



January 2018

# Tactical Implementation Of Strategic Guidance During The American Revolutionary War: Pedagogical Application For Classroom Use

Ryan Menath

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TACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIC GUIDANCE  
DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR:  
PEDAGOGICAL APPLICATION FOR CLASSROOM USE

by

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A Final Project

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of


Doctor of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

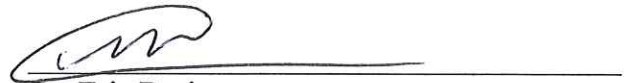
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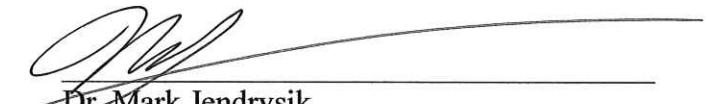
This Final Project, submitted by Ryan Menath in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

  
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Date April 25, 2018

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Ryan Menath  
20 April 2018

## Table of Contents

<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>I. INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Military Theorists and Teaching Models.....	4
Defining the Terms .....	9
Military Jargon in History .....	13
Levels of War Pedagogical Methodology .....	15
Chapter Layout .....	19
<b>II. A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION....</b>	<b>22</b>
The Sweeping Narrative.....	23
The Socio-Political and Economic Causes .....	26
The Military.....	31
Primary Sources.....	34
<b>III. PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES AND APPLICATIONS .....</b>	<b>39</b>
The Problem of Time .....	43
The Problem with “Critical Thinking” .....	44
Problems and Experiences.....	47
Gamification .....	55
<b>IV. COURSE DESCRIPTION .....</b>	<b>63</b>
Assumptions .....	65

Goals and Outcomes .....	67
Lessons and Readings .....	68
Class Timing and Materials .....	69
Block Guides and Lesson Plans .....	69
<b>V. BLOCK GUIDES AND LESSON PLANS .....</b>	<b>72</b>
Block Guides .....	72
Lesson Plans .....	74
<b>VI. BLOCK GUIDE: Part I -- Strategic Survival, 1775-1776.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>VII. BLOCK GUIDE: Part II — Operational Assessment, 1777-1778.....</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>VIII. BLOCK GUIDE: Part III -- Tactical Triumph, 1779-1783 .....</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>IX. CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>171</b>
Primary Sources .....	171
Monographs .....	174
Articles .....	180
<b>APPENDIX.....</b>	<b>188</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. The Threads of Continuity.....	7
2. The Spectrum of War.....	8
3. The Levels of War.....	10



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank the Department of History, the Graduate School, and my advisory committee, specifically the chair of my committee, Dr. Ty Reese, for all of the help and guidance on this project. A Doctor of Arts has an enormous amount of moving parts that are unique to the degree, and I am eternally grateful to my committee and the department for all of the help and guidance along the way. Dr. Reese was instrumental in keeping me focused on the specific areas of my research despite my tendency to try and incorporate all facets of academia. His ability to reign in my sometimes-outlandish ideas was exactly what I needed in an advisor. Thank you. My discussions in and out of the classroom with Dr. Hans Broedel, Dr. Eric Burin, and Dr. Albert Berger were crucial to the development of my research and teaching. I am indebted to them for their unceasing advice and direction.

I would also like to thank the Department of History at the Air Force Academy for sponsoring me to undertake this endeavor. Your trust in me is greatly appreciated. I look forward to helping future Air Force leaders understand the value and importance of history.

My parents instilled in me a thirst for knowledge and the realization that nothing is impossible with the right work ethic. Their continuing praise has always been a source of strength.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife and children. They have provided me with unceasing love and support throughout this entire process, without which I could not have completed the program. Their humor, wit, and energy inspired me throughout my time at UND, and I am humbled by their incredible patience and encouragement.

To my wife,  
Thank you for all of your love and support.  
I could not have done this without you.

## **ABSTRACT**

The United States Air Force Academy is a specialized institution of higher learning dedicated to producing military officers in the U.S. Air Force. Specialized graduation requirements, like a required Military History course, present the opportunity for the implementation of unique pedagogical methodologies. Further, as a technologically forward-looking branch of service designed to control air, space, and cyberspace in a contested environment, the Air Force places a premium on twenty- and twenty-first century military history. Unfortunately, pre-airpower American military history gets overshadowed compared to later conflicts to the point where cadets attending the Air Force Academy get relatively little exposure to the American Revolution. Yet the American Revolution is a well-defined war in terms of leadership and the delineation of strategy, campaigns, and battles. An in-depth examination of the Revolutionary War gives cadets the opportunity to more easily learn about warfare and military history while gaining historical research skills.

A study of American Revolution historiography shows a gap in work that transitions across the three levels of war. Further, a study of modern pedagogical methods highlights innovative techniques that foster an active learning, student-centered classroom environment instead of adhering to the traditional lecture. Combining military theory with pedagogy, one can create a classroom that incorporates gamification and teaches a military history of the American Revolutionary War while preparing cadets to enter the twenty-first-century Air Force.

This study concludes with a semester-length military history course on the American Revolutionary War that includes all lesson plans and a complete syllabus. It places a high premium on briefing skills, primary source material, and a deep understanding of the levels of war. In addition, the course elucidates the fact that each level of war influences the others, and that actions at the tactical level can have a drastic effect on the operational and strategic levels. Since cadets will graduate from the Air Force Academy and enter the military as officers at the tactical level of war, this course will directly apply to their immediate future.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

History revolves around human decisions and actions. To many, historical events are exciting, educational, and worthy of detailed examination. In a pedagogical setting, however, the same progression of events bore, alienate, and contribute to a disdain for history, especially among STEM-focused students.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, historical events inside the classroom must be subordinated to a framework, or system, that drives the educational model towards a complete understanding of history as applied to modern undergraduates. A well-designed and well-thought-out system in an educational setting will utilize events to promote an overarching framework of human history. Teaching through the levels of war is such a system. For students attending the national Service Academies, their knowledge of the levels of war will apply to their military careers, regardless of if they go to the Middle East, the Pacific, Africa, or anywhere else.

The U.S. Air Force Academy (USAFA) exists to educate and train knowledgeable officers of character for the U.S. Air Force. Directly after graduation, newly minted Second Lieutenants will be expected to perform at the tactical level throughout the range of international conflicts. Therefore, it is imperative that these future leaders understand the levels of war, their interaction with each other, and the individual role of the tactician in the implementation of

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<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, several articles found that the widely-believed poor student reception towards history comes from within academia rather than the students themselves. Most students think that history is useful and interesting, but administrations continue to dwindle the time allotted for historical studies. These articles do elucidate that bad secondary-school experiences with the discipline can taint student's thoughts toward history. Thus, it is important that teachers maintain engaging classrooms. See James B. M. Schick, "What Do Students Really Think of History?," *The History Teacher* 24, no. 3 (May 1991): 331. Joanna Moorhead, "Education: Why Teenagers Think History Is so Yesterday: Historians Are Worried about Falling Numbers of Students. Don't Young People See the Subject Has Soul?," *The Guardian* (London, August 4, 2009), sec. Guardian Education Pages.

strategy. Seeing these interactions come to fruition throughout history allows cadets to glimpse the triumphs and tragedies, the successes and failures, of their predecessors.

While debates rage throughout academia regarding the various methodologies and pedagogical techniques in the teaching of history, this paper will argue from a unique perspective: teaching a military history of the American Revolution at the U.S. Air Force Academy; a specialized, technologically forward-looking, national Service Academy where students enter intending to graduate and earn an officer's commission in the U.S. Air Force. This paper is not intended to criticize USAFA or its history department. Military History is taught well at the Air Force Academy – it is a required course – but the focus is so heavily tilted towards the post-heavier-than-air flight era that useful modern lessons from *pre*-airpower American Military History get lost. Except for those actively seeking pre-twentieth century American Military History, most cadets at USAFA will not examine the American Revolution in any detail. A Colonial Warfare class comes the closest, but it spans the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, leaving minimal time to dissect a pivotal conflict in American Military History.<sup>2</sup>

The Department of History does offer recurring, semester-length, dedicated courses of nineteenth and twentieth-century major American wars, including the Civil War, World War I, World War II, Korea and Vietnam. There is not, however, a course that revolves around the American Revolution. At best, cadets will spend *minimal* time discussing the military aspects of the creation of the United States in either a survey class or the Colonial Warfare class, yet the Revolution presented unique leadership problems across the levels of war that can help them in their Air Force careers. Problems involving communication, logistics, propaganda, and morale

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<sup>2</sup> Dean of the Faculty. "Curriculum Handbook," 2017. <https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/CHB.pdf>; 291-299.

are still common today, yet commanders during the American Revolution had to solve them in a pre-industrialized country not dissimilar from the remote, third-world developing nations that the military operates in today.

The counter-arguments against pre-nineteenth century Military History courses still revolve around technology. Satellite communications, airstrike and airlift capabilities, and instant media availability convince skeptics that pre-industrialized problems will not occur in the modern military. Unfortunately, “third-world” countries often do not have the infrastructure required to support “first-world” militaries. Weather and terrain can render aircraft and satellite communications non-operational. For a forward-deployed unit, it would not be unreasonable for them to lose most, if not all, of the technologies that detractors claim would never fail. Except for high-powered rifles, a unit may need to operate in a similar fashion to small units during the American Revolution. Doug Stanton, in his work *12 Strong* (originally published as *Horse Soldiers*), provided numerous examples of the technological failures that hindered the initial invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. In one instance, Stanton recorded that the Special Forces team’s insertion failed twice in a row because the combat weather forecasters relied too heavily on technology.<sup>3</sup>

Further, George Washington’s military strategies often mirror modern insurgencies. The control and pacification of citizens in a foreign environment, coupled with the need to traverse large swaths of unfamiliar territory safely presented massive difficulties for the British in the eighteenth century. Washington’s strategic ability to exploit those difficulties is eerily similar to

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<sup>3</sup> Doug Stanton, *12 Strong: The Declassified True Story of the Horse Soldiers*, Kindle Edition. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009), 68.

that deployed by the leaders of modern insurgencies, as evidenced by the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>4</sup>

In that vein, this paper will argue that there is a way to teach the American Revolutionary War as a pre-airpower military history course in a STEM-focused environment and make it relevant for twenty-first century military officer-candidates. Using the levels of war, primary sources, and gamification, a USAFA History professor can create an engaging, practical course that meets institutional outcomes while preparing cadets for their future military careers in a technologically forward-looking service.<sup>5</sup> History 999, “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance During the American Revolutionary War,” is such a course.

## **Military Theorists and Teaching Models**

The Air Force Academy does a remarkable job discussing the prominent military theorists throughout history. The Academy's “American Way of War,” “History of Military Thought and Strategy,” and “Great Americans” courses all touch on the works of prominent theorists. Unfortunately, the military theorists most often studied at Service Academies blur the line between history and social science by seeking constants throughout history. If there are constants, as they argued, then the military framework must grab ahold of those constants and expose them to the forefront of military education.

Most prominent military theorists, like Antione de Jomini, Carl von Clausewitz, Alfred Thayer Mahan, and Giulio Douhet, argued that there are indeed constant, universal, and eternal principles inherent in the history of warfare. For example, Jomini was formulaic. To him, mass

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<sup>4</sup> Peter R. Mansoor and David Petraeus, *Surge: My Journey with General David Petraeus and the Remaking of the Iraq War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013). Mansoor and Petraeus argue for the importance of historical knowledge in military strategy. Mansoor chronicles Petraeus’s ability to fight the Iraqi insurgency by utilizing the cultural foundation of the Iraqi people instead of fighting against it.

<sup>5</sup> Gamification is addressed in Chapter III.



and maneuver won the day as he sought decisive points in war.<sup>6</sup> Clausewitz espoused a strategic trinity comprised of the people, the military, and the government that all coalesced to seek a political end.<sup>7</sup> Mahan sought the decisive climactic naval battle that gave the victor unfettered economic access to the sea.<sup>8</sup> Douhet believed that strategic bombing of civilians would end war quicker than traditional means.<sup>9</sup> All thought they had found the universal principle that would lead to victory, and all cited history to prove their case. While each developed their theories within the specific historical context of their era, they believed that their strategies would endure. For instance, Alfred Thayer Mahan specifically said, “from time to time the superstructure of tactics has to be altered or wholly torn down; but the old foundations of strategy so far remain, as though laid upon a rock.”<sup>10</sup> In other words, according to Mahan, tactics change in relation to technology, but strategy does not.

Some modern scholars, such as Andrew Bacevich, argue that technology has flipped the levels of war. They claim that technological advancement has placed the highest premium on the tactical level to showcase the benefits of expensive new equipment. The need to show off new technology now drives strategy. To prove his assertion, Bacevich quotes several American strategic commanders that claim Clausewitz’s “fog and friction” is a thing of the past thanks to the perceived U.S. monopoly on technology.<sup>11</sup> If the belief that technological tactical superiority

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<sup>6</sup> Antoine Henri Jomini, *The Art of War* (Radford, VA: Wilder Publications, 2008), 64-65. Jomini included all capital cities, communication centers, and seats of government as strategic points. Viewed through that lens, the British strategy in the American War of Independence was Jominian as they captured both New York and Philadelphia.

<sup>7</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Peter Paret, trans. Michael Eliot Howard, First paperback printing. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 89.

<sup>8</sup> A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (New York: Dover Publications, 1987), 82.

<sup>9</sup> Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air*, trans. Dino Ferrari (New York: Coward-McCann, 1942), 194-195.

<sup>10</sup> Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, 88.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*, 2nd Updated edition. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1, 21-22.

can eclipse strategic principles is pervasive among military members, as Bacevich argues, then future Air Force officers must regain the idea that strategy is paramount.

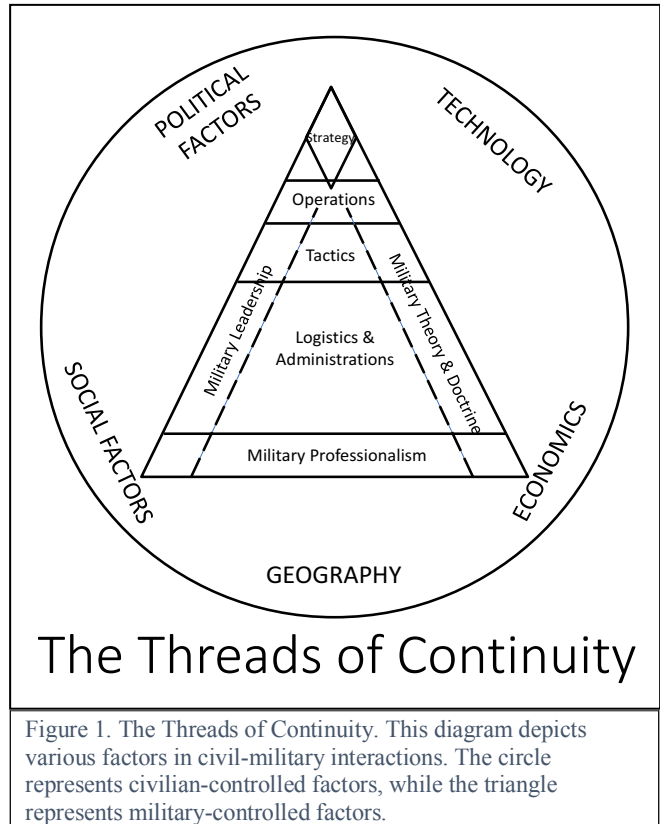
The fact that Sun Tzu, Jomini, Clausewitz, Mahan, Corbett, Douhet, Mitchell, and other high-profile military theorists are so widely read and studied in the twenty-first century suggests that their works strike a chord of truth in modern combat. The importance of strategy formed the basis of their theses; thus, if the theorists were correct and there are strategic constants in warfare, then there must be universal, eternal principles inherent in *teaching* military history. Every traditional American military conflict has experienced three levels of war.<sup>12</sup> By separating military history into the strategic, operational, and tactical, one can trace the strategic guidance through the operational and tactical actions to see how strategic direction was implemented on the battlefield. The results then flow backwards from the tactical to the strategic level, altering the course of the war. A complete understanding of this process can apply to any conflict in American history. Further, war is human despite technological advancement; victory often depends of the tactical implementation of strategic guidance. This project utilizes the American Revolution as the primary case study to highlight the importance of adhering to this framework for teaching military history.

It is true that there are an abundance of effective ways to teach American Military History. Each individual professor has a method that works for them, and this does not suggest that other teaching styles are wrong. However, the framework presented here has three main characteristics that, if used collectively, greatly benefit the student. Teaching the levels of war offer simplicity, continuity, and application.

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<sup>12</sup> In this sense, “conflict” is defined as a struggle involving a traditional state military that contains a hierarchical chain of command and is subservient to a higher political power. In the American Revolution, the Continental Army fit the mold as it incorporated a rank structure yet allowed the Congressional Congress to impart a political strategy. The British Military used a similar structure. Thus, for the purpose of this paper, “conflict” occurred whenever a hierarchical state military was used to achieve a political end.

First, presenting Strategy, Operations, and Tactics as major, overarching themes is simplistic. Any student can break down their area of focus into three parts. Three levels of war are especially straightforward compared to many other complicated and confusing strategies. For example, some professors use the Threads of Continuity as a visual guide. While effective when fully understood, it is dense and difficult to comprehend, necessitating continual



explanation throughout the semester. Students spend an inordinate amount of time trying to memorize a diagram rather than learning the material. Other instructors prefer the DIME model of the instruments of national power (DIME stands for Diplomacy, Information, Military, and Economics). The DIME model is easier to understand than the Threads of Continuity, but it is also incredibly wide-ranging, covering every aspect of a state's internal and external policy. There is simply not enough time in a single semester to discuss all the Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic aspects of American warfare without overloading the students. The DIME model is simply too broad.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> In this instance, the DIME model is too broad for an undergraduate military history course centered on the American Revolution. The integration of national policy within the diplomatic, informational, military, and economic realms is extremely important, but simply too significant to segregate them all under a single military history class like H999.

Teaching through the Spectrum of War, or the Limited to Total War scale, is another popular method. While important to understand, the Spectrum is too subjective for most undergraduate classes to apply to specific historical events. It works for overall conflicts but gets lost when one discovers that the Spectrum is largely idiosyncratic and can differ from person to person. Thus, the levels of war provide the best combination of simplicity and specificity as a useful classroom method.

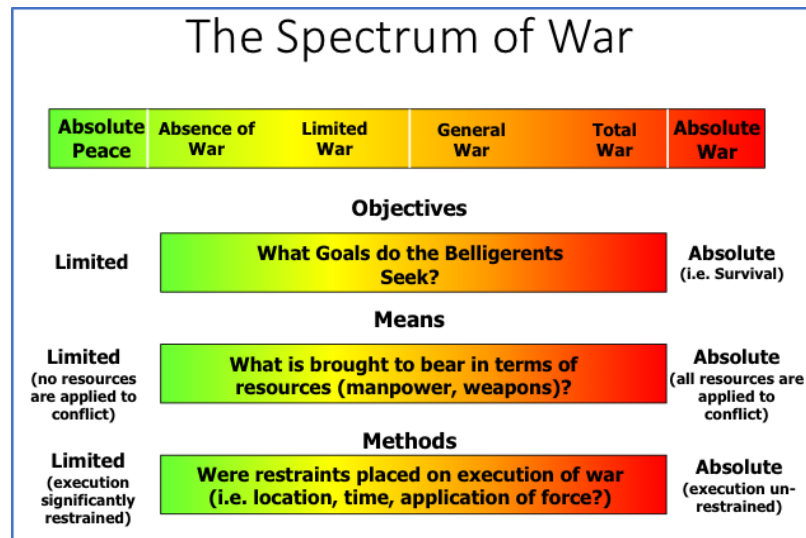


Figure 2. The Spectrum of War. This diagram depicts the entire range of state conflict.

Second, the levels of war framework offers continuity throughout America military history. Every major war can be separated into the strategic, the operational, and the tactical. Thus, once a student grasps these concepts, they can understand them throughout the totality of American military history. The same concepts used to examine the American Revolution can be used to study World War II, or the Vietnam war, or Afghanistan.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> The critique surrounding Vietnam and Afghanistan is the notion that the U.S. had no clear strategy. The argument is valid and can provide an example of how the levels of war can get muddled depending on a multitude of political, diplomatic, economic, societal and military factors. Both wars had clear tactical engagements and operational movements, but no clear strategic national objective. Thus, the evaluation turns to the determination of a strategy instead of an analysis of the strategy itself. Thankfully, the American Revolution had the clearly defined strategic goal of independence.

## Defining the Terms

To introduce these concepts, students and faculty must have a solid grasp of the terms. The levels of war have specific definitions but are broad enough to be adaptable. Modern understanding of the three levels of warfare did not fully emerge until the nineteenth century.<sup>15</sup> Even then they were not adequately studied until Clausewitz and Jomini had been prominently examined within professional military education.<sup>16</sup> While strategy and tactics were understood and employed since the sixteenth-century beginning with the Military Revolution in Europe, the terms were often (and still are) confused and used interchangeably. It is crucial that these terms be clearly defined, especially in any type of course where the military is examined. Further, they emphatically cannot be used interchangeably. There is no such thing as “tactical strategy” or “strategic tactics.” In military and political circles, the three levels of war are fundamentally separate aspects of power.

The difficulty for the modern history professor is how the levels of war should be defined in class. From a purely historical perspective, the definitions of strategy and tactics have evolved since the Military Revolution in Europe that occurred between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Further, the operational level has emerged as a distinct and separate level of war which did not occur until the twentieth century (or some would argue the latter half of the long nineteenth). In either case, the levels of war became ingrained into the American military parlance when West Point introduced the writings of Antoine de Jomini and focused on his

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<sup>15</sup> Eighteenth-century strategic military education did not fully exist as we know it today. Instead, it relied on onsite training and experience rather than classroom study, wargaming, or theoretical application. Drill and discipline manuals were prominent, but books on strategic studies were much more difficult to acquire. See Stuart Reid, *Redcoat Officer: 1740-1815* (Oxford, U.K.: Osprey Publishing, 2002). Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin Steuben, ed., *Baron von Steuben's Revolutionary War Drill Manual: A Facsimile Reprint of the 1794 Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1985). Sandra L. Powers, “Studying the Art of War: Military Books Known to American Officers and Their French Counterparts during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century,” *The Journal of Military History* 70, no. 3 (July 2006): 781–814. Oliver L. Spaulding, “The Military Studies of George Washington,” *The American Historical Review* 29, no. 4 (July 1924): 675–680.

scientific theories of warfare. When Carl von Clausewitz’s *On War* became the *de facto* military guide in the twentieth century, the levels of war became solidly defined and ingrained into military education.<sup>17</sup>

This poses a challenge to the twenty-first century educator in that, as historians, we aim to be true to the period in which the author wrote and was understood; unfortunately, the slightly different definitions of the eighteenth century create unnecessary confusion in undergraduates who are seeking to comprehend the bigger picture without fixating on semantics.



Figure 3. The Levels of War. This is a diagram of the three levels of war and the actions that take place within them.

Therefore, with the acknowledgment that Clausewitz is widely considered to be the first to codify the definitions of strategy and tactics, this paper will use the modern definitions as outlined in the Department of Defense’s Joint Publication (JP) 1-02 for two reasons. First, these definitions are taught throughout the United States military’s commissioning sources and are therefore universally understood amongst today’s American officers. While the general population at large does not follow the DoD definitions, all cadets at the Air Force Academy will adhere to JP 1-02. Second, using modern definitions allows students and faculty to compare and

<sup>17</sup> In his introductory essay to *On War*, Michael Howard points out that there is little evidence of exactly when Clausewitz became widely studied in American Service Academies, elucidating that Jomini had a near monopoly on military thought in the early twentieth century. Howard did point out, however, that Clausewitzian definitions had entered the U.S. Army Field Service Regulations in 1923. While he lists examples of military leadership using Clausewitzian principles during World War II, Howard elucidates that *On War* was widely studied by the start of the Korean War in 1950. See Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Peter Paret, trans. Michael Eliot Howard, First paperback printing. (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989), 42.

contrast between wars without deviating to discuss the evolution of the terminology. In an undergraduate course, such deviations break the continual narrative of the class, creating a major pedagogical problem with anachronistic terminology. Thus, using modern terms will create the conditions for wider discussion and debate. The following definitions are listed in the 2017 Department of Defense Joint Publication 1-02 referenced by all branches of the military:

**Strategy:** “A prudent idea or set of ideas for employing the instruments of national power in a synchronized and integrated fashion to achieve theater, national, and/or multinational objectives.” (JP 1-02, JP 3-0)

**Strategic level of war:** “The level of war at which a nation, often as a member of a group of nations, determines national or multinational (alliance or coalition) strategic security objectives and guidance, then develops and uses national resources to achieve those objectives.” (JP 1-02, JP 3-0)

**Operational level of war:** “The level of war at which campaigns and major operations are planned, conducted, and sustained to achieve strategic objectives within theaters or other operational areas.” (JP 1-02, JP 3-0)

**Tactical level of war:** “The level of war at which battles and engagements are planned and executed to achieve military objectives assigned to tactical units or task forces.” (JP 1-02, JP 3-0)<sup>18</sup>

In other words, strategy is the big picture – the overall game plan designed to win the war and achieve the political aims. Without strategy, everything else is aimless. Campaigns conflict, objectives get muddled, commanders disagree, and the military spends its time arguing internally rather than executing an external strategy. Battles may still be won at the tactical level, but without strategy, the tactical victories do not contribute to a greater overarching plan. Of the three, strategy is the most important level of war.

The operational level is the most often confused of the three. In simplistic terms, the operational level is concerned with carrying out the strategic aims on a large scale – how the

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<sup>18</sup> “DOD Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms (DOD Dictionary),” Joint Publication 1-02, August 2017, <http://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/dictionary.pdf>. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, “Joint Publication 3-0: Joint Operations” (Department of Defense, 17 January 2017), [http://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp3\\_0\\_20170117.pdf](http://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/pubs/jp3_0_20170117.pdf).

armies maneuver on campaigns to set up the tactical engagements that will accomplish strategic goals. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe, one goal was that an army could campaign effectively, without a tactical engagement, and emerge opposite an enemy in a massive show of force. This show of force, it was hoped, would convince the enemy that their numbers were inferior and seek terms for peace.<sup>19</sup> Put another way, maneuvering an army operationally to achieve strategic aims did not necessarily precipitate a tactical engagement.

The tactical level is where the physical fighting occurred. It is where the belligerents employed their technologies of violence, and where a decisive battle could potentially knock an enemy out of the game, leading to a political and diplomatic position of strength for the leaders from which to bargain. Effective strategies, and their strategists, needed tactical (and sometimes operational) victories.<sup>20</sup> Washington needed Bemis Heights and Freeman's Farm during the Saratoga campaign; Lincoln needed Antietam; Eisenhower needed Omaha Beach during the Normandy invasion. At the same time, tactical—or even operational—losses did not negate a strong strategic vision. The insurgent Americans retreated from Lexington and Bunker Hill. They ran again in New York, and again outside of Philadelphia. Nathanael Greene retreated from every tactical engagement in the South, yet historians credit him with driving Lord Cornwallis to

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<sup>19</sup> Much of traditional European warfare revolved around the tactical and operational size of the military in the field. War plans were built around numbers; use a larger force to attack a smaller force. The thought was if a much larger force appeared opposite a small force, the leadership would decide that it would not be economically feasible to replace their losses *even if* they performed well in battle. The social-economic ramifications of European warfare is a large part of the "Military Revolution Debate" between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. For more on the Military Revolution, see Clifford J. Rogers, ed., *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); or Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500-1800*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>20</sup> The definition of "victory" is inconsistent throughout history, especially at the tactical level. Traditionally, the forces that retreat "lose," whereas those that hold or take ground "win," though this is not always the case. Guilford Courthouse is widely considered to be an American victory because of the casualties inflicted upon the British. On the other hand, the Redcoats took the ground when the Americans retreated, justifying their claim of victory. Thus, it would be inappropriate to level a consistent definition of victory on all tactical, operational, and strategic engagements. Instead, the cadets should assess each victory or defeat on a case by case basis throughout their studies.



Yorktown — his place of surrender and the effective termination of hostilities in the American Revolution.<sup>21</sup> Thus, while tactical victories are important, it is the strategy that is crucial. A tactical loss supporting an overarching strategic goal is vastly better than the opposite.<sup>22</sup> As one modern General put it, the U.S. can lose a tactical skirmish in Afghanistan or Iraq and survive, but America cannot survive a strategic loss to a Russia or a China.

## **Military Jargon in History**

Another major problem that educators, specifically military historians, must confront is the manner in which the military theorist's models are retroactively applied to previous conflicts, including the American Revolution. As the "father of the modern military," Clausewitz formed the bedrock for twenty-first century strategy, yet he and Jomini did not write until after the American Revolution. Clausewitz's *On War* was originally published in 1832 but was not translated into English until 1874. Even then, his work remained largely unknown outside of Europe. The first American edition did not appear until 1943.<sup>23</sup> Jomini did not publish his seminal work *The Art of War* until 1862, though his work was immediately translated into English and incorporated in the West Point syllabus.<sup>24</sup> Obviously, no one who fought in the American Revolution lived to read Jomini or Clausewitz, much less employ any of their military lessons. The pedagogical reasoning behind using their models is not to promote anachronisms, but rather to use widely understood writings as a basis for an argument regarding the conduct of American warfare since the mid-eighteenth century. Again, the goal is not to disregard historical

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<sup>21</sup> John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: Wiley, 1997), 359.

<sup>22</sup> There are several other articles that offer explanations of the three levels of war. One of the most straightforward is Martin Dunn, "Levels of War: Just a Set of Labels?," *Research and Analysis: Newsletter of the Directorate of Army Research and Analysis, DARA is now LWSC*. 10 (October 1996): 1–5.

<sup>23</sup> Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Peter Paret, trans. Michael Eliot Howard, First paperback printing. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), xi.

<sup>24</sup> Antoine Henri Jomini, *The Art of War* (Radford, VA: Wilder Publications, 2008), 6.

methods, but rather to teach American military history in a digestible and relevant manner to twenty-first century students. With that understanding, one can use these classic military theorists to examine the American Revolution.

The American Revolution is relatively easy to define using military terms and principles compared to later U.S. conflicts. Strategic guidance was limited exclusively to George Washington because there was no federal government. The Continental Congress did have input, but otherwise Washington had near total control over American strategy. Future American wars only got more complex as the various Presidents attempted to work in conjunction with, or contrary to, the Generals who set military strategy as well as an increasingly intrusive Congress. The legislative branch of government asserted more and more control over military matters as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries progressed, adding extra layers to the strategic framework.

Likewise, the operational and tactical levels in the American Revolution were comparatively straight-forward. The major campaigns were well-defined, and, with the exception of *la petit guerre* that occurred around the edges of the major areas of operation, the campaigns rarely overlapped. Battles were also defined and limited to set engagements (again, with the exception of the continual skirmishing in the back-country between Indians, colonists, foraging parties, and riflemen). For example, the Saratoga campaign highlights the operational level, while the Battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights showcase the tactical. The overarching British strategic guidance was to separate the colonies along the Hudson River/Lake Champlain corridor. The strategic result of the tactical and operational level outcomes was the fact that France officially entered the war against Britain.

Pedagogically, the relative straightforwardness of the American Revolution allows an instructor to build a framework around the three levels of war and highlight the interaction

between them. Once established, the same framework provides guidance throughout American military history. Yet without a fundamental understanding of how the levels of war operate both independently and collectively, as well as how the leadership at each level corresponds and reacts to the established guidance, students miss out on the intricacies of historical national power. Thus, the framework that flows from the Revolution is applicable to all other American wars in a Military History course. In other words, the American Revolution offers a greater opportunity to separate the tactical from the operational and the operational from the strategic due to the relatively small size of the American forces compared to more recent conflicts.

Further, the claim that there are universal tenets to military history justifies the incorporation of various prominent military theorists who state that there are eternal principles of war into the classroom. Scholars like Jomini, Clausewitz, Mahan, Corbett, Douhet, and Mitchell provide a bridge for examining the economic, socio-political, and cultural aspects of war. Though such an examination is not the focus of this work, it does open the door for multi-disciplinary military discussions to take place within academic classrooms at Service Academies.

Therefore, this paper seeks to establish a fundamental framework useful for cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy through the implementation of a dedicated semester-long course on the American Revolution. Using primary sources, cadets will examine the three levels of war in a chronological format while assessing the interaction between strategy, operations, and tactics.

### **Levels of War Pedagogical Methodology**

This paper defines the levels of war pedagogical methodology as a three-step process. First, the professor must clearly define and delineate between the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war. The students must understand the three levels and their boundaries. Second, the instructor needs to highlight the interaction between the three; that is, he/she must

show how the strategy provides guidance to the operational, and how the operational can dictate the situation for the tactical. The same is true in reverse. The Professor should display how the actions at the tactical level necessitate operational and strategic flexibility. Finally, the pedagogical methodology requires placing students in simulated contextual situations across the three levels of war.

In short, the levels of war pedagogical methodology seeks to get students to view American military history through the lens of the strategic, operational, and tactical levels and understand that the actions at one level impact the others. Once a student understands the levels and their interaction, they can more easily understand historical context and critically think about historical causation. Further, cadets at Service Academies can analyze leadership styles across various levels of war while placing themselves in similar simulated situations to experience, on some small level, the decisions that went in to certain military engagements. It has the added benefit of creating an engaging, student-centered, active-learning environment that promotes the growth of student metacognition.

To provide more detail, this examination of the American Revolution will focus on George Washington at the Strategic level of war, Nathanael Greene at the Operational level of war, and Daniel Morgan at the Tactical level of war.

First, Washington was a terrible tactician, mediocre at the operational level, but a master strategist.<sup>25</sup> To argue this assertion, one only needs to view the New York campaign where Washington attempted to fight British General Sir William Howe in traditional European

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<sup>25</sup> Washington did have tactical victories, and the assertion that he was a poor tactician is not intended to discount the victories that he achieved, such as Trenton and Princeton. At the same time, scholars like Robert Middlekauff and David Hackett Fischer allude to a myriad of other factors that led to those victories. While both authors give Washington credit, Nathanael Greene, Henry Knox, and Alexander Hamilton also receive accolades for their tactical acumen. Nonetheless, cadets will discuss both battles in detail during H999 and judge how they fit into the overall war. See Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763 - 1789*, Rev. and expanded ed., The Oxford History of the United States C. Vann Woodward, general ed.; Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007), 366; David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006); 235.

warfare. Only Howe's reluctance to push his victory and eradicate Washington's retreating and battered force allowed the Continental Army to survive. Three times Washington proved his ineptitude at the tactical level. Some may argue that it was not George Washington who performed poorly, but rather the barely-trained and poorly disciplined American troops. Nonetheless, one of the prominent jobs of a tactical leader is to assess the ability of the soldiers. Using these simple criteria, Washington failed. If the argument stands that the American troops were unequal to the British in open combat, then Washington clearly did not know the tactical ability of his own men. In any case, the New York campaign substantiated how unskilled Washington was at the tactical level. Thankfully, he made up for those failures with successes at the strategic level.

Most historians believe that one of Washington's strongest attributes was his ability to learn and adapt. After New York, he switched to a Fabian strategy often referred to as the Strategic Defensive, a posture that required the Army to resist traditional engagements with the British and fight smaller battles under more advantageous conditions. Yet again, however, Washington allowed himself to fall prey to poor tactical decision-making. When he engaged Howe at Brandywine creek, Washington committed tactical blunders that nearly cost him his army.<sup>26</sup> His tactical ability had not improved, yet his ability to maneuver the Continental Army at the operational level saved the American cause. Unfortunately, each time he showed success at the operational level, it was because of a tactical failure and his campaigns became retreats.

Second, Greene was also a terrible tactician, mediocre at the strategic level, but was brilliant at the operational level.<sup>27</sup> Tactically, he retreated from every battle he fought. At the

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<sup>26</sup> Nathaniel Philbrick, *Valiant Ambition: George Washington, Benedict Arnold, and the Fate of the American Revolution* (New York: Viking, 2016), 139.

<sup>27</sup> Many scholars argue that Greene operated as a guerrilla commander and therefore his "retreats" were in line with common aspects of guerrilla warfare. While the argument has merit, Greene attempted to win each set-

same time, he was able to exact high casualty counts from the British, denoting he understood that the American strategy revolved around maintaining a functional military. By allowing the British to gain Pyrrhic victories, Greene fatally compromised their ability to maintain a credible operational threat without reinforcements or resupply. The most famous example of this was during the Southern Campaign of 1779-1781 where he led Cornwallis on an operational goose chase through the Carolinas, slowly eroding his manpower in the process and staying just enough out of reach to make the British believe they could catch up and force a decisive battle. When Greene, not Cornwallis, did decide to engage tactically at Guilford Courthouse, the result was a “victorious” yet dilapidated British force that retreated to the coast. Greene used his operational prowess to erode Cornwallis’s army.

Finally, there is little evidence that Daniel Morgan ever thought strategically, and he was only marginal at the operational level. Yet he proved to be the best tactician in the American Revolution.<sup>28</sup> His actions throughout the war, from the assault on Quebec in 1775, to the tactical engagements during Saratoga campaign, to George Washington’s reliance on him to “annoy” the British, and finally to his tactical victory over the feared Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens, proved Morgan to be a master at the tactical level of war. His results often forced both belligerents to reconsider their strategic direction.

Thus, H999 “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War” will focus on how the various commanders utilized the tools at their disposal to influence their respective level of war. In turn, the course will examine how each

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piece tactical engagement in traditional fashion. He retreated only when, in his view, victory was no longer possible. Cadets enrolled in H999 will discuss and debate Greene’s merits as a tactical, operational, and strategic commander.

<sup>28</sup> John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: Wiley, 1997), 316.

action impacted the other levels of war, creating a symbiotic relationship as the Continental Army attempted to defeat the British during the Revolutionary War and gain independence.

## **Chapter Layout**

This particular work is primarily designed as an American military history course examining the Revolutionary War for the Air Force Academy's Department of History. The following chapters are therefore a combination of historiography, pedagogy, and usable lesson plans. In that regard, the rest of this document is broken down as follows:

Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the historiography of the American Revolution. This paper is a primer on an American Revolution undergraduate course, so the historiography will remain short and focus more on military history rather than on socio-culture, political, diplomatic, or economic historiographical areas and examine the field with that specific mindset.

Chapter 2 will introduce the need for a hierarchical pedagogical approach in higher education, arguing that it is an effective method for fostering complex thinking across various sub-fields of history, such as social, political, diplomatic, economic, or military history. This chapter will illuminate three major areas in modern academia. First, it will elucidate several growing problems in modern academia, among them the divergence between STEM and humanities, the lack of student engagement, and the overuse of the ill-defined term "critical thinking." Next, it will show how the levels of war pedagogical methodology are useful in highlighting the relevant nature of the humanities in a STEM-centric environment. In the process, students become more engaged in class because they see how the subject will impact their immediate future. Finally, several common pedagogical examples will showcase how professors can incorporate the levels of war into their military history classrooms.

Chapters 3 through 6 will detail the American Revolution as a semester length course and emphasize the viability and feasibility of using the levels of war to teach a class. Each chapter will also highlight various methods in which to engage students throughout the semester. In addition to a syllabus, various assignments, readings, in-class exercises, and lesson examples, these chapters will allow a professor to implement a primary-source driven military history course on the Revolutionary War. These chapters mark a sharp contrast from the narrative of the first two chapters because they move to a bullet-point format designed for in-class use. The goal is for an instructor to be able to print off the specific lesson plan and use it during class preparation.

Specifically, Chapter 3 will provide the overview and act as an introduction to the Revolutionary War military history course. It will detail the goals, outcomes, and objectives as well as explain the assumptions inherent in developing a class for Air Force Academy cadets. Chapter 3 also contains a reference guide for the following three chapters, explaining how the Block Guides and Lesson Plans are set up in a straight-forward, usable manner.

The course itself will be divided into three blocks of instruction, which will become Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Each one begins with a Block Guide, which explains the primary goals and objectives for that particular set of lessons. Following that, the chapter contains daily lesson plans, written in bullet format, that allow the instructor to read, print, and take to class as note-takers and preparation guides. Everything from class timing, to homework assignments, to specific cadet and instructor roles are included in the lesson plans. Ultimately, these three chapters guide the professor through the course, reducing the workload throughout the semester.

Comprehensively, the simplicity, continuity, and application of H999 “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War” will not only



develop historical knowledge but will increase cadet's critical and complex thinking abilities while cultivating their understanding of military planning across the levels of war. At the end of the semester, the students will have examined primary source material across the strategic, operational, and tactical levels while exercising clear communication skills. They will have debated the political, diplomatic, economic, military, and socio-cultural interactions that led to the American Revolution and carried it through to a successful conclusion. In doing so, H999 will challenge their biases and assumptions as they relate to the war. In an active-learning, flipped-classroom, gamified semester, cadets will graduate with a greater historical appreciation for the interactions of culture and the warrior ethos inherent in American society. Therefore, after successfully completing H999, cadets at the Air Force Academy will be more prepared to engage with national security issues in the twenty-first century as officers in the United States Air Force.

## CHAPTER II

### A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The winter of 1779-1780 was brutal in its severity, or so we are told. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of November, John Adams wrote that “the gale continues. Nothing else remarkable.”<sup>29</sup> Simultaneously, George Washington penned letters to his opposing British Generals about the virtues and vices of warfare, extolling the American cause while vilifying the claims and actions of the Crown.<sup>30</sup> He did not mention his troops nor the harsh weather. Yet that same winter, Private Joseph Martin remarked that the season “was very stormy, a good deal of snow fell, and in such weather it was a mere chance if we got any thing at all to eat. Our condition, at length, became insupportable.”<sup>31</sup> Three men, from three vastly different backgrounds, wrote three separate primary accounts of the Revolutionary winter of ’79-’80. John Adams’s primary concern was diplomatic and political. George Washington concerned himself with the strategic level of military endeavors. Private Martin was cold and hungry.

Similarly, much like Adams, Washington, and Martin, historians have focused on distinct aspects of the Revolutionary War from differing perspectives. Traditionally, scholars have focused on the Founding Fathers and their ability to craft a new nation out of the splintered

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<sup>29</sup> “Friday 19th,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, last modified November 26, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/03-01-02-0001-0001-0008>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary of John Quincy Adams, vol. 1, *November 1779–March 1786*, ed. Robert J. Taylor and Marc Friedlaender. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981, p. 3.]

<sup>30</sup> “From George Washington to Major General Robert Howe, 20 November 1779,” *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 23, *22 October–31 December 1779*, ed. William M. Ferraro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015, pp. 373–377.

“From George Washington to General Henry Clinton, 20 November 1779,” *Ibid*, p. 364.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph Plumb Martin, *A Narrative of a Revolutionary Soldier: Some of the Adventures, Dangers, and Sufferings of Joseph Plumb Martin* (New York: Signet Classics, 2001), 130.

British colonies. This “Great Man” approach detailed the political, economic, military, and diplomatic roles of American leaders, nearly all of whom were wealthy landowners. Even traditional military history revolved around troop movements and set-piece battles, but not the troops themselves. It was not until the mid-twentieth century that historians examined the war from the bottom-up, highlighting characters like Joseph Plumb Martin or John Greenwood.<sup>32</sup> Also, around that same period, scholars began to examine areas outside of military or political-diplomatic spheres, focusing instead on the civil war that raged throughout the countryside. Today, historians hold as many different views of the Revolutionary War as did those who experienced it, from the political to the military-strategic to the common soldier. In the end, those viewpoints provide a rich historiography for future scholars to synthesize and a key lesson for future military officers who must understand that wars are not waged in a military vacuum but include complex social and cultural interactions.

### **The Sweeping Narrative<sup>33</sup>**

The historiographical context of the American Revolution falls into three main categories. The first is the sweeping narrative that includes works such as *The Glorious Cause* by Robert Middlekauff and *The War of American Independence* by Don Higginbotham.<sup>34</sup> These books attempt to combine the social, political, economic and military events together to produce an overarching view of the war for American independence. While they succeed in showing relationships between the different ideological forces and detail the actions generated by those

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<sup>32</sup> John Greenwood, *A Young Patriot in the American Revolution 1775-1783* (Westvaco, 1981). Greenwood’s memoirs were penned during the year 1809 after he served as the dentist to George Washington.

<sup>33</sup> My critique of the authors in this historiographical category is not intended to diminish their work. Each of the books mentioned here are exceptional works of history. The overall goal is to point out that the very nature of a sweeping narrative forces the author to limit the detail they include. As a result, one must not rely solely on their works when examining the American Revolution.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 3-6. Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*, (Norwalk, Conn: Easton Press, 1971).

movements, their shortcoming is the massive scope of the narrative that omits important details. Yet because their primary goal is to educate an unfamiliar audience with a basic understanding of the American Revolution, their works are valuable sources.

On the other hand, the sweeping narratives miss many of the important intricacies that led to the development of crucial events. For example, Don Higginbotham covers the origins, colonial traditions, civil-military tensions, international conflicts, frontier warfare, and major campaigns of the American Revolution from 1763 until 1789 in *The War of American Independence*. He does all that, and more, in less than five-hundred pages. While comprehensive in scope, Higginbotham devotes only one paragraph to Cowpens and two to Guilford Courthouse. The entire Southern Theater of the war, from 1778 until 1783, gets one chapter.<sup>35</sup> While *The War of American Independence* is an excellent work of scholarship, its scope prevents any in-depth study. Higginbotham's *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Riflemen*, on the other hand, is still widely considered one of the premier biographies of Daniel Morgan despite being published in 1961.<sup>36</sup> Both works highlight the differences in historiographic genre, with the sweeping narrative encompassing the breadth while the biography covers the depth of scholarly analysis.

*The Glorious Cause*, by Robert Middlekauff, similarly casts a wide-ranging net. Though he covers the same time period, 1763-1789, Middlekauff used over seven-hundred pages which allowed him to focus *slightly* more on military strategy. His descriptions of the competing strategies, which he called a War of Posts versus a War of Maneuver, were necessary additions

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<sup>35</sup> Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*, Collector's Edition. (Norwalk, Connecticut: Easton Press, 1971), 366-370. Chapter 14 is titled "Defeat and Victory in the South," and runs from 352-389.

<sup>36</sup> Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).

that elucidated the Revolutionary leadership's debates regarding how to militarily win the war.<sup>37</sup> Despite a more military-focused work, *The Glorious Cause* still quickly discussed much of the detail regarding the socio-political, economic, diplomatic, military and informational aspects of the American Revolution. His scholarship is excellent, and *The Glorious Cause* is critically acclaimed for a reason, but it is still broad enough that researchers must look elsewhere for depth-of-knowledge concerning specific aspects of the Revolutionary War.

In addition to Higginbotham's *The War of American Independence*, the similarly titled *The War for American Independence* by Brigadier General Samuel Griffith II is, once again, comparable in its overarching ability to present as many converging aspects of the Revolution as possible into a single work. Griffith accomplished his task effectively, and while he delved into the strategic military aspects of the Revolution, he highlighted the international diplomatic tensions at the expense of the tactical.<sup>38</sup>

Other works examining colonial warfare offer additional insight into the sweeping narratives of the American Revolution, and while most are military-centric in nature, they are extremely broad. For example, Wayne Lee's *Barbarians and Brothers* traced Anglo-American warfare from 1500 to 1865. The ability to cover 365 years in 245 pages is a skill indeed, and Lee did so effectively. He devoted two chapters to Revolutionary warfare and covered the three levels of war, elucidating how all three levels changed depending on the belligerents.<sup>39</sup> Violence against Redcoats differed from violence against natives, as did the accompanying strategies, operations, and tactics. While military-centric, Lee's wide-ranging timeframe required a cursory overview of

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<sup>37</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763 - 1789*, Rev. and expanded ed., The Oxford History of the United States C. Vann Woodward, general ed.; Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007), 340-401.

<sup>38</sup> Samuel B. Griffith, *The War for American Independence: From 1760 to the Surrender at Yorktown in 1781*, 1st Illinois ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

<sup>39</sup> Wayne E. Lee, *Barbarians and Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

the American Revolution, and as with Higginbotham, Griffith, and Middlekauff, the limitations of such a broad scope prevent any in-depth examination of the Continental Army.

Douglas Edward Leach and Howard Peckham follow the same trajectory as Lee in their works *Roots of Conflict* and *The Colonial Wars*, respectively. Each one covers nearly a century of colonial violence leading towards the American Revolution, and while they are also centered around the military, or militias, their work sweeps through the era and highlights the interactions between those who take up arms.<sup>40</sup>

The benefits of the sweeping narratives overshadow their drawbacks when one desires a complete overview of the war, yet this category of American Revolution historiography is a starting point – a place for researchers to begin their analysis. Once a scholar understands the whole, they can delve into the specific aspects of the Revolution’s historiography.

## **The Socio-Political and Economic Causes<sup>41</sup>**

The second historiographical category focuses on the social, political and economic forces that combined to create the American Revolution. Unfortunately, this group leaves out most of the military details. For these scholars, seeking causation for the American Revolution negates the military aspect since the physical war was a byproduct of socio-political, cultural, economic, and diplomatic facets of the conflict. Thus, the importance of determining the causes and consequences of the Revolution relegates the military to a negligible role, or so these scholars argue. Bernard Bailyn’s *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* and

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<sup>40</sup> Douglas Edward Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986). Howard H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars 1689-1762* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

<sup>41</sup> The critique in this historiographic category, especially with regard to Wood and Bailyn, is that their analyses miss the important connections between the military and society. While their works are successful in the socio-political sphere, one cannot determine any military-political interaction as a result of their research. My intent here is only to highlight the argument that their theses have drawbacks when viewed through a military-centric lens.

Gordon Wood's *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* espouse the socio-political and economic importance of the War at the expense of any military examination.<sup>42</sup> Wood and Bailyn convincingly argue for the socio-cultural, economic, and political break with England that directly led to the hostilities. Wood claimed that the American Revolution was different than any other revolution in history in the sense that class warfare did not manifest itself through unnecessary, bloody violence. The poor did not overthrow the rich. Instead, the American Revolution fundamentally altered social relationships to form "a new society unlike any that had ever existed anywhere in the world... It was the Revolution, more than any other single event, that made America into the most liberal, democratic, and modern nation in the world."<sup>43</sup> To him, economic paternalism was the means to ensure the prosperity and growth of the local community. Those who "had achieved economic and social superiority" were expected to lead the government, both physically and materialistically.<sup>44</sup>

Wood further argues that Republicanism itself was as radical in the eighteenth century as Marxism was for the nineteenth. It pervaded everything and fundamentally altered how Westernized citizens viewed and responded to their society, culture, economy, and politics. This distinct colonial ideology of Republicanism coalesced around the evils of the British empire and Americans' desire to manage their own affairs free from the Crown's or Parliament's interventions. However, Wood and Bailyn's analyses, while fair in their own right, do not acknowledge the fact that without the threat of force, the colonial complaints and desires were hollow. Only violence, specifically displayed through the actions the Sons of Liberty, brought a greater concentration of Redcoats to America. The attempt to seize the weapons depot at

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<sup>42</sup> Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991).

<sup>43</sup> Wood, *Radicalism*, 6-7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 83.

Lexington in April of 1775 forced the colonial militia into action. While Republicanism may have led the colonists to resist Imperial action, it was the use of force that sparked the war and ultimately brought independence.

The threat of violence and its employment stirred discourse to action, yet a reading of *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* would have one believe that physical conflict was an unfortunate aftermath because the war had already been fought and won in the minds of the colonists prior to Lexington and Concord. Wood's choice to exclude military aspects in his analysis portray the notion that the physical war itself was unimportant compared to the social-political upheaval during the American Revolution. Political discourse is powerful, but bullets draw blood. Further, wartime public opinion influenced strategy. Though Wood does not specifically address the military, he does admit that "nearly everyone in the eighteenth century had believed in the power of public opinion and had talked endlessly about it."<sup>45</sup> He was right. George Washington and Thomas Paine took great effort in using public opinion to recruit soldiers into the Continental Army. The timing of the Trenton and Princeton campaign in late December of 1775 revolved around public opinion. The Commander-in-Chief needed a victory before many of his troops' enlistments expired, and the resultant publicity after the Hessian defeat convinced many soldiers to remain with the Army. The victory was a success on all three levels of war, and Thomas Paine followed it with his famous "Sunshine Patriot" exposé in *The Crisis*, garnering renewed public hope in the American cause because of the combination between military and social spheres.<sup>46</sup> The critique of Wood is that he appeared to use an integrative approach in his analysis, but by excluding the Continental Army or the militia, he lacked any exploration of how military successes or failures influenced the radicalization of

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 363.

<sup>46</sup> Thomas Paine, Sidney Hook, and Jack Fruchtman, *Common Sense, Rights of Man, and Other Essential Writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: Signet Classic, 2003).



public opinion. While his work is a success in the socio-political sphere, one cannot determine any military-political interaction as a result of his research.

The causes and consequences that Wood sought defined a historiographic generation. Given the aims of Wood's project, examinations of the socio-political and economic causes of the Revolution were appropriate, and his thesis illuminated the reasons and motives for the behavior of the Revolution's leaders. For example, Wood explored the “new republican ideas of what it was to be a gentleman.”<sup>47</sup> The idea was so important that it described George Washington’s behaviors and actions through the lens of virtue and republicanism. Though Wood never specifically connected the importance of civility and gentlemanly behavior to Washington’s military actions, Wood’s thesis does offer an explanation of Washington’s desire to mold the Continental Army into a similar model as the British and to use it in “gentlemanly” conduct. Through the lens of the Wood/Bailyn theses, one can sense the tension that Washington and his fellow Generals felt when they decided to employ less-than “gentlemanly” tactics, such as the targeting of Redcoat officers. Further, the notions of civility, virtue, and republicanism were at odds with the stereotypical mannerisms of the tactical level soldiers. Thus, while they effectively explore historical causation, the Wood/Bailyn theses made no mention of combat and so unfairly portray the consequences of the Revolutionary War. In other words, the lack of discussion about the role of the military prevents the authors from giving the consequences of the American Revolution a full and fair assessment. Nonetheless, their work effectively congealed pre-Revolution historiography around the eighteenth-century ideals of New Republicanism.

*The American Revolution* by Colin Bonwick and *From Resistance to Revolution* by Pauline Maier similarly describe the socio-political and economic reasoning behind the War for Independence at length, often consigning the military factors to a minor role or ignoring them

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<sup>47</sup> Wood, *Radicalism*, 197.

altogether. Although both discuss the importance of the Continental Army, Bonwick describes its importance solely as an entity that “provided an image of unified purpose and political respectability” while Maier mentions the British discussions about Colonial “technical military advantages” in passing.<sup>48</sup> T. H. Breen’s *American Insurgents, American Patriots* does discuss the importance of violence during the War for American Independence, but highlights the insurgency within the American population and their willingness to use violence against British troops. According to Breen, the insurgent’s beliefs were more important than military strategies, campaigns, or battles.<sup>49</sup>

The American Revolution was, after all, a war. It was a war that upended the westernized social and political order, but it was still a military conflict. The historical interest in non-military aspects of the War for American Independence overlook the fact that wars manifest themselves violently. Without the threat of military retaliation, any outside nation able to forcefully impose its will on another’s internal population can dominate the social, political and economic aspects of society. Dismissing the military ignores the most prominent, and arguably most pedagogically popular, instrument used to defeat the British. The authors in the Wood/Bailyn historiographic category conclude that the Revolution ultimately took place in the social order of the colonies and that the American patriots waged their war for independence in socio-economic and political spheres. While they would not be wrong, they fail to prove how the citizenry effected national change free from British interference *without* military intervention. In short, American

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<sup>48</sup> Colin Bonwick, *The American Revolution*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 121. Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776* (New York: Norton, 1991), 264.

<sup>49</sup> T. H. Breen, *American Insurgents, American Patriots: The Revolution of the People* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 19, 276.

independence required the military just as it did any other socio-cultural, political, economic, or religious element.

One cannot divorce the military from the American Revolution. There is no independence without Trenton and Princeton, no international intervention without Saratoga, no strategic shift without Guilford Courthouse, and no peace negotiations without Yorktown.<sup>50</sup> Thus, leaving out the military aspect of the Revolutionary War promotes Robert Shalhope's assertion that the Wood/Bailyn theses are "one-dimensional, causing republican ideology to appear centrally, even exclusively, political."<sup>51</sup>

## The Military

The final historiographic category focuses purely on the military aspects of the American Revolution. They chronicle the battles, campaigns and the leadership traits of certain men. Works such as *Battles of the American Revolutions* by W. J. Wood; *Almost a Miracle* by John Ferling, *Washington's Crossing* by David Hackett Fischer, and Benson Bobrick's *Angel in the Whirlwind: The Triumph of the American Revolution* detail military campaigns throughout the war. Only occasionally do they attempt to reconcile the socio-political elements into the grander narrative.<sup>52</sup> Not one is truly able to capture the military aspects of leadership. Even biographical sketches of prominent generals, such as Joseph Ellis' *His Excellency: George Washington*; Ron Chernow's

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<sup>50</sup> While the "what-if" scenarios surrounding the impact of the outcomes of these events are argued among historians, students must understand their historical significance to the outcome. A different outcome of the battles of Trenton or Princeton may or may not have changed the fate of the Revolution. Historians can and should debate the causes and consequences of the events, but in an undergraduate course the focus must remain on the events as they occurred. In that light, Trenton and Princeton were instrumental. Further, in a class such as H999, other potential outcomes and their second-order effects can and should be discussed when preparing for the daily Course of Action (COA) briefings as described in Chapters IV through VIII.

<sup>51</sup> Robert E. Shalhope, "Republicanism and Early American Historiography," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (April 1982): 336.

<sup>52</sup> These are military histories, which focus on the traditional "drum and bugle" style of examining armies. Conversely, there are "new military histories" which focus on the individual soldier's experience. *The Minutemen and their World*, by Robert Gross and *Defiance of the Patriots* by Benjamin Carp would be good examples. In either case, there is a historiographic gap that does not examine military leadership across the three distinct levels of war.

*Washington: A Life; Nathanael Greene* by Gerald M. Carbone or the indispensable *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman* by the late Don Higginbotham, struggle to capture fully the military essentials crucial to victory across the entirety of the three levels of war. A true study of the leadership elements that brought about the American victory can only come about by assessing the primary leaders at their respective levels of war and examining their interaction with one another.

More recently, historians have examined the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war from the British perspective. Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy sought the consequences of the British defeat within their own strategic decisions in *The Men Who Lost America*. He argued that Britain had a superior military force, but not one that could occupy an unruly population, especially in light of an international conflict. It was the leadership's assumption that a large Loyalist population existed in America that led to poor strategic decisions, and ultimately to the end of the war.<sup>53</sup> *With Zeal and Bayonets Only*, by Matthew Spring, follows the same trajectory from an operational and tactical standpoint. Concluding that the war was unwinnable because "it had no political center of gravity," Spring instead highlights the British belief that a colonial perception of Redcoat invincibility would lead to their eventual capitulation.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, the British were continually harassed through *la petit guerre* and their tactical victories were often Pyrrhic, negating any kind of perceived invincibility.<sup>55</sup> Combined, both O'Shaughnessy and Spring detail the effectiveness of the levels of war throughout the American Revolution, but from the British perspective.

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<sup>53</sup> Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 353-355.

<sup>54</sup> Matthew H. Spring, *With Zeal and with Bayonets Only: The British Army on Campaign in North America, 1775-1783*, vol. 19, Campaigns and Commanders (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 5, 27.

<sup>55</sup> Spring cites Bunker Hill, Freeman's Farm, Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk's Hill, and Eutaw Springs as the most important British Pyrrhic victories. All five were tactical British wins but strategic losses. The American's capitalized on each one to the detriment of Britain's war effort.

One other historiographic category that is still emerging attempts to place the American Revolution into a larger military context. Russell F. Weigley began the trend with his work *The American Way of War*, in which he argued that the United States has developed a uniquely American method of warfare throughout its history. While he included the American Revolution as a prominent moment in the establishment of this way of war, he claimed that because the Continental Army was so small, it was not powerful enough to create its own way of war. The American way of war, according to Weigley, did not occur until the Civil War, culminating with Grant's siege of Richmond and Sherman's march to the sea.<sup>56</sup> Historians Wayne Lee and John Grenier disagree, citing colonial warfare between settlers and Native Americans as the beginning of a uniquely American method of fighting. Grenier's *The First Way of War* is the antithesis to Weigley, whereas Lee attempts to fit the totality of early American warfare into context in *Barbarians and Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865*, highlighting the differences in violence between those of European descent and those with ethnic differences, in this case the Native Americans. In effect, Lee provides the synthesis of Weigley's and Grenier's work.

This American way of war would be drastically different than the European model, yet it would still rely on the three levels of war with specific commanders at each level. Despite the fact that George Washington continued to train and equip his forces after the European model, his tactical commanders employed a combined American-European model. Some engagements were so completely American that the British complained of "unfairness" and "savage warfare."<sup>57</sup> Thus, tactical action impacted strategic thinking.

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<sup>56</sup> Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973).

<sup>57</sup> Wayne E. Lee, *Barbarians & Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

John Grenier discussed strategy in his work *The First Way of War*, and cited Russell F. Weigley's *The American Way of War* extensively, but neither author discussed the importance of keeping the right leaders in place; instead they focused on strategic level planning.<sup>58</sup> In effect, the combined leadership of Washington, Greene and Morgan proved superior to the battle-tested career soldiers in the British military. They formed an indispensable triad of knowledge in their respective areas of expertise, setting in motion an American way of war that Grenier labeled "Petite Guerre." The indispensable triad of Washington, Greene, and Morgan was necessary to achieve an American victory and the current historiographic discourse only dances around the subject, focusing instead on the socio-economic and political motives or the biographical Great Man model.

## Primary Sources

Researchers have used the thirteen-volume set of *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* to develop a biographical sketch of the operational commander's ability to wage war.<sup>59</sup> They have gleaned great insight into the man, and authors such as Gerald M. Carbone and Terry Golway dissected his personal and military traits.<sup>60</sup> Yet Greene's papers detail more than just the man. His correspondence with George Washington at the strategic level and Daniel Morgan at the tactical level can illuminate how the operational commander carried out strategic-level orders to satisfy the direction set forth by his commander-in-chief. Furthermore, his letters to Daniel Morgan demonstrate the way an operational commander set the objective for his tactician while

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<sup>58</sup> John Grenier. *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005),1-4.

<sup>59</sup> Nathanael Greene et al., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, (Chapel Hill: Published for the Rhode Island Historical Society [by] the University of North Carolina Press, 1976-2015).

<sup>60</sup> Gerald M. Carbone, *Nathanael Greene*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008). Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution*, (New York: Henry Holt and Company publishers, 2006).

still allowing him to do his job unencumbered by micromanagement. Using *The Papers of Nathanael Greene* along with an understanding of Clausewitz, one can see the essential nature of having the right leaders in the right places at the right time, and keeping them there free from unnecessary bureaucracy as a precursor to waging war against a superior foe. These papers are the primary sources that demonstrate the team cohesion between Washington, Greene, and Morgan and can give cadets insight into the necessary correspondence between leaders up and down the chain of command.

The fifty-two-volume set (and counting) of the *George Washington Papers* also provide meaningful insight into early America. While all of his papers are noteworthy, the twenty-four volume *Revolutionary War Series* give the best information for the purposes of this paper. Unfortunately, they are not yet complete. Volume Twenty-Four takes the researcher through 9 March 1780, before Nathanael Greene's famous Race to the Dan campaign.<sup>61</sup> Even though they are unfinished, Washington's extensive papers provide the researcher with an exhaustive look into the mind of one of the nation's most revered leaders.

Further, *The Papers of George Washington* provide insight into the strategic guidance he sent to the operational and tactical level commanders, often after consulting with Congress or other strategic thinkers. Comparing these writings with the *Papers of General Nathanael Greene* and the correspondence of leaders at the other levels of war, such as Daniel Morgan or Benedict Arnold, highlight how strategic vision gets implemented on the battlefield. Further, one can reverse the process and trace primary accounts from the battlefield up through the chain of command to see how the overall strategy is affected by a tactical outcome. An understanding of this process is extremely important for cadets to grasp as they will begin their professional

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<sup>61</sup> George Washington et al., *The Papers of George Washington. 24: Revolutionary War Series January - 9 March 1780* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985).

careers at the tactical level. Using the levels of war as a pedagogical framework is an effective way to shape a student's worldview and hone their critical thinking.

Daniel Morgan was not a prolific writer, and therefore his correspondence was minimal compared to Washington and Greene – not nearly enough to be published into volumes like the *Papers of George Washington* or the *Papers of Nathanael Greene*. Thankfully, most of Morgan's letters during the American Revolution were to Washington or Greene. Those that were not, and were still of a military nature, are recorded in the footnotes of Don Higginbotham's *Daniel Morgan* or North Callahan's biography of the same name.<sup>62</sup> Combined, a researcher can piece together Morgan's most influential writings from other widely available sources.

Besides Morgan, there are several other important tactical accounts that give insight into the ground level of war. Of these, Joseph Plumb Martin is perhaps the most well-known. His *A Narrative of a Revolutionary Soldier* provides a superb account of the daily life of a common troop in the Continental Army throughout the American Revolution. He describes the hardships, boredom, hunger, privation, exultation, and excitement only experienced by foot soldiers. He rarely speaks of strategy (if at all) yet gives the reader a unique view of the tactical level of war.<sup>63</sup>

The course presented in this paper recommends several other prominent works that will aid an instructor in preparing to teach a class on the Revolutionary War. In addition to the works previously mentioned, specifically those by Ron Chernow, W.J. Wood, Robert Middlekauff, John Ferling, David Hackett Fischer, and Don Higginbotham, the course relies heavily on primary source material. Thomas Paine's writings feature prominently throughout H999, as does Baron von Steuben's *Revolutionary War Drill Manual* and various newspaper accounts from the era.

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<sup>62</sup> Don Higginbotham, *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961). North Callahan, *Daniel Morgan: Ranger of the Revolution* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).

<sup>63</sup> Joseph Plumb Martin, *A Narrative of a Revolutionary Soldier: Some of the Adventures, Dangers, and Sufferings of Joseph Plumb Martin* (New York: Signet Classics, 2001).



George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin's *Rebels and Redcoats: The American Revolution Through the Eyes of Those Who Fought and Lived It* provide another exceptional repository of primary sources that are expertly worked in to the overall narrative.<sup>64</sup>

One other manuscript is worthy of mention, as it provides another unique view of the tactical level from both land and sea. John Greenwood was a soldier who fought at Bunker Hill, scouted for Benedict Arnold on the way to Canada, continued with him to Ticonderoga, and witnessed firsthand the Battle of Trenton. After his ground exploits, Greenwood went to sea as a privateer. His *A Young Patriot in the American Revolution* provides another opportunity to understand the tactical level of war. Interestingly, Greenwood would later become a prominent dentist in the early Republic -- so prominent that he became the first President's dentist.<sup>65</sup>

Finally, as an important side note regarding the conduct of H999, when students are conducting research for their reading and writing assignments, they are restricted to the authors listed in this historiography. While not all encompassing, the noted scholars within these pages are prominent American Revolution historians. Therefore, students are required to begin their research with these names and books *before* branching out to the deep, dark internet.<sup>66</sup> Should they find new research or articles from credible sources, like JSTOR or other scholarly journals, they will not be restricted, but as history majors they should rely on the prominent Revolutionary War-era scholars first before they branch out.

Overall, the historiography of the American Revolution is ripe for a synthesis between the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war. The purpose of this paper is not to fully flesh out

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<sup>64</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin Steuben, ed., *Baron von Steuben's Revolutionary War Drill Manual: A Facsimile Reprint of the 1794 Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1985). George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, eds., *Rebels and Redcoats: The American Revolution Through the Eyes of Those Who Fought and Lived It*, A Da Capo paperback (New York, N.Y: Da Capo Press, 1987).

<sup>65</sup> John Greenwood, *A Young Patriot in the American Revolution 1775-1783* (Westvaco, 1981).

<sup>66</sup> In H999, the student requirement to use the noted scholars within this essay is enforceable through their individual bibliography. Internet citations without instructor approval will cost them course points for not following directions.

this synthesis, but rather to argue for the benefits of using the levels of war as a pedagogical framework in the classroom. A focus on primary sources first, before viewing other historian's research, will enable the students to engage in a scholarly debate about the military-societal relationship during the late-eighteenth century. To that end, the synthesis between the three levels of war during the American Revolution will provide a necessary and useful example to future officers in the U.S. Military. Hopefully, the students will conclude the semester with an understanding of the historiographical interaction of both the levels of war and the diplomatic, economic, military, and political elements of national power and their corresponding research variants. With any luck, after the semester ends, they will at least be unable to echo John Adams's sentiment on 19 November 1779 when he wrote that there was "nothing else remarkable."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Academic journals provide a wealth of scholarly sources that students may use in their research that were not specifically discussed in this brief historiographic chapter. Some of the prominent articles that highlight important military aspects of the American Revolution and are directly applicable to History 999 are included in the bibliography.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES AND APPLICATIONS**

War, no matter the technological advancement, remains human. Modern developments in military technology, such as Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and Fifth-Generation Fighters, combined with an American way of war that believes people can separate themselves from the realities of military conflict, has created an erroneous myth that relegates warfare to a computer terminal. While technology may indeed create situations that enable the U.S. to keep troops out of immediate danger, real-world decisions will continue to be made in real-time, affecting lives and altering the military and political situation. Tactical implementation of strategic guidance has always been, and always will be, the foundational undertaking of military endeavors. Creating a pedagogical framework around that idea is essential to the education of the next generation of national leaders, especially in the Service Academies.

Technological tools help win wars, but it is the knowledge and actions of people at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels that make the difference. Besides, if war is human, as many historians and theorists continue to argue, then John Lewis Gaddis's notion "that historical consciousness helps to establish human identity" remains crucial in American society.<sup>68</sup> Further, to achieve an American identity based on a historical consciousness, especially one that advocates peace and prosperity on the world stage in the twenty-first century, then Gaddis is correct in his assertion that "the single most important thing any historian has to do... is to

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<sup>68</sup> John Lewis Gaddis. *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 147.

*teach.*”<sup>69</sup> Educators must have a clear point of departure and a cogent framework in order to guide students in their intellectual journey. Young cadets need to graduate ready to engage in their chosen military field and must understand that their tactical decisions have strategic consequences. Finally, they must comprehend that technology does not trump critical or complex thinking. The “real world” relies on the humanities and “true” critical, complex thinking.

With that in mind, this chapter will illuminate three major areas in modern academia that H999 will confront throughout the semester. First, it will elucidate several growing problems in modern academia, among them the divergence between STEM and humanities, the lack of student engagement, and the overuse of the ill-defined term “critical thinking.” Next, it will show how the levels of war pedagogical methodology is useful in highlighting the relevant nature of the humanities in a STEM-centric environment. In the process, students become more engaged in class because they see how the subject will impact their immediate future. Finally, several common pedagogical examples will showcase how professors can incorporate the levels of war into their Military History courses, using the American Revolution as the primary case study.

History reveals that humans gravitate into hierarchies; people strive to better their condition, often at the expense of others. Utopias do not work. No major system has ever been able to promise and provide full equality to all its citizens, all the time. Historians William H. and J. R. McNeill point out in *The Human Web* that “what drives history is the human ambition to alter one’s condition to match one’s hopes... and how they pursued their hopes, depended on the information, ideas, and examples available to them.”<sup>70</sup> In other words, people throughout history have attempted to move up the societal hierarchy from where they began towards where

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>70</sup> William H. McNeill and J.R. McNeill. *The Human Web: A Bird’s Eye View of World History*. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003), 4.

they hoped to be. While many history courses examine this phenomenon, the one major *a priori* assumption is that hierarchy exists.

Modern society was built on a hierarchical foundation. While the evolution of a societal class framework is not the purpose of this essay, few would argue against the fact that an Americanized worldview is based on a chain of command -- businesses have Chief Executive Officers and Vice Presidents; Universities have Provosts, Deans, and Chairs; the military has a rank structure -- yet when hierarchical-societal functions are discussed in the classroom, they are often treated in a purely academic manner. Rarely does a course focus on where the undergraduate, in this case an Air Force Academy cadet, will fit into the hierarchy immediately after graduation. Although the debate continues regarding the main purpose of higher education, whether it be to produce a workforce or critically-minded citizens, a Service Academy has the specific duty to produce officers both immediately ready to join a military workforce *and* trained to think critically about national security and the defense of the nation. Thus, this paper will argue primarily from a military and Service Academy point of view.

Modern undergraduates are transitioning away from the humanities in favor of STEM-centric fields. A 2016 study highlighted a decline of humanities majors by nearly nine percent, a trend that began in 2012.<sup>71</sup> Presumably, students believe that the STEM fields will give them a better chance to alter their condition to match their intended hopes. Administrators complicate the situation by reducing the budget for departments that do not have as many students, exacerbating the problem for the humanities. Further, non-STEM departments have failed to adapt to a changing collegiate environment, preferring instead to rely on the hope that the pendulum of time will swing back. The humanities, history in particular, is stereotypically a

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<sup>71</sup> Scott Jaschik, "The Shrinking Humanities Major." *Inside Higher Ed*, March 14, 2016. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/03/14/study-shows-87-decline-humanities-bachelors-degrees-2-years>. Accessed Aug 29, 2017.

discipline of traditionalists who favor the “sage on the stage” lecture model over more recent, and thus less accepted, methods of instruction. The pedagogical pendulum might reverse, but in the meantime, military history classrooms within Service Academies should alter their educational framework to highlight the hierarchical position in which recent graduates will find themselves immediately after graduation. Instead of focusing on either the lowest levels of the hierarchical system (the enlisted soldiers – E-4s and below) or the political, financial, or military leaders (the Generals – O-7s and above), courses can use the three levels of war to elucidate where a graduate will emerge into the military and where that officer can advance.<sup>72</sup> Currently, there is no longitudinal study focusing on a cadet’s understanding of the levels of war, or how that understanding changes as they move through the military ranks. Without it, or a similar study, there is no firm way of knowing if this method will work. At the same time, there is evidence that suggests students become more engaged when they realize that what they are learning will directly affect their lives.<sup>73</sup>

Understanding how tactical leaders implement directives from the operational and strategic levels should highlight the relevance of military history to the student’s lives. With further comprehension about their place in a military hierarchy, cadets will be able to focus their critical thinking along these pedagogical lines.

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<sup>72</sup> The military ranking system begins with an E-1 as the lowest enlisted rank and ends with an O-10 as a four-star general. An E-4 equates to a Senior Airman in the Air Force. Cadets at the Air Force Academy will commission as O-1s, or Second Lieutenants, immediately following graduation. They enter the service as the lowest-ranking officer but outrank every enlisted member. For a quick glance at the military rank structure, see <https://www.military1.com/army/article/318504-understand-ranks-and-insignia/> or do an internet search for “military rank structure.”

<sup>73</sup> There are a plethora of peer-reviewed articles relating to student engagement. A large number rely on problem based learning, service learning, or gamification to increase engagement. Three notable examples include Jennifer Ponder, Michelle Vander Veldt, and Genell Lewis-Ferrell, “Citizenship, Curriculum, and Critical Thinking beyond the Four Walls of the Classroom: Linking the Academic Content with Service-Learning,” *Teacher Education Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (2011): 45–68; David Des Armier, Craig E. Shepherd, and Stan Skrabut, “Using Game Elements to Increase Student Engagement in Course Assignments,” *College Teaching* 64, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 64–72; and Ella R. Kahu, “Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education,” *Studies in Higher Education* 38, no. 5 (June 2013): 758–773.

In short, instead of viewing history from either top down or bottom up, a blended hierarchical model can become relevant to cadets in the twenty-first century. Thus, using the levels of war pedagogical methodology allows the STEM-centric student to realize the benefits and relevancy of history by simultaneously teaching both a top down *and* a bottom up approach and placing the cadet in the middle.

## **The Problem of Time**

The issue devolves into time; there is simply not enough of it each semester to teach everything there is to teach. This is not new. Teachers from kindergarten through college have all lamented that there is not enough time to cover everything that they would like the students to know, nor is there sufficient time to allow students to practice what they have learned. In his 1913 book entitled *The Teaching of History*, E. C. Hartwell lamented the time constraints in which to develop “a citizen of the Republic... [whose] vote will shortly influence, for good or ill, the destinies of the nation.”<sup>74</sup> Over one hundred years later, history professors still make the same complaint.

Things since 1913 have changed though. In addition to another extremely eventful century of history, pedagogical methods, techniques, and technologies have transformed. When Mr. Hartwell wrote his influential work, he alluded to the notion that scholars and students should only study the great men and women of history and that instructors should prioritize verbatim memorization from their students.<sup>75</sup> In the information age, the Internet of Things provides students with instantaneous access to limitless historical information; thus the Great Man model and rote memorization seem unnecessary as pedagogical techniques because historical contextualization is available without memorization. At best, students view

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<sup>74</sup> E.C. Hartwell. *The Teaching of History in the High School* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 2.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 25, 29-30.

memorization as a tedious waste of time, and at worst, the “Great Man” model and rote memorization discourage students from studying history because they view both model and memorization as outdated modes of scholarship. Thankfully, professors today can rely on the proliferation of tools, often internet or technology-based, to flesh out a more fully immersive historical narrative and engage undergraduates. In other words, even though there are still time constraints, modern teachers can use their time more efficiently and effectively.

At the same time, the enormous amount of information so readily available can make it difficult to determine what is important enough to require student effort and attention. As a result, instructors often pick and choose specific aspects of history to teach and how to teach them, usually based on the Professor’s area of expertise. Thus, a social historian will likely focus on the experience of the masses and highlight how the people have influenced the events of history. A political historian will elucidate the actions of the law-makers and national leadership. A military historian will discuss war. All will usually thread the major events into their narrative over the semester in an effort to cover the material. All will do their best to present the information in a way that will foster critical thinking, because the political historian, the military historian, and the social historian understand that critical thinking is the ultimate goal of the University.

### **The Problem with “Critical Thinking”**

Unfortunately, the term “critical thinking” itself only exacerbates the problems faced in higher education today. “Critical thinking” has become a buzz word, loosely thrown around without any universal, standard definition. If it has one, that definition is often redefined at will in each academic department to suit their needs. In reality, critical thinking has become closer to disciplinary-specific problem-solving.



The Foundation for Critical Thinking itself has a difficult time with its definition; on one page there are no less than four different definitions.<sup>76</sup> All of them are nebulous, broad, vague, and non-objectifiable so as to be near unusable in an academic setting. Without a standard, easily and universally definable end-state, an organization cannot expect to produce the characteristics it claims to engender in recent graduates.

The University of North Dakota's own "Bush Longitudinal Study: What Students Tell Us About Cross-Disciplinary General Education Goals and Learning" admits that most students define the "thinking and reasoning" skillset as something that has to do with artistic ability.<sup>77</sup> If undergraduates cannot define the objective they are working towards, how can they be expected to succeed? In the findings from the UND Longitudinal Study, recommendations included methods to improve student's critical thinking, including the ability to "synthesize and analyze texts... evaluate the logic... and come to reasoned conclusions," but the document never defines what critical thinking *is*.<sup>78</sup> While it is true that professors can recognize critical thinking when they see it, that does not give the student a quantifiable goal to work towards. While every individual goal may not need to be quantified to be meaningful and attainable, the lack of quantification eliminates the ability to objectively document attainment. In other words, though the professor may deem a goal complete, they struggle to prove it to an administration bent on metric-driven assessment. Thus, a nebulous definition of "critical thinking" is a disservice to students, teachers, and administrators.

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<sup>76</sup> <http://www.criticalthinking.org/pages/defining-critical-thinking/766> Accessed 31 August 2017.

<sup>77</sup> Anne Kelsch and Sara Fritzell Hanhan. "University of North Dakota Bush Longitudinal Study: What Students Tell Us About Cross-Disciplinary General Education Goals and Learning." 2004. [http://und.edu/academics/registrar/\\_files/docs/essential-studies/general-education-longitudinal-study.pdf](http://und.edu/academics/registrar/_files/docs/essential-studies/general-education-longitudinal-study.pdf) Accessed 6 Sept 2017

<sup>78</sup> Tom Steen and Anne Kelsch. "Memo to: Greg Weisenstein, Provost" May 22, 2007. [http://und.edu/academics/registrar/\\_files/docs/essential-studies/general-education-task-force-report.pdf](http://und.edu/academics/registrar/_files/docs/essential-studies/general-education-task-force-report.pdf) Accessed 6 Sept 2017.

The U.S. Air Force Academy recently defined Critical Thinking in its Curriculum Handbook as “*the process of self-aware, informed, and reflective reasoning for problem-solving and decision-making in the absence of ideal information.*”<sup>79</sup> While this definition works well for USAFA and is accepted amongst academic departments, it is still, unfortunately, a definition limited to a single university. A comprehensive definition, or another term entirely, is necessary across institutions to allow future military officers from every commissioning source to become “critical thinkers.”<sup>80</sup>

While this paper does not seek to dispense with critical thinking throughout academia, it does highlight the problem inherent in poorly defined nomenclature or overused buzzwords. “Critical thinking” is defined and applied differently across institutions. With that in mind, this essay will use the USAFA definition of critical thinking as defined in its 2017 Curriculum Handbook.<sup>81</sup> It is a definition that cadets can understand, one that is relevant to them, and one that complements the levels of war methodology. All can agree that the goal is to get students to see the “bigger picture”; to view the world with an analytical eye and see the connections across disciplines, humanity, time and space. The USAFA definition of critical thinking can establish an emotional connection in students with those at the tactical level and trace the implications of their actions to the strategic level, bridging the gap between subfields and fostering the required “critical thinking” institutional objective.

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<sup>79</sup> Dean of the Faculty. “Curriculum Handbook,” 2017. <https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/CHB.pdf>

<sup>80</sup> One potential alternative to the overuse of the term “critical thinking” is what the 2015 New Media Consortium (NMC) Horizon Report labeled “complex thinking.” Complex thinking is defined as “the ability to understand complexity, or to comprehend how systems work to solve problems. Complex thinking is the application of systems thinking, which is the capacity to decipher how individual components work together as part of a whole, dynamic unit that creates patterns over time.” Critical thinking and complex thinking are not antagonistic; however, the overuse of the term “critical thinking” requires it to be replaced across institutions with a newer, standardized and more easily defined term. Complex thinking is such a term. See Johnson, L., Adams Becker, S., Estrada, V., and Freeman, A. (2015). NMC Horizon Report: 2015 Higher Education Edition. Austin, Texas: The New Media Consortium. <http://cdn.nmc.org/media/2015-nmc-horizon-report-HE-EN.pdf> (28-29). Accessed 6 Sept 2017. “Systems Thinking” <http://watersfoundation.org/systems-thinking/definitions/> Accessed 6 Sept 2017.

<sup>81</sup> Dean of the Faculty. “Curriculum Handbook,” 2017. <https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/CHB.pdf>

## Problems and Experiences

Education is emotional. Learners, especially young undergraduates, enter college and immediately have their long-standing beliefs and world-views challenged. Ella Kahu speaks of the “culture shock” undergraduates encounter in their collegiate experience and notes that how they handle it becomes a crucial step towards developing them into a complex thinker and a lifelong self-learner.<sup>82</sup> Often, however, the “hard” sciences have the stereotype of being emotionless because they claim to be based on absolutes, concrete data sets, and scientific principles. Susan Ambrose and her co-authors of *How Learning Works* label this a “quantitative view of knowledge,” where the accumulation of the “right facts” constitutes knowledge.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, some of that may be true. On the other hand, an emotionally sterile environment skips the essential psychological growth that young students need. Between STEM and the Humanities, it is the Humanities that deal with the complexities of emotion, necessitating at least a minimal amount of interdisciplinary studies.

Teaching the levels of war model introduces emotion at a relatable level. Once cadets understand that they will become a part of the tactical level immediately after graduation, they begin to relate to those who have gone before them. Introducing ambiguous orders from the operational or strategic level generates similar frustrations in the student that many historical figures felt as recorded in the primary sources. One pedagogical example would include issuing the same order that General Washington gave to Daniel Morgan outside of Philadelphia: “give

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<sup>82</sup> Ella R. Kahu, “Framing Student Engagement in Higher Education,” *Studies in Higher Education* 38, no. 5 (June 2013): 758–773.

<sup>83</sup> Susan A. Ambrose, ed., *How Learning Works: Seven Research-Based Principles for Smart Teaching*, The Jossey-Bass higher and adult education series (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2010), 163.

them every degree of annoyance in that quarter.”<sup>84</sup> The cadets would then have to develop and present a plan to “annoy” the British with the knowledge that their strategic-level commander expected results. In this example, the Professor would need to agitate the ambiguity and generate student frustration, which she/he could accomplish through attaching academic points to the event or placing students in competition with each other. Introducing emotional historical problems forces students to come to grips with their frustrations while gaining a relatable historical perspective. Further, research suggests that Problem Based Learning and Experiential Learning inside a Learning Community can generate multidisciplinary knowledge and create an understanding of the importance of historical, humane, and STEM fields. Courses should focus on real-world applicability in every lesson, which allows students to process how the material fits into the larger picture, thus highlighting the relevancy of history in the twenty-first century.

Modern pedagogy is awash with various teaching methods and interesting approaches to use in the classroom. The *Chronicle of Higher Ed*, *Inside Higher Ed*, *EDUCAUSE*, the *NMC Horizon Report*, various peer-reviewed journals of pedagogy, and countless teaching resources provide the instructor with numerous ways to present material creatively. Several approaches appear more often in the literature, and of those, this paper will focus on the following four: Problem Based Learning, Experiential Learning, Learning Communities, and Gaming. These four common areas closely align with military training methods, and thus are predominately used in the service academies, specifically the Air Force Academy.

Problem Based Learning (PBL) differs from traditional methods of instruction by presenting the students with situations needing solutions. STEM fields traditionally utilize problem sets, but the humanities are only recently beginning to understand the effects that the

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<sup>84</sup> George Washington and Daniel Morgan, “Washington Papers: Correspondence from George Washington to Daniel Morgan between 23 and 24 June 1778” Letters, accessed January 13, 2017, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-15-02-0539>.

PBL model has on higher-level thinking. New research carried out in collegiate history classes show that presenting students with ambiguous problems develops their metacognition more quickly than traditional methods.<sup>85</sup> In one study, researchers presented the class with a situation in which the U.S. Navy discovered a new Pacific island. The students were divided into Expansionists, Anti-Expansionists, and Senators. Each group needed to convince the Senatorial committee, who had their own agendas and biases, on the course of action that the United States should pursue. Following the exercise, the events were compared to the annexation of the Philippines in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War of 1898.<sup>86</sup> The post-exercise surveys showed that the students brought a multidisciplinary approach to the problem, seeking all possible solutions and arguments for near and long-term stability as they fought to convince the student-senators to accept their respective positions.<sup>87</sup>

Professors could ask that students also attempt to find technological solutions in addition to historical, political, economic, or socio-cultural answers, thus bridging the gap between STEM and Humanities. Overall, this method “has a significant relationship with the development of postformal thinking skills,” justifying an inter- or multi-disciplinary approach in the humanities.<sup>88</sup>

While this example resides exclusively at the strategic level, it could be easily expanded to the operational and tactical. Asking the students about the logistical efforts involved in

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<sup>85</sup> Charles Wynn, Richard Mosholder, and Carolee Larsen, “Measuring the Effects of Problem-Based Learning on the Development of Postformal Thinking Skills and Engagement of First-Year Learning Community Students,” *Learning Communities Research and Practice* 2, no. 2 (November 30, 2014): 1-33.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, this study did not compare twenty-first century students to their counterparts from one-hundred years ago, nor did they account for background factors such as early nineteenth-century scientific racism, anti-Catholicism, nativism, or the like. They did compare the PBL method to the traditional lecture and discussion method within twenty-first century classrooms.

<sup>88</sup> Charles T. Wynn, Richard S. Mosholder, and Carolee A. Larsen, “Promoting Post-Formal Thinking in a U.S. History Survey Course: A Problem-Based Approach,” *Journal of College Teaching and Learning* 13, no. 1 (First Quarter 2016): 8.

supplying and protecting a new island chain highlights the operational, whereas the tactical level could wrestle with an insurgent population or an imperial rival attack. Both scenarios correspond to actual historical events and could be tied into Brian Linn's *The Philippine War*.<sup>89</sup> Solving ill-defined problems clearly benefits cadets across all fields of study.<sup>90</sup>

Another way to highlight the levels of war using Problem Based Learning in the classroom would be to split the students into three groups; one simulating the strategic level, another the operational level, and the third the tactical level. Only students at the strategic level are allowed to see the overall problem. As an example, they could be given the same information that George Washington had when he learned that the British captured Charleston in 1780. The instructor would then require this group of students to give direction to the operational-level students on a 3x5 card, simulating the difficulty of communications in Early America. Likewise, the operational-level students would need to give more specific direction to their tactical-level classmates, who would attempt to develop a battlefield plan in accordance with their directives. If the scenario is based on a historical example such as Horatio Gates's disastrous Battle at Camden, the results could be given to the tactical level students, and they would have the challenge of communicating those results, again on a 3x5 card, up through the levels of war.

The culmination of the exercise would come when the three groups are brought together to discuss their roles in relation to the other levels and discover if they were successful in accomplishing their mission. The instructor could then reveal the actual historical scenario that the situation was based on, highlighting what the students either did or did not do that matched historical characters. This technique is similar to gaming as discussed below.

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<sup>89</sup> Brian M. Linn, *The Philippine War: 1899 - 1902*, Modern war studies (Lawrence, Kan: Univ. Press of Kansas, 2000).

<sup>90</sup> Mary E. Huba and Jann E. Freed, *Learner-Centered Assessment on College Campuses: Shifting the Focus from Teaching to Learning* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000).

These Problem Based Learning exercises combine the levels of war methodology with exercises shown to develop metacognition at a quicker rate than traditional lecture. It further demonstrates an active-learning methodology in a humanities classroom that incorporates decision-making across disciplines, making it relevant to students regardless of their academic major.

Introducing students into real-world environments to enhance their knowledge has been used for some time. Health professionals routinely bring students into clinics; biologists take learners into the field; educators include teaching internships; psychologists and communication students all utilize experiential learning in some form to significant effect.<sup>91</sup> Unfortunately, most of this experiential learning takes place in a discipline-specific environment, and the military is no different. The Air Force Academy routinely allows cadets to use flight simulators, gliders, or powered aircraft to generate the three-dimensional thinking that pilots require. Further, many courses connect those experiences with aeronautics, giving the cadets a truly immersive experience in the learning. Pre-airpower history courses traditionally have more difficulty since two-dimensional warfare is extinct.<sup>92</sup> Thankfully, experiential learning can exist in such a historical setting. The Department of History at the Air Force Academy takes cadets on a “Historical Weapon’s Shoot,” giving them a chance to fire weapons beginning with the 1766 Charleville musket and advancing through the weapons of American history.<sup>93</sup> Each weapon station is manned by a professor dressed in period uniform. For instance, the Korean War station will allow students to fire Korean war-era weapons while being instructed in period garb. Thus,

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<sup>91</sup> Jeffrey Cantor, “Experiential Learning in Higher Education: Linking Classroom and Community.,” *ERIC Digest*, ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education (1997), accessed February 18, 2017, [www.eric.ed.gov](http://www.eric.ed.gov).

<sup>92</sup> Two-dimensional warfare is comprised of only surface warfare on land and sea. It neglects air or sub-surface technology.

<sup>93</sup> U.S. Air Force Academy Public Affairs. “Cadets take part in historical weapons shoot.” Published April 24, 2015 <http://www.usafa.af.mil/News/Features/Display/Article/619662/cadets-take-part-in-historical-weapons-shoot/>. Accessed 4 September 2017.

cadets participate in the evolution of weaponry from the American Revolution through the modern wars in Iraq and Afghanistan while experiencing the differences in uniform and equipment. Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Watanabe, Assistant Professor of History at USAFA, explains, “The smell of damp wool mixed with gunpowder added to the historical experience. Many shooters got to try on various pieces of (gear), increasing their understanding of soldiering through the ages. The shooters smell the powder, feel the recoil and hear the report of the weapons, but they also experience the challenge of loading and firing these weapons of history in all sorts of conditions.”<sup>94</sup> Cadets can touch and smell the changing technology since the eighteenth-century and comprehend how technological advancements need to be backed up with sound decision-making. The students know that their future involves warfare, so this type of experiential learning is directly relevant to every cadet involved.

Incorporating experiential learning early in an undergraduate’s career enhances cognitive development in the same way as Problem Based Learning while encouraging multidisciplinary thought, once again bridging the gap between STEM and Humanities and creating relevancy. Timothy Stanton argues that public service is another excellent way to develop socially responsible and civically minded students. Most institutions claim that their mission is to produce intelligent and culturally-minded citizens, so it is surprising that this approach is not used more often in academia.<sup>95</sup> Integrating public service early in collegiate life focuses students’ ability to determine what they want out of their college experience leading to an understanding that each discipline is unique and critical, whether it is STEM or the Humanities. For example, cadets at the service academies have a very diverse core curriculum, including Aeronautical

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Timothy Stanton, “Liberal Arts, Experiential Learning and Public Service: Necessary Ingredients for Socially Responsible Undergraduate Education.” (presented at the Annual Conference of the National Society for Internships and Experiential Education, (16th Smugglers’ Notch, VT: ERIC, 1987), 24.



Engineering, Computer Science, Electrical Engineering, Engineering Mechanics, as well as History, English, Political Science, Military Strategic Studies, and Philosophy.<sup>96</sup>

Most courses incorporate some type of experiential learning exercise, but rarely do they cross disciplines. Inserting a multidisciplinary exercise across the levels of war would engender the type of complex interdisciplinary thinking necessary in twenty-first century leaders. Further, this type of partnership is exactly what Barbara Gross Davis suggests in *Tools for Teaching*.<sup>97</sup> The Academies are able to tailor parts of the curriculum to relevant subjects because they know where their students are headed. While civilian universities do not have the same luxury, USAFA can still tailor their curriculum to the *a priori* assumption that graduates will enter the Air Force at the tactical level. In other words, cadets will most like not be demoted to lower enlisted ranks, nor will they emerge as a Colonel or General strategist directly after graduation. Rather, they must know how to interpret and implement the strategic guidance of their superiors. Ultimately, the goal would be to have cadets engage in public service, determine causation for the situation based on a study of the humanities, and attempt to find a STEM-based technological solution to aid the service, thus practicing a multidisciplinary approach to PBL and Experiential Learning.

Problem-Based and Experiential Learning are not new pedagogical techniques; David Kolb formalized experiential learning theories in his aptly-titled *Experiential Learning*:

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<sup>96</sup> The exact classes vary slightly between service academies, with the differences deriving from each service's core responsibilities. For instance, instead of requiring Astronautical Engineering as USAFA does, West Point requires Environmental Engineering and Annapolis mandates Engineering in the Littoral Zone. USAFA Curriculum Handbook, 94-104. <https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/CHB.pdf> accessed 7 September 2017. USNA Core Curriculum <https://www.usna.edu/Academics/Majors-and-Courses/Course-Requirements-Core.php> accessed 14 September 2017. United States Military Academy Academic Program, Class of 2020, 15-21. [http://www.usma.edu/curriculum/SiteAssets/SitePages/Course%20Catalog/RedBook\\_GY2020\\_20170803.pdf](http://www.usma.edu/curriculum/SiteAssets/SitePages/Course%20Catalog/RedBook_GY2020_20170803.pdf) accessed 14 September 2017.

<sup>97</sup> Barbara Gross Davis, *Tools for Teaching*, 2nd ed., The Jossey-Bass higher and adult education series (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2009), 235.

*Experience as the Source of Learning and Development* in 1984.<sup>98</sup> Yet these frequently utilized techniques are usually kept in a strict field-specific setting among undergraduates cordoned off within their major. While this benefits the students inside each discipline, it fails the holistic liberal arts mission of producing civically-minded complex thinkers. The solution is to incorporate Learning Communities immediately upon students' arrival to a university.<sup>99</sup> Wynn defines learning communities as "classes that are linked or clustered, often around an interdisciplinary theme, and that enroll a common cohort of students."<sup>100</sup> If new students were strategically placed into grouped learning communities based upon categories such as their career aspirations, projected fields of study, hobbies, and personality traits, the institution could create unique multidisciplinary groups that incorporate teamwork throughout their academic endeavors. Further, placing these strategic Learning Communities within the pedagogical framework of PBL and Experiential Learning courses, specifically in the humanities, can rebuild the cohesiveness of a fractured disciplinary university system. A cohort of multidisciplinary students who understand the importance of both STEM and the humanities can illuminate the pedagogical benefits to a weak institutional leadership team. Revamping the system would require a significant shift in university policy, but the benefits of creating a culturally-inclusive and disciplinary-diverse class of students would be worth the effort.

To further express the levels of war methodology, these Learning Communities could blend between class years, with Seniors mirroring the strategic level, Juniors and Sophomores the operational, and Freshmen the tactical. Thankfully, the Military Academies do this already. Cadets enter with no responsibility other than to follow orders. Each year they gain more

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<sup>98</sup> David A. Kolb, *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1984).

<sup>99</sup> Charles Wynn, et. al. "Measuring the Effects of Problem-Based Learning," *Learning Communities Research and Practice* 2, no. 2 (November 30, 2014): 1-33.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

responsibility until as Seniors, they work with the Academy leadership to shape the strategic policy of the institution.

While difficulties exist in implementing this, the benefits to students are enormous. For one, they experience the hierarchical form of the military in an academic environment and understand the necessity of a liberal arts education. This alone has the potential to show the relevancy of the humanities in a STEM-centric environment.

Service Academies are at a natural advantage creating Learning Communities; something that derives from the common calling inherent in members of the military. Even though their academic interests are as diverse as students in a civilian university, cadets have the shared knowledge that the common defense of the nation continues to be their collective mission after graduation. Thus, instructors have the ability to use their military experiences to bridge disciplinary differences. Effective academic projects focus on military problems while utilizing cadets from a variety of undergraduate majors. War gaming is one way to engage students while implementing the levels of war pedagogical methodology.

## **Gamification**

Games in the classroom have been a topic of pedagogical debate for many years; however, Jane McGonigal asserts that gaming is the cure for lagging student engagement.<sup>101</sup> Additionally, *The History Teacher* routinely devotes space to thought-provoking articles extolling the virtues or detriments of using games to enhance student engagement in the

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<sup>101</sup> Tara Buck. "The Awesome Power of Gaming in Higher Education." *Ed Tech*. <https://edtechmagazine.com/higher/article/2013/10/awesome-power-gaming-higher-education>. Accessed 11 Sept 2017.

classroom.<sup>102</sup> The proliferation of modern console games has only strengthened the argument, but games have not yet made large headway into the academic environment. A traditional problem that teachers often face is how to incorporate gaming into a course when timing is already a critical issue. Survey courses are especially problematic. They need innovative, entertaining, and engaging techniques to draw in students that are bombarded with distractions, from social media to sports to video games to music all in the palm of their hand. Modern undergraduates struggle to focus on the traditional lecture necessitating instructors to modify their teaching techniques. For many professors, this includes games.

Some survey courses have managed to utilize traditional board games into their classrooms with success. For instance, John Pagnotti and William B. Russell III explain how they incorporated chess into their World History classroom in “Exploring Medieval European Society with Chess: An Engaging Activity for the World History Classroom.”<sup>103</sup> In their article, they elucidate how chess “provides educators with a classroom-tested lesson activity for teaching medieval European society content using the game of chess by providing background information on the history of chess, a rationale for including chess in the classroom, and step-by-step procedures to infuse this activity when the topic of feudalism is covered.”<sup>104</sup> In the classroom, they discuss the history of chess, trace the evolution of the game from inception through its modern variant, and compare the game to feudal society. During the unit, students learn and play the game against each other, discussing strategy and developing different ways to adjust the rules to match various historical societies. Their approach is a worthwhile endeavor

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<sup>102</sup> *The History Teacher* 50, no. 4 (August 2017), devotes four of its seven articles to gaming in the classroom. Their online presence devotes an entire section to gaming in the classroom dating back five years. <http://www.societyforhistoryeducation.org/games.html> Accessed 12 Sept 2017.

<sup>103</sup> John Pagnotti and William B. Russell III, “Exploring Medieval European Society with Chess: An Engaging Activity for the World History Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 46, no. 1 (2012): 1-33.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 29

and seems to engage the students, but unfortunately it is not applicable across various historical courses other than feudal societies.

Similar problems exist for many other games, some sacrificing historical accuracy for student engagement while others necessitate large blocks of time. Professor Solomon K. Smith uses war-games to teach the American Revolution in his Colonial America class, and praises the pedagogical benefits that games provide. He states that “wargames force students to participate in the decision making process... [and] allows the students to engage in real-time research as they try to understand how the actual battles progressed in history.”<sup>105</sup> He then asks the participants to write a short paper describing what they experienced, noting that the students write with a new perspective — one that contains emotion and personal involvement. Although Smith saw great pedagogical benefit in using war-games, he had to adapt his syllabus to accommodate the extra time, going so far as to require hours of gaming outside of the regular class period. To fix the problem, he made the war-games voluntary for his students, seeing ten to seventeen of twenty-five students participate.<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately, his approach re-introduces the major problem for instructors: time and interest. While those that volunteered to play gained pedagogical and historical benefits, the instructor cannot penalize those that did not participate. Thus, while educational, these games could not be used as overarching examples in class without alienating non-participants, nor could they be used in course-wide tests or papers. Further, Professor Smith’s article does not divulge if he tried wargaming with a class size larger than twenty-five students or if he attempted to war-game in a survey course. One can imagine that the larger the class, and the quicker the pace of instruction, the less likely a war-game could work.

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<sup>105</sup> Solomon K. Smith, “Pounding Dice into Musket Balls: Using Wargames to Teach the American Revolution,” *The History Teacher* 46, no. 4 (August 2013): 564–565.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 566-567.

A counter-argument might suggest that because officers in the military, particularly at the War Colleges, engage in wargaming on a large scale, that it can also be done with many students in a fast-paced course like a U.S. History survey. And while it is true that military schools, including the Service Academies, routinely war-game as a part of their curriculum, their pedagogical focus is extremely specific compared to civilian universities.<sup>107</sup> The military conducts wargames as a tool for fighting future conflicts rather than imparting historical knowledge. Though many historical strategic, operational, and tactical situations are used in military wargaming, the base objective is to examine how better decisions could be made in the future instead of the historical value of the game itself. Further, the Service Academies and War Colleges build entire departments around the military arts and sciences. At the Air Force Academy, the Department of Military and Strategic Studies conducts several in-class wargaming scenarios as well as oversees an extra-curricular war-gaming club for cadets.<sup>108</sup> So while wargaming is pedagogically effective as a learning tool, it is extremely time consuming. When time is at such a premium during a survey course, adding a new time-consuming exercise is not something many professors want to try. Thus, games have not become prominent inside of undergraduate classrooms.

The idea that a student could play a game as homework and write a short paper about it is well founded. Board games like *Axis and Allies*, *Diplomacy*, or *1776* are useful for teaching strategy to those students who enjoy that style of play, whereas video games provide another way for students to learn and engage in strategic decision making. *Europa Universalis* is commonly cited as one of the best historically accurate strategic video games on the market that also

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<sup>107</sup> USAFA, for one, offers a course named “Wargaming Airpower,” offered in the Military Strategic Studies department, that utilizes modeling and simulation across the levels of war. USAFA Curriculum Handbook, 321.

<sup>108</sup> Military and Strategic Studies. <https://www.usafa.edu/academic/military-strategic-studies/> accessed 14 September 2017.

incorporates diplomacy, economics, operational and tactical levels, as well as the ability to play over a myriad of historical time periods. This makes it a wonderful choice to highlight the levels of war. At the same time, it is notoriously difficult to learn. Nonetheless, there are a myriad of games that span the levels of war. Thus, if the goal is to get students to understand, experience and engage with the strategic, the operational, and the tactical in a historical setting, games provide an excellent tool.

In his article “Teaching History with Digital Historical Games: An Introduction to the Field and Best Practices,” author Jeremiah McCall cites the most prominent and popular historical games available as of 2016. His list includes tactical first-person shooters like *Call of Duty*, third-person adventures in historical settings such as *Assassin’s Creed* and overarching strategic games like *Total War*.<sup>109</sup> Throughout his article, McCall emphasizes that video games can be an pedagogically effective when combined with teacher oversight and historical instruction. The critical element is that professor’s must take the time to “explicitly connect the game to course instruction” while continuing to “discuss, debrief, and evaluate” the student’s gaming throughout the semester.<sup>110</sup> When done correctly, games can add a level of realism and emotion to historical instruction.

Games also help differentiate between the levels of war while allowing the students to make choices and see the consequences of their decisions. Choice, consequences, and replayability are key benefits in the usefulness of gaming in the classroom.<sup>111</sup> In addition to understanding the levels of war, cadets can see how the decisions at one level affect the others. For example, if, during a game such as *Civilization* or *Europa Universalis*, a student focuses on a

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<sup>109</sup> Jeremiah McCall, “Teaching History With Digital Historical Games: An Introduction to the Field and Best Practices,” *Simulation & Gaming* 47, no. 4 (August 2016): 517–542.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 534-535.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 524-525.

tactical victory at the cost of a large percentage of their overall forces, their subsequent choices will require either small units or waiting to rebuild the expended troops before embarking on any strategic gains.

Once again, time constraints exist, especially in a survey class. Therefore, the ability to assign a variety of pre-determined games as homework, combined with a reflective historical analysis writing assignment, provides another pedagogical method that could increase complex thinking while promoting student metacognition. In short, when used effectively, games would reasonably enhance the levels of war pedagogical framework while engaging today's distraction-prone undergraduates.

A trend has emerged recently called “gamification.” Gamification involves using elements of gaming, such as role-playing or using arbitrary point systems to determine winners and incorporating them into classroom exercises. In the video-game era, researchers found that even using avatars or digital medals increase student engagement.<sup>112</sup> Since 2010, entire gamified courses have been developed, complete with leaderboards, badges, and points. Proponents claim that modern undergraduates respond to a gamified approach over more traditional, often tedious, coursework.<sup>113</sup> At the same time, other studies show mixed results. A 2014 longitudinal study argued that gamified courses led to *less* motivated students and *lower* final exam scores.<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately, the studies contained widely variable methodologies that led to the differing outcomes. Nonetheless, gamification remains a powerful classroom technique that continues to affect modern pedagogy.

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<sup>112</sup> Anastasia Kulpa, “Applied Gamification: Reframing Evaluation in Post-Secondary Classrooms,” *College Teaching* 65, no. 2 (April 3, 2017): 58–68.

<sup>113</sup> Adrián Domínguez et al., “Gamifying Learning Experiences: Practical Implications and Outcomes,” *Computers & Education* 63 (April 2013): 380–392.

<sup>114</sup> Michael D. Hanus and Jesse Fox, “Assessing the Effects of Gamification in the Classroom: A Longitudinal Study on Intrinsic Motivation, Social Comparison, Satisfaction, Effort, and Academic Performance,” *Computers & Education* 80 (January 2015): 152–161.



In any case, the aforementioned techniques are just that: techniques. They are useful tools to engage modern students in the classroom while extolling the relevancy of history in the twenty-first century, especially in a STEM-centric environment. Though the techniques listed are suggestions, there are ways to impart the hierarchical military structure.<sup>115</sup> Once cadets understand their role and how their actions impact the other levels, they will comprehend the value of a liberal arts education, its relation to the modern military, and their role immediately after graduation.

This chapter has focused on three main objectives. First, it highlighted some of the issues and problems inherent in modern academia, mainly how military history classes inside of liberal arts Service Academies fail to provide relevant training for future graduates. Instead, much of the time is spent on either the enlisted masses or the military leaders; the Great Men of history. These approaches miss the level that cadets will find themselves after graduation; namely, the tactical level. To remedy this, academia needs a concrete, standardized definition of “critical thinking” that will help breed a generation of multidisciplinary students. The U.S. Air Force Academy offers one such definition.

Second, levels of war were used to show that instructors could examine the interrelationship between the strategic, the operational, and the tactical, adapting them between sub-disciplines to provide a more relevant student experience. The Service Academies do a decent job with this model, but admittedly it would be a challenge to incorporate a similar environment into a civilian university.

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<sup>115</sup> John Pagnotti and William B. Russell III, “Exploring Medieval European Society with Chess: An Engaging Activity for the World History Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 46, no. 1 (2012): 29–43. While Pagnotti and Russell focus their article on the social class structure of medieval feudal society, they use the game of chess as a technique to highlight a social hierarchical class structure and test student understanding in the process.

Finally, the four examples of Problem Based Learning, Experiential Learning, Learning Communities, and Gaming showcased how they might change the traditional lecture-model in the classroom to produce higher orders of metacognition within the student body, regardless of major. Each example highlights techniques that can make the levels of war relevant to undergraduate cadets. As a reminder, the levels of war pedagogical methodology seeks to get cadets to view military history through the lens of the strategic, operational, and tactical levels and understand that the actions at one level impact the others.<sup>116</sup> Once a student understands the levels and their interaction, they can more easily understand historical context and critically think about historical causation. Further, cadets at Service Academies can analyze leadership styles across various levels of war while placing themselves in similar simulated situations to experience, on some small level, the decisions that went in to certain military engagements. It has the added benefit of creating an engaging, student-centered, active-learning environment that promotes student metacognition.

A STEM-Centric academic environment requires the humanities to defend their importance in today's society. Students who believe advancements in technology will solve national and international problems, particularly in war, must understand that war is still human *despite* technological advancement. Ultimately the goal is to produce critical-thinking, multidisciplinary students who understand that the humanities are relevant, even essential, in a STEM-centric society. This is especially true in the military. People fight wars and make combat decisions, not machines — not yet, anyway.

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<sup>116</sup> While the impact that each level has on the others will vary a great deal between specific engagements, eras, historical periods, and socio-political contexts, the main idea is that tactical decisions reverberate beyond the immediate context. Admittedly, there might be situations that did not greatly affect the other levels of war, yet the impact to students is in the knowledge that their immediate tactical role after graduate can shape future outcomes on a larger scale.

## **CHAPTER IV.**

### **COURSE DESCRIPTION**

Historians, like every single person, are biased, a fact that gets reiterated in every methodology course in higher education. Thankfully, the realization of bias allows scholars to strive for objectivity in their work, furthering the field through new or updated research and generating discourse in modern academia. The quest to reduce bias lowers the impact of socio-cultural blindness and opens the door for the inclusion of multiple causes outside of the traditionally-held nationalistic viewpoints.

Military professional education, on the other hand, struggles to separate bias from the historical discipline. While there is a search for objectivity in the field, it is often tainted with a modern westernized understanding of military affairs steeped in Clausewitz, Jomini, and the Military Revolution in Europe. Further, students at military schools today struggle to understand the strategy, operations, and tactics of pre-twentieth-century warfare. At the United States Air Force Academy (USFA) for example, cadets have difficulty comprehending the arguments for eighteenth-century line and volley fire. The absence of a “better way” – whatever that means – confounds the average cadet. To make matters worse, early American warfare, including the American Revolution, is often crammed into one or two lessons or skipped altogether in favor of modern conflicts.

Unfortunately, skipping eighteenth-century American warfare limits a students’ ability to wrestle with conflicts that do not have a powerful economic, diplomatic, political, and industrial

juggernaut behind the military forces, like they did in the twentieth-century. Further, military history courses omit much of what the cadets will see immediately after graduation; namely, planning, staff work, and recommending courses of action to superiors. Therefore, the goal of History 999 is to place the cadets into an early American mindset and force them to understand the American Revolution across the three levels of war while attempting to eliminate hindsight or modern anachronistic thinking.

To accomplish the goal of an immersive military experience during the American Revolution, the course will run chronologically through the war, beginning shortly before George Washington's arrival outside of Boston to take command of the Continental Army in 1775 and finishing after Charles Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in 1781. Each lesson on the syllabus has a corresponding date from the American Revolution. Most of the dates were chosen because they occur just before a major event during the war. The cadets, using only the primary sources available to the commanders at that specific date in history, must pour over the material and develop three options to brief to the "commander" (played by the instructor) at the end of each lesson. In their planning, they will have access to eighteenth-century maps, military correspondences, or available intelligence from which to make their decisions. Newspapers and pamphlets will give the cadets insight into the minds of the people.

To incorporate the socio-cultural aspect of the war, their homework will incorporate the same writings available to Americans during the Revolution. Cadets will read eighteenth-century newspapers, pamphlets (including *Common Sense* and *The Crisis* by Thomas Paine), and eyewitness accounts of the war. They will also read the various military proclamations, such as Dunmore's Proclamation in 1775, the Philipsburg Proclamation in 1779, and other military-civilian documents available to the general population.

Reading this material should give the cadets an immersion into colonial life and lead to an appreciation of the worldview that led to the demand for independence. Hopefully, student's modern-day assumptions and biases will disappear as they become engrossed in primary source material and colonial decision-making.

## **Assumptions**

History 999, "Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War," was built around several assumptions regarding course size and timing. First, it is expected to be a one-semester upper division elective comprised of forty lessons across sixteen weeks. The Air Force Academy operates on a unique schedule in that each class is offered every other day. For example, if the class met on Monday, then it would meet on Wednesday and Friday of the same week. The following week, however, it would only meet on Tuesday and Thursday. In short, each class always has an open business day between lessons.<sup>117</sup> To alleviate any confusion, USAFA has directed that each semester contains exactly forty lessons. As a one semester course, H999 is planned for forty lessons.

Second, History 100 "An Introduction to Military History" is a prerequisite for H999. H100 is a requirement for all cadets at the Air Force Academy, and nearly all take it as a freshman due to the nature of its "100" level designation and prerequisite status for many other upper division courses. The class covers basic military doctrine and much of American military history, but places far more emphasis towards twentieth-century airpower history at the expense of early American warfare. In 2014, H100 began the course with the American Revolution. Since then, the course has evolved to skip colonial America entirely, instead beginning in mid-

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<sup>117</sup> The USAFA calendar is located at <https://www.usafa.edu/app/uploads/AY-2018-2019-Calendar-Approved-13-Dec-17.pdf>

nineteenth century Europe.<sup>118</sup> The new digital history textbook that the Department of History (DFH) adopted was originally created for West Point's yearlong survey course and intended for seniors. Because Military History at USAFA is a one semester survey for Freshmen, DFH adopted only the second half of the textbook which begins in 1848 and centers on Europe. The first discussion of any American military history is in Chapter 2 with the Spanish-American war.<sup>119</sup> Thus, while cadets still learn basic military doctrine and terminology, including the Levels of War, the Spectrum of Conflict, and the Threads of Continuity, there is no mention of pre-nineteenth American warfare *including* the American Revolution, the War of 1812, or the Civil War.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, H999 offers cadets a chance to learn and understand the human aspect of planning and decision-making in a pre-modern society.

Since H100 is a required class taken as freshman, and because the Air Force Academy places a large number of core courses at the sophomore level, Juniors or Seniors will make up most of the students in H999. While difficult to assess, the hopeful benefit of teaching upperclassmen is that they will have had more experience at the collegiate level and will have improved their study skills over those of freshmen or sophomores. Further, as upperclassmen, their course load is tailored towards their majors which allow for more focused interaction with their interests. Combined, that means that they can dedicate more effective study time to H999.

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<sup>118</sup> Ty Seidule and Clifford J. Rogers, eds., *West Point History of Warfare* (New York: Rowan Technologies, 2017), <http://www.westpointhistoryofwarfare.com/author-chapter-list>. Unfortunately, the comprehensive textbook is not available to the public in its entirety.

The Department of History adopted parts of the West Point's digital Military History textbook. While the textbook itself is exceptional, USAFA decided to begin the book with West Point's Chapter 33, "European Military Development, 1848-1871," by Dennis Showalter. Thus, their Chapter 33 became USAFA's Chapter 1. It deals heavily with emerging technology including the steam engine, rail road, minie ball, percussion caps, and mechanization, but skips early American warfare entirely.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid, USAFA Chapter 2 is West Points Chapter 35.

<sup>120</sup> See the attachments for diagrams of the Levels of War, the Spectrum of Conflict, and the Threads of Continuity in the Introduction.

Finally, because H999 is a history class, it is assumed that a large percentage of the students will be history majors or minors. Cadets outside of the discipline are welcome and expected, although typically an elective course will not see an abundance of STEM-field students. On the other hand, cadets from the humanities or social sciences usually enroll in similar electives. Overall, H999 expects to have between twelve and sixteen cadets enrolled in the course, with fifteen being the ideal number.

## **Goals and Outcomes**

The major goals of the course include an understanding of the interaction between the three levels of war, a thorough comprehension of the American Revolutionary War, and increased critical thinking and source analysis.

The United States Air Force Academy incorporates institution-wide outcomes aimed at growing Air Force leaders to enable twenty-first century national security. As such, the directed outcomes have a decidedly military application. Each one gives a broad description, a detailed definition, and specific proficiencies cadets must master throughout their time at USAFA. Further, each outcome is designed to impart characteristics necessary for military leaders in a dynamic international environment. Out of the nine USAFA-level outcomes, seven apply to H999. These include critical thinking; clear communications; the human condition, cultures, and societies; leadership, teamwork, and organizational management; ethics and respect for human dignity; national security of the American Republic; and warrior ethos as Airmen and Citizens.<sup>121</sup> The two institutional outcomes that do not directly apply deal specifically with STEM-related fields. They are the application of engineering methods, and scientific reasoning and the

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<sup>121</sup> USAFA Outcomes are listed at <https://www.usafa.edu/academics/outcomes/>

principles of science. Therefore, H999 is a relevant course that directly impacts the majority of the institution's core outcomes desired for every cadet.

## **Lessons and Readings**

H999 incorporates a flipped classroom inside of an active-learning environment. It also relies heavily on primary sources that have similarities to role-playing or gaming scenarios within a historical setting. In other words, a form of gamification is used throughout the semester as the bedrock of historical examination.

Each lesson throughout the course, with the exception of the first five and the last two, is assigned a specific historical date. Usually, the chosen date corresponds closely to a significant event in the American Revolution, requiring the students to develop their three courses of action to brief at the end of the class around that event. Further, cadets are not allowed to research material prior to the date given during class, forcing them to think critically about the plan of action in the eighteenth century. As the lesson progresses, the instructor must ensure that students are not projecting twenty-first century tactics onto eighteenth-century situations. To aid the instructor, the homework assignments deal entirely with the published documents widely available in the era. Thomas Paine's *The Crisis* and *Common Sense* feature prominently throughout the semester as they highlighted the arguments for Independence and influenced the American population.

The reading goal is twenty to twenty-five pages of reading per lesson. The Dean has mandated that cadets spend two minutes of preparation for every minute of class. Thus, in a 53-minute class, cadets are expected to have 106 minutes of homework. Twenty-five pages of reading should not be a problem. The expectation is that students use the extra time to prepare for their SITREP, papers, or other outside research.



## **Class Timing and Materials**

The fifty-three-minute class period itself is split into three distinct phases. The first is dedicated to the daily SITREP from one cadet that will last between twelve and fifteen minutes. Next, cadets will divide into three groups and pour over the daily primary sources while arguing for appropriate courses of action; this phase should last approximately fifteen, but no more than twenty minutes. The final phase will last fifteen minutes total, with each group having five minutes to convince the instructor/commander of the desired course of action. Thus, forty-five to fifty minutes of class time are spoken for, with three minutes of slop, which will most likely be used to gather the materials at the end of the lesson.

## **Block Guides and Lesson Plans**

Excessive rules eliminate classroom creativity. Because rules hamper creativity, the following short guide is designed to be brief, informative, and flexible. Brevity in these lesson plans is paramount, allowing the instructor room to explore the possibilities inherent in a student-centered, active-learning classroom that incorporates elements of gamification using primary sources. Thus, the instructor can adjust his or her role during each lesson based on the content and structure of the class. Because it is a student-driven course, most lessons only need the instructor to act as a facilitator to guide students towards the most appropriate primary sources and steer them away from “rabbit trails” or topics perpendicular to the flow of the course. Therefore, the block guides and lesson plans presented here will aid the professor in maintaining a coherent, albeit busy, semester.

The purpose of this guide is to provide an instructor with a basic plan for implementing H999. In that vein, this guide is geared toward a professor familiar with Early American History, but not necessarily an expert in the American Revolution or Colonial Warfare. Since the course

itself uses an active learning model centered around primary sources, the instructor only has to be familiar with the historical background; all other relevant information will emerge through the daily assignments and primary source material.

Similarly, this guide was written with two people in mind. First, it was written to remind the regular instructor of the course trajectory. During the busyness of the semester, it is easy for class preparation to diminish in the wake of other, more pressing administrative duties. This guide allows the instructor the freedom to review the lesson notes prior to class, ensure the proper materials are on hand, and proceed to the classroom. In short, this guide saves time during the year. Second, it was written with the substitute professor in mind... someone who is required to fill in with short notice and run the class. A quick examination of this material allows the fill-in instructor to understand the lesson and administer his/her role. While not common, professors are sometimes absent for multiple lessons due to temporary military assignments, abrupt deployments, or government shutdowns. This ambiguity in a military academy necessitates the occasional substitute instructor.

The next three chapters are all structured similarly. The Block Guide starts each chapter and provides an overview for the next ten to thirteen lessons. It delivers a broad spectrum of what the block entails, including its main purposes, goals and objectives. For the regular instructor, it provides a reminder of the common themes and issues that students should understand throughout the specific years that encompass the Revolutionary War.

Following each Block Guide are the corresponding lessons. Each one depicts the flow of the class and acts as an outline for the fifty-three-minute allocated timeframe. Before class, the instructor can (and should) print out the lesson guide as an in-class note-taker or reference sheet. While not required, it provides an easy method for keeping track of the discussion and

contains areas designed for notes. Further, at the end of the semester, they can all be compiled to create a comprehensive instructor assessment for the overall course.

The first five and last two lessons are not included in the guide. The first five lessons act as a review of the terminology learned in the prerequisite Military History course that is required of all freshmen cadets at the Air Force Academy. They will also act as traditional, lecture/discussion-style classes examining the prelude to hostilities prior to the Revolutionary War. These first lessons are fast-paced as they cover the major events from the French and Indian War through Lexington and Concord. Thus, they resemble a survey-level course rather than an upper-division elective and should be treated as such. Because of that, they are not included in this guide.

The last two lessons are “reflection” classes. The classroom shifts from collaborative primary source examination back to a discussion, and the students are expected to talk about their overall understanding of the American Revolution as well as their learning experiences throughout the course. In short, the last two lessons provide a formative assessment of the class as a whole, allowing the instructor and the students the opportunity to reflect on the effectiveness of the pedagogical and historical methodology.

With that in mind, the following guide details the three main blocks of instruction in bullet-format, encompassing from lesson six to lesson thirty-eight. The next section contains a basic overview of the Block Guides and Lesson Plans and is intended to be used as a reference sheet rather than a narrative of the course. Thus, what follows was written using short, bullet-point-style sentences that define each section and sub-section that the reader will encounter in the next three chapters.

## CHAPTER V

### BLOCK GUIDES AND LESSON PLANS

This section departs from the traditional narrative and instead gives an overview of Chapters VI, VII, and VIII. The following layout is consistent with the Block Guides and Lesson Plans that make up the next three chapters, making it easier to navigate the individual sections. The heart of this project is History 999, and in that vein the formatting for the lesson plans deviate from traditional Chicago/Turabian formatting into one designed for usability in the classroom. Each lesson plan is single-spaced, allowing it to print double-sided onto one sheet of paper that the instructor can bring to class. Additionally, ample white space allows one to take notes throughout the fifty-three-minute class for future reference or student assessment. Further, this chapter is intended to operate as an instructional guide on how to read Chapters VI, VII, and VIII.

The short definitions listed below are for reference use when reviewing the Block Guides and Lesson Plans in preparation for teaching History 999, “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War.” In keeping with the ease of use for the professor, the explanations below are short and somewhat curt by design. It is also expected that they are read in conjunction with Chapters VI, VII, VIII and the attached H999 Syllabus.

#### **Block Guides**

##### PURPOSE:

This section describes the main, broad purpose of the block, which is typically comprised

of ten lessons.

### OBJECTIVES:

These are the main ideas that students should understand at the end of the block. Each lesson was designed with these objectives in mind, and instructors should self-assess several times throughout the block to ensure that they are fully covered.

### TIMELINE:

Each lesson adheres to a specific historical date. In the interest of gamification and role-playing, the students must adhere to the “here and now” of the specified date. This section in the block guide lists all of the dates for the next ten lessons, allowing the instructor to glimpse the events highlighted throughout the course.

### HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

For those that are only marginally familiar with the American Revolution and early American history, this section provides an extremely short synopsis of the era. Again, it is assumed that the instructor will be somewhat familiar with the American Revolution — at least to a survey level — in order to be able to administer the course. Thus, this brief historical overview will be a reminder of the background information leading to the corresponding historical date.

### ISSUES:

Similar to the objectives, these are the main issues that students must wrestle with throughout the block. Written in the form of a question, each one can be asked in class in an

effort to get the students to think about the bigger picture in the midst of briefings, battles, and primary sources. The open-ended questions should lead cadets to the objectives but are not designed to replace the objectives.

### BLOCK ASSIGNMENT:

Each block contains a short paper assignment. In addition to the syllabus, the requirements are listed here. The Block Assignment is the one time where students are required to use secondary sources, but they must be pre-approved. Cadets are only authorized to use prominent scholars of the American Revolution or Early America. Hopefully, this will prevent the cadets from attempting to cite non-scholarly, internet-based sources like “Billy-Bob’s Basement Blog.”

## **Lesson Plans**

### PURPOSE:

Similar to the Block Guide, the purpose section is a quick overview of what the lesson is designed to accomplish. Usually it provides some background information and details what level of war the lesson revolves around.

### STRUCTURE:

The structure of each class rarely changes. It allocates twelve to fifteen minutes for the student-led Situational Report (SITREP), fifteen minutes to read through the primary sources, and fifteen minutes to brief the three separate Courses of Action (COAs). Each period is fifty-three minutes long, leaving seven minutes as “slop” to use in whatever manner works best for

that particular lesson.

The first few lessons of each block will provide slightly more detailed notes in this section, but in the interest of brevity, they will not appear in subsequent lessons because they do not change. This section also dictates the role of the instructor and the particular level of war for that lesson.

#### READING/HOMEWORK DUE:

A quick review of what the students should have read in preparation for the class. The instructor can decide how much in-class time to devote to a review of the homework. In most cases, the homework reading was chosen because it was material widely disseminated during the Revolutionary War and affected or influenced the civilian populace.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DATE:

This subsection contains an overview of why the specific historical date was chosen and its relevance to the American Revolution. The lesson should adhere to the listed date, and students should not research “future” events. Often, this includes the historical outcome of certain battles.

#### SITREP STUDENT:

In this guide, each student is labeled “Cadet X.” The individual’s name should be filled in during class and kept as a reference.

### SITREP AREAS OF FOCUS:

The student should brief these aspects as they relate to the specific level of war in addition to what is listed in the syllabus. Some SITREPs are more involved than others, and it would behoove students to seek instructor guidance prior to beginning research. Each lesson will list specifics of what needs to be covered during that particular SITREP.

### SITREP QUESTIONS:

Any additional questions that the instructor should ask after the briefing, not including things left out during the briefing itself, are listed in this subsection.

### CORRESPONDENCES, MAPS, PRIMARY SOURCES:

While the correspondences could engulf the entire fifty-three-minute class, the goal is to force the students to determine which writings are relevant to their task and which are not while simulating a wartime planning environment. The easiest way to view correspondences is through [www.founders.archives.gov](http://www.founders.archives.gov), which has digitized most of the major correspondences during the American Revolution, specifically George Washington's. The site also has the ability to filter the results based on date, so the instructor or student could enter the date of the previous lesson and the date of the current lesson to view everything written between the two. While astronomical at first, the number of letters should be narrowed down by excluding diary entries or personal letters. The students, acting as staff, should only have access to the correspondences that the on-scene historical commander could grant them in the field. The same is also true of the maps. Only primary source maps available by that specific historical date are allowed in class (with some minor exceptions listed in the corresponding lesson plan).



The sources listed in this section are the most important ones that are instrumental for the students to read. The professor should not instruct them to read these particular sources — the students should find them on their own — but they must be available. If the students miss them by the start of the COA briefings, they need to be queried.

#### COURSES OF ACTION (COAs):

Each lesson culminates with the students, still acting as the Commander's Staff, presenting three projected courses of action based on the information gained through their primary source research. Hopefully, the first one will be similar to the actual, historical COA during the Revolutionary War. The other two should be realistic considering the situation in the eighteenth century. If not, the instructor must point out any anachronistic thinking or inherent twenty-first-century bias.

This section is also designed for notes. The instructor should quickly list the chosen COAs for future reference.

#### FINAL THOUGHTS:

A “final thoughts” section is included for any last-minute, big-picture revelations. Sometimes these are primarily for the instructor, and sometimes they are for the students. In any case, they should be reviewed before dismissing the cadets at the end of the lesson.

#### HOMEWORK:

A reminder of what the students need to accomplish prior to the next class is listed here.

## CONCLUSION:

Chapters four, five, and six comprise the meat of H999. Hopefully, this short guide clarifies any confusion about the layout, structure, or methodology of the course and can act as reference during the semester. Overall, the reliance on primary sources and the flipped-classroom, role-playing mentality of the class is paramount. Other than that, flexibility is built in to the fabric of H999, allowing both the instructor and the cadets to develop critical and complex thinking in the most conducive manner possible.

## CHAPTER VI

### **BLOCK GUIDE: Part I -- Strategic Survival, 1775-1776**

#### PURPOSE:

The main lessons that take place throughout 1775 and 1776 deal with the strategic, operational, and tactical decisions regarding the creation and implementation of the Continental Army. After wrestling with the Congressional choice to create and fund a Continental Army and Washington's initial strategic decisions to capture Canada, cadets must tackle the operational struggles that Philip Schuyler, Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold encountered while they moved their forces towards Quebec. During this phase, students must deal with the employment of Washington's strategic orders while struggling with operational logistical problems, especially the acquisition of artillery, gunpowder, and food. Further, cadets must pour over maps to determine the most efficient and effective ways to capture Quebec, thus coercing Canada to join the Patriot cause.

Once cadets address the strategic and operational challenges, the class will shift focus to the tactical level, where the students must develop different ways to attack Quebec based on intelligence, maps, and previous history (such as the British capture of Quebec in 1759). All reading will be through primary sources, discounting any that were recorded in the past-tense. In other words, cadets cannot use sources written in the future. They are limited to sources that coincide with the date on the syllabus.

As 1775 turned into 1776, cadets must shift focus once again from Canada to the Middle

Colonies. They must recommend strategic and operational plans as the British concentrate their forces in New York. Failure is part of growth, and cadets should assess the American failures during the New York Campaign that led to their retreat into New Jersey. In doing so, they will understand the implications that led to the Trenton and Princeton campaigns and their effectiveness across the levels of war.

The block concludes with cadets tactically focused on Trenton as they decipher maps and create courses of action to defeat the Hessian forces during the Christmas campaign. Thus, throughout the block, cadets will prepare for strategic survival, operational movements, and tactical outcomes to alter the course of the Revolutionary War.

In short, this block is designed to force cadets to act as military planners as they develop specific courses of action, based on primary sources, and apply them to historical scenarios in 1775 and 1776.

#### OBJECTIVES:

- Understand the political and military difficulties inherent in the early stages of the Revolutionary War; namely, the initial dichotomy of wanting to remain with Britain without giving up individual liberty.
- Comprehend the importance of Canada, and particularly Quebec, to the Patriot cause.
- Determine appropriate actions and military responses during the New York Campaign.
- Develop the ability to cleanly transition between the three levels of war and recognize how each level is applied to the overall goal of winning the war.
- Synthesize primary sources to create a cohesive plan at each level of war. Communicate each plan effectively without projecting twenty-first-century ideals onto eighteenth-century militaries.

## TIMELINE:

Lesson 6 - 10 May 1775 – It Begins

Lesson 7 - 5 July 1775 – Washington arrives in Cambridge

Lesson 8 - 12 November 1775 – Montgomery’s Campaign

Lesson 9 - 18 December 1775 – Preparation for Quebec

Lesson 10 - 30 December 1775 – Assault on Quebec

Lesson 11 - 18 March 1776 – British evacuate Boston... a victory?

Lesson 12 - 25 August 1776 – Independence! Strategic reassessment?

Lesson 13 - 30 October 1776 – The New York Campaign

Lesson 14 - 19 November 1776 – Forts Fall

Lesson 15 - 24 December 1776 – Trenton and Princeton

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

The course begins with the opening sessions of the Second Continental Congress on May 10, 1775. The Shot Heard ‘Round the World occurred barely a month earlier, and Congress found a colonial populace woefully ill-prepared to face the British military in traditional warfare. While the Minutemen and colonial militia performed admirably during the latter stages of the Lexington and Concord affair, as well as the Battle of Bunker/Breed’s Hill, the fact remains that there was no formal American army. Without an army, Congress could not adequately pursue negotiation. Thus, once hostilities commenced, the Second Continental Congress immediately gathered with the intention of determining military options against Great Britain.<sup>122</sup> It quickly became apparent that the united colonies needed a Continental Army commanded by a single

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<sup>122</sup> Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2010): 184.

individual who had a strategic grasp of military matters. George Washington fit the bill. During this opening lesson, cadets will examine the questions and problems posed to Congress, namely, “whether America could better protect its liberties inside or outside of the British empire.”<sup>123</sup> While the direct application of the problem is short lived — the next lesson introduces George Washington as the new Commander-in-Chief — the strategic questions about independence reverberated until July 4, 1776, another five lessons away.

The Canadian expedition, initially commanded by Philip Schuyler, began exceedingly well as Fort Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Montreal fell into the American hands without major bloodshed. Unfortunately, the Quebec campaign, now led by Richard Montgomery because of Schuyler’s worsening illness, failed in spectacular fashion. At its end, Montgomery lay dead, Benedict Arnold severely wounded, and many expert riflemen captured, including their Captain, Daniel Morgan.<sup>124</sup>

As 1775 turned into 1776, and as news reached General Washington of the failed Canadian expedition, the cadets must turn their attention to the survival of the American army. Though the Continental Army existed, it had to prove itself against the Redcoats. George Washington discussed the importance of New York City in his correspondences and decided to engage British General Sir William Howe in a struggle for New York.<sup>125</sup> Cadets must debate the New York campaign on all three levels of war and argue for specific courses of action. As they read the primary sources, most cadets will begin to sense the tensions between commanders, between Congress, and between the Patriot and Loyalists members of the population at large.

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<sup>123</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763 - 1789*, Rev. and expanded ed., The Oxford History of the United States C. Vann Woodward, general ed.; Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007): 318.

<sup>124</sup> For an excellent account of the assault on Quebec, see: W. J Wood, *Battles of the Revolutionary War, 1775-1781* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press; Oxford Publicity Partnership, 2003).

<sup>125</sup> Two prominent examples include correspondences between George Washington and Major General Charles Lee, Jan 5 1776, and between Washington and John Adams, Jan 6, 1776. *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series. <https://founders.archives.gov/series/Washington/03>

Eventually, the existence of American independence itself will seem bleak, as it did for the American soldiers retreating from continuous defeats in New York. The block will culminate with the planning of the Trenton and Princeton campaign. At this point in the war, many historians argue that the existence of the Army itself was at stake. If the Continental Army was going to survive into 1777, strategic adjustments had to be instituted.

### ISSUES:

- How did the Continental Congress and their Commander-in-Chief create and fund a Continental Army able to effectively engage with the British military?
- Would a standing army or a militia be more effective against the Redcoats?
- Should the Patriots wage traditional European warfare or conduct guerrilla/insurgency operations?
- What would be the best way to bring the British to the bargaining table?
- Was there a bargaining chip available... something that the King/Parliament wants?
- Was the Continental Army ready to engage the British in open combat?

### SOURCES:

This class relies almost exclusively on primary sources, mainly correspondences between commanders during the Revolutionary War. While there are several secondary sources, they are used sparingly and only to provide relevant background information. During class, students will experience “information overload” as they attempt to read through a large amount of correspondence in a short period of time while deciding on what to incorporate into their daily briefing. While overwhelming, this is by design. As future officers, cadets must learn what

information is important, and what can wait.

Most of the correspondences are from the *Papers of George Washington*, all digitally accessible online. Throughout this instructor's guide, there will not be a list of specific letters; rather, the instructor should visit <https://founders.archives.gov> and limit the search between the corresponding dates in the syllabus. Students are not expected to read personal letters between family or diary entries, as they would not be provided to a military staff. Important documents are highlighted in each lesson guide. Otherwise, the instructor should provide a large amount of digital or printed source material during each class.

Maps are also primary source material, and most are found on the Library of Congress's website ([www.loc.gov](http://www.loc.gov)). On rare occasions, a map may be used that is printed after an event took place, but those occasions are also listed in the specific lesson guide. Once a map has been used in class, it is available on all subsequent lessons. Thus, the collection is cumulative throughout the semester.

Finally, with the exception of the three short research papers, all homework reading will include primary source material. The goal is to use information that was widely published during the American Revolution so that the students understand what the public read to inform their thoughts. In that vein, Thomas Paine's work features prominently throughout the semester.

### BLOCK ASSIGNMENT:

Strategic Analysis Paper - Due lesson 10

- 1000 words or less
- Must have a historical argument, a solid thesis, and present researched evidence supporting your position about the strategic level of war.



- Must use scholarly secondary sources. I will only accept sources written by approved authors.

The following list are authors that are automatically approved, check with me if you have an author that is not on this list. Any author mentioned in Chapter II is also acceptable.<sup>126</sup>

- Don Higginbotham, Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, Robert Middlekauff, Wayne Lee, Eric Foner, Merrill Jensen, Joseph Ellis, T.H. Breen, John Ferling, David McCullough, David Hackett Fischer
- Do not forget to think about any economic, social, cultural, diplomatic, or military issues.
- Answer the following questions: What was the strategy, and what were its challenges? How effective was the American (or British) strategy to this point in the war? Why did the Commander believe it was the correct strategy to win the war?

#### FINAL THOUGHTS:

- Class time is extremely limited; therefore, cadets must be expedient with how they read through the various correspondences. During this first block, the instructor should advise the students on the best methods to quickly consume material.
  - Group work is the easiest. If the students are split into three groups, divide the correspondences three ways (or more).
  - Allow students to write on the letters, dissecting the important issues from the mundane.
  - Ensure they remain focused on the task: developing Courses of Actions relevant to the situation of the day and the applicable level of war. Extraneous information can be quickly set aside.

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<sup>126</sup> Note to Instructors: this list is not all inclusive but is designed to introduce students to many of the most prominent American Revolution scholars and to prevent the wide array of internet-based, non-academic websites from creeping into the student's research.

- There are seven unassigned minutes built into each lesson; use that time to ensure cadets understand the political, military, social, and economic situations in the eighteenth-century that may not be covered in the various correspondences. A short mini-lecture is one of several techniques suitable to fill the extra seven minutes.
- For an excellent description of the various American strategies, see David Hackett Fischer's *Washington's Crossing*, pages 79-80.
- The class website will contain most of the essential documents throughout the semester. Visit <http://menath2001.wixsite.com/leadershiptriad> for more information as the information contained therein is updated frequently.
- One final reminder: the individual lesson plans are single-spaced by design so that they can be printed off on one front and back sheet of paper for in-class use.

## Lesson 6: Strategic Level - It Begins

### Purpose of the lesson:

This lesson begins on the same historical date that the Second Continental Congress met to determine their response to the Battles of Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill. Violence had commenced, but Independence was not yet a foregone conclusion. Most delegates, as well as citizens, still desired a peaceful reunification with England; however, they would not accept anything less than their own representation and liberty. The perceived tyranny had to be addressed before any de-escalation could commence.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

- Provide Primary Sources, cadets determine 3 COA's based on strategic situation with the help of correspondences & maps
- Preferably, cadets will get divided into 3 groups. If they do, they can decide how to split the work so that they can develop 3 separate COAs. They will still need to coordinate between groups between so as not to duplicate effort.

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- Each group has five minutes to present their Course of Action, argue for its effectiveness, and answer questions about its feasibility.
- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **John Hancock**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation — how these plans will achieve the Congressional/Political goal of a peace with England (NOT Independence, yet).

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Patrick Henry's "*Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death*" speech to Congress
- "Letters of a Westchester Farmer," By the Reverend Samuel Seabury

Both sources detail the arguments for or against the actions of the Continental Congress in resisting the King, especially to the point of violence. These two primary sources present a clear delineation at the emotions that both Patriots and Loyalists felt as the situational-waters reached a boiling point.

### Significance of the Date:

- 10 May 1775 was the date that the Second Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia. While the delegates quickly agreed that they needed to raise a military force, they did not know how to go about doing so, or even the ramifications of such actions if the King agreed to relax control over the colonies. No one yet spoke of Independence. First, they needed to appoint a Commander.
- George Washington, Horatio Gates, Charles Lee, John Hancock, and (allegedly) Richard Montgomery were considered for Commander-in-Chief, although Artemas Ward was commanding the militia surrounding Boston.
- Ethan Allen, his Green Mountain Boys, and Benedict Arnold captured Fort Ticonderoga the night of 9-10 May, gaining military stores including gunpowder and artillery. Though Congress did not know about it until 18 May, it is still applicable to this lesson as the

next date has other pressing matters.

#### SITREP Student:

Cadet X - If less than 15 students enrolled, this lesson can be a demo SITREP by the instructor. If not, the demo should occur on lesson 5, and this will be the first cadet led briefing.

#### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Since no army existed yet, the focus should be on the New England colonial militias and the British troops. Gunpowder stores, ammo, artillery, and food should be briefed (if able), as well as the morale of both the militia and the civilians in and around Boston (Higginbotham says 20,000 militia around Boston)<sup>127</sup>. Congress will not authorize anything military related (including gunpowder), until June.<sup>128</sup>
- British troops and their actions should be discussed, but the Battle of Bunker Hill will not occur until June 17th, nor will Clinton, Howe, and Burgoyne have arrived.

#### SITREP Questions (if not addressed):

- Morale of the militia, civilians
- Command structure, and which colonial units are involved

#### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Correspondences: John Adams diary, "To Mass Bay Co," Ethan Allen takes Ticonderoga  
Note: John Adams diary relates his public experience in Congress and is thus usable in class.
- Newspapers: Essex Gazette, Apr and May 1775 accounts of Lexington and Concord
- Maps: America/Colonial area maps, pre-May 1775

#### Courses of Action (COAs):

- Determine what actions the Second Continental Congress should take in light of Lexington and Concord, the Intolerable Acts, and the gathering militia around Boston.
- Give actionable ideas that allow for reconciliation without sacrificing liberty.
- Address military situation, including who controls colonial militias. Are there thirteen militias, or one?
  
- Historical COA: Raise/fund an army of 15,000 troops, appoint George Washington  
Commander-in-Chief
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

#### Final Thoughts:

The initial response to the Shot Heard 'Round the World was divided. No one yet spoke of Independence, but few were willing to concede their perceived liberties to the British. John Dickinson advocated for reconciliation, whereas John Adams was vocal for independence. While

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<sup>127</sup> Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*, Collector's Edition. (Norwalk, Connecticut: Easton Press, 1971): 65.

<sup>128</sup> Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2010): 181-194.

America had only seen violence at Lexington and Concord so far, British Generals Robert Howe, John Burgoyne, and Henry Clinton were on their way to Boston to assist General Thomas Gage. The courses of action that Congress decided upon, coupled with the British response, opened the door to further hostilities.

Again, independence was not yet at the forefront of colonial minds.

Homework:

- Oliver L. Spaulding, "The Military Studies of George Washington," *The American Historical Review* 29, no. 4 (July 1924): 675–680.
- "A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North-America, now met in Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up Arms." 5 July, 1775.

Notes:

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## Lesson 7: Strategic Level - Washington Arrives in Cambridge

### Purpose of the lesson:

This lesson is strategic in nature, highlighting the immediate complexities and problems that Washington faced when he arrived to take command of the Continental Army outside of Boston in mid-1775. The students should come to grips with the fact that the separate colonies had to create a unified military force able to stand up to the Redcoats. Additionally, there was the diplomatic problem of trying to achieve peace and reunification without sacrificing liberty.

### Structure of the class:

(12-15 minutes) SITREP

(15 minutes) PLANNING STAGE

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation — how these plans will achieve the Congressional/Political goal of a peace with England (NOT Independence, yet).

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Oliver L. Spaulding, “The Military Studies of George Washington,” *The American Historical Review* 29, no. 4 (July 1924): 675–680.
- “*A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North-America, now met in Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up Arms.*” 5 July, 1775.

The first reading highlights the books that Washington studied as he prepared to lead the Continental Army. Cadets are encouraged to find and skim the same works to see the military studies in the late-eighteenth century.

The second reading lists the colonial grievances for creating a Continental Army, perceived as an illegal and rebellious action by the King.

### Significance of the Date:

5 July 1775 — Between May 10th and July 5th, the Second Continental Congress had worked at a furious pace to establish the conditions to enable peace. At the same time, they authorized the creation and funding of a united Continental Army led by George Washington, who did not feel up to the task. The Olive Branch Petition was released on the 5th, giving the King one more chance to work towards peace... he did not read it.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

Strategic situation around Boston, specifically the status of the Continental Army and the location of the British. As a reminder, cadets should report on troop strength, troop locations, troop morale, supply levels (including food, gunpowder, and ammunition), weather, enemy locations, enemy strength, potential enemy movements, civilian morale (including Patriot or

Loyalist sentiments), diplomatic affairs, prisoner status/exchanges, financial status and geography. Also, Indian affairs should begin to be highlighted in the SITREP.

SITREP Questions:

Ensure cadets discuss the initial status of the army, especially troop strength, enemy location (Boston and Bunker Hill), and the need for gunpowder. If they don't, query them.

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Washington's correspondences between 10 May and 5 July 1775, excluding personal correspondence.  
Note General Orders, 4 July 1775
- Olive Branch Petition
- All maps pre-July 1775. Principally, overview maps of the British Colonies and close-up maps of Boston.

Staff Briefing & Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA – Canadian expedition
- Back-up COA -
- Back-up COA -

Final Thoughts:

The opening strategic stages developed around Boston and dealt with how to convince the King to address colonial grievances. The Americans did not yet desire full independence but wanted to prove the seriousness of their grievances and their willingness to use force.

Homework:

- Dunmore's Proclamation
- Colonial Response in the *Virginia Gazette*

Notes:

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## Lesson 8: Operational Level - Montgomery's campaign

### Purpose of the lesson:

Lesson 8 is the first transition to the Operational level. General Washington had decided to take Quebec to use as a bargaining chip and as a strategic geographic location since it controlled the St. Lawrence River (which led to Lake Champlain and the Hudson River). Thus, in this lesson, the focus is on moving the Northern Army into position so that it could achieve the strategic goals of taking Canada. The focus should be on movement, logistics, and planning.

This is also the first lesson that introduces a massive amount of correspondence and in-class reading. While all the information is important to the overall war, cadets must develop the ability to sift the campaign-crucial information from that which can either wait for another day, or that which is important to another level of war. For instance, there is a lot of strategic-level correspondence present in this lesson... only the operational information is crucial to the Commander.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Philip Schuyler**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL** situation — how these plans will achieve the conquest and pacification of Canada, and their willingness to join the Patriot cause against the British.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Dunmore's Proclamation
- Response to Dunmore's Proclamation in the *Virginia Gazette*

### Significance of the Date:

12 November 1775 - Numerous critical events occurred between 5 July 1775 (lesson 7) and 12 November. Chief among them were Dunmore's Proclamation, the treason of Dr. Benjamin Church, the rejection of the Olive Branch Petition, attempted alliances with the Oneida Indians, the creation of a Naval Force, and the creation of the Continental Marines. Montreal was captured on 13 November, making the 12th an important planning and preparation day for the Northern Army. Despite a large amount of correspondences, students must focus on the task at hand, the capture of Montreal.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop strength, morale, supply of Schuyler's forces
- Civilian reaction to Dunmore's Proclamation
- Indian affairs in the Northern theater (est July 12, 1775)
- Weather
- Naval force/affairs (Washington established a Naval & Marines force in Aug, 1775)



SITREP Questions:

Ensure to focus on Operational-level questions while acting as Philip Schuyler. This lesson has a dearth of strategic-level correspondences designed to overwhelm the cadets with information. They must remain focused on the operational and leave the strategic to Washington.

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Letters to/from Philip Schuyler, Richard Montgomery, Benedict Arnold
- General Orders from Washington and Congress
- Maps of Montreal, New England, Ft. Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain/St. Lawrence, Quebec, area maps pre-Nov 1775.
- Strategic-level information about the Oneidas, Falmouth, Benjamin Church, etc.

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Ticonderoga, Montreal captured; Arnold meets up with Montgomery needing supplies
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

The students may not have been prepared for the COA briefings with the amount of information they had to decipher during the planning stage. The lesson was designed with that in mind. The feeling of being overwhelmed with information, much of it unimportant to the immediate task, is as common in the modern military as it was in the eighteenth century. As a debrief, the instructor should point this out and link the study of history to modern-day life.

Homework:

- John W. Wright, “The Rifle in the American Revolution,” *The American Historical Review* 29, no. 2 (1924): 293–299.
- Study/research for the Strategic Analysis Paper
  - \*\* Note: John Wright’s article is not a primary source but gives an excellent account of weaponry during the American Revolution. It is essential to keep cadets from guessing about common weaponry in the late eighteenth-century.

Notes:

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## **Lesson 9: Operational/Tactical Level - Preparation for Quebec**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Lesson 9 begins the transition between the Operational level and the Tactical level. After the previous lesson, students should start to feel the oppression of time during the planning stage and the need to come to class with as much SITREP information as possible. This lesson builds on those emotions. Once again, a massive amount of correspondences are provided, not all of which are important to the Operational or Tactical level. Cadets must develop discernment.

During this lesson, cadets will prepare for the assault on Quebec after having joined with Benedict Arnold's ill-equipped forces and determine how to organize the Army for the assault. While the focus should be logistical in nature, students can begin to form a tactical plan regarding the assault itself.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Richard Montgomery (who replaced the ill Schuyler)**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL or initial TACTICAL** situation — how they can attack and conquer Quebec.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- John W. Wright, "The Rifle in the American Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 29, no. 2 (1924): 293–299.

### Significance of the Date:

18 December 1775: Arnold's forces arrived on Nov 14th, half-starved and half-clothed, but in good spirits and ready to fight. They joined Montgomery's force on 2 December. On the 5th, Henry Knox began to transport the much-needed artillery from Ft. Ticonderoga to the Continental Army at Cambridge; something many thought too difficult a task to accomplish. On the 18th, General Nathanael Greene received a report that Quebec had fallen to Montgomery and Arnold.

The 18th was chosen to give time between Nov 12 (lesson 8) and 18 Dec in order to build correspondences and intel for the cadets to sift through during class. Information overload is a key part of military planning.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- New troop strength after the success at Montreal and the addition of Arnold's forces.
- Artillery and gunpowder
- Clothing, food, shelter (it is December in Canada)
- Weather (Montgomery wants the cover of a snowstorm to assault Quebec)

SITREP Questions:

Focus on operational/tactical questions:

- How many troops do the British have in Quebec?
- Are the people friendly to Americans?
- What is their supply situation? Can a siege work?
- What is the status of our soldiers?
- Is there illness in camp?

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Map of Quebec, St. Lawrence, Northern Provinces
- Correspondences between Washington and Schuyler
- Correspondences between Washington and Arnold
- Montreal's Terms of Surrender

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: 2-prong assault with a third diversionary force. Montgomery leads one, Arnold leads the other. They are to meet at the gates to the inner city.
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

This lesson is all about preparation for Quebec and information overload. Cadets must learn to read through material quickly, delegate responsibilities, and prepare for the COA briefings. If they are not ready or ill-prepared for the briefings, question them thoroughly and aggressively as any field commander would do. Ensure they understand the difficulties present in this historical situation, and how that still translates to modern military endeavors.

Homework:

- No class reading.
- The Strategic Analysis paper is due next lesson.

Notes:

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## **Lesson 10: Tactical Level - Assault on Quebec**

### Purpose of the lesson:

This lesson is all about the tactical intricacies involved in the assault on Quebec. It must remain at the tactical level, eschewing any thought of the strategic or operational levels of war. In that vein, applicable correspondences will be minimal, and the map of Quebec is extremely important. Further, personnel, routes, gunpowder, the division of troops, communication, and the timetable for the attack are paramount. It is imperative that the cadets remain entrenched in battle-specifics during this lesson.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Daniel Morgan**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **Tactical** situation — how these plans will take Quebec with minimal loss of life.

### Reading/Homework Due:

The Strategic Level analysis paper is due by the beginning of class.

### Significance of the Date:

30 December 1775 - The assault began on the night of the 30th under cover of a severe snowstorm. It had originally been planned for the 27th, but as they moved into position, the flurries passed, the moon emerged, and the attack was called off. Soon after, a deserter took the plan to Quebec, and it had to be revised. The weather on the 30th enabled the small American force to launch their attack.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Men, gunpowder, ammo, weather
- Intelligence, morale

### SITREP Questions:

- In addition to questions about the troops, ask about how the deserters changed the outlook for the assault. What were the men saying? Should the assault be called off?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Map of Quebec
- Map of the St. Lawrence River
- Correspondences between Washington and Schuyler
- Correspondences between Washington and Arnold
- Correspondence between Washington and Morgan

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: 2-prong assault + diversionary assault
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

Again, this lesson should be steeped in specifics regarding the battlefield assault. The COAs should be extremely detailed as if the attack were about to take place. Each member must know all aspects of the plan and be prepared to talk through them. Play the game!

Homework:

George Morison, “An Account of the Assault on Quebec, 1775,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no. 4 (1891): 434–439.

Notes:

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## **Lesson 11: Strategic Level – British evacuate Boston... a victory?**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Lesson 11 brings the class back to the middle colonies to adjust the strategy after the defeat in Quebec. Though Benedict Arnold was still recovering outside of the northern city, his forces were ravaged with disease and injury. Canada was lost.

On the other hand, as early as January, Washington had received intel that suggested that the British were going to evacuate Boston in favor of New York, a geographically vital location for the British navy. The Continental Army captured Dorchester Heights on March 4, the Redcoats left on March 17. In those terms, this lesson revolves around strategic re-assessment. Cadets should focus on the impact of losing in Canada, the political and social ramifications of “liberating” Boston, and the implications of a British attack on New York City.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **Strategic** situation — assessment of a re-focused strategy without Canada and the protection of the Middle Colonies.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- George Morison, “An Account of the Assault on Quebec, 1775,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no. 4 (1891): 434–439.
- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense* (New York: Signet Classic, 2003). \*\*This is split across three lessons. Students do not have to finish the work until lesson 13\*\*

### Significance of the Date:

18 March 1776 - The Redcoats evacuated Boston on March 17th, leaving the 18th for re-evaluation and re-assessment of the strategic situation. It was widely accepted that the British would move on New York, but the Southern colonies were continually threatened, and Canada remained a geographic threat. The shock from losing Quebec reverberated throughout various correspondences between January and March, leaving options wide open as to how to handle the political, economic, military, and social aspects of the war in 1776.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop strengths and locations
- Military and Civilian Morale
- British positions and naval movements
- Alliances (Indian, French)

### SITREP Questions:

- Status of Arnold’s forces still outside Quebec

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Washington to/from Congress, Committees of Safety, Provincial Congresses  
See [wwwFOUNDERS.archives.gov](http://wwwFOUNDERS.archives.gov) or <http://menath2001.wixsite.com/leadershiptriad>
- America area maps, New York, New York City, Southern Colony harbor maps

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Build defensive measures in New York
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

Strategic re-assessment was the primary goal of this lesson, thus, the COA options should be much broader than the normally would be for an operational or tactical lesson. Further, since the focus had been on Canada and Boston, a new strategy could encompass a number of possibilities. Students should keep in mind relevant intelligence, but otherwise must highlight the economic, political, diplomatic, social, informational, and military aspects of strategy. In short, this lesson is about realistic brainstorming.

Homework:

- *Declaration of Independence*, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript>
- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 12: Strategic Level – Independence! Strategic Reassessment?**

### Purpose of the lesson:

The Declaration of Independence changed the strategic situation for America. While strategic in nature, this lesson also deals with the coming attack on New York and the operational movements necessary to prepare to defend the city and the state. Focus should be on the Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic, and Socio-political elements of the war on the eve of the New York campaign.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **Strategic** situation — how these plans will enable an overall victory and secure American independence.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine, *Common Sense*
- Declaration of Independence

### Significance of the Date:

25 August 1776 - The first battle in the ill-fated New York campaign — the Battle of Long Island — occurred on 27 August and began a string of American tactical defeats. The 25th gives students the ability to assess the strategic strengths and weaknesses before diving into the operational and tactical levels of war that took place in the latter months of 1776.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop strength, training, morale
- Logistics: ammo, gunpowder, artillery, supplies
- Broad defensive positions around New York
- Diplomatic alliances
- Civilian morale and sentiment

### SITREP Questions:

- Troop strength on paper vs ready to fight
- Financial situation
- British troop strength

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Maps of New York
- American overview maps
- Letters between Washington and Greene, Hancock, and Committees



Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Engage the British at Long Island, defend via Fort Lee and Fort Washington
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

This lesson is a good chance to revisit the various types of strategy propagated by different commanders and elucidated by David Hackett Fischer in *Washington's Crossing* on pages 79-80.<sup>129</sup> Did Washington favor a War of Posts, a Fabian Strategy, a Guerrilla War, an offensive-defensive, or traditional European battle? What about the socio-political situation? Does/did that affect military strategic decision-making? These are great questions to ask during the COA briefings so that cadets understand exactly what the Continental Army was attempting to do during the New York Campaign.

Homework:

- Finish *Common Sense*

Notes:

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<sup>129</sup> David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2006): 79-80.

## Lesson 13: Operational Level - The New York Campaign

### Purpose of the lesson:

The New York campaign brings to light numerous questions about the performance of both George Washington as a Commander and the performance of the Continental Army. This lesson aims to introduce various doubts into the planning process. Although the focus is operational, questions about both the strategic and tactical situations should be brought to light and addressed. For instance, as a strategic commander, should Washington have been engaged at the operational and tactical levels of war? Knowing the strength of the British troops and the strength of his own (not to mention the training), did Washington continue to make sound military decisions in his maneuvers?

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **Operational** situation — how these plans will enable the Army to defeat the British in the Middle Colonies.

### Reading/Homework Due:

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*

### Significance of the Date:

30 October 1776 - By this point, the Continental Army lost at Long Island, Harlem Heights, and Kips Bay, forcing Washington to abandon Manhattan. He lost again at White Plains on the 28th of October. His numbers were dwindling, but he still had nearly 6,000 troops manning the defenses at Forts Lee and Washington that overlooked the Hudson River. While the campaign had proved unfortunate so far, it was not over yet.

Further, Benedict Arnold fought the Battle of Valcour Island on October 11th with a ragtag fleet on Lake Champlain. His actions delayed another British advance from Canada until 1777.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop numbers and locations
- British troop numbers and locations
- Logistics
- Morale
- The French

### SITREP Questions:

- This is one of the few rare occasions where the instructor, acting as Washington, could ask about the planning process. Through the sting of defeats, questions about strategy, maneuver, or reconciliation with the British could be brought to light. Further, in

September, seven of Washington's generals signed a petition urging him to abandon New York. He called a Council of War in October and determined to leave Manhattan. While the questions do not have concrete answers, a review of the entire process is applicable in light of the string of defeats. The instructor should not address these questions directly to the Cadet briefing the SITREP but should open them to the floor.

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Maps of the Middle Colonies
- Map of New York
- Allow tactical maps of the New York campaign (even though they would not have been produced so quickly afterwards)
- Map of Valcour Island/Arnold's retreat from Quebec
- Nathanael Greene's disagreement with Washington and subsequent petition
- Washington's correspondence with Congress, with Greene, with Lee, with Hancock

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Defend Forts Lee and Washington to control the Hudson, keep Howe on Manhattan
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

This lesson forces more strategic and operational reassessment, especially after a series of defeats in the face of the British's enormous military strength. While operational in nature, students can (and should) look to other strategic methods that they can recommend to their commander. Further French aid should be discussed in addition to diplomatic affairs with the British.

Homework:

- Joseph A. Waddell and Charles Porterfield, "Diary of a Prisoner of War at Quebec, 1776," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 9, no. 2 (1901): 144–152.  
The POWs had been released and were rejoining their peers at this point in the war.

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## Lesson 14: Operational Level - Forts Fall

### Purpose of the lesson:

Lesson 14 completes the disaster in New York as Washington continued to get routed, and Forts Independence, Lee, and Washington fell to the British. The British controlled all of Manhattan, and the Continental Army was severely undermanned.

The purpose of this lesson is to ascertain methods to maneuver the Army away from pitched battle in order to protect them and thereby continue the war. Should the instructor desire to remain in character as Nathanael Greene, he could focus the lesson on answering how and why he let the British commanders out-manuever him and capture Fort Washington. In any case, the students should focus their efforts on moving the troops out of immediate danger, retain whatever supplies are available, and prepare for strategic guidance.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Nathanael Greene**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **Operational** situation — how these plans will secure the remaining army.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Joseph A. Waddell and Charles Porterfield, “Diary of a Prisoner of War at Quebec, 1776,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 9, no. 2 (1901): 144–152.

### Significance of the Date:

19 November 1776 - Howe captured Fort Washington on 16 Nov, plundered it on the 17th, and renamed it on the 18th. Hessians captured Fort Lee on the 18th. The British controlled all of Manhattan Island by the 19th. Greene takes much of the blame, especially for the surrender of the 2,800 troops at Ft. Washington, not to mention the much-needed supplies.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troops strength, and troop losses (specifically at Fort Washington)
- Logistics, and what was lost
- Intel reports
- Anticipated reinforcement numbers (Congress reminded several States to pony up on 19 Nov)
- Civilian and military morale

### SITREP Questions:

- “How did this happen?” - Greene

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- To GW (PNG vol 1, 328): Fort Independence fell 31 Oct, Lee still stands. Also see the logistics letter on 5 Nov (333).

- The Papers of Nathanael Greene (PNG) vol 1 has an excellent series of letters regarding logistics and the defense of Fort Lee/Washington. It culminates with the loss of Fort Washington and the surrender of 2,800 Americans (339-360).
- Of note is Washington's letter on 8 Nov recommending Greene evacuate Ft. Washington... Greene does not leave.
- Map of New York
- Tactical map of the NY Campaign (despite being created later)

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Run away
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- What to do with the remaining forces was the focus of this lesson. Greene knew he had screwed up, and now had to determine how to defeat a much more entrenched British army. Though this was another Operational lesson, students could bridge to the Strategic after developing COAs that secure their forces. This is widely regarded as the low point for the Americans in the Revolutionary War. Ensure the cadets firmly grasp the dire situation in the last quarter of 1776.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine, *The Crisis I*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 15: Tactical Level - Trenton and Princeton**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Understanding the dire straits of the American Army at the end of 1776 and the desperate need for a victory is the primary goal of this lesson. The status of the troops, the financial situation, and the social outlook on the war was poor; there was, however, reason for hope. Reinforcements were arriving, many of the soldiers with expiring enlistments would stay if they were paid, and Thomas Paine's writings (particularly *The Crisis*) prompted popular social examination. The lesson itself should deal primarily with the battlefield attack on Trenton. Much of the correspondence should be focused on larger, strategic factors, but cadets should wade through that material and highlight only the tactical details necessary for a successful course of action against the Hessians. While it is tactical in nature, the students must focus on the operational aspects of moving the men and equipment across the Delaware River and into position for the surprise attack.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **Tactical** situation — how these plans will take Trenton with minimal loss of life.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine, *The Crisis I*

### Significance of the Date:

24 December 1776 - Christmas eve was the final planning day for Washington and his top commanders as they prepared for the assault on the Hessian force at Trenton. Nathanael Greene, John Sullivan, Henry Knox, and James Ewing made up the primary commanders, and each played their part flawlessly.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Weather
- Troop strength
- Enemy troop strength
- Social and economic outlook
- Logistic movements
- Henry Knox's artillery numbers
- Intel on the Hessian units stationed in Trenton
- Intel on Johann Rall

SITREP Questions:

- Weather conditions
- Hessian culture, specifically around Christmas

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Congressional correspondences, specifically regarding troops and supplies  
The Northern Army under Schuyler needed troops and supplies as badly as did Washington
- Correspondences dealing with the state of the Army (see Johnathon Trumbull, 16 Dec)
- Map of Trenton
- Map of Princeton
- Map of the Delaware River
- New Jersey area maps

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Attack and capture Trenton
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

One could question why George Washington has been a commander at each level of war instead of remaining at the Strategic level, and the cadets could debate the benefits and pitfalls of such a position.

This is the first lesson where culture is specifically highlighted as it relates to the Hessian unit. While it is somewhat downplayed in the eighteenth-century because traditional European warfare crossed cultural dichotomies, it is still important to understand if there are differences before going into battle. If nothing else, it is a good exercise to force students to examine cultural military differences.

Finally, ensure cadets completely understand the tactical COA of the assault. One could go so far as to assign students as different sub-commanders and have them walk through the attack on the Trenton map. While Princeton is over a week away, the instructor could also enable the students to determine a COA based on the notion that Cornwallis could lead a force from Princeton into Trenton to try and recapture the town. In that case, Washington would need a plan at the ready — the Princeton assault.

Homework:

Thomas Paine, *The Crisis II - III*

Notes:

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## CHAPTER VII

### **BLOCK GUIDE: Part II — Operational Assessment, 1777-1778**

#### PURPOSE:

Block I introduced students to the fast-paced planning tempo of the Revolutionary War and the intricacies of social, political, diplomatic, economic, and military correspondence. Cadets experienced the planning process at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war. Further, they wrestled with time — or the lack thereof — to accomplish all of their daily tasks. Through practice, students are becoming adept and sifting through large amounts of information to pick out the important. Their communication skills are improving and will continue to improve in Block II. Finally, through primary sources, cadets are learning the importance of cultural differences, media, the interaction of the national instruments of power, and the tactics and techniques of eighteenth-century warfare. In short, they are already meeting the institutional and departmental outcomes in an active learning, flipped classroom environment through the gamification of the Revolutionary War.

Block II continues along the same lines. Students will maintain their focus on primary sources, continue to develop and recommend three courses of action (COAs) per lesson, and differentiate between the three levels of war. The main difference with Block II is that the emphasis will shift slightly from the strategic to the operational, as 1777 and 1778 had several major campaigns that changed the course of the war, especially the Saratoga and Philadelphia Campaigns. Thus, assessing the operational ability of the Continental Army through primary



sources and its impact on the strategic and tactical situations is the main purpose of this block.

GOALS and OBJECTIVES:

- Highlight the evolution, survival and operational ability of an American force that can achieve independence.
- Understand the difficulties inherent in moving Armies through a divided America at war.
- Comprehend the operational level of war in practice.
- Grasp the strategic and operational importance of the Saratoga and Philadelphia Campaigns, as well as the tactical implications of the military training at Valley Forge.

TIMELINE:

Lesson 16 - 30 May 1777 - Saving an Army

Lesson 17 - 10 September 1777 - Protecting Philadelphia

Lesson 18 - 18 September 1777 - Saratoga I, Freeman's Farm

Lesson 19 - 4 October 1777 - Germantown: victory or defeat?

Lesson 20 - 7 October 1777 - Saratoga II, Bemis Heights

Lesson 21 - 6 February 1778 - Winter Training

Lesson 22 - 30 May 1778 – State of the Army / DIME

Lesson 23 - 19 June 1778 - Watching the British

Lesson 24 - 28 June 1778 – Monmouth Courthouse

Lesson 25 – Post-28 June 1778 – Tactical aftermath – Strategic results?

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

After the near-disastrous events in 1776, the Continental Army entered 1777 with renewed hope. The Trenton and Princeton campaign went exceedingly well for such a small, dilapidated force, and the public reaction from Thomas Paine's *The Crisis I* spurred a sense of patriotism and urgency for the American cause. At the same time, during the early months of 1777, the Continental Army disintegrated to barely 2,500 troops — not nearly enough to confront the British forces in occupied New York.<sup>130</sup> In the meantime, General Johnny Burgoyne put forth a plan for another Canadian invasion, this time from Quebec down the Hudson River. General Howe, already outnumbering Washington's soldiers, requested 20,000 additional troops so that he could conquer Philadelphia, hold New York, and aid Burgoyne.<sup>131</sup> He did not receive reinforcements, but his force still more than tripled the Continental Army.

George Washington spent the first half of 1777 trying to determine Howe's intentions. Though he refused to let Howe draw him into open-field battle, he nevertheless engaged the British at the Brandywine River outside of Philadelphia. Unfortunately, George Washington was decisively out-generaled. Howe routed the Continental Army in early September and captured Philadelphia.

In the Northern States, the Continental Army of the North, under the command of General Horatio Gates, bogged down Burgoyne's Redcoats short of Albany. The Patriots scored two major tactical victories on 19 September and 7 October at Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights, respectively.<sup>132</sup> The surrender of an entire British Army bolstered not only the Americans, but rallied British enemies around the world, leading Saratoga to become known as

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<sup>130</sup> Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2010): 294.

<sup>131</sup> Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*, Collector's Edition. (Norwalk, Connecticut: Easton Press, 1971): 178.

<sup>132</sup> W. J Wood, *Battles of the Revolutionary War, 1775-1781* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press; Oxford Publicity Partnership, 2003): 132-171.

one of the most decisive battles of world history.

Building on the tactical, operational, and strategic success of Saratoga, the Continental Army spent the winter of 1777-1778 under the watchful training-eye of a Prussian, Baron von Steuben. Despite the harshness of the winter and the constant lack of food, von Steuben reshaped the now-veteran Continental Army into one that could match an eighteenth-century traditional European force.<sup>133</sup> They got their chance to prove it on a large scale in June as the British left Philadelphia and headed back to New York. The resultant campaign culminated in the tactically indecisive but strategically important Battle of Monmouth Courthouse. With that, the major campaigns in the Middle and Northern states came to an end. The British shifted their strategic aim to the Southern states, which is the focus of Block III.

#### ISSUES:

- How did the Declaration of Independence alter the strategic landscape for George Washington and his commanders?
- Did the victory of the Saratoga campaign result from a superior American military prowess or was it a blundered British expedition?
- Why was Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga so strategically important for the American cause?
- What was the impact of the Valley Forge winter of 1777-1778, and how was that important to the American strategy?
- What defined victory during the Philadelphia campaign in both 1777 and 1778? Is there a difference between a tactical and a strategic victory? Can you have a tactical victory but a strategic failure, and vice versa?

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<sup>133</sup> Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763 - 1789*, Rev. and expanded ed., The Oxford History of the United States C. Vann Woodward, general ed.; Vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007): 424-425.

## BLOCK ASSIGNMENT:

Operational Analysis Paper - Due lesson 21

- 1000 words or less
- Must have a historical argument, a solid thesis, and present researched evidence supporting your position about the operational level of war.
- Must use scholarly secondary sources. I will only accept sources by approved authors. The following list are authors that are automatically approved, check with me if you have a scholar that is not on this list. Any author mentioned in Chapter II is also acceptable.
  - Don Higginbotham, Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, W. J. Wood, Robert Middlekauff, Wayne Lee, Eric Foner, Merrill Jensen, Joseph Ellis, T.H. Breen, John Ferling, David McCullough, or Benson Bobrick.<sup>134</sup>
- Do not forget to think about any economic, social, cultural, diplomatic, or military issues.
- be sure to answer the following questions: How effective were the American (or British) operational methods to this point in the war? Did they support the strategy, and what were their challenges?

## FINAL NOTES:

This block contains several lessons that deviate from how most of class operates. One includes a role-playing tactical exercise, and another focuses on strategic-level analysis with no COA briefings. All of the differences are listed in the lesson notes, so be sure to read them prior to each class period.

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<sup>134</sup> Note to Instructors: this list is not all inclusive but is designed to introduce students to many of the most prominent American Revolution scholars and to prevent the wide array of internet-based, non-academic websites from creeping into the student's research.

## Lesson 16: Strategic Level - Saving an Army

### Purpose of the lesson:

After the previous few fast-paced lessons, this one is somewhat of a “breather.” While it still follows the same format, the goal is to provide an overview of where the Continental Army began and how it evolved up until this point in the war. In short, this lesson should be a mini-review. As such, the COA briefings will be shortened to a single, five-minute briefing by the instructor acting as George Washington.

While the student-led SITREP and the numerous in-class correspondences will remain, the lesson will include some discussion on the state of the Continental Army and the use of the four Instruments of Power (IOP) during the war (Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic — or DIME). Further, this lesson provides an excellent opportunity to discuss illness, especially smallpox.

This course also provides the opportunity for self-assessment, and we will discuss if the course needs adjustment as we move into Block II. Further, this lesson provides the opportunity for honest feedback and criticism of the overall course methodology, specifically, if the primary source-driven gamification of the Revolutionary War is conducive to the increase of critical thinking and overall metacognition. While the feedback cannot create drastic change during the semester, the feedback can (and should) alter Block II. For instance, we can reduce the workload if there is far too much in-class correspondence to read or if three COA briefings every day are inappropriate. Nonetheless, this lesson offers the opportunity for self and course assessment.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(30 Min) COA PLANNING & DISCUSSION

- Provide Primary Sources, correspondences & maps
- Preferably, cadets will get divided into groups to read through the primary sources.

(5 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should address the **STRATEGIC** situation — how his plans will achieve the Congressional/Political goal of an Independence United States without British interference.

### Reading/Homework Due:

Thomas Paine’s *The Crisis II*

### Significance of the Date:

30 May 1777 - Washington began the campaign season on May 28th when he led the Continental Army to Middlebrook Valley. His intent was to watch General Howe and to remain in a maneuverable position until the time was right.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Status of the Army
- Numbers, logistics, morale

- Position of the enemy
- Civilian sentiment
- Sickness

SITREP Questions:

- Remain focused on the strategic situation
- Ask about diplomatic efforts, especially between the French and Indians
- Discuss financial efforts... Washington's biggest struggle
- Question the health of the troops, especially regarding smallpox and its vaccination

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Colonial Area maps
- Winter Correspondences
- Washington to Gates, 28 Jan
- Washington to Maxwell, 17 April

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Gather troops and supplies, monitor Howe, protect Philadelphia.

Final Thoughts:

- Once again, ensure that this lesson still follows the format as the SITREP is important and the primary sources instrumental to H999. At the same time, this lesson must include some informal course assessment.
- The next SITREP is difficult due to the large amount of information across two theaters of war, consider discussing the expectations with the student at the end of this lesson.

Homework:

Thomas Paine's *The Crisis III*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 17: Strategic/Operational Level - Protecting Philadelphia**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Lesson 16 was dedicated to a strategic assessment of the course up to this point and acted as a “breather.” This lesson immediately jumps back into the fray — just like the Revolutionary War in mid-1777. The British embarked on several major operational preparatory moves during June, July, and August as they pursued two distinct strategies.

While both Howe’s Philadelphia campaign and Burgoyne’s Hudson River campaign were strategically significant, the focus of this lesson will be on the former rather than the latter. At the same time, students must understand Burgoyne’s advance from Quebec in the context of the specific time and date within 1777. In other words, the purpose of this lesson is to force the cadets to realize that multiple strategic events occurred simultaneously, all of which required attention.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

- Provide Primary Sources, cadets determine 3 COA’s based on strategic situation with the help of correspondences & maps
- Preferably, cadets will get divided into 3 groups. If they do, they can decide how to split the work so that they can develop 3 separate COAs. They will still need to coordinate between groups between so as not to duplicate effort.

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- Each group has five minutes to present their Course of Action, argue for its effectiveness, and answer questions about its feasibility.
- COMMANDER: The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC and OPERATIONAL** situation — how these plans will defeat the British so that the Political and Diplomatic realm can finalize peace.

### Reading/Homework Due:

Thomas Paine’s *The Crisis III*

### Significance of the Date:

10 September 1777 - The Continentals and the British would engage at the Battle of Brandywine on the 11th, so the day prior was an important planning day. Washington understood the strategic importance of protecting Philadelphia and the socio-political impact it brought, but also disregarded the traditional European notion that the capture of a specific city could end the war.

At the same time, he knew that Burgoyne was advancing from Canada. Fort Ticonderoga had fallen without a shot fired, Fort Stanwix was under siege, and the Redcoats had recruited a large number of Canadian and Indian allies. There were American successes. Through cunning and deception, Benedict Arnold had eliminated British Lt Col Barry St. Leger’s force and broken the siege of Ft. Stanwix. Further, American General John Stark captured nearly 1,000 of Burgoyne’s troops as they foraged for food.

Nonetheless, both campaigns had significant strategic implications, and both required an operational American response.

SITREP Student: Cadet X — This student has a difficult task with the amount of information required over two geographic areas.

SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Position and size of Howe's force
- Position and size of Burgoyne's force
- Size and strength of Washington's force
- Size and strength of Gates's force
- Civilian sentiment around the Middle States
- Status of Indian allies and enemies, specifically the Oneida (friend) and Seneca (foe)

SITREP Questions:

- Status of Congress - are they safe?

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Northern theater map
- Middle theater map
- Philadelphia and surrounding area map
- Washington to Congress, and Washington to Schuyler, 20 June

Courses of Action (COAs):

1. Historical COA: Engage at the Battle of Brandywine
2. Backup 1:
3. Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

Warfare is not linear. Military personnel often describe their time as long stretches of boredom or monotony followed by periods of adrenaline and terror. When things happen, they seem to happen all at once. In the classroom, these past two lessons attempt to recreate that same phenomenon. Lesson 16 was slow, whereas a myriad of events took place between lessons that demand attention. Therefore, this lesson was designed to be another busy class period. To finish the class, the instructor should remind the students that sometimes warfare is like that — busy.

Homework:

- *Travels through the interior parts of America, by Thomas Anburey, lieutenant in the army of General Burgoyne.* Read pages 164-199 (letters XXX - XXXVII).
- NOTE: This reading slightly breaks the rules of the course in that it would not have been available to Americans at the time it was written. It is, however, a primary source that provides an abundance of information about Burgoyne's campaign from a British soldiers' perspective, including Ticonderoga, Jane McCrea, and Saratoga.
- NOTE: While cadets are only required to read Anburey's letters XXX through XXXVII, his entire collection would provide them a wealth of information that could aid them greatly during their SITREPs and COA briefings. It would be worth it to mention that to the class.



## Lesson 18: Operational Level – Saratoga I, Freeman’s Farm

### Purpose of the lesson:

This lesson highlights the Saratoga campaign up until the Battle of Freeman’s Farm. The purpose is to comprehend the relative lack of immediate intelligence and correspondence while trusting that those in the area have control over the situation. Though this lesson historically takes place less than two weeks from the previous lesson, the correspondences, maps, and intel should follow from early in the Saratoga campaign.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Horatio Gates**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL** situation — how these plans will maneuver the Army to enable a successful tactical situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- *Travels through the interior parts of America, by Thomas Anburey, lieutenant in the army of General Burgoyne, pages 164-199 (letters XXX - XXXVII).*

### Significance of the Date:

- 18 September 1777 - The Battle of Freeman’s Farm occurred on the 19th, so this is the last chance to ensure the Northern Army is in a favorable position to engage, which is the goal of the operational level.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop numbers, strength, supplies on both sides
- Location
- Status of Indian allies
- Recap of Burgoyne’s route
- Logistics
- Guns, ammo, artillery

### SITREP Questions:

- Status of militia
- Communication lines, especially for Burgoyne
- Movement from Howe or Clinton

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Northern Theater Map
- Tactical level map of Saratoga

- To Washington from Gates, 22 Aug
- To Washington from Gates, 28 Aug
- From Hamilton to Gates, 29 Aug
- From Washington to Gates, 1 Sept

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Engage at Freeman’s Farm and again at Bemis Heights
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

Correspondence to the Northern Theater was comparatively light during the summer of 1777, especially for such a strategically important engagement. After the previous lesson, students may have difficulty finding the relevant information necessary to develop three COAs; therefore, the instructor may need to assist, perhaps even to the point of “breaking character” and giving a mini-lecture on the Burgoyne’s plan.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine’s *The Crisis IV*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 19: Tactical Level – Germantown, victory or defeat?**

### Purpose of the lesson:

This tactically-focused lesson has a two-fold purpose: first, it uses Washington's General Order from 3 October that praised the Army's fighting spirit and stoked their competitive nature to do better than their Northern compatriots that had recently bested the Redcoats at Freeman's Farm. In doing so, Washington highlighted the soldier's warrior ethos, and elucidating that point in class illuminates the USAFA outcome of the same name.

Second, this lesson extolls the necessity of detail. With the extra few minutes afforded during each class period (only 45 of the 53 minutes are utilized), the instructor, acting as George Washington, will reveal his "General Orders for Attacking Germantown" to the class. His detailed order will then be compared to the COA briefings, allowing the students to engage in informal and unspoken self-assessment as they see how they should prepare tactical-level COAs.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **TACTICAL** situation — how these plans will defeat the British force and defend Philadelphia.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis IV*

### Significance of the Date:

- 3 October 1777: The attack on the British forces in Germantown occurred pre-dawn on 4 October. Washington moved his army the evening of the 3rd, and issued orders that same afternoon.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- British troops numbers and locations (Germantown: if Cadet X does not brief this accurately, the instructor should turn the briefing into a more antagonistic meeting in the same way as would happen in the modern military)
- Tactical level details: food, armament, gunpowder
- Morale
- Intel
- Geography
- Weather

### SITREP Questions:

- British defenses

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Middle colonies map
- Germantown map

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: See “General Orders for Attacking Germantown, 3 Oct 1777”
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

Creating a plan with an eye for detail is the main focus of this lesson. Because the tactical plans have not generally been reviewed after the COA brief, this is a rare occasion to examine Washington’s order *after* the COA briefings. Thus, cadets should see how they need to brief the tactical level in the future (assuming they have not already risen to the task).

Robert Middlekauff’s *The Glorious Cause* has a good overview of the Battle of Germantown beginning on page 399, as does Ron Chernow’s *Washington* on page 307.

Homework:

- Research for Operational Analysis Paper

Notes:

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## **Lesson 20: Tactical Level – Saratoga II, Bemis Heights**

### Purpose of the lesson:

This lesson is again tactical in nature, and the in-class readings highlight the results from the Battle of Freeman’s Farm. The beginning of the Battle of Bemis Heights was not a planned assault and started after American troops discovered a British reconnaissance party advancing towards their lines. Thus, the focus of this lesson is still tactical in nature, but without the knowledge of an impending assault.

While not necessary, if the instructor desires higher gamification during the lesson, he/she may create a situation incorporating real-time information while cadets plan for their normal COAs. In other words, the class could remain structured as if they are planning COAs for the next day. Abruptly, the instructor/commander could announce that the battle is beginning now, and the cadets must react by pouring over the tactical map. They must decide where to send the troops and wait for further intel while developing alternative plans and scenarios.

During this exercise, the instructor must ensure that the British movements are accurately depicted so that the lesson does not devolve into an ahistorical “what-if” game. If the cadets send troops to the wrong locations, the instructor could have the British troops advance on the American camp, growing more frantic as they approach until the exercise needs to stop or the cadets send troops to the correct location.

Again, this is not required, but could be a good tactical exercise.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Benedict Arnold** *or* **Daniel Morgan**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **TACTICAL** situation — how these plans will defeat the British so that the Political and Diplomatic realm can finalize peace.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Research for Operational Analysis Paper

### Significance of the Date:

- 7 October 1777: The Battle of Bemis Heights occurred on this day.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop numbers and locations (friend and foe)
- Supply amounts (friend and foe)
- Weather
- Geography
- Reinforcement possibilities for both sides

### SITREP Questions:

- weapon reserves

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Saratoga map
- Freeman's Farm map
- Bemis Height's map
- Correspondences between Gates, Washington, and Arnold

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Bemis Heights
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

The exercise could be an excellent way to break up the regular flow of the class. While it would not require much extra preparation, the instructor would need to know the exact locations of British troops as well as have a good map of the area. Otherwise, it would be interesting to try, especially as lesson 20 is half-way through the semester; a time when many students are growing weary.

Homework:

- Write Operational Level Analysis Paper

Notes:

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## **Lesson 21: Strategic Level – Winter Training**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Lesson 21 is the first lesson that takes place in 1778. It refocuses on the Strategic level of war after the Saratoga victories and the loss of Philadelphia. Though Philadelphia was a hard loss, the strategic situation changed when the French formally entered into the war against the British. Further, the arrival of the Prussian Baron von Steuben allowed an experienced European officer to train the Continental Army, most of whom were veterans of Germantown. Further, the drill allowed the troops to engage in some activity during a brutally cold and undersupplied winter. With those new significant events unfolding, the cadets must focus on how they should reshape the overall American strategy to take advantage of the new training and alliances.

Conversely, the Conway Cabal illuminated a growing political weariness with George Washington, including an effort to replace him with Horatio Gates. Military infighting among commanders was common, but reaching into the high levels of the political realm was less-so, especially when Thomas Conway was appointed as the first Inspector General. Such events often become major distractions from other, strategically critical decisions that could alter the course of the war.

The other major development that this lesson should address is Washington's order to allow African-Americans into the Continental Army ranks. Any slaves that enlisted were promised their freedom after the war. This followed the New Jersey Militia Act of 1777 that allowed free blacks to join, but not slaves. At the same time, the Continental Army leadership still needed to decide how to use the troops in a racially-divided culture.

The purpose of this lesson is to highlight all three of these major issues. Thus, each of the three COAs should focus on one of these issues instead of having two backup COAs.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situations.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Operational Analysis Paper due

### Significance of the Date:

- 6 February 1778 - The Franco-American treaty of Amity and Commerce is signed in Paris.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Number of troops
- Supplies, especially food and clothing
- Number of deserters
- Political and civilian sentiment

- Illness

SITREP Questions:

- Success of smallpox vaccinations
- Should we confiscate civilian property (food and clothing) to supply the troops, as Congress suggested?

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Washington to Thomas Conway, 5 Nov 1777
- Washington to Lafayette, 31 Dec 1777
- Washington to Nicholas Cooke, 2 Jan 1778

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Drill and Training COA:
- International Alliance COA:
- African-American Troops COA:

Final Thoughts:

With the numerous strategic-level issues that took place during the winter of 1777-1778, the cadets have the chance to tackle at least three of them during the COA briefings. While this may present the situation where they might need to take to the internet in an effort to find more sources than are available in class, as long as they remain primary sources on or before 6 February 1778, the instructor should allow them. Also, the three separate COAs break up the standard lesson during the middle of the semester.

Homework:

- Scan Baron von Steuben's drill manual

Notes:

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## **Lesson 22: Strategic Level - State of the Army/DIME**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Like the previous lesson, this class stays at the strategic level, primarily examining the Instruments of Power (Diplomatic, Informational, Military, Economic - or DIME) and the state of the Army at the beginning of the campaign season of 1778. General Henry Clinton replaced General Howe and began to move the British Regulars back towards New York in late May/early June. George Washington was spoiling for a fight now that his Continental Army had undergone European-style training.

Thus, the purpose of this lesson is to determine how and when Washington should strike... if he should maintain his Strategic Defensive or challenge Clinton in open combat. Further, it seeks to examine the fruition of the Franco-American alliance and the impact of the order to allow African-Americans to serve in the Continental Army. Finally, cadets should mention any economic or financial impacts that are influencing the conduct of the Revolutionary War.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation — how these plans will defeat the British so that the Political and Diplomatic realm can finalize peace.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Baron von Steuben's Drill Manual

### Significance of the Date:

- 30 May 1778 - While the 30th itself does not contain a significant historical event, the end of May/beginning of June mark the start of the campaign season as Clinton began to move the British forces. Thus, the end of May is an appropriate time to assess the Strategic-level state of the Army before moving to the operational level.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Franco-American alliance
- Drill and Training outcomes
- Economics/Finance
- Troops strength and supply
- Location of British Army

### SITREP Questions:

- Civilian sentiment
- Weapon logistics

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Middle colonies map
- Philadelphia/New Jersey/New York area maps
- Correspondences between Washington and Congress

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Chase Clinton
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

This lesson builds on the previous lesson, further examining the fruition of the strategic-level issues that were brought to light throughout the winter of 1777/1778. In that vein, students need to try to find any impacts that those decisions had as the Continental Army heads into the campaign season of 1778.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis V*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 23: Operational Level - Watching the British**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Accurate intelligence in the eighteenth century was notoriously difficult to ascertain. In mid-June, the Continental Army departed Valley Forge only to discover that the British had recently abandoned Philadelphia. General Washington maneuvered his army in an attempt to catch Henry Clinton before he could reach the relative safety of New York City.

The purpose of this lesson is to attempt to find and intercept the enemy while still dealing with the logistical problems inherent at the operational level of war.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis V*

### Significance of the Date:

- 19 June 1778 - Washington deploys six brigades to catch General Henry Clinton on his march to New York, officially departing Valley Forge and beginning the campaign that will culminate at Monmouth Courthouse.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Intel, specifically on the location of the British army
- Location of the various parts of the Continental Army
- Logistics and supply issues
- Geography
- Weather (heat becomes a major influence during the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse)
- Civilian sentiment

### SITREP Questions:

- Do we have reinforcements, specifically Benedict Arnold?
- What news from our Indian allies?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Middle states map
- Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York area maps
- From Washington to Dickinson, 5-7 June
- To Washington from Paine, 5 June

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Catch up to the British at Monmouth Courthouse
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

Once again, this lesson deals with moving an army towards the enemy with the goal of a decisive tactical engagement. In this case, the location is not a fixed target, which complicates the planning process. Further, the intelligence and prospects of the enemy army was often conflicting, leading to miscalculation and poor recommendations. The two listed correspondences detail that exact situation.

The next lesson is different and requires preparation. It will be a role-playing recreation of the Battle of Monmouth, complete with each cadet acting as a different commander. At the end of this lesson, assign either one or two cadets the following roles: George Washington, Charles Lee, Anthony Wayne, Nathanael Greene, Marquee de Lafayette, Lord Stirling, Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and perhaps Molly Pitcher, who entered fame with her actions at Monmouth. The cadets must research and understand their role in the battle and be prepared to walk through, on a map, exactly what occurred and why.

Whoever is assigned to give the SITREP is exempt from taking a role in the exercise.

Homework:

- Research your role in Monmouth Courthouse

Notes:

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## **Lesson 24: Tactical Level - Monmouth Courthouse**

### Purpose of the lesson:

The Battle of Monmouth Courthouse was Washington's chance to show off his retrained Continental Army. While the Army did exceptionally well compared to previous engagements, the battle itself ended in a stalemate. At the same time, the battle brought to light the tactical failings of Charles Lee, who disobeyed orders and was eventually court-martialed as a result.

The purpose of this lesson is to plan the assault on Clinton's forces and walk through the battle. The SITREP will still occur, but the class exercise will replace the COAs.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(30 Min) Battle Exercise: use the Monmouth Courthouse Battle Map

- The exercise will begin with Lee's force catching up to and engaging the British. The student's that are role playing Lee, Clinton, and Cornwallis will talk through the action leading to Lee's retreat. Each subsequent event will feature the character engaged in the specific part of the battle, taking turns discussing where they were, what they were doing, and their decisions.
- An excellent animated review of Monmouth Courthouse that details the specific movements can be found at <http://www.revolutionarywaranimated.com/Monmouth.html>  
The instructor can watch the video prior to class as the exercise should mirror the animation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Students should be prepared to role-play their part in the Battle.

### Significance of the Date:

- 28 June 1778 - The Battle of Monmouth Courthouse

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- Monmouth map
- Correspondences applicable to the specific student

### Results of Action:

- Tactical draw
- British retreat to Sandy Hook, where the Navy takes them to NYC

### Final Thoughts:

The Monmouth Courthouse battlefield role-playing exercise is another method designed to introduce the students to tactical-level activity. In the lesson, each student should be the expert on their historical character, understanding both the timing of the battle, the applicable decisions, and the ramifications. While it will be research intensive prior to class, their connection to each character should have long-term implications as the students will better understand the motivations and thought-processes of the different individuals.

It also acts as another method to increase student interaction and metacognition.

Homework:

- Joseph Plumb Martin's *A Narrative of a Revolutionary Soldier*, Chapter IV: The Campaign of 1778

Notes:

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## **Lesson 25: Tactical Aftermath - Strategic Results?**

### Purpose of the lesson:

The Battle of Monmouth Courthouse was the last significant engagement in the Middle or Northern states as the British would shift their focus to the South. Further, the battle itself opened several interesting areas of exploration, including Charles Lee's demise as a commander and the Continental Army's ability to engage the Redcoats on equal footing thanks to their Valley Forge training. It also highlighted the culmination of the operational campaign and leads to a discussion of the eighteenth-century definition of "victory." The Americans claimed victory because Clinton continued towards New York rather than holding the ground, but that was his intention from the start. At the same time, the Continentals proved their mettle against the Redcoats in traditional battle – a clear psychological victory.

The ultimate purpose of Lesson 25 is to examine the ramifications of the Battle of Monmouth Courthouse and decide upon further strategic courses of action.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation — how these plans will defeat the British so that the Political and Diplomatic realm can finalize peace.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Joseph Plumb Martin's *A Narrative of a Revolutionary Soldier*, Chapter IV: The Campaign of 1778

### Significance of the Date:

- Post 28 June 1778 - The Battle of Monmouth Courthouse occurred on this date.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Post-battle status of forces... losses on both sides
- Movement of British forces
- Ability of the Army to continue pursuit

### SITREP Questions:

- Morale?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

1. Overview map
2. Area maps
3. Correspondence between Washington and Lee
4. Political correspondence

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA:
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

The strategic ramifications of Monmouth Courthouse were monumental as the strategic trajectory of the Revolutionary War shifted after the battle. Both the American and British leadership engaged in dialogue within their own political and military ranks about a revamped strategy. That strategy would play out in late 1779 and 1780. Thus, an examination of why Monmouth Courthouse led to those changes is necessary in the classroom, and a fitting culmination to Block II.

Homework:

- Philipsburg Proclamation
- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis VI*

Notes:

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## CHAPTER VIII

### **BLOCK GUIDE: Part III -- Tactical Triumph, 1779-1783**

#### PURPOSE:

The final block highlights the evolution of tactical doctrine as the British and American strategies shifted to the Southern theater. After a somewhat successful tactical engagement at Monmouth Courthouse, the Continental Army felt confident in their ability to fight the Redcoats in traditional European-style combat. Unfortunately, that confidence would disappear at Camden as Horatio Gates would lose nearly all of the Southern Army. Further, the Revolutionary commanders slowly realized that their victories were more-often through non-traditional means, as the battles at Stony Point and Paulus Hook illustrated. Thus, the purpose of this block is to understand the tactical shift based on the strategic-level evolution. In the end, students should realize the combined nature of all three levels of war, the need for strategic reassessment, and the implementation of all instruments of national power.

Additionally, this block sees a larger concentration of combining the levels of war. Students should have a strong handle on the three levels, and thus this block begins to introduce a larger concentration of “grey areas” between the three levels. They are expected to differentiate between them in the SITREP and COA briefings, but the lessons will not be strictly delineated.

#### GOALS and OBJECTIVES:

- Understand how tactical engagements evolved in the Southern Theater.

- Comprehend the British strategic situation, their reasons for moving to the Southern Theater, and their operational expectations in the south.
- Explain how the Americans were able to take advantage of the Redcoat's weaknesses across the three levels of war.
- Assess the American victory and detail the major factors involved in the British willingness to surrender.

TIMELINE:

Lesson 26 - 22 June 1779 – State of Affairs

Lesson 27 - 20 August 1779 - Stony Point and Paulus Hook

Lesson 28 - 18 October 1779 - Recapture Savannah?

Lesson 29 - 30 May 1780 - The Winter

Lesson 30 - 11 July 1780 - The South

Lesson 31 – 7 October 1780 – King's Mountain

Lesson 32 – 2 December 1780 – Greene in the South

Lesson 33 - 16 January 1781 - Cowpens

Lesson 34 - 1 March 1781 - The Race to the Dan

Lesson 35 - 15 March 1781 - Guilford Courthouse

Lesson 36 - 1 September 1781 - The Plan

Lesson 37 - 28 September 1781 - Yorktown

Lesson 38 – October 1781- November 1783 - Is It Over?

## HISTORICAL OVERVIEW:

War-weariness had set in by the fifth year of the American Revolution. George Washington and his Continental Army were in a constant fight not only against the British, but against the resistance of the American states to provide for a unified military force. The new alliance with the French allowed the troops to more easily endure the 1778-1779 winter thanks to additional provisions while the continued drill and training that Baron von Steuben led added to the American tactical proficiency. Unfortunately, the financial situation was bleak. The Army troop numbers remained smaller than Washington wished. Without a strong American currency or the willingness of the population to provide for the Military, the war could not endure for much longer.<sup>135</sup>

To make matters worse, the winter of 1779-1780 was horrendous. The cold and snow broke records, and when the dwindling food supply gave out, it led to one of the few American mutinies during the war. The troops endured much, but after months of near-starvation in frigid temperatures, they refused to obey their superiors until they received even minor provisions.<sup>136</sup>

At the same time, there were reasons for hope. The French officially allied with the United States, sending much needed supplies and providing their navy to challenge the British at sea. Further, their entrance into the war forced the British to change their strategy as France and Spain challenged the British worldwide colonial empire. Britain simply did not have the resources to defend against an international coalition attacking worldwide holdings while attempting to suppress the American rebellion. A southern thrust allowed them to shift Redcoats between the American states and the West Indies quickly.

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<sup>135</sup> George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, eds., *Rebels and Redcoats: The American Revolution Through the Eyes of Those Who Fought and Lived It*, A Da Capo paperback (New York, N.Y: Da Capo Press, 1987): 355-356.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, 372.

After the loss of Stony Point to the Patriots, the British leadership convinced themselves that the American South contained a large Loyalist population willing to actively participate for the Crown if they received a small amount of Redcoat support. The relatively quick capture of Savannah and Charleston bolstered their belief, and the defeat of the Continental Southern Army under Horatio Gates at Camden solidified the notion that their new strategy worked. The American situation once again seemed bleak in the summer of 1780.<sup>137</sup>

Nathanael Greene, the newly appointed commander of what was left of the Southern Army, shifted the Southern strategy away from the traditional European climactic battle. In its place, Greene used an operational technique that lured Cornwallis's Redcoats into the Carolina interior and stretched the British supply lines to the breaking point. Simultaneously, Daniel Morgan developed and implemented a tactical approach that combined the strengths of the militia with the strengths of the regulars while playing on the British stereotypes of the "inept" militiamen. The result was a truly decisive victory over the feared Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton and his British Dragoons at Cowpens in January of 1781.<sup>138</sup>

Furious, General Cornwallis leapt into action. In his mind, the only necessary recourse was the destruction, for the fourth time of the war, of the American Southern Army. The British general resolved to chase down Nathanael Greene in the Carolina backcountry, an operational maneuver that played into Greene's game plan. As Cornwallis plunged into the interior, his forces grew weaker and his supply lines snapped. Greene stayed one step ahead, his forces growing stronger thanks to an increasing number of militia who were arriving daily with their knowledge of the terrain and ability to live off the land. Finally, a frustrated, hungry, and

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<sup>137</sup> John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007): 442-443.

<sup>138</sup> John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: Wiley, 1997): 316-317.

weakened British force found General Greene ready to fight at Guilford Courthouse. The resultant Pyrrhic victory for Cornwallis cost him so much that he was forced to retreat to the Atlantic coast to resupply. He set up his base of operations at Yorktown.<sup>139</sup>

George Washington saw his chance to pounce, and mustering all of his diplomatic, political, and military clout, he convinced the French to help him trap Cornwallis. Finally, his Strategic Defensive/Fabian strategy paid off, and the opportunity he so patiently waited for presented itself. The siege lasted less than six weeks before Washington received the first formal surrender of his career. With that, hostilities ceased.<sup>140</sup>

Unfortunately, the Continental Army would endure through two more long years of service unsure of a lasting peace. Though there were no longer any British combat operations, there was not yet a political treaty between the two nations officially ending the war and recognizing the United States as an independent nation. Thus, until 1783, the Army was left in limbo. Washington himself never fully believed that a lasting peace was forthcoming until he was able to declare an end to hostilities and disband his Continental Army. He was afforded that privilege on November 3, 1783.<sup>141</sup> The war was officially over.

### ISSUES:

- What did the South have that made the British shift their strategy away from the Middle or Northern states?
- How important were outside-the-military factors in the South, such as politics, economics, socio-cultural issues, or the “southern way of life” to inside-the-military factors between

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid, 382-383.

<sup>140</sup> John Ferling, *Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007): 536.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid, 553.

1779 and the end of the war?

- What was the prominent recurring objective during the last several years of the war, resources or morale?
- Did the Articles of Confederation have an impact on military operations?

BLOCK ASSIGNMENT:

Tactical Analysis Paper - Due lesson 32

- 1000 words or less
- Must have a historical argument, a solid thesis, and present researched evidence supporting your position about the tactical level of war.
- Must use scholarly secondary sources. I will only accept sources written by approved authors.

The following list are authors that are automatically approved, check with me if you have an author that is not on this list. Any author mentioned in Chapter II is also acceptable.

- Don Higginbotham, Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, Robert Middlekauf, Wayne Lee, Eric Foner, Merrill Jensen, Joseph Ellis, T.H. Breen, John Ferling, George Scheer, Hugh Rankin, David McCullough, or Benson Bobrick.<sup>142</sup>
- Do not forget to think about any economic, social, cultural, diplomatic, or military issues.
- Be sure to answer the following questions:
  - How effective were the American (or British) tactics by this point in the war? What were they, and why did the Tactical Commanders believe that their tactics could defeat the enemy?

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<sup>142</sup> Note to Instructors: this list is not all inclusive but is designed to introduce students to many of the most prominent American Revolution scholars and to prevent the wide array of internet-based, non-academic websites from creeping into the student's research.

## Lesson 26: Strategic Level - State of Affairs

### Purpose of the lesson:

The post-winter strategic assessment was not great (see *Rebels and Redcoats*, ch29). The economic situation was dire, and states seemed unwilling to aid the Continental's at the expense of their own militia. While the winter between 1778-1779 was comparatively mild, and the troops now had some additional clothing thanks to the French-American alliance, there was still a growing rift between the regular troops and the militiamen.

Further, the British's southern strategy met with success as Savannah fell in December of 1778, and General Henry Clinton's Redcoats captured Verplank's and Stony Point in May of 1779, severing a critical river crossing necessary for communication.

Thus, the main purpose of this lesson is to assess the state of affairs as the campaign season opens in 1779.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

- Provide Primary Sources, cadets determine 3 COA's based on strategic situation with the help of correspondences & maps
- Preferably, cadets will get divided into 3 groups. If they do, they can decide how to split the work so that they can develop 3 separate COAs. They will still need to coordinate between groups between so as not to duplicate effort.

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- Each group has five minutes to present their Course of Action, argue for its effectiveness, and answer questions about its feasibility.
- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation — how these plans further the Congressional/Political goal of a peace with England and an independent nation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis VI*
- *A Tory View of Frontier Warfare, Summer 1778—Peter Oliver: from "The Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion"*

### Significance of the Date:

- 22 June 1779: Spain declared war on Great Britain on the 21st, which added another international strategic problem for the British. Further,

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Post-winter status of forces
- Number of troops fit for duty
- Alliance with France — number of French troops and supply

- International situation — status of Spain, Prussia, West Indies, etc.
- Number and location of British troops
- Financial status of the Army
- Aspects of raising African-American regiments

SITREP Questions:

- Rift between Continental Army and state militia

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Nathanael Greene to James Varnum, Feb 9, 1779
- George Washington to Gouverneur Morris, Oct. 4, 1778
- Washington to Benjamin Harrison, Dec 18, 1778
- Washington to Henry Laurens, Mar 18 & 20, 1779
- Overview map
- Map of Savannah
- Map of the Southern Theater
- Map of Verplank and Stony Point area

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Re-capture Stony Point, re-capture Savannah
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- Though this lesson should highlight the state of affairs for the Americans and the international situation against the British, it should also develop several strategic-level COAs aimed at a British defeat. At this point in the course, the levels of war may start to run together. Ensure that they do not. Further, ensure that all elements of culture are addressed at the strategic level since eighteenth-century socio-cultural issues played a large role in the Continental Army's overall strategy. One prominent example includes the continued debate over the issue of allowing slaves or free blacks to serve. In short, keep the strategic level wide.
- \*\*the student assigned to give the next SITREP may need a “heads up” to focus on Stony Point and Paulus Hook in addition to the regular SITREP briefing material.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis VII*
- Philipsburg Proclamation

Notes:

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## **Lesson 27: Strategic/Operational Level - Stony Point & Paulus Hook**

### Purpose of the lesson:

“Mad” Anthony Wayne captured Stony Point from the British in a nighttime raid on July 16, and Henry “Light Horse” Lee took Paulus Hook in similar fashion on 19 August. While Washington ordered both abandoned, they illuminated the evolution of operational maneuvers at this point in the war (and also highlighted the importance of commanders with nicknames). In addition, these two assaults further elucidate what “victory” means — is a strategic morale boost a better “victory” than the traditional notion of holding territory? Nathanael Greene certainly thought so based on his tactical actions throughout the war. The implications of such a definition was crucial to Washington’s overall strategic vision and an important characteristic of the Revolutionary War that students must understand. Thus, that is the purpose of this lesson.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

- Provide Primary Sources, cadets determine 3 COA’s based on strategic situation with the help of correspondences & maps
- Preferably, cadets will get divided into 3 groups. If they do, they can decide how to split the work so that they can develop 3 separate COAs. They will still need to coordinate between groups between so as not to duplicate effort.

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- Each group has five minutes to present their Course of Action, argue for its effectiveness, and answer questions about its feasibility.
- COMMANDER: The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC/OPERATIONAL** situation — how these plans will maneuver the Army to achieve the strategic-level orders.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine’s *The Crisis VII*
- *A Tory View of Frontier Warfare, Summer 1778—Peter Oliver: from “The Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion”*

### Significance of the Date:

- 20 August 1779: “Mad” Anthony Wayne captured Stony Point from the British in a nighttime raid on July 16, and Henry “Light Horse” Lee took Paulus Hook in similar fashion on 19 August. While Washington ordered both abandoned, they illuminate the evolution of operational and tactical maneuvers at this point in the war.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

SITREP Areas of Focus: \*\*the student may need a “heads up” to focus on Stony Point and Paulus Hook

- Recount the operational events of Stony Point and Paulus Hook
- Discuss why both were quickly abandoned

- Standard SITREP material (troops, locations, etc)

SITREP Questions:

- Civilian reaction to Philipsburg Proclamation

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- George Washington to Henry Lee, July 9, 1779
- Maps of Stony Point and Paulus Hook
- Maps of the Southern Theater

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Recapture Savannah
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- The evolution of operational-level methods was the main purpose of this lesson, and the implications for further combat endeavors should be highlighted throughout the class. Cadets should debate the merits of using these non-conventional means on a recurring basis throughout the class, and their COAs should reflect that change.

Homework:

- Banishing Tories: “A Whig”: To the Public; *Pennsylvania Packet*, Aug 5, 1779 (see *The American Revolution: Writings from the War of Independence* pg 530-533)

Notes:

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## Lesson 28: Operational/Tactical Level - Recapture Savannah?

### Purpose of the lesson:

Alliances can be tricky, especially when coordinating tactical assaults. The focus on this lesson is the tactical attack on the British in Savannah and the attempt to liberate the city. George Washington coordinated heavily with the Comte d'Estaing and his French fleet. Students should plan the attack and present their COAs around the joint endeavor to recapture Savannah.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL/TACTICAL** situation of recapturing Savannah.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Banishing Tories: "A Whig": To the Public; *Pennsylvania Packet*, Aug 5, 1779 (see *The American Revolution: Writings from the War of Independence* pg 530-533)

### Significance of the Date:

- 18 October 1779: George Washington and Comte d'Estaing launch a combined assault on the now British-held city of Savannah on the 19th.

SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Alliance with the French
- Location of French fleet
- Number of ships and time necessary for their preparation/participation
- Standard tactical evaluation of American troops, logistics, terrain, weather, etc.

### SITREP Questions:

- Where is the British fleet?
- Is the French fleet willing to engage the British navy for Savannah?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Washington to Congress, 4 Oct 1779
- Washington to Comte d'Estaing, 4 Oct 1779
- Map of Savannah
- Map of the Southern theater, including the West Indies

### Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: The attack failed
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- Though the recapture of Savannah fails, students should highlight the nature of international cooperation at the operational/tactical level.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis VIII*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 29: Strategic Level - The Winter**

### Purpose of the lesson:

The 1779-1780 winter was the harshest of the American Revolution. Temperatures were at extreme lows while the snow was at record highs around the Continental Army's encampment at Morristown. Food became scarcer for the troops than at any other point in the war, and locals were unwilling to part with their stores. Even if they did, transportation was near impossible in such conditions. Strategically, Washington had his hands full trying to keep his army together. The British, on the other hand, were preparing for a large summer campaign in the south, and Washington's spies relied the rumors back to him. General Henry Clinton was moving large numbers of Redcoats, leaving New York lightly defended. Their capture of Charleston was the biggest loss of American forces of the war. Further, British Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton gave no quarter to the Patriots trying to surrender at Waxhaw's, South Carolina. The ensuing cry of "Tarleton's Quarter" became synonymous with how the Redcoats treated prisoners or those who surrendered.

At the same time, the diplomatic situation was improving as both France and Spain declared war on Britain, and John Adams was hopeful that international trade with some neutral nations would increase. Nonetheless, this was America's war to fight, and Washington needed to develop a post-winter strategic assessment that would allow the Patriots to force the British to the bargaining table. Thus, that is the purpose of this lesson.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis VIII*

### Significance of the Date:

- 30 May 1780: The "massacre" at Waxhaw's occurred on 29 May. While the event itself was a tremendous loss, it gave the Continentals a propaganda victory in the rallying cry of "Tarleton's Quarter."

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Status of the troops
- Winter Mutinies
- Location of the British
- Weather
- Alliances

SITREP Questions:

- Civilian sentiment

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Washington to Schuyler, 30 Jan 1780
- Washington to Fielding Lewis, 5 May 1780
- Washington to Steuben, 2 April 1780
- Greene to Moore Freeman, 4 Jan 1780
- Greene to Christopher Greene, 10 Feb 1780
- Greene to Griffin Greene, 25 April 1780
- Overview Map
- Southern Theater Map

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Recommend Greene take the Southern command, get Gates instead.
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- As in the previous post-winter lessons, this one is all about the strategic assessment and the plan for 1780. The French and Spanish add a new dimension to the overall war, as does the shift to the Southern theater. Ensure the students are seeing the “big picture.”

Homework:

- Henry Clinton’s Proclamations

Notes:

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## Lesson 30: Strategic Level - The South

### Purpose of the lesson:

Similar to the previous lesson, this strategic-level class focuses on the specifics of the Southern theater and how best to defeat a British army that has met with success. The fall of Savannah and Charleston dealt a severe blow to the Patriots, and the French Navy has not challenged the British as Washington hoped. Further, in appointing Horatio Gates as Commander of the Southern Theater over the Commander-in-Chief's recommendation of Nathanael Greene, Congress displayed a lack of trust in Washington.

This lesson aims to highlight the numerous strategic problems with the Southern Theater during 1780.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Henry Clinton's Proclamations

### Significance of the Date:

- 11 July 1780: Clinton issued his proclamations on 3 June, demanding that Americans sign an oath of allegiance to the King or be considered traitors. His actions forced fence-sitters to choose a side. Also, on 11 July, the French naval squadron finally arrived at Newport, RI.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Troop levels, locations, logistics
- French troops and ships
- British troop locations
- British naval locations

### SITREP Questions:

- How did Clinton's proclamations affect the southern morale?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Washington to Congress, 2 April 1780
- Washington General Orders, 6 April 1780

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Gates loses at Camden
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- Ensure the students focus on the Southern theater and how it differentiates from the Northern and Middle theaters. The point of this lesson was to get them to understand the British perspective in moving south and attempt to find ways to staunch their success.

Homework:

- News of Benedict Arnold's betrayal
- Benedict Arnold to the Inhabitants of America
- Patrick Ferguson's message

Notes:

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## **Lesson 31: Tactical Level - King's Mountain**

### Purpose of the lesson:

The Battle of King's Mountain breaks traditional military planning and hierarchy in that it was purely a militia-driven fight. While the overall plan was discussed and agreed upon prior to the battle, once it started there was no single commander in charge of the plan. Each militia unit was on its own. To that end, this lesson will echo the sentiments and split the class into several groups. Each group will act as a separate militia unit, elect a captain, and allow those captains to confer with each other and develop the COAs. At the end of the lesson, they must agree on the three COAs, but they do not have to brief them to any single person (such as the instructor). Instead, all cadets in the room must understand the plan.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(25 Min) COA PLANNING: The cadets are on their own here... they must elect several leaders to confer and decide on COAs. They just all have to know what it is.

(5 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor will not participate in the process during this lesson. Instead, the cadets selected as **Militia Commanders** should ensure that each COA addresses the **TACTICAL** situation.
- Only 5 minutes is necessary to ensure that all students know the plan. Pick one or two at random to relay the COAs, and that will suffice.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- News of Benedict Arnold's treason
- Benedict Arnold to the Inhabitants of America
- Patrick Ferguson's message

### Significance of the Date:

- 7 October 1780: This is the date of the Battle of King's Mountain.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Militia units — number and locations
- Ferguson's location and number of troops
- Geography

### SITREP Questions:

- Who is in charge?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Ferguson's message to Isaac Shelby
- Map of King's Mountain

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Rifleman-style attack shooting up the hill — annihilation of Ferguson’s corps
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- In keeping with the militiamen style of the lesson, the instructor should play an extremely minor role in this class period. Because King’s Mountain had no overall commander, the class should do the same. They must still get coordinated enough to carry out a feasible assault.

Homework:

- Isaac Shelby, “King’s Mountain: Letters of Colonel Isaac Shelby,” ed. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *The Journal of Southern History* 4, no. 3 (1938): 367–377.
- *Royal Gazette*: “Strayed... a whole Army.”

Notes:

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## Lesson 32: Operational Level - Greene in the South

### Purpose of the lesson:

Tasked with carrying out Washington's strategic plan, Nathanael Greene had little to work with when he took command of the Southern Army at the end of 1780. Thus, the purpose of this lesson is to highlight and figure out how to operationally field an Army to challenge the British in the South.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Nathanael Greene**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Isaac Shelby, "King's Mountain: Letters of Colonel Isaac Shelby," ed. J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *The Journal of Southern History* 4, no. 3 (1938): 367–377.
- *Royal Gazette*: "Strayed... a whole Army."

### Significance of the Date:

- 2 December 1780: The Battle of Camden occurred on 16 Aug, ending in the defeat and dispersal of the Southern Army. Congress allowed Washington to select the new Commander of the Southern Army; Nathanael Greene was his top choice, who took command on 2 December.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Status of Southern Forces
- Recap of Southern battles
- Standard SITREP information

### SITREP Questions:

- How many guerrilla fighters occupy the area?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Washington to Thomas Jefferson, 21 Sep 1780
- Washington to Thomas Jefferson, 10 Oct 1780
- Washington to Abner Nash, 6 Nov 1780
- Washington Circular to State Governments, 18 Oct 1780
- Overview map of the Southern Theater
- Greene's appointment

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Greene dispatches BGen Morgan with a “flying army.”
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- While this lesson is operational, it also has a strategic component in that Greene had to recreate a decimated army and decide what to do with it. Make sure that the students understand what has worked and what did not work for the previous commanders (like Camden). Ensure that their COAs reflect their knowledge.

Homework:

- Write Tactical Analysis Paper

Notes:

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### **Lesson 33: Tactical Level - Cowpens**

#### Purpose of the lesson:

Daniel Morgan was a rare tactical genius. This lesson will depart from tradition in that the instructor, acting as General Morgan, will detail his tactical plans to the class after the SITREP is complete. The class can still be split into several groups, but will act as William Washington's cavalry, John Eager Howard's regulars, and Andrew Pickens's militia. Morgan will spend the class directing his troops to make sure each knows their role perfectly. This lesson is close to a lecture-style in that the students do more listening than anything else, but is also true to the character of Morgan (see Buchanan, *Road to Guilford Courthouse*, 316).

#### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(5 Min) COA PLANNING

(25 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Daniel Morgan**, should brief his COA of the **TACTICAL** plan.

#### Reading/Homework Due:

- Tactical Analysis Paper Due

#### Significance of the Date:

- 16 January 1781: Daniel Morgan defeats Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens on the 17th.

#### SITREP Student: Cadet X

#### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Status of troops
- Location of Tarleton

#### SITREP Questions:

- None... ensure the briefing is good, but act as Daniel Morgan — impatient to get through the briefing so he could detail his plan.

#### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Map of Cowpens

#### Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Victory
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- This is one lesson where the instructor must be fully prepared to brief, in detail, the plan of attack at Cowpens. There are no correspondences for the cadets to read, nor any material other than the Cowpens map for them to reference. The instructor, acting as Morgan, runs the class.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis IX*

Notes:

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## Lesson 34: Operational Level - Race to the Dan

### Purpose of the lesson:

The Race to the Dan was a brilliant operational move that decimated Cornwallis's troops through fatigue and lack of supply. Greene stretched the Redcoat logistic system so thin that Cornwallis had no choice but to turn back; it was precisely at that point that Greene engaged the British. Though Guilford Courthouse will be discussed on lesson 36, the purpose of this lesson is to highlight the operational maneuvering and ability to project, plan, and prepare for the needs of the army as it moves through the Carolinas with the Redcoats giving chase. In January, Greene wrote Washington and described the deplorable situation of the troops. The students should plan on how to simultaneously build, equip, and maintain a force able to confront the British. During the process, the students should plot the progress of all forces on a map based off of the intelligence reports and writing locations of the letters, along with the dates. This will allow them to trace the "race" as both British and Patriot armies move through the interior.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- COMMANDER: The instructor, acting as **Nathanael Greene**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis IX*

### Significance of the Date:

- 1 March 1781: The Articles of Confederation were ratified on 1 March, and Greene is leading Cornwallis through the Carolina backcountry towards Guilford Courthouse.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Status of Cornwallis's troops, especially logistics and supply
- Patriot supply depots
- River levels and available boats for crossing the various rivers, especially the PeeDee and Catawba Rivers.
- Standard SITREP information

### SITREP Questions:

- River levels, and how the weather will affect them

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Southern Theater Map
- Map of the Carolinas
- Daniel Morgan to Nathanael Greene, 15 Jan 1781

- Greene to Francis Marion, 16 Jan 1781
- Greene to Abner Nash, 17 Jan 1781
- Greene to Davidson, 19 Jan
- Greene to Morgan, 19 Jan
- Morgan to Greene, 19 Jan
- Greene to an Unidentified Person, 1-23 Jan
- Morgan to Greene, 23 Jan
- Greene to Washington, 24 Jan, 28 Jan
- Morgan to Greene, 24 Jan, 25 Jan, 28 Jan
- Greene to Henry Lee, Jr., 26 Jan
- Lee to Greene, 27 Jan
- Greene to William Campbell, 30 Jan
- Greene to Isaac Huger, 30 Jan
- To Samuel Huntington, 31 Jan
- To the Officers Commanding the Militia in the Salisbury District of North Carolina, 31 Jan
- Huger to Greene, 1 Feb
- To Baron Steuben, 3 Feb
- To Huger, 5 Feb, 8 Feb
- From Huger, 8 Feb
- From Arthur Campbell, 8 Feb
- Proceedings of a Council of War, 9 Feb
- To Washington, 9 Feb, 15 Feb
- From Morgan, 20 Feb
- To Lord Cornwallis, 24 Feb
- Appointment of a Commission to Deal with the Cherokee and Chickasaw Nations, 26 Feb
- To Washington, 28 Feb

#### Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Guilford Courthouse
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

#### Final Thoughts:

- This lesson is laden with correspondence, but unlike the burden of sifting through to find the important information, as the students practiced earlier in the course, nearly all of the correspondence is crucial during the Race to the Dan. Thus, the list of specific sources that cadets need to read is longer than the other lessons. Nonetheless, the paint an impressive picture of the campaign.

#### Homework:

- Articles of Confederation

#### Notes:



## **Lesson 35: Operational/Tactical Level - Guilford Courthouse**

### Purpose of the lesson:

This lesson continues the Race to the Dan and culminates with the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. In keeping with the Block III standard, the students must differentiate between the Operational and the Tactical, elucidating the differences in their COA briefings. Students should continue to plot the progress of all forces on a map based off of the intelligence reports and writing locations of the letters, along with the dates. This will allow them to trace the “race” as both British and Patriot armies move through the interior.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **Nathanael Greene**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **OPERATIONAL and TACTICAL** situations.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Articles of Confederation

### Significance of the Date:

- 15 March 1781: Greene engages Cornwallis at Guilford Courthouse

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Standard SITREP
- Recap the Race to the Dan up until the Dan River
- Recap

### SITREP Questions:

- Review map of Guilford Courthouse (the Army has already camped there... it should be well known as it was the ground of Greene’s choosing)

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Map of the Southern Theater
- Map of the Race to the Dan
- Map of Guilford Courthouse
- To Baron Steuben, 29 Feb/1 March 1781
- From Otho Williams, 1 March 1781, 2 March 1781, 3 March 1781, 4 March 1781
- From Baron Steuben, 3 March
- From Henry Lee Jr., 4 March
- To Henry Lee Jr., 5 March
- To Baron Steuben, 5 March
- From Lee, 5 March

- To Nash, 6 March
- From Lee, 6 March
- From Williams, 7 March
- To Lee, 9 March, 10 March
- To Thomas Jefferson, 10 March
- To Washington, 10 March
- Instructions to Colonel Carrington Concerning an Exchange of Prisoners
- From Lee, 11 March
- To Lee, 14 March

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: British Pyrrhic victory because Greene retreats, Cornwallis leaves the area for the coast
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- The first half of the planning process will continue the Operational tempo of plotting where the two are and when and how they should engage. The second half of the planning process moves to the tactical, where the students should devise a battle plan on the grounds around Guilford Courthouse. While this lesson is busy, all of the pieces are listed in the correspondences. Greene will use similar tactics that Morgan used at Cowpens; thus, students should rely on Morgan's recommendations in his correspondences between lesson 34 and 35.

Homework:

- Research

Notes:

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## Lesson 36: Strategic Level - The Plan

### Purpose of the lesson:

After the Race to the Dan campaign and the battles of Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse, this lesson examines the strategic level of war in the aftermath of the Articles of Confederation and the arrival of the French fleets. Washington saw an opportunity, but the French have been notoriously slow to decisively engage.

Students should discuss the impact of the Articles of Confederation on the Army's ability to carry out its mission, as well as their ability to diplomatically deal with both belligerent and friendly nations.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- General research

### Significance of the Date:

- 1 September 1781: Cornwallis established a base of operations at Yorktown in August, a port city that would allow him easy communication with Clinton, plus a place to receive reinforcements and supply.

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Standard SITREP
- Recount the Siege of Ninety-Six
- Ensure good location of the troops and naval vessels

### SITREP Questions:

- Cornwallis is at Yorktown, is Clinton coming to help?
- Where are the British and French ships?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview Map
- Washington to Greene, 27 February 1781
- Greene to Washington, 18 March 1781
- Greene to Morgan, 20 March 1781
- Washington to Greene, 21 March 1781
- Washington to Greene, 18 April 1781
- Washington to Ménonville, 7 May 1781

- Washington to William Greene, 24 May 1781
- Washington to Hancock, 25 May 1781, 2 June
- Washington to Rochambeau, 17 June
- Washington to George Clinton, 30 June
- Washington to Rochambeau, 3 July
- Lafayette to Washington, 11 Aug
- Washington to Lafayette, 1 Sept

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Battle of the Capes in September, then begin the siege of Yorktown
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- The main goal of this lesson was to present Washington with the best three COAs that he can discuss with Comte Rochambeau and Admiral de Grasse. They should include a proposed assault on New York and a naval battle somewhere along the Atlantic coast, preferably in the Chesapeake.

Homework:

- Research

Notes:

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## **Lesson 37: Strategic/Operational/Tactical Level - Yorktown**

### Purpose of the lesson:

This is the end-game; the point at which Washington is able to concentrate his forces and hopefully trap Cornwallis in Yorktown. As he gathers as many French and American troops as he can, there are still questions relating to all three levels of war. At the strategic level, the French fleet has limited time as they desire to move before the weather turns. Thus, the window to use them against the British was short, and relations between the two nations was consistently tenuous in action. At the Operational level, Washington not only needed a sizable force outside of Yorktown, he also needed to keep the British inside of New York. Again, his time was limited because if they attacked while the Patriots were on the move, they could cause significant damage. Finally, Washington knew that time was not necessarily on his side and that a direct assault against Cornwallis could finish him off. On the other hand, if the Continental Army were defeated, that could drag the war through another year of fighting, or worse. A siege was preferable, but slow, and Washington had almost no experience with siege warfare. Thus, all three levels of war converge in this lesson, and the goal is to get the students to offer the best COA at each level.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

- Provide Primary Sources, cadets determine 3 COA's based on strategic situation with the help of correspondences & maps
- Preferably, cadets will get divided into 3 groups. If they do, they can decide how to split the work so that they can develop 3 separate COAs. They will still need to coordinate between groups between so as not to duplicate effort.

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC, OPERATIONAL, and TACTICAL** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Research

### Significance of the Date:

- 28 September 1781: The siege of Yorktown begins

### SITREP Student: Cadet X

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Standard SITREP
- Recap the Battle of the Capes
- Recap Eutaw Springs

### SITREP Questions:

- Any movement from Henry Clinton in New York?

Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Map of Yorktown
- General Orders, 6 Sept 1781
- General Orders, 26 Sept 1781
- General Orders, 27 Sept 1781
- Washington to the Board of War, 28 Sept 1781
- Washington to Greene, 28 Sept

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Strategic COA:
- Operational COA:
- Tactical COA:

Final Thoughts:

- Hopefully the students have a sense of apprehension and excitement as the end draws near. They should develop a COA at each level of war knowing that while Cornwallis seems trapped, no plan is foolproof.
- The biggest issue that the instructor will need to watch out for is the tendency to project what we know about the outcome on the decisions of those experiencing the event. Bias runs strong in this lesson, and the instructor should do everything possible to ensure that cadets place themselves in a 1781 mindset.

Homework:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis X*

Notes:

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## **Lesson 38: Strategic Level - Is it over?**

### Purpose of the lesson:

Cornwallis surrendered on 19 October 1781, effectively ending combat operations in America. Unfortunately, the Treaty of Paris is not signed until 3 September, 1783. Thus, for two years the Continental Army exists in a country fearful of standing armies. The purpose of this lesson is to examine how Washington should strategically manage his force, and how the other instruments of national power interact to conclude the American Revolution.

### Structure of the Class:

(12-15 Min) SITREP

(15 Min) COA PLANNING

(15 minutes) COA BRIEFING

- **COMMANDER:** The instructor, acting as **George Washington**, should ensure that each COA addresses the **STRATEGIC** situation.

### Reading/Homework Due:

- Thomas Paine's *The Crisis X*
- *John Armstrong: The Newburgh Address*

### Significance of the Date:

- 19 October 1781 - 3 November 1783: Combat operations ended on 19 Oct, 1781, but Washington was not able to disband his force until 3 November 1783.

SITREP Student: Cadet X — This is a SITREP makeup lesson for any student unable to complete two briefings. If all students are complete, then the Instructor can present the last SITREP or allow it to become a discussion.

### SITREP Areas of Focus:

- Forces remaining
- Morale

### SITREP Questions:

- Is Congress upholding their promises to the Army?

### Correspondences, Maps, other Primary Sources:

- Overview map
- General Orders, 18 October 1781
- To Washington from Cornwallis, 17 October 1781, 18 October 1781
- From Washington to Cornwallis, 17 October 1781, 18 October 1781
- Articles of Capitulation between Washington and Cornwallis, 19 October 1781
- Washington to Joseph Jones, 12 March 1783
- Washington: Speech to the Officers, 15 March 1783
- Samuel Shaw to the Rev. Eliot, April 1783
- A New York Loyalist to Lord Hardwicke, 1783

Courses of Action (COAs):

- Historical COA: Washington retains most of his force as threats still abound, but only approximately 4,000 remain by 3 November 1783.
- Backup 1:
- Backup 2:

Final Thoughts:

- The basic underpinnings of this lesson deal with the strategic necessity to keep a Continental Army while dealing with the strong sentiment that it is not needed. The required correspondences span two years, from the jubilation at Cornwallis's surrender in 1781 to the Newburgh Conspiracy in 1783. The students must understand that the end of military campaigns is not the end of military service — a lesson all too prevalent throughout American warfare.

Homework:

- The Treaty of Paris
- Write Reflection Paper

Notes: \_\_\_\_\_  
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## CHAPTER IX

### CONCLUSION

In 2009, NATO coalition planners created a PowerPoint slide that attempted to depict the cultural, socio-political, military, and economic interconnections that created turmoil during the War in Afghanistan. The planners failed. Instead, Generals were treated to a jumbled mess of circular lines that led General Stanley McChrystal to exclaim, “when we understand that slide, we’ll have won the war.” General James Mattis took it a step further, “PowerPoint makes us stupid.” Brigadier General H.R. McMaster banned slideshows from his briefings, claiming that they “create the illusion of understanding and the illusion of control.”<sup>143</sup> If their comments were any indication, modern strategic-level leadership despises electronic slideshows -- and two of the three quoted individuals have history degrees -- yet, most university-level history courses rely heavily on PowerPoint.<sup>144</sup> That begs the rhetorical question for military history classes, especially at the Service Academies: if commanders despise it, why do we teach with it?

Modern pedagogy supports the notion that a student’s metacognition and critical thinking increases through various active-learning, student-centered techniques rather than the traditional lecture. The flipped-classroom model is growing in popularity within universities. Problem based learning, experiential learning, and gamification create environments that rely more on student

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<sup>143</sup> Elisabeth Bumiller, “Enemy Lurks in Briefings on Afghan War: PowerPoint,” *The New York Times*, April 26, 2010, sec. World, accessed January 27, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/27/world/27powerpoint.html>.

<sup>144</sup> Now-Secretary of Defense James Mattis has a B.A. in History from Central Washington University, while the now-former National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster holds a Ph.D. in History from the University of North Carolina.

interaction than lecture, and technology allows learners to pedagogically engage with each other in new ways. Works such as *How Learning Works*, *What the Best College Teachers Do*, or *Learner-Centered Assessment on College Campuses* all preach for the inclusion of multiple student-centered teaching methodologies and downplay the role of the PowerPoint-driven lecture.<sup>145</sup> This paper presented an American military history course that incorporated the student-centered, active-learning model with aspects of gamification and a flipped classroom.

Further, History 999, “The Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War” was designed to meet seven of nine USAFA institutional outcomes in an engaging, informative manner. Critical thinking; the human condition, cultures, and societies; leadership, teamwork, and organizational management; clear communication; ethics and respect for human dignity; national security of the American Republic; and warrior ethos as airmen and citizens are the outcomes directly achieved through H999. In the process, cadets will inundate themselves with Revolutionary warfare across the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of war.

The United States Air Force Academy is a unique institution of higher learning. As a Service Academy, its primary mission is to create leaders of character for the U.S. Air Force. A well-rounded liberal arts education is critical to accomplish that goal, and USAFA has a pronounced core curriculum that includes numerous required courses across a variety of disciplines, including an introduction to Military History and an introduction to World History. The larger Air Force that the cadets will enter after graduation is a technologically advanced,

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<sup>145</sup> Ambrose, Susan A., ed. *How Learning Works: Seven Research-Based Principles for Smart Teaching*. The Jossey-Bass higher and adult education series. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2010. Bain, Ken. *What the Best College Teachers Do*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004. Huba, Mary E., and Jann E. Freed. *Learner-Centered Assessment on College Campuses: Shifting the Focus from Teaching to Learning*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000.

technologically forward-looking organization dedicated to the command of air, space, and cyberspace. As such, attention to pre-airpower history is often shortened to make time for twenty- and twenty-first century history. While modern warfare is important, without colonial or early American military history, cadets lose the appreciation that warfare revolves around human decision-making. In an effort to develop military officers that understand the complexities of warfare, it is essential that students realize that wars will continue regardless of technological innovation. There is no magic technological invention that will end conflict. Thus, professors must convey the human aspects of war to the next generation of military officers.

Military History classrooms do well in elucidating the notion that wars are complex affairs that integrate many, if not all, aspects of society. Unfortunately, some classrooms rely on confusing, vague, or broad classifications of warfare that require continual and repeated explanation necessitating excessive lecture. The Threads of Continuity, Spectrum of War, and the DIME model are important to understand but largely unnecessary during an officer's first few years in the military. Instead, officer-candidates, like the cadets at the U.S. Air Force Academy, would be better served gaining a complete understanding of the levels of war. Since they will graduate at the tactical level, cadets must comprehend their role within the tactical environment and how their actions influence the operational and strategic environment. While young officers will rarely need to make strategic-level decisions in the twenty-first century military hierarchy, their decisions at the tactical level can have impacts across the three levels of war. Further, their knowledge of the strategic and operational levels can affect their tactical decisions. Thus, professors must ensure their cadets completely understand the three levels of war. Moreover, the three levels of war are simple, comprehensive, and applicable. They apply to any conflict that contains a traditional state military with a hierarchical chain of command that is

subservient to a higher political power. This definition of conflict applies to every major American war since the creation of the Continental Army in 1775.

While no war is simple, the American Revolution offers the least amount of ambiguity compared to more modern American wars because the Continental Congress gave George Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, authorization to prosecute the war with an unprecedented amount of freedom. The creation of the office of the Presidency in 1789 added an extra strategic layer to future wars that the Revolutionary War did not contain. Further, the late-eighteenth century delineated separate campaigns and usually sought a single, decisive battle that reflected traditional European warfare. In that vein, the War for American Independence offers clearly defined levels of war that are simpler to differentiate and articulate to cadets. While no war is formulaic, the Revolution provides an excellent starting point for teaching military history at USAFA.

Indeed, war is not formulaic despite Antoine de Jomini's insistence to the contrary. Carl von Clausewitz's "fog and friction" ideals hold more sway, but his belief in a military genius negates the ability for a military to create superb officers, which is the purpose of the U.S. Air Force Academy. Alfred Thayer Mahan's quest for the destruction of an enemy's maritime fleet would lead to economic freedom for the victor; a notion that could apply to early America. Though the Continentals did not have a maritime fleet powerful enough to challenge the British, their privateers wreaked havoc on international trade and the combined French-Spanish naval force created a worldwide economic problem for Britain. Thus, Mahan's combination of the decisive battle and the economic fortunes of a nation did play a role in the American Revolution.

Further, the civil-military interaction of the populace was a massive issue during the war. Giulio Douhet sought to use the airplane to bypass the front lines in an effort to reach the civilian

populace with the theory that the population drives the war. Much of the American Revolution dealt with the “hearts and minds” of the Americans, and British behavior often pushed the colonists into the Patriot’s camp. Between Lord Dunmore’s Proclamation in 1775, the Philipsburg Proclamation in 1779, Henry Clinton’s Decree in 1780, and the Redcoat’s actions against civilians in the South, the British lost American “hearts and minds.” Therefore, even though Douhet wrote in the airpower age about the strategic use of airplanes, one could still adapt his theories to eighteenth-century military history.

While this is a short list of military theorists, the point is that cadets at the Air Force Academy can apply what they are learning across academia to American Military History. As the levels of war combine with military theory and military history, the students understand that there are unchanging aspects of warfare despite technological advancement. Warfare is human. As with any human endeavor, human relationships rarely change with the advent of new technology. Technological innovation may alter the manner in which wars are fought, but leadership and decision-making remain human. Leadership, at any level of war, is relational. In History 999, cadets will come to grips with the leadership decision-making process across the three levels of war during the American Revolution. In doing so, they will understand how they can impact the twenty-first century American military machine at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels of war.

H999 itself was designed to combine several pedagogical and historical methods within the backdrop of military service. First, in an effort to maintain historical integrity and focus on the historians’ craft, primary sources became the paramount text. If students needed more information about the Revolutionary War, as they most likely did, they had to research the information on their own time, albeit with their instructor's guidance. The provided sources only

scratched the surface of the volumes of correspondences during the American Revolution, but they elucidated the nature of historical research; namely, dealing with the original material and basing conclusions on that rather than on the interpretations of others — a skill especially paramount in modern society. Second, the course used the pedagogical methods of a student-centered, active-learning framework with embedded elements of gamification. As cadets placed themselves in the role of eighteenth-century planners, they prepared and briefed potential courses of action for their instructor, who role-played various commanders during the Revolutionary War. Sometimes their plans were adopted, sometimes not, and after class the students had the option to research the actual events in order to compare their plans with history. Finally, as future military officers, cadets gained valuable briefing experience with the Situation Reports and the COA briefs, both of which mirror the modern military. Further, throughout the class the cadets gained a firm grasp on the three levels of war and how they interacted. They saw that a tactical defeat could become a strategic victory, but a strategic failure had dire consequences despite a tactical success.

In all, the cadets enrolled in History 999, “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War,” gained a greater appreciation for primary source material, military correspondence, and the hierarchy of warfare. Hopefully, their curiosity was piqued in the process, leading to self-learning, increased metacognition, and higher complex and critical thinking skills. If successful, cadets will graduate from USAFA and enter the U.S. Air Force able to project American capabilities in combat wherever and whenever the nation calls. They will proudly and confidently carry on the tradition of the American military sworn to defend the Constitution of the United States of America.

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## **APPENDIX**

The attached syllabus is an exact representation of History 999, “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the American Revolutionary War.” Its formatting and appearance exactly mirrors what cadets will receive at the U.S. Air Force Academy on the first day of History 999. The names, office locations, and phone numbers of the course director, department head, and chief of the military history division have been removed and replaced with “xxxx.” Besides that minor omission, everything that follows *is* the proposed syllabus for H999 at the United States Air Force Academy.



# UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

## HISTORY 999

### TACTICAL IMPLEMENTATION OF STRATEGIC GUIDANCE DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR

## Syllabus

Fall 2018



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## **I. U.S. Air Force Academy Outcomes**

USAFA has a distinct set of ultimate objectives that are met in a variety of ways, including course work. Of the nine major objectives defined in the Cadet Handbook, this course will directly focus on the following seven:

### **1. CRITICAL THINKING**

Upon graduation, our graduates will be required to identify and solve complex problems and effectively respond to situations they have not previously confronted. Acting responsibly in an ever-changing world of ill-defined problems requires critical thinking. At USAFA, critical thinking is defined as: The process of self-aware, informed, and reflective reasoning for problem-solving and decision-making in the absence of ideal information.

### **2. THE HUMAN CONDITION, CULTURES, AND SOCIETIES**

Our graduates will be required to interact successfully with a wide range of individuals, to include those representing cultures and societies different from their own. To foster their success in these interactions, the Academy has created a three-phased approach to help cadets better understand the human condition, cultures, and societies: (a) knowing oneself; (b) knowing others; and (c) constructive engagement. Being able to prudently interact with individuals from different milieus resides at the heart of intercultural or cross-cultural competence and includes both domestic and international environments.

### **3. LEADERSHIP, TEAMWORK, AND ORGANIZATIONAL MANAGEMENT**

The Academy develops leaders through implementation of the Officer Development System, particularly the PITO model, which organizes leadership capabilities into four broad categories of (a) Personal Leadership (i.e., leading oneself in ways that enhance mission accomplishment); (b) Interpersonal Leadership (i.e., leading one or more other people); (c) Team Leadership (i.e., leading an interdependent group toward accomplishment of a common goal); and (d) Organizational Leadership (i.e., guiding an organization to success while understanding that it is embedded within a larger institution and environment).

### **4. CLEAR COMMUNICATION**

Clear communication is a complex, nuanced and teachable practice essential for successful officers and leaders of character. Effective use of oral, visual, written, and aural modes of communication signifies the professional competence and knowledge expected in a leader while engendering the trust of those being led. Officers must routinely assess context, understand purpose, develop processes, know audiences, and employ the materials necessary to plainly convey intentions in documents that range from staff work and simple orders to strategic plans and systematic designs: in short, tell the Air Force story.

### **5. ETHICS AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY**

When deciding how to act, Air Force leaders of character comprehend moral knowledge and ethical alternatives, respect the dignity of all affected persons, use ethical judgment in moral decision-making as leaders to select the best alternative, and act consistently with that judgment so as to develop habits of moral excellence.

### **6. NATIONAL SECURITY OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC**

“National Security” commonly refers to “the ability of the state to protect the fundamental values and core interests of a society.” Within the broader objective that cadets be prepared to “defend our nation in air, space, and cyberspace,” this Outcome emphasizes not only

the operational, tactical, and technological capabilities necessary to do so but also the broader political context in which military force must be employed.

## 7. WARRIOR ETHOS AS AIRMEN AND CITIZENS

Warrior ethos is the embodiment of the warrior spirit: tough mindedness, tireless motivation, an unceasing vigilance, a willingness to sacrifice one's life for the country, if necessary, and a commitment to be the world's premier air, space and cyberspace force. The warrior ethos proficiencies comprise a structure that is based on the intellectual development inherent to the Profession of Arms, and the values development prescribed by the Air Force Core Values.

**For more information on the USAFA Outcomes, see the Cadet Handbook or visit [www.usafa.edu/academics/outcomes](http://www.usafa.edu/academics/outcomes)**

## II. Department of History Outcomes

DFH believes history courses in general, and the history major specifically, are ideally suited not only for the basic acquisition and research of historical facts, but also for developing critical thinking, application, and communication skills. The first three outcomes (acquisition, critical thinking, and application) tend to build on each other, with each subsequent outcome dependent upon the previous one. Furthermore, there is an increasing level of difficulty inherent in the three outcomes, with "application" representing the highest order of thinking. The fourth outcome, the development of communication skills, is related to the other three previous outcomes, but is especially applicable to critical thinking and application skills. With this in mind, DFH has defined the outcomes for its history courses as follows:

1. Cadets will be able to **acquire and comprehend** factually accurate historical data and concepts.
  - a. Acquisition of historical data and concepts:
    - i. observation and recall of information
    - ii. knowledge of dates, events, places
    - iii. knowledge of major ideas
  - b. Comprehension of historical data and concepts:
    - i. understand information
    - ii. grasp meaning
    - iii. interpret facts, compare, contrast
    - iv. order, group, infer causes
2. Cadets will be able to **analyze, synthesize, and evaluate** historical data and concepts critically.
  - a. Analysis of historical data and concepts:
    - i. recognize patterns
    - ii. organize parts
    - iii. recognize hidden meanings
    - iv. identify components
  - b. Synthesis of historical data and concepts
    - i. use old ideas to create new ones
    - ii. generalize from given facts
    - iii. relate knowledge from several areas

- iv. draw conclusions
- c. Evaluation of historical data and concepts:
  - i. judge and discriminate between data and concepts
  - ii. assess value of data and concepts
  - iii. verify value of evidence
  - iv. make choices based on reasoned argument
  - v. recognize subjectivity and alternative viewpoints
- 3. Cadets will be able to **apply** the above critical analysis, synthesis, and evaluation of historical data and concepts to historical and modern contexts.
  - a. Application of historical data, concepts, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation:
    - i. use information to create new theories
    - ii. use data, methods, concepts, and theories in new contexts
    - iii. solve problems using required knowledge or critical thinking skills
- 4. Cadets will be able to **communicate** the acquisition, comprehension, analysis, synthesis, evaluation, and application of historical data and concepts effectively.
  - a. Communication methods:
    - i. written
    - ii. oral

### III. Course Objectives

#### For each student to:

1. Demonstrate acquisition of historical knowledge. (Outcomes: The Human Condition, Cultures, and Societies; National Security of the American Republic; Warrior Ethos as Airmen and Citizens; Ethics and Respect for Human Dignity; Clear Communications)

Historical knowledge in this course includes names, places, dates, and events associated with American history during the American Revolution. You will demonstrate this knowledge in classroom discussion, oral briefings, and written assignments.

2. Understand early American history through various primary-source documents and be able to analyze critically each of the readings assigned this semester. (Outcomes: Critical Thinking; Ethics and Respect for Human Dignity; The Human Condition, Cultures, and Societies; National Security of the American Republic; Clear Communications)

Through written assignments, you will demonstrate an understanding of, and evaluate the arguments of multiple viewpoints regarding the impact and importance of the American Revolution.

You will be able to apply the historical knowledge gained from classroom discussion and readings to arguments formulated around the various decisions during the War for American Independence.

3. Analyze established interpretations within a closed context and communicate analysis. (Outcomes: Critical Thinking, Clear Communications)

You will accomplish this in daily discussions that will analyze the primary sources and formulate a plan based on your knowledge of the situation and the information available. A closed context refers to the students' use of limited sources, such as the availability of sources or material read in class.

4. Frame an original, interpretive argument from an open context. (Outcomes: Clear Communications; Critical Thinking)

In your daily tasks, you will critically analyze a combination of sources to both assess their value and synthesize the arguments made by the authors as well as formulate theses from which you will construct your arguments. You will present your argument on a near-daily basis.

5. Judge multiple interpretations of historical events. (Outcomes: Critical Thinking; Ethics and Respect for Human Dignity; The Human Condition, Cultures, and Societies; National Security of the American Republic; Clear Communications)

History is interpretation. In your writing assignments, graded material, and class discussions you will be required to analyze the merits of historical arguments. By studying the various interpretations of early American history, you should gain a great deal of understanding of the perspectives and methodologies that historians used in reaching their conclusions.

6. Gain proficiency in employing techniques of historical methodology within a wartime context. (Outcomes: Critical Thinking; Ethics and Respect for Human Dignity; The Human Condition, Cultures, and Societies; National Security of the American Republic; Clear Communications; Leadership, Teamwork, and Organization; Warrior Ethos)

In your writing assignments, you will learn and perfect methodological-based skills, such as assessing source material and conducting research.

7. Synthesize various interpretations of the evolution of early American warfare across the levels of war (Outcomes: Critical Thinking; Leadership, Teamwork, and Organization; Warrior Ethos; National Security)

**To achieve these objectives each student must be able to:**

1. Read critically and comprehensively.
2. Analyze ideas effectively in classroom discussion.
3. Communicate syntheses clearly in oral and written form.

## **IV. Course Structure**

History 999, “Tactical Implementation of Strategic Guidance during the Revolutionary War,” is a one-semester examination of our nation’s break with Britain and subsequent independence. Surveying the broad landscape of mid- to late- eighteenth century America, we will explore the people and institutions that helped shape the political, intellectual, social, military and economic change during the War for American Independence. **During this course, we will rely heavily on primary sources to critically analyze the wartime decisions of the leadership across the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of war.** We will also examine the dynamics of military orders and how strategic guidance was implemented at the operational

and tactical levels. Ultimately, this course should help you arrive at a clearer and more meaningful understanding of our nation's past, your relationship to that past, and your ability to carry out your duties as a citizen-airman in a free society.

In addition to gaining further insight into the American Revolution, this course will equip you with skills designed to facilitate historical inquiry and analysis. As you study the primary sources, you will be asked to formulate significant questions about the decisions made during a wartime environment. You will further analyze evidence in the search for answers to those questions and will communicate your results both orally and in writing. Further, provided with the same sources, you will be expected to postulate your interpretation and expected actions. We will conduct a number of focused activities throughout the semester to enhance your learning experience. Honing your critical thinking skills will serve you well in this and other courses at the Academy and will be invaluable to you as you enter the Air Force as a commissioned officer.

The majority of the course will be dedicated to combining primary source analyzation with strategic, operational, and tactical problem-based learning. **Using sources no more recent than the date listed in the syllabus for the corresponding lesson, you will act as a military staff to provide the commander with solutions to the problem of how to win the war.** Thus, your grade depends largely on your own research, preparation, and participation. Understanding the social, cultural, diplomatic, economic, informational, political, and military factors that underpinned eighteenth-century American life will allow you to thrive in this course as well as provide you will invaluable experience in historical military affairs as you enter the Air Force.

## V. Textbooks and Materials

You will not be required to purchase any materials at this time. All materials can be found online at various websites or at <http://menath2001.wixsite.com/leadershiptriad>

## VI. Course Grading

Graded events include:

<b>Event</b>	<b>Lesson</b>	<b>Points</b>
Situational Report (SITREP) Briefing #1	Various	100
Daily Tasks and Objectives	Various	100
Strategic Level Analysis	Lsn 10	100
Instructor Prerogative*	-	50
<b>PROG TOTAL</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>350</b>
SITREP #2	Various	100
Daily Tasks and Objectives	Various	100
Operational Level Analysis	Lsn 21	100
Tactical Level Analysis	Lsn 32	100
Reflection Paper	Lsn 40	200
Instructor Prerogative*	-	50
<b>COURSE TOTAL</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1000</b>

**\*Instructor Prerogative Points.** I will determine your IP score largely on class participation.

## VII. Calendar \*See blackboard or <http://menath2001.wixsite.com/leadershiptriad>

LSN - Date	Read Prior to Class*	SUBJECT	DUE
1	Syllabus	Course Introduction	
2	H100 notes	Review of Terminology and Warfare	
3	* See Blackboard	French and Indian War	
4	* See Blackboard	Growing Discontentment	
5	* See Blackboard	Hostilities	
<b>1775</b>			
6 - May 10	Patrick Henry's speech, Letters of a Farmer	Strategic/Operational/Tactical – It begins	<b>DEMO</b>
7 - 5 July	Spaulding, Declaration	Strategic - GW Arrives in Cambridge	SITREP
8 - 12 Nov	Dunmore Proc./Response	Operational –Montgomery's Campaign	SITREP
9 - 18 Dec	Wright	Operational/Tactical – Prep for Quebec	SITREP
10 - 30 Dec	N/A – Write Paper	Tactical – Assault on Quebec	Strat Analysis
<b>1776</b>			
11 - Mar 18	Morison, Common Sense	Strategic – British evac Boston... victory?	SITREP
12 - Aug 25	D of I, Common Sense	Strategic – Independence! Strategic reassess?	SITREP
13 - Oct 30	Common Sense	Operational – NY Campaign	SITREP
14 - Nov 19	Waddell/Porterfield	Operational – Forts fall	SITREP
15 - Dec 24	The Crisis I	Tactical – Trenton & Princeton	SITREP
<b>1777</b>			
16 - May 30	The Crisis II	Strategic – Saving an Army	SITREP
17 - Sept 10	The Crisis III	Strategic/Operational – Protecting Philly	SITREP
18 - Sept 18	Aunbrey's Letters 30-37	Operational – Saratoga I, Freeman's Farm	SITREP
19 - Oct 3	Crisis IV	Tactical – Germantown	SITREP
20 - Oct 7		Tactical – Saratoga II, Bemis Heights	SITREP
<b>1778</b>			
21 - Feb 6	N/A – Write Paper	Strategic – Winter Training	Op Analysis
22 - May 30	Steuben's drill manual	Strategic – State of the Army / DIME	SITREP
23 - Jun 19	Crisis V	Operational - Watching the British	SITREP
24 - Jun 28	Character Research	Tactical – Monmouth Courthouse	SITREP
25 - Later	Martin, Chapter 5	Tactical Aftermath – Strategic Results?	SITREP
<b>1779</b>			
26 - Jun 22	Philipsburg Proc. Crisis VI	Strategic – State of Affairs	SITREP
27 - Aug 20	Crisis VII	Strat/Operational – Stony Pt & Paulus Hook	SITREP
28 - Oct 18	Banishing Tories	Op/Tactical – Jt Ops: Recapture of Savannah	SITREP
<b>1780</b>			
29 - May 30	Crisis VIII	Strategic – The Winter	SITREP
30 - July 11	HC's Proclamations	Strategic – The South	SITREP
31 - Oct 7	News of Arnold	Tactical – Kings Mountain	SITREP
32 - Dec 2	Hamilton/Shelby	Operational – Greene in the South	Tac Analysis
<b>1781</b>			
33 - Jan 16	N/A - Write Paper	Tactical - Cowpens	SITREP
34 - Mar 1	Crisis IX	Operational - The Race to the Dan	SITREP
35 - Mar 15	Articles of Confed.	Operational/Tactical – Guilford Courthouse	SITREP
36 - Sept 1	General research	Strategic/Operational – The Plan	SITREP
37 - Sept 28	General research	Strategic/Operational/Tactical - Yorktown	SITREP
38 - '81-'83	Crisis X	Strategic – Is it over?	makeup
39	Treaty of Paris	Reflection – Class Discussion	
40	N/A – Write Paper	Reflection – Class Discussion	Final Paper

## VIII. Assignments

### Situational Reports (SITREPS) - 100 points each

You are preparing to be military officers. You must understand the proper way to effectively convey issues using appropriate Air Force methods. Briefings are an integral part of being an officer in the United States military, and you are thus expected to become comfortable presenting detailed and wide-ranging information in an efficient manner.

This assignment is intended to be research intensive. To do well, you must dive into the primary source material. Secondary source material will greatly help you with your searching, and your instructor can point you to scholarly works, but you must not brief anything beyond the date on the syllabus that corresponds to the lesson.

You will present two SITREPs throughout the course. The goal is to brief the “commander” about the situation they are facing at that point in time during the American Revolution. You may include anything that you think is important for them to know in order to make the best decisions, but you must NOT look into the future. In other words, your research must only include information PRIOR to the historical date of your SITREP. **It should last between 12 and 15 minutes.**

The content of each briefing should include, but is not limited to, troop strength, troop locations, troop morale, supply levels (including food, gunpowder, and ammunition), weather, enemy locations, enemy strength, potential enemy movements, civilian morale (including Patriot or Loyalist sentiments), diplomatic affairs, prisoner status/exchanges, financial status and geography. While these may not all be available for each lesson, most of them will be discoverable through dedicated research. Additionally, you should tailor your briefing to the level of war at which you are presenting. For example, a SITREP dedicated to the strategic level of war should highlight the diplomatic, economic, and overall logistics. A tactical level of war briefing will focus more on troop supply levels, weather, geography, and enemy locations. In short, tailor your briefing to the “commander” of the day.

Some notes: be thorough with your research, you will get questions. Do not be anachronistic or look into the future. Do not make up history – brief only what you can verify. If something is widely regarded but unverified, make sure you highlight the dubious nature of the information. Finally, be confident.

As part of this, you will need to:

- Know your sources. You may (and should) use secondary sources in your research, but you may NOT present unverifiable information or anything that occurs past the date of the SITREP.
- Time your presentation to be between 12 – 15 minutes (I will subtract ½ a letter grade per minute over or under the allotted time).
- Your grade will be based on the depth of your historical research, critical thinking, ability to cover the most relevant information, and your presentation skills.

**Your briefing should cover the following material:**

1. Recap of any significant events between lessons
2. Troop numbers, readiness, supplies, morale
3. Enemy numbers, locations, suspected movements



4. Diplomatic efforts (don't forget about Native Americans)
5. Civilian morale, loyalties, tendencies
6. Economic and financial constraints
7. Weather, geography, location-specific issues
8. Political debates
9. Any level-of-war-specific information

### **Strategic, Operational, and Tactical Level Analysis Papers (100 points each)**

***\* Use the Tongue and Quill as the formatting source for this writing series but cite IAW Turabian.***

The Levels of War analysis papers are designed to be short (1000 words or less), critical works examining the level of war in question. Each one should make a historical argument, have a solid thesis, and present researched evidence supporting your position. You must use scholarly secondary sources in your research by authors in the list provided. Finally, be sure to answer the questions posed below. Do not forget to think about any economic, social, cultural, diplomatic, or military issues.

- How effective was the American (or British) strategy to this point in the war? What was the strategy, and what were its challenges? Why did the Commander believe it was the correct strategy to win the war?
- How effective were the American (or British) operational methods to this point in the war? Did they support the strategy, and what were their challenges?
- How effective were the American (or British) tactics by this point in the war? What were they, and why did the Tactical Commanders believe that their tactics could defeat the enemy?

### **Reflection Paper (200 points)**

Prepare an overarching Reflection Paper of **1500-2000 words (5-7 pages)** assessing the levels of war throughout the American Revolution. The final paper should use at least **8 sources, 2 of which must be primary sources, and 1 of which must be a journal article**. This is your chance to argue for the effectiveness of the commanders and address their ability to win the American Revolution. Feel free to see me to discuss specific research questions regarding the paper, or if you are having difficulty with the analysis. This assignment is designed to be broader than the other assignments in the course, hence you must seek input early if you want to do well. It is due by the start of Final Exam week.

### **Daily Tasks and Objective (200 points total)**

During every lesson, you will be split into groups and will act as the commander's staff. Your job is to provide him with three options that further the cause of American Independence based on the primary sources available to you at that time. You must also convince him which one is the best course of action (COA). He will give you any relevant correspondences, maps, charts, or military intelligence that has not already been briefed during the SITREP. You must assess the information, analyze it, synthesize it in relation to the objectives of the appropriate

level of war and create three options. Your group will argue for the best COA during that last 15 minutes of class.

In your argument, you must show that the objectives are (1) realistic and achievable, (2) fit into the overarching objective of the cause for independence, (3) are not anachronistic, and (4) adhere to any guidance from higher level commanders.

After these Courses of Action (COAs) are briefed at the end of each lesson, the “commander” will determine daily grades based on the four criteria listed above.

## Writing Guidelines

- Be aware of tense changes and change tenses with a purpose.
- Be sure to place the titles of books, newspapers, magazines, and journals in *italics*. Place the title of book chapters in quotes.
- Note that a “novel” is a work of fiction; a historical monograph or biography – the book you are reviewing – is NOT a work of fiction.
- Do NOT use block quotes, *i.e.*, quotes, which are longer than four lines, indented, and single-spaced.
- Use short quotes sparingly and with a purpose! Do NOT quote excessively to pad your paper; do NOT place extra spaces between paragraphs to pad your essay.
- Only capitalize proper nouns, including the North, the South, Northerners, Southerners, Democrats, Whigs, Republicans, Free Soilers, Fire Eaters, the Civil War, Reconstruction, Confederates, Federals, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Fugitive Slave Act, the Battle of Fredericksburg, General Robert E. Lee, *etc.*
- Do NOT randomly capitalize nouns. Be consistent in your capitalization.
- Avoid verb, adjective, or adverb echoes, *i.e.*, using the same verb, adjective, or adverb more than one time in the same paragraph.
- Do NOT use a title page. Do NOT put your review in a binder. NUMBER your pages.
- Do NOT use the first person (I, me, my, mine) to refer to yourself in your own review – this is redundant and ineloquent. When offering your own interpretation or evaluating the author’s persuasiveness, merely assert your opinions and the ABSENCE of citations to other scholars will indicate that it is your own voice.
- Do NOT use contractions – don’t, won’t, isn’t, it’s, *etc.* – in formal writing.
- Avoid using “very” as this superlative is so overused that it adds nothing to scholarly writing.
- Be sure to place ending punctuation - ., ,, ?, and ! – INSIDE the ending quotation marks.
- Use [Brackets] for missing words or beginning capitalization, which you add to quotes for context or good flow WITHIN the quotation marks. Do NOT use (parentheses) for this function.
- Use single quotation marks – ‘quotation’ – to begin and end a quote WITHIN a quote.
- If the author or a source makes an error in spelling or grammar, put [**sic**] after the error and inside the quotation marks to indicate the error is intentional and not your own.
- There is no need to begin or end quotes with “...” – merely place the relevant excerpt in quotation marks.
- Avoid “ghost quotes” by identifying the person or source quoted explicitly within the text of your review.
- Your citation number for footnotes should come OUTSIDE the ending punctuation.
- Note the difference between ITS and IT’S; THEIR, THERE and THEY’RE; and WHERE, WE’RE and WERE.
- Give the full name of all persons at the first reference and give only the last name for subsequent references.
- Do NOT raise points in your review which you do not cover. Also, do not raise a new point in your conclusion.

## MECHANICAL RULES

- Using spell checker is necessary but does not satisfy all of the requirements for proofreading your work. Document any help you receive on the paper.
- Avoid excessive quotations.
- Your final paper should be typed, double-spaced with 1-inch margins in Times New Roman 12-point font.
- On the top of the first page, type your name, name of the course, and section in the upper right-hand corner.
- Do not include a title page, but insert page numbers

A hardcopy to your instructor AND a softcopy uploaded to Turnitin.com are both due at the beginning of the lesson (in class) designated as the due date.

## IX. Course Administration

1. Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a serious academic and professional issue. Broadly defined, plagiarism is the failure to give credit in your paper for the original ideas advanced by other writers. Be certain to avoid even the appearance of wrongdoing by carefully consulting your instructor and course materials in order to ensure proper documentation. Your final word for understanding documentation is the style manual listed in this syllabus. We encourage you to discuss your written work with instructors and other cadets before you turn it in, but we require you to document any outside help received. That help may range from developing ideas for a paper to proofreading the final product for content or grammar. You must specify those individuals who provided any assistance. Statements such as "Cadet Thickglasses read my paper" are inadequate. You must cite the exact nature of the help (*e.g.*, "C1C Poorgrammar read my paper for grammar and spelling" or "Major Pain helped me develop the idea that technology played an integral role in warfare").

Instructors have the right to award no credit for an assignment that they believe to be intellectually dishonest regardless of any conclusions reached by wing honor boards. A zero on any major assignment can lead to a failing grade in the course regardless of final percentages. The Department of History reserves the right to use any methods at its disposal (including on-line plagiarism software) to detect plagiarism. **Papers with major documentation problems will result in a minimum of a 50% grade reduction.**

**\*Each assignment is expected to have a Documentation Statement, even if no outside help was received.**

2. Paper Policy: Cadets are not allowed to pass in the same paper for two different courses. Cadets may write papers on the same topic for different courses, but there should be no more than **25%** commonality between papers. Each paper should include substantially different bibliographies and footnotes that reflect significant additional research.

3. Penalties: If you are aware of an impending absence or other problem that could prevent you from turning in the project on time, you must make prior arrangements with your instructor. **"Late" is defined as any time after the beginning of the period** on which your assignment is due or time designated by your instructor. Weekends count as two days late. Late assignments must still be turned in even if they receive no credit. The academic penalty for late work will be a reduction in grade as described on the following page.

<b>Up to One Day Late</b>	<b>25% reduction from grade awarded</b>
<b>Two Days Late</b>	<b>50% reduction from grade awarded</b>
<b>Three Days Late</b>	<b>75% reduction from grade awarded</b>
<b>More than Three Days Late</b>	<b>100% reduction from grade awarded</b>

There are several other mistakes that can hurt your grade. Here are the penalties involved.

<b>No Works Cited Page</b>	<b>10% reduction from grade awarded</b>
<b>No Documentation Statement</b>	<b>10% reduction from grade awarded</b>
<b>Not meeting the stated requirements</b>	<b>10% reduction from grade awarded</b>

For further guidance see Chapter One, Section Three in the DFH Cadet Handbook.  
<http://tinyurl.com/dfh-handbook>

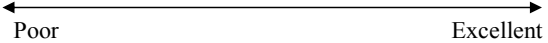
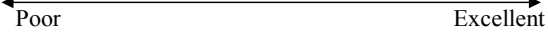
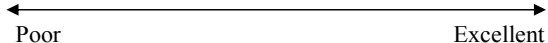
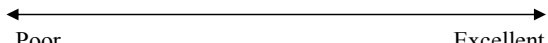
## **X. Additional Information:**

Detailed information on departmental policies, scholarship opportunities, etc. can be found at:  
**<http://tinyurl.com/dfh-handbook-2012>**

AFH 33-337, The Tongue and Quill, can be found on SharePoint or on **<http://www.e-publishing.af.mil>** by searching for “The Tongue and Quill.”

( [http://static.e-publishing.af.mil/production/1/saf\\_cio\\_a6/publication/afh33-337/afh33-337.pdf](http://static.e-publishing.af.mil/production/1/saf_cio_a6/publication/afh33-337/afh33-337.pdf) )

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Section: \_\_\_\_\_ **SITREP Grading Rubric**

<b>Quality of Presentation</b>		<b>(15% = 15 points)</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> Purpose <input type="checkbox"/> Voice <input type="checkbox"/> Movement <input type="checkbox"/> Gestures <input type="checkbox"/> Eye Contact <input type="checkbox"/> Logic <input type="checkbox"/> Support <input type="checkbox"/> Other		
<b>Relevance/Significance to Current Lesson</b>		<b>(35% = 35 points)</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> <b>Summary:</b> Covers the major events since the previous lesson <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Historical Significance:</b> Contextualizes level of war within larger historical events <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Intel:</b> Gave accurate statistics: number of troops, locations, supply levels, etc. <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Socio/Political/Economic Factors:</b> Brought in applicable socio-political, diplomatic, or economic factors that could impact the L.o.W. <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Other:</b>		
<b>Depth of Critical Thinking</b>		<b>(35% = 35 points)</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> <b>Clearly focused SITREP to the appropriate level of war (L.o.W.).</b> Tactical – Operational – Strategic <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Incorporated all applicable instruments of power:</b> Alliances, finance, logistics, geography, morale, food, weather, etc. <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Anticipated appropriate questions and problems relating to the historical date.</b> <input type="checkbox"/> <b>Other/Comments:</b>		
<b>Met Criteria</b>		<b>(15% = 15 points)</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> Covered syllabus requirements <input type="checkbox"/> Used outside scholarly sources <input type="checkbox"/> 12 – 15 minutes in length		

Additional Comments:

Grade

/ 100
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Paper Rubric

Paper Rubric	Excellent- 100	Great - 90	Good - 80	Fair - 70	Sub-Par - 60	Poor - 50	Non-Existant - 0
	Student displays sufficient knowledge of the topic and has put effort into the final product.		Student displays knowledge of the topic, but is unclear on some information or does not sufficiently display mastery.		Student has missed the point or has not put in the required effort.		
<b>Thesis - 20%</b> Clear and concise. Original. Defines argument/position. Lets reader know what the paper is about.	Thesis is clear, concise and easily identifiable. It gives framework to the paper, defines and provides evidence to support the argument. Learning outcomes clearly identified.		Thesis exists, but is unclear and difficult to identify. The structure of the paper is not immediately evident to the reader. Learning outcomes are difficult to find.		No thesis or sufficient support exists or are so muddled that they are unidentifiable. Framework of the paper does not match the thesis.		DNE
<b>Analysis - 25%</b> Shows understanding of the subject. Able to combine subject matter across multiple areas to reach a clear conclusion.	Main points are thoughtfully analyzed and discussed thoroughly. They are synthesized into a coherent main argument that is sufficiently justified. The reader can understand its application and/or lessons learned.		Main points are discussed, but analysis is lacking.		There is almost no analysis of the topic.		DNE
<b>Crit Thought - 25%</b> Goes beyond the text. Able to synthesize new theses. Able to apply the lessons outside of the framework of the question/course.	Clearly displays informed and reflective reasoning. Identifies assumptions, evaluates arguments, and proposes alternative solutions. Explains how altered assumptions change the framework.		Regurgitates arguments, but does not evaluate assumptions nor propose solutions.		There is little demonstratable critical thought involved.		DNE
<b>Style - 10%</b> Readability. Word choice. Passive voice. Spelling. Grammar. Punctuation. Repetitive.	Grammar, spelling, readability, structure, punctuation, word choice, etc. does not detract from the paper.		Adherence to formatting standards with few mistakes. Grammar, spelling, readability, structure, punctuation, word choice, etc. makes the paper difficult to read.		Poor adherence to formatting standards. Many grammar, spelling, structure and punctuation mistakes throughout. Word choice makes the paper unreadable.		DNE
<b>Format - 5%</b> Adheres to proper syllabus and formatting guidelines. Excellent = no mistakes.	Excellent adherence to formatting standards with no mistakes.		Adherence to formatting standards. Some mistakes, but they do not distract from the paper.		Poor adherence to formatting standards or wrong formatting altogether.		DNE
<b>Support - 5%</b> Uses enough reputable/required sources for a scholarly work. Finds the balance between too much citing and not enough.	Exceeds standards with scholarly, reputable sources.		Meets standards with scholarly sources.		Does not meet standards. Either too few sources or non-scholarly sources are used.		DNE
<b>Overall - 10%</b> Subjective.	Great paper.		Fair paper.		Terrible.		DNE