was in Chillicothe guarding British prisoners.¹⁷⁴ McArthur shortly afterward ordered Talbott’s company to join the 2d Division.

Once Brown agreed to release the 17th Regiment, McArthur immediately ordered Miller to occupy Detroit and Fort Gratiot. The general returned to Chillicothe to begin preparations for a mounted expedition up the Thames River in western Upper Canada. If Colonel Miller was disappointed with the change of orders, he did not let on. He returned to Detroit and established headquarters at Malden. He wrote Captain Chunn telling him of the change and speculated – wrongly - that Chunn would also return to Detroit.

Meanwhile, on 3 July, Lieutenant Colonel George Croghan sailed from Detroit to Michilimackinac. Three companies of the 17th Infantry participated in the unsuccessful attack on Fort Mackinaw on 4 August 1814 as did a detachment from the 19th Regiment. An attack on 13 August against the British blockhouse at the confluence of the Nattawasaga River and Lake Simcoe, near Lake Huron, was more successful, destroying both the post and the schooner, *Nancy*. In his report to McArthur, Croghan commented that he had detached “a few soldiers of the 17th Infantry who were left as marines aboard two small vessels.”¹⁷⁵

In September 1814, Cass, now governor of the Michigan Territory, detailed the disposition of the forces in the Detroit area to the new Secretary of War, James Monroe. “At Malden there are about 700 men of the 17th Regiment; at Detroit 90 of the 19th Regt; 50 of the 28th, and 40 artillerists. At Fort Gratiot at the head of Lake Sinclair are about 150 men making a total of 1030.”¹⁷⁶

Upon receiving Cass’ report, Monroe ordered McArthur to send one thousand regular troops from Detroit “for immediate and temporary service” to participate in a planned offensive along the Niagara River. The Secretary told McArthur to call up the militia to replace the regulars who would “return in time to relieve the militia and volunteers who may garrison the posts in the upper country during their absence.”

McArthur sent Colonel Miller and about 500 men of the 17th Regiment to Fort Erie where they were attached to the First Brigade of General Izard’s Division. Izard noted to the Secretary of War, though, that three fourths of the regiment’s weapons were

unserviceable. As part of Izard's force, the 17th participated in the unsuccessful demonstrations and movements against General Drummond near the Chippawa River.

With the weather turning cold, further offensive operations were unlikely along the Niagara River. On 24 October, the Secretary wrote General Izard inquiring about the 17th Regiment. "It was expected that the regular troops brought thence (from Detroit) lately to [Fort] Erie would be sent back before the winter set in." The Secretary expressed concern over the safety of Detroit stating that the post will "be exposed to much danger, not from Indians only, but from the more serious exertions consisting of regular troops set on foot from below."¹⁷⁷ With the arrival of cold weather, Monroe had reason to worry. Ice on the Detroit River provided ready access to Detroit to any attacking force.

Izard understandably did not want to transfer the regiment. He noted in his reply that 700 or 800 mounted riflemen had arrived at Detroit which exceeded the "twenty-one officers and 476 non commissioned officers and privates fit for duty in the 17th Regiment."¹⁷⁸ The implication was that Detroit had sufficient troops for its defense. At the same time, though, Izard wrote McArthur and asked for his assessment of the situation at Detroit. He wanted McArthur's opinion before he would decide what to do with the troops under Miller's command.¹⁷⁹

Izard's comment about the arrival of Kentucky militia, rangers, and Indians at Detroit referred to McArthur's incursion into western Upper Canada in late October 1814. McArthur originally planned to link up with General Izard at Niagara, but when Izard withdrew to the United States side of the Niagara River, McArthur turned south, burned several mills along the north shore of Lake Erie, and returned in mid-November to Detroit. At the cost of one dead and six injured, McArthur's raid effectively secured Detroit from the possibility of any further attack.

With Detroit safe, Miller's force could be used elsewhere. The Secretary of War, now concerned over the safety of the fleet and naval stores at Presque Isle on Lake Erie, ordered Izard to "look to the post of Erie and see that it is made safe."¹⁸⁰ On 23 November, General Izard ordered Colonel Miller and the consolidated 17th and 19th Regiments (868 men) to Erie for transportation to Detroit. When Miller departed Black Rock, he left behind 140 men who were too sick to travel.¹⁸¹

Even with one day's notice, Miller was no doubt pleased to leave Izard's army and the bleak conditions in western New York. In October, the two regiments had moved to Black Rock, New York, near Buffalo where Miller expected to spend the winter. He requested of Colonel Gardner, the Army's Acting Adjutant General, instructions on preparing winter quarters for his men noting, "They are in common tents exposed to the cold and the ground upon which they lay is covered in water ... many of them must be lost to the service."¹⁸² As the weather worsened, Miller became increasingly concerned over the health of his men. In mid-November, Miller again wrote Gardner but this time asked for the return of his surgeon and surgeon's mate who were on detached duty with the corps of artillery.¹⁸³

Bad weather, poor roads, storm-damaged boats, and too few wagons plagued Miller's journey to Erie. Izard had told Miller that the fleet would convey the troops from Erie to Detroit, but such was not the case. By the time of Miller's arrival at Erie, the ships were "over the bar and dismantled" in preparation for winter. Additionally, sufficient rations were not available for Miller to travel overland to Detroit. Miller would spend the winter in Erie.

While at Erie, the health of the command improved. The men built "hutts" to replace the tents, but conditions were not perfect. Even though Erie was not in the 8th Military District and McArthur had little influence there, Miller wrote the general about the poor provisions provided his soldiers. Criticism about contractors and provisions was not new, but Miller apparently hoped that McArthur could use his influence to improve the situation. "I trust in God our government will correct this Department of the Army ... as long as our Army is fed by contractors, I have no hesitation in saying that it is impossible for it to operate with energy or effect."¹⁸⁴

At the end of December, Miller received additional soldiers. The Secretary of War had ordered all officers on recruiting service to join their regiments and a company of 90 men under Captain William Gill, 19th Infantry, arrived at Erie from Zanesville. Gill's men were the last contingent of regulars sent from Ohio.

With the signing of the Treaty of Ghent and the War Department's return to a peace establishment, the soldiers who had enlisted for the war were discharged as were the excess officers. The Secretary of War ordered McArthur to march those soldiers at Erie to Chillicothe for final pay and discharge. The Secretary noted that the march would get the soldiers nearer their homes and would allow time for the paymaster to meet them at Chillicothe.

In May, those soldiers of the 1st, 17th, 19th, 24th, and 28th Regiments who had enlisted for five years were transferred to the reorganized 3rd Regiment under Colonel Miller and assigned to the Army of the North. Perhaps not surprisingly, these western troops initially garrisoned St. Louis until June 1815, when Miller and his command were ordered to Detroit. Major Trimble brevetted to Lieutenant Colonel for actions at Fort Erie, assumed command of the 8th Infantry Regiment until his election to the U.S. Senate in 1818.

The War of 1812 had been an interruption for many Ohioans and by 1815 they were anxious to be rid of uniforms and discipline. Before the war, the Indian threat, while real, had not been of sufficient urgency to interfere with the business of nation building. With the cessation of hostilities and treaties promising peace with the Indians, there were fortunes to be made in Ohio and elsewhere. Captain Cary Trimble probably spoke for many in his letter of resignation from the peacetime Army in 1815, "However flattering [retention on active duty] is to my feelings, it does not alter my intention of retiring to a private life. The situation of an officer is too precarious to make a profession of it, except to men of great or desperate fortunes."¹⁸⁵

After the war, Ohioans generally dismissed all things military – with the exception of a few volunteer militia units. But, as Ohio’s involvement with the regular army suggests, the experiences made some lasting impressions on the War Department. In 1846, Ohio contributed about 7,000 officers and men in various volunteer and regular army organizations to fight in the War with Mexico. Although the regiments were short-term units serving only a year, they did not labor under the conditions their predecessors had. Ohio’s regulars and volunteers received at least a modicum of training at the rendezvous point before deploying to the field. The Army established a camp of rendezvous and instruction near Cincinnati where the volunteers learned the basic tasks of soldiering and officers learned the rudiments of field leadership. Just as importantly, when deployed, Ohio’s units went to the field as distinct entities: captains commanded companies within their regiments and regimental commanders led their soldiers in the field.

In 1862, Ohio’s Adjutant General reported on the need for local involvement in raising and sustaining regiments, noting that every community had a duty to perform. In July, he issued a general order that divided the state into eleven districts and assigned specific regiments to be raised in each district. Community involvement was, he noted, the just responsibility of every part of the state.¹⁸⁶ Lessons from the War of 1812 were re-learned in 1846 and 1861, but it would take participation in other wars and passage of federal legislation in 1903 before many of the other problems was corrected.

ENDNOTES

Abbreviations

AG: Adjutant General

CGP: Commissary General of Purchases

IG: Inspector General

LC: Library of Congress

NARA: National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

SW: Secretary of War

WRHS: Western Reserve Historical Society

¹ Miller to Eustis, Chillicothe, 18 July 1812, M566, Roll 13, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

² J.C.A. Stagg, “Enlisted Men in the United States Army, 1812-1815: A Preliminary Survey”, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 43, #4, (October, 1986), 623.

³ Miller to Eustis, 29 September 1812, M566, Roll 16, NARA. Prior to Winchester’s appointment, Colonel William Russell, commander of the 7th Infantry Regiment conducted recruiting operations for his regiment in Ohio and Kentucky. Russell established rendezvous points in Newport, KY (Lieutenant James Bryson); Louisville (Captain Zachary Taylor); Cincinnati (Lieutenant Thomas Ramsay); and Chillicothe (Captain James Swearingen). Russell was ordered to the Indiana Territory upon Winchester’s arrival.

⁴ Recruiting Instructions, June 1812, Collection of Papers: War of 1812, MSS 660, Folder 10, Western Reserve Historical Society.

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- ⁵ Office of the Inspector General to McMillan 23 August 1812, M565, Roll 4, NARA.
- ⁶ Miller to Cushing, Chillicothe, 23 October 1812, M566, Roll 13, NARA.
- ⁷ Recruiting Instructions, Washington City, 31 July 1812, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1:432-433.
- ⁸ Irvine to Miller, March 1813, RG 92, Office of the Military Storekeeper, Received Invoices, Item 2117, Sub entry 112, 1813, NARA.
- ⁹ Larwill Papers, Stuebenville, 11 Aug 1812, Burton Historical Collections, Detroit Public Library.
- ¹⁰ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1: 432.
- ¹¹ Cass to SW, Zanesville, 18 April 1813, M221, Roll 51 NARA.
- ¹² General Order, 18 July 1812, *Order Book for the 19th United States Infantry*, Duncan McArthur Papers, Library of Congress.
- ¹³ Richard V. Barbuto, *Long Range Guns and Close Quarter Combat, The Third United States Artillery Regiment in the War of 1812*, (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association), 21
- ¹⁴ Miller to Worthington, Chillicothe, 29 December 1812, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*. Richard C. Knopf, (Anthony Wayne Parkway Board. Columbus: Ohio State Museum, 1957)
- ¹⁵ War Department to Thomas Martin, Military Storekeeper at Newport, KY, 27 May, 1812, M6, Roll 6, NARA.
- ¹⁶ RG 92, Office of the Military Storekeeper, Received Invoices, Entry 2117, sub entry 112, Book 18, 26 and 27 August 1813, NARA.
- ¹⁷ Rowland to McArthur, 12 January 1814, Zanesville, Book 4, McArthur Papers, Library of Congress.
- ¹⁸ *19th Regiment Order Book*, McArthur Papers, Library of Congress
- ¹⁹ *Regulations, an Act Establishing Rules and Articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States, with the Regulations of the War Department*. (Albany: Webster and Skinner, 1812)
- ²⁰ Harvey W. Crew, *History of Dayton with Portraits and Sketches of Prominent Citizens*, (Dayton: United Brethren Publishing Company, 1889), 117
- ²¹ *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest: The National Intelligencer Reports the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, Vol. 5, Part 2, Richard C. Knopf, ed., (Anthony Wayne Parkway Board. Columbus: Ohio State Museum. 1957), 277.
- ²² Miller to IG, Chillicothe, 23 February 1813, M556, Roll 13. NARA.
- ²³ Miller to Cushing, Chillicothe, 31 December 1812, *ibid*.
- ²⁴ MacArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill June 9th 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ²⁵ Miller to Walbach, 8 April 1814, Chillicothe, M566, Roll 28, NARA.
- ²⁶ Inspection Report of Captain Joel Collins Company, Detroit, 13 October 1814, RG94, Muster Rolls, Regular Army, Entry 53, NARA.
- ²⁷ Miller to Tod, 29 July 1812, *Western Reserve Historical Society, Tract 15*, April 1873
- ²⁸ Campbell to Worthington, 17 June 1812, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ²⁹ Recruiting Instructions, January 15, 1813, "An Act, Establishing Rules and Articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States, with the Regulations of the War

Department Respecting the Same”, as cited in D.E. Graves, *Soldiers of 1814*, (Old Fort Niagara Association: Youngstown, NY, 1995), 9.

³⁰ Miller to Worthington, Chillicothe, 24 Nov 1812, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.

³¹ IG to Langham, 23 September 1812, M565, Roll 4, NARA.

³² *Trump of Fame*, 27 July 1813.

³³ Miller to John Walbach, 8 April 1814, Chillicothe, M566, Roll 28, NARA.

³⁴ Riley to Worthington, 29 June 1813, Steubenville, Thomas Worthington Papers, Ohio Historical Society Collection, Reel 8, Library of Congress.

³⁵ Lewis Cass to Secretary Eustis, Zanesville, 6 November 1812, *Letters to the Secretary of War*, Vol. 56, (n.d, n.p.) <http://www.archive.org>. 26 December 2008.

³⁶ McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill May, 22nd 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.

³⁷ Campbell to AG, 30 July 1812, M566, Roll 30, NARA.

³⁸ James T. Doyle. “The Organization and Operational Administration of the Ohio Militia in the War of 1812”, *Papers on the War of 1812 in the North West*, #4. Richard Knopf, comp. (Anthony Wayne Parkway Board: Columbus, 1958).

³⁹ McArthur to Worthington, Chillicothe, 16 January 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.

⁴⁰ Cass to Worthington, 16 December 1812, Zanesville, Thomas Worthington Papers, OHS Collection, Reel 7, Library of Congress.

⁴¹ Weekly Recruiting Returns, October to December 1814, McArthur Papers, LC.

⁴² Mark Pitcavage, “Burthened in Defense of our Rights': Opposition to Military Service in Ohio During the War of 1812”, *Ohio History*, Vol.104, 149.

⁴³ McArthur to Worthington, Chillicothe, 30 June 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.

⁴⁴ Horace Mack, *History of Columbiana County, Ohio: with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers*. (Philadelphia: D.W. Ensign and Company, 1879), 58-59.

⁴⁵ Trimble to AG, Lebanon, 20 April 1814, M566, Roll 60, NARA.

⁴⁶ Tod to Eustis, Zanesville, 7 December 1812, M566, Roll 16, NARA.

⁴⁷ Miller to Worthington, Chillicothe, 29 Dec 1812, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.

⁴⁸ Johnda T. Davis, ed. “Memoirs of Col. John Cochran”, *Pickaway Quarterly* (Fall, 1967), 8.

⁴⁹ General Orders, Seneca Town, 9 August 1813, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest: The National Intelligencer Reports the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, Vol. 5.

⁵⁰ *Fredonia*, February 23, 1813.

⁵¹ William L.G. Smith, *50 Years of Public Service: Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856), 66

⁵² SW to Worthington, War Department, 1 April 1813, M6, Roll 6, NARA.

⁵³ Tod to Smith, 22 February 1814, Sackett’s Harbor, M221, Roll 66. This note is an attachment to Tod’s letter to the Secretary of War, 14 June 1814, NARA.

⁵⁴ Davis, “Memoirs of Col. John Cochran”, 12.

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- ⁵⁵ Tod to Smith 22 February 1814, M221, Roll 66.
- ⁵⁶ C.H. Cramer, "Duncan McArthur, the Military Phase", *Ohio History*, Vol. 46, 135
- ⁵⁷ Trimble to AG, Lebanon, 16 April 1814, M566, Roll 60, NARA.
- ⁵⁸ McArthur to SW, Zanesville, 30 June 1813; Cass to SW, Chillicothe, 22 June, 1813, M221, Rolls 51 and 55, respectively, NARA.
- ⁵⁹ Van Horne to Walbach, Lebanon, 5 May 1814, M566, Roll 60, NARA.
- ⁶⁰ Norton to Worthington, 28 January 1814, Chillicothe, Worthington Papers, OHS Collection, LC.
- ⁶¹ McArthur to SW Chillicothe, 30 June 1813, M221, Roll 55, NARA.
- ⁶² McArthur to Worthington, Zanesville, 22 May 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ⁶³ Cass to Armstrong, Zanesville, 1 June 1813, M221, Roll 5, NARA
- ⁶⁴ Cass to Armstrong, Zanesville, 6 May 1813, M221, Roll 51, NARA
- ⁶⁵ Trimble to AG, Lebanon, 12 April 1814, M566, Roll 60, NARA
- ⁶⁶ Both were formally exchanged on 17 September 1813. Mason and Barclay to SW, 17 September 1813, M222, Roll 8, NARA.
- ⁶⁷ McArthur to Armstrong, Chillicothe, 14 April 1813, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest*, Vol. 7.
- ⁶⁸ Harrison to Armstrong, Sandusky, 28 July 1813, Logan Esarey, ed. *Governor's Letters and Messages: Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison, 1812-1816*, Vol. 2. (Indiana Historical Commission: Indianapolis, 1922), 501.
- ⁶⁹ WHH to Butler, 27 March 1814, McArthur Papers, LC.
- ⁷⁰ General Orders, dated 14 Feb 1814, *Niles Weekly Register*, Volume 5, 410.
- ⁷¹ Carlos Norton to Worthington, Chillicothe, 17 April 1812, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ⁷² Thos S. Hindl to Worthington, Chillicothe Dec 17th 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ⁷³ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from Its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903*, Vol. 1, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903).
- ⁷⁴ In August 1812, the Adjutant General transferred eight officers of company and field grade rank to the 19th Regiment, all of whom were either from Kentucky or Ohio: Campbell, Graham, Fleming, Lee, Miller, Smith, and Mitchell. Chunn was from the Indiana Territory.
- ⁷⁵ Barbuto, 15; also, Lewis Cass to War Department, Lower Seneca Town, 15 August, 1813," A List of Officers of the 27th Regiment Arranged Agreeably to Rank", File Number 603-27-1813, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.
- ⁷⁶ Jesup to Finley, Washington, 19 January 1812, "Torrence Family Papers, V", *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, 4, (July-September 1909), 130-131.
- ⁷⁷ Caldwell to Worthington, Chillicothe, 8 Feb, 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ⁷⁸ Norton to Worthington, Chillicothe, 17 January 1813 and 15 February 1813. *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ⁷⁹ McArthur to Worthington, Chillicothe, 13 February 1813, *ibid*.

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- ⁸⁰ McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, 10 Feb 1813, *ibid*.
- ⁸¹ Martin to Armstrong, Cleveland, 10 July 1813, M221, Roll 55, NARA.
- ⁸² John Harmon and S. Herrick to Thomas Worthington, 15 February 1812, Worthington Papers, OHS Collection, Reel 8, LC.
- ⁸³ Samuel Carpenter to Thomas Worthington, 4 February 1812, Papers of Thomas Worthington, OHS Collection, Reel 6, LC.
- ⁸⁴ James Caldwell to Thomas Worthington, 19 February 1813, Worthington Papers, OHS Collection, Reel 8, LC.
- ⁸⁵ George W. Jackson to Thomas Worthington, 8 June 1813, Fort Meigs, Worthington Papers, OHS Collection, Reel 8, LC.
- ⁸⁶ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1: 336.
- ⁸⁷ “Correspondence of Major George Tod, War of 1812”, *Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts*, #19, 1873.
- ⁸⁸ Campbell to AG, 24 May 1813, Chillicothe, M-566, Roll 39, NARA.
- ⁸⁹ SW to Colonel Isaac Clark, 29 April 1813, M6, Roll 6, NARA.
- ⁹⁰ SW to Colonel McComb, 28 April 1813, M6, Roll 6, NARA.
- ⁹¹ SW to Morgan Lewis, War Department, 3 May 1813, M6 Roll 6, NARA.
- ⁹² “Rules and Regulations”, *The Army Register of the United States*, (Philadelphia, 1815), 64.
- ⁹³ War Department, General Order, 13 May 1813. *Fort Meigs and the War of 1812, Orderly Book of Cushing’s Company and Personal Diary of Captain Daniel Cushing*, Harlow Lindley, ed. (The Ohio Historical Society: Columbus, 1975), 39. Also, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, 1:409.
- ⁹⁴ Eustis to Ball, Roll 566, Roll 6. Also, Cass to SW, Upper Sandusky, 15 August 1813, United States Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA..
- ⁹⁵ Norton to Worthington, Chillicothe, 28 January 1814, Thomas Worthington Papers, OHS collection, LC.
- ⁹⁶ Paull to AG, 29 June 1814, Zanesville, M566, Roll 54, NARA.
- ⁹⁷ William B. Skelton, “High Army Leadership in the Era of the War of 1812: The Making and Remaking of the Officer Corps”, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 51, No. 2 (April, 1994), 268.
- ⁹⁸ Gardner to Tod, 5 May 1813, Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office, Washington, MSS 660, Collection of Papers: War of 1812, WRHS.
- ⁹⁹ Inspection return, Captain Joel Collins’ Company, Detroit, 13 October 1814, RG 94 Muster Rolls, Regular Army, Entry 53, NARA.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Niles Weekly Register*, Volume 8, 27 May 1815. In addition to viewing official reports, the board was instructed to consider each officer for retention based upon his length of service, his likelihood for a civilian career, and his financial status. If all things were equal, the board could use a lottery system to determine retention.
- ¹⁰¹ Tod to Smythe, Zanesville, 17 June 1812, *Western Reserve Historical Society Tracts*, No. 15, April 1873.
- ¹⁰² “Papers and Orderly Book of Brigadier General James Winchester”, *Michigan Historical Collection*, Vol. 31, (Lansing,: Robert Smith, 1902), 268.
<http://www.archive.org/stream/michiganhistoric31michuoft#page/n269/mode/2up>.
Accessed 16 November 2009.

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- ¹⁰³ Duncan McArthur Papers, August 1814, Book 14, LC.
- ¹⁰⁴ Samuel R. Brown, *Views on Lake Erie Comprising a Minute and Interesting Account of the Conflict on Lake Erie, Military Anecdotes, Abuses in the Army, Plan of a Military Settlement, View of the lake Coast from Buffalo to Detroit*. (Troy, NY: Adencourt, 1814), 48.
- ¹⁰⁵ Davis, "Memoirs of Col. John Cochran", 10, 12.
- ¹⁰⁶ *An Act, establishing Rules and Articles for the Government of the Armies of the United States; with Regulations of the War Department respecting the same*. (Albany: Webster and Skinner, 1812), 134-136
- ¹⁰⁷ *Boston Patriot*, April 29, 1812.
- ¹⁰⁸ Records of the Philadelphia Supply Agencies, Office of the Military Storekeeper, 4 April 1812, RG 92, Entry 2117, Sub entry 112, Box 4, Volume 1.
- ¹⁰⁹ IG to Winchester, 5 May 1812 and 22 June 1812, M565, Roll 4, NARA
- ¹¹⁰ Register of Clothing, Arms, and Ammunition Issued to Company of Captains Benjamin Watson and James Burbridge, 1814 – 1815 and Weekly Returns of Captain Wilson Elliott, 19th Infantry, July – August 1812, Recruiting at Trumbull, Warren County, RG 98 Records of the United States Army Commands, 1784-1821, Records of Units, Infantry 1789-1815, Entry 259, NARA.
- ¹¹¹ Callendar Irvine to Jon Langdon, Elisha Tracey, Samuel Russel, and Amansa Stetson, 16 and 25 August 1812, RG 92, CGP, Letters Sent, Entry 2117, Sub entry 35, NARA.
- ¹¹² Wells to Gwalthmey, 21 October 1812, Fort Winchester, Library of Congress Digital Collection. http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=icufaw&fileName=bmf0001/icufawbmf0001.db&recNum=0&itemLink=D?fawbib:21:/temp/~ammem_nOsW:: Accessed 15 February 2010.
- ¹¹³ General Orders, Fort Winchester, 27 October 1812, "Papers and Orderly Book of Brigadier General James Winchester".
- ¹¹⁴ SW to Wells, 24 October 1812, M6, Roll 6. NARA.
- ¹¹⁵ Irvine to William Duncan, 3 October 1812, Superintendent of Military Stores, Philadelphia, RG 92, Entry 2117, Subentry 35, Office of the Commissary General of Purchases, Letters Sent, Book 2 of 18.
- ¹¹⁶ SW to Wells, War Department, 24 October 1812, M6, Roll 6.
- ¹¹⁷ Harrison to SW, 28 December 1812, Upper Sandusky, in *Governor's Letters and Messages*, Vol. 2, 1812-1816, Logan Essary, ed. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1922), 250.
- ¹¹⁸ Irvine to Duncan, 6 Nov 181, RG 92, Entry 2117, sub entry 35, Commissary General of Purchases, Letters Sent, NARA.
- ¹¹⁹ Invoice of Packages sent to Col Miller, 5 February 1813, *Document Transcriptions of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, Fort Fayette Freight Book*. Richard C. Knopf, (Anthony Wayne Parkway Board. Columbus: Ohio State Museum, 1957)
- ¹²⁰ Irvine to SW, Letters Received, March 1813, M221, Roll 54, NARA.
- ¹²¹ Equipment receipt, Tod to Nearing, Chillicothe, 29 January 1813, George Tod Papers, MS 3203, WRHS.
- ¹²² Irvine to Miller 28 February 1813, RG 92, Series 1117, subseries 112, NARA.
- ¹²³ RG 92, Records of the Office of the Military Storekeeper, Receipted Invoices, Item 2117, NARA.

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- ¹²⁴ Descriptive List, 28 July 1813, *Captain Chunn's Order Book*, Duncan McArthur Papers, LC.
- ¹²⁵ Irvine to Cass, May 15, 1813, RG 92, Series 1117, subseries 112, NARA.
- ¹²⁶ Munson to Armstrong, Chillicothe, 29 December 1813, M221, Roll 5, NARA.
- ¹²⁷ Irvine to John Langdon 31 March 1813, RG 92, Entry 2117, Sub entry 35, NARA.
- ¹²⁸ Irvine to Elisha Tracy, 5 Feb 1813, RG 92, Entry 2117, Sub entry 35, NARA.
- ¹²⁹ "Regular Infantry Regiments of the Northwest Army, 1813", *Military Collector and Historian*, Plate No. 538, Vol. 35, No.1 (Spring, 1983)
- ¹³⁰ Collins to SW, Sandwich, 13 Dec 1813, M221, Roll 57, NARA
- ¹³¹ Tod to Smythe, Zanesville, 17 June 1812, *WRHS Tracts, No. 15*, April 1873.
- ¹³² Larwill Papers, 20 August 1813, Burton Historical Collections, Detroit Public Library.
- ¹³³ Elizabeth Duncan Putnam, "Life and Services of Joseph Duncan, Governor of Illinois, 1834-1838", *Illinois State Historical Society Tract, #26*, (1919), 109.
- ¹³⁴ Marvin to Larwill, 24 August 1812, Larwill Family Papers, Collection 154, Ohio Historical Society.
- ¹³⁵ Tod to SW, Newark, 14 November 1814, M221, Roll 57, NARA.
- ¹³⁶ Tod Papers, MS 3203, WRHS.
- ¹³⁷ General Order, Detroit, 19 October 1814, Book 18, McArthur Papers, LC.
- ¹³⁸ Irvine to Cass 21 September 1813 and Irvine to Tod, 30 March 1814, RG 92, CGP, Letters Sent, Entry 2117, Sub entry 35, NARA.
- ¹³⁹ Callendar Irvine to Robert Irwin, 6 September 1813, RG 92, CGP, Letters Sent, Entry 2117, Sub entry 35, NARA
- ¹⁴⁰ George Tod Papers, MSS 3203, Folder 4, WRHS.
- ¹⁴¹ McArthur to Worthington, Albany, 13 Feb 1814, C. H. Cramer, "Duncan McArthur, The Military Phase", *Ohio History*, Vol. 46, 142.
- ¹⁴² Langham to Worthington, 30 Jan 1813, *Document Transcriptions, Thomas Worthington and the War of 1812 in the Northwest*.
- ¹⁴³ McArthur to Paull, Duncan McArthur Papers, Book 16, LC.
- ¹⁴⁴ Callendar Irvine to Robert Irwin, 14 October 1814 and 31 December 1814, RG 92, Entry 217, Sub entry 35, NARA.
- ¹⁴⁵ Discharge Certificates and Miscellaneous Records Relating to the Discharge of Soldiers from the Regular Army, 1792-1815, 13th to 24th Infantry, M1856, Roll 2, NARA.
- ¹⁴⁶ Irvine to Taylor, 27 June 1813, RG 92, sub entry 35, Records of the Quarter Master General, Philadelphia Supply Agency, 1795-1858, CGP, Letters Sent, Book B, 3 of 181.
- ¹⁴⁷ Receipted Invoices, Office of the Military Storekeeper, 18 March and 6 April, 1814, RG 92, Entry 2117, sub entry 112, Book 20, NARA.
- ¹⁴⁸ On 20 May, the assistant commissary received, in addition to many other items, "104 sets gray jackets with sleeves" and six days later another large shipment of clothing including 2000 cap plates. RG 92, Entry 2117, sub entry 112, Book 20, NARA. Also, Callendar Irvine to Assistant Commissaries, 14 May 1814, RG 92, CGP, Letters Sent, Entry 2117, Sub entry 35. Irvine authorized assistant commissaries to issue clothing to regiments and parts of regiments upon the requisition of regimental and detachment commanders.
- ¹⁴⁹ Alfred Brunson, *A Western Pioneer*, (Cincinnati: Walden and Stowe, 1880), 134.

¹⁵⁰ General Orders, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, 8 March 1815, Collection of Papers; War of 1812, MSS 660, Folder 10, WRHS.

¹⁵¹ McArthur to Worthington, 9 June 1813, Zanesville, Worthington Papers, OHS, LC.

¹⁵² SW to Izard, 24 May 1814, *Official Correspondence with the Department of War Relative to the Military Operations of the American Army under the Command of Major General George Izard*. (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1816), 24-25.

http://www.archive.org/stream/cihm_49459#page/n37/mode/2up. Accessed 13 June 2009.

¹⁵³ Miller to Cushing, Chillicothe, 29 September 1812, M566, Roll 13, NARA.

¹⁵⁴ Regimental Return, July 1814, McArthur Papers, Book 13, LC.

¹⁵⁵ Brigade Order, 26 September 1813, Middle Sister Island, Orderly Book of a Rifle Detachment composed of several companies, November 1813 to May 1815, RG 92 Entry 52, NARA.

¹⁵⁶ Armstrong, 175 and Unknown Rifle Detachment Order Book

¹⁵⁷ SW to WHH, Boonesville, 3 November 1813, E.A. Cruikshank, *The Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara Frontier in the Year, 1813, Part IV, October – December, 1813*, (Welland: Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1907), 127

http://www.archive.org/stream/cihm_05288/cihm_05288_djvu.txt. Accessed 11 July 2009.

¹⁵⁸ Detachment orders, 24 November 1813, Sackett's Harbor, Orderly Book of a Rifle Detachment composed of several companies, November 1813 to May 1815, RG 92 Entry 52, NARA.

¹⁵⁹ *Niles Weekly Register*, Nov. 30, 1816, 216

¹⁶⁰ James McDonald to McArthur, Sackett's Harbor, 17 Feb 1814 and 28 November 1814, Book 18, McArthur Papers, LC.

¹⁶¹ George Tod to SW, Youngstown, 14 June 1814, M221 Roll 66.

¹⁶² General Orders, Adjutant Generals Office, Sacketts Harbor. MSS 660 Collection of Papers: War of 1812, Folder 8, WRHS.

¹⁶³ Cass to Armstrong, Detroit, 17 December 1813, M221, Roll 51, NARA.

¹⁶⁴ Cass to Armstrong, Detroit, 28 November 1813, M221, Roll 51, NARA; Essary, II, 1 January 1814, 616; McArthur to SW, 16 October 1814, Detroit, Book 18, McArthur Papers, LC.

¹⁶⁵ Cass to SW, Detroit, 28 November 1813, M221, Roll 51, NARA

¹⁶⁶ General Order, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Washington, 12 May 1814. Collection of Papers: War of 1812, MSS 660, Folder 8, WRHS.

¹⁶⁷ Handwritten notation in William A. Gordon, *Compilation of Register of the Army from 1815 to 1837*, (Washington: James C. Dunn, 1837) in National Archives library.

¹⁶⁸ William A. Gordon, *A Compilation of Registers of the United States from 1815 to 1837 to which is appended a list of officers on whom brevets were conferred by the President of the United States for gallant conduct or meritorious service during the war with Great Britain*. (Washington: James C. Dunn, 1837), 497.

¹⁶⁹ Trimble to McArthur, Buffalo, 18 July 1814, Book 13, McArthur Papers, LC.

¹⁷⁰ SW to McArthur, June 1814, M6, Roll 7, NARA.

¹⁷¹ McArthur to Miller, June 1814, McArthur Papers, Book 11, LC.

¹⁷² McArthur to Paull, June 1814, McArthur Papers, Book 12, LC.

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- ¹⁷³ McArthur to Brown, Erie, 31 July 1814, McArthur Papers, Book 13, LC.
- ¹⁷⁴ Trimble to McArthur, Fort Erie, 11 September 1814, McArthur Papers, Book 15, LC; Trimble to AG, Ft. Erie, 20 August 1814, M566, Roll 60, NARA.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Niles Weekly Register*, Volume VII, 18.
- ¹⁷⁶ Cass to Monroe, Detroit, 30 Sep 1814, Clarence E. Carter, ed. and comp. *Territorial Papers of the United States, Vol. 10, Territory of Michigan, 1805-1820*. (Washington: GPO, 1942)
- ¹⁷⁷ SW to Izard, 24 October 1814, Izard, *Official Correspondence*, 109.
- ¹⁷⁸ Izard to SW, Buffalo, 2 November 1814, Izard, *Official Correspondence*, 111.
- ¹⁷⁹ Izard to McArthur, 1 November 1814, Buffalo, Book 18, McArthur Papers, LC.
- ¹⁸⁰ SW to Izard, 9 November 1814, Izard, *Official Correspondence*, 121.
- ¹⁸¹ Miller to McArthur, Erie, 28 December, Book 20, McArthur Papers, LC.
- ¹⁸² Miller to Gardner, Black Rock, 30 October 1814, M566, Roll 28, NARA
- ¹⁸³ Miller to Gardner, Black Rock, 14 November 1814, M566, Roll 28, NARA.
- ¹⁸⁴ Miller to McArthur, Erie, 31 December 1814, Book 20, McArthur Papers, LC.
- ¹⁸⁵ Cary A. Trimble to SW, April 1815, M566, Roll 82, NARA.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ohio. *Executive Documents, Annual Reports Made to the Governor of the State of Ohio, 1862, Part 2, Adjutant General's Report*, (Columbus: Richard Nevins, 1863), 298.