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The 1872-Pattern Cavalry Trumpeter's Full Dress Blouse of the United States Regular Army

Gordon Chappell

THE new uniform regulations of the United States Army issued on 27 July 1872, but not implemented with actual issue of the new uniforms to soldiers until late 1873 or 1874, brought into use for full dress for cavalry, replacing the waist-length jacket, what has been termed a "basque" blouse, a coat with standing collar, and nine large brass buttons centered down the front. It was piped down the front seam and bottom and all the way around the collar with yellow; featured a yellow patch on each cuff scalloped on the rear edge with three points; decorated by small brass buttons near the points; with a four-inch patch of solid yellow on each side of the collar extending backward from the front intended to mount in the center a small brass regimental number; and yellow shoulder straps secured near the collar by a small brass button. A yellow design decorated the rear of the blouse below the waist and featured four more large brass buttons, and a pair of belt supporters piped in yellow and secured with a small brass button at the top of each rode at the waist at the rear of each side above the hips.¹

Incidentally, the proper term for such a coat in the United States Army always was "blouse." The term "tunic" was a British term never used by the United States Army in describing its uniforms.

The belt supporters were eliminated in the 1880s, the pattern of the decoration on the tail changed after 1885, and the yellow patches on the collar were converted to a solid yellow collar after 1885. Otherwise, the basic basque blouse continued to be the full dress blouse for the army until the uniform regulations of 1902 appeared, and were replaced by issues of the new uniform from 1903 to 1908, coast artillery being the last units to wear the basque blouses, albeit with

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FIG 1. "Sound the Rally, 1875." From *From Everglade to Cañon with the Second Dragoons* (Second United States Cavalry), 1836–1875.

the new 1902-pattern caps, collar insignia, chevrons where appropriate, and breast cords.

Uniform regulations did not illustrate the pattern of decoration on the chest of the blouse for company musicians, which for cavalry were called "trumpeters," but the common pattern in the 1880s, seen in many surviving specimens, had nine double rows of yellow tape extending horizontally across the chest, pointed at the ends, but not edged with additional vertical tape on each side as the full dress blouses of company musicians of the pre-1872 Civil War era had been.

In 1875, D. Van Nostrand published an absolutely brilliant mixture of regimental history and first person reminiscences written and compiled by Theophilus Francis Rodenbough and entitled *From Everglade to Cañon with the Second Dragoons* (Second United States Cavalry), 1836–1875, illustrated by five exquisite full-color chromolithograph illustrations of



FIG 2A (left). 3d U.S. Cavalry 1872 pattern cavalry trumpeter's blouse with extra yellow facings of the pre-1872 jackets. This type of blouse was illustrated in T. F. Rodenbough's *2d Cavalry Regimental History* published in 1875 in an Edwin Forbes chromolithograph. FIG 2B (right). Rear of the 1872-pattern full dress 3d U.S. Cavalry trumpeter's blouse. Photographs by Gordon Chappell.

uniforms worn by the regiment executed by the Civil War era illustrator, Edwin Forbes. The fifth and last of these color plates, opposite page 401, depicted the uniforms current at the time of the book's publication, and the centerpiece of this plate was a trumpeter in full dress uniform, the vignette entitled "Sound the Rally, 1875." It showed the trumpeter wearing a dress blouse which had the same pattern of musician's decoration on the chest that had been used on the cavalry, dragoon, and mounted rifle jackets, and infantry and artillery dress blouses from 1858 to 1872.²

Standing alone, this illustration seemed for years a somewhat questionable, possibly fanciful, depiction, especially since it didn't match the description of the musician's blouse in the 1872 regulations: "Ornamented on the breast with braid same color as the facings, running from the button as now worn, the outer extremities terminating in 'Herringbones' and the braid returning back to the buttons." But then an actual specimen of an 1872 dress blouse worn by Trumpeter Edward Heinze of Company C, Third United States Cavalry turned up in a private collection which matched the Forbes illustration. Now, with evidence from two regiments at hand, it is clear that the Forbes illustration published in 1875 was entirely correct, which lends further credence to some of

the other peculiarities of uniform depicted in the other four plates in that book, based apparently on interviewing old timers from the regiment.³

Notes

1. General Orders No. 76, Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, DC. These orders were to take effect 1 December 1872, but the Quartermaster Department had no money to manufacture the new uniforms until the middle of the following year.
2. The University of Oklahoma Press reprinted this book several years ago in a paperback edition, but made two very poor editorial decisions in doing so. First, they chose to reproduce the exquisite color plates which contain important information on dragoon uniforms not found in army regulations only in black-and-white, so that only the first edition of the book is of any use to uniform historians. Second, they changed the title, eliminating the reference to the Second Dragoons, which must have author Rodenbough rolling over in agony in his tomb because he was absolutely devoted to the old dragoon name, used it quite deliberately in the title, and since for twenty-five of the thirty-nine years of regimental history the book dealt with these troops indeed were termed dragoons, and for only fourteen were termed cavalry, he was justified in using that term in the title.
3. The author is indebted to Jerome Greene of Denver for assistance in research.

The Uniforms, Equipage, Arms, and Accouterments of the 3d Texas Volunteer Infantry

Frederick R. Adolphus

THE 3d Texas Infantry Regiment is fascinating. It served along the Rio Grande River on the Mexican border, in the mosquito-infested prairies of the upper Texas coast, in the piney woods of west Louisiana, and in the foothills of Arkansas. It was a multi-ethnic regiment, more similar to today's American military units than to the commands of the Civil War era. It had three German, three American, two Mexican companies, and two companies that were ethnically integrated. Company H was made up of Americans, Germans, and Mexicans, while Company D was composed of Americans, Germans, Irish, Mexicans, Italians, Norwegians, and English.¹ Finally, despite the regiment's obscurity in Trans-Mississippi, it garnered high praise from the South's foremost British enthusiast, Lt. Col. Arthur Fremantle. While watching the regiment on dress parade, Fremantle commented:

The men were well clothed, though a great variety existed in their uniforms. Some companies wore blue, some gray, some had French kepis, others wide-awakes and Mexican hats, ... During all my travels in the South, I never saw a regiment so well clothed or so well drilled as this one, which has never been in action, or been exposed to much hardship.²

This leads to the tantalizing question, what did the regiment wear on 8 April 1863, when Fremantle saw them pass in review in Brownsville, Texas? This study will answer that question and go beyond to describe what clothing, arms, accouterments, and equipage they received throughout their Confederate service.

Observations Regarding the Regiment's Clothing

The regiment received captured Federal uniforms and clothing early in the war until at least the end of 1862. So great was the supply of Federal clothing captured in San Antonio in February 1861 that the quartermasters in the Department of the Trans-Mississippi referred to it as "Old Army" stock.³ The San Antonio Depot, in the Western Sub-District of Texas, distributed this stock and this is where the 3d Texas Infantry was stationed until August 1863. Soon after the war started, the San Antonio quartermaster began issuing Southern-made or imported shoes, shirts, drawers, blankets, hats, and socks, but it was not until the fall of 1862 that they issued Confederate uniforms. Starting in January 1863, San Antonio issued

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FIG 1. Hispanic soldier outfitted with items typically issued in Texas, 1863. His black wool hat appears to be a British import. The six-button frock coat follows the Houston pattern somewhat, with its light blue collar and cuffs, and apparently cadet gray cloth. The white pants are probably penitentiary cloth: either kersey or cotton jeans. The P53 Enfield rifle and bayonet, along with the Confederate-made accouterments were standard issue in Texas by late 1863. The revolver is undoubtedly private property. The soldier's name and regiment are unknown, but the quarter plate tintype was acquired in Houston, Texas, from a family named Rodriguez. Photograph courtesy of the David Wynn Vaughan Collection.

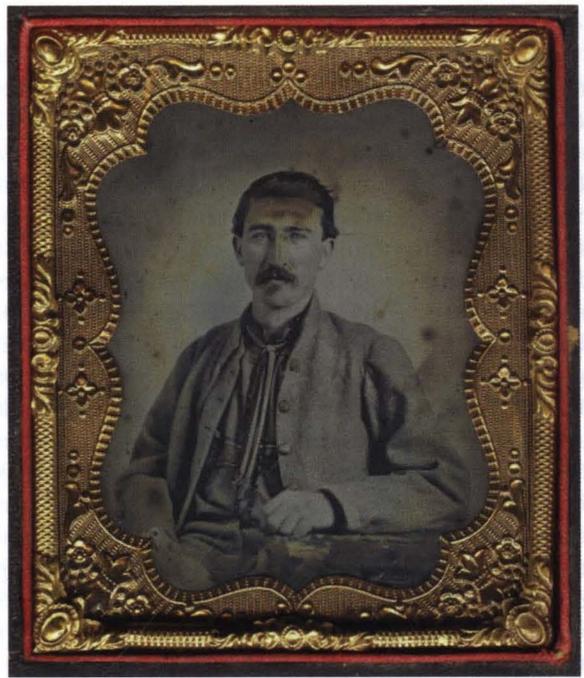
"Grey Cloth" uniforms of jackets, blouses, and trousers; white woolen fatigue blouses and trousers; and other Confederate clothing to the regiment.⁴ "Grey Cloth" was the usual quartermaster description for the blue-gray, wartime cloth that was imported into the Confederacy for uniforms. This blue-gray cloth was also referred to as "cadet grey" and "Confederate grey."⁵ Federal clothing was still being issued during 1863, but

FIG 2. August Ritter, an artilleryman detailed to the Houston, Texas, Ordnance Department in 1863 and 1864, wears a plain, cadet gray uniform of jacket and trousers. The jacket has imported script "A" buttons. In all likelihood, Ritter drew this uniform from the Houston Clothing Depot while serving in Houston. Ritter's uniform is representative of what 3d Texas soldiers would have drawn while stationed in the Houston area. Photograph courtesy of the K. C. MacDonald Collection.

the stocks were running out and ever increasing quantities of Confederate made or imported items were being distributed. This included more shoes, blankets, hats, socks, gloves, shirts, and drawers. During the summer and early fall of 1863 "white linnen [sic] pants" (cotton jeans); cadet gray caps; more cadet gray jackets and trousers; more white woolen trousers; and russet shoes were issued to the regiment, all items that were clearly Confederate-made. Imported items, including black hats; different kinds of shoes; and blue flannel shirts were also issued.⁶

The regiment was supplied out of San Antonio until the summer of 1863 since they were stationed in the Western Sub-District of Texas.⁷ This accounts for why they received so much Federal clothing. The San Antonio Depot had it to issue, having obtained the U.S. stocks captured from the Federal Army in February 1861. Later, San Antonio would also have the first choice of imported materials and finished goods coming into the department since much of this materiel passed through this city on its eastward journey. This accounts for the supply of gray uniforms the regiment received from San Antonio early in 1863. The depot also issued some white woolen clothing manufactured from Huntsville penitentiary goods. In the summer of 1863, the regiment moved up the Texas coast into the Eastern Sub-District of Texas where the Houston Depot supplied it. This depot issued clothing was made primarily of cadet gray cloth, but also included smaller quantities of white woolen and white cotton jeans clothing made from Huntsville goods. The regiment drew some clothing from Houston in the summer and fall of 1863. The final, comprehensive report of the regiment's clothing is dated 15 November 1863, its last recorded issue. This report indicates that the regiment was well supplied, and actually had a surplus of good, serviceable clothing. There were 445 men on hand with a 29 percent surplus of jackets or coats; a 50 percent surplus of shirts; and a 29 percent surplus of drawers. The regiment also reported 34 percent surpluses of trousers and blankets, but many of these were unserviceable resulting in a 6 percent shortfall of blankets and a 25 percent shortfall of trousers. Although 88 percent of the men had either caps or hats, all of the headgear needed to be replaced and the entire regiment needed new shoes. While the Houston Depot was not able to furnish any trousers or hats, it issued the regiment with 500 pairs of shoes, resulting in a 12 percent surplus of footgear.⁸

Specifics dating from 20 September 1861 to 31 December 1863 are recounted herein for each company.⁹



Field and Staff

The only comprehensive report from the Field and Staff dates from 26 March to 12 June 1863 at Fort Brown. There, the men received thirteen "Blouses C" and fourteen pairs of "Trousers C" made from enlisted grade, cadet gray woolen cloth. They also received hickory shirts, drawers, pegged shoes in three different grades, woolen socks, cotton gloves, and hats. Some also bought officer grade "Grey Cloth B," satinett, and brass buttons in lots of eighteen large and six small, the amount required for a double-breasted frock coat.¹⁰

Company A

Company A received the first gray uniforms in the regiment, drawing 120 gray cloth jackets; gray cloth trousers; hats; and pairs of bootees on 14 January 1863 at San Antonio. By March, the company had also received 120 caps; 121 white woolen blouses; 142 pairs of white woolen trousers; 121 osnaburg shirts; 121 white cotton shirts; 240 pairs of drawers; 89 pairs of gloves; and an additional 234 pairs of shoes.¹¹

It must be noted at this point that the Confederate quartermaster terms "jacket" and "blouse," and even "coat," did not signify different tailoring styles. All three terms referred to the tailoring style embodied in the short Confederate shell jacket. This assertion is born out in numerous quartermaster records that use these terms interchangeably.¹² The only instances where these terms made any distinction in tailoring was when referring to Old Army stocks of clothing.

At Fort Brown during the second quarter of 1863, Company A drew 138 hickory shirts; 138 pairs of woolen socks; 30 hats; and 30 pairs of russet shoes. They also received 22 pairs of gray trousers; 6 caps; 27 blouses; and 125 pairs of shoes. However, these issues may have been part of the earlier March totals.¹³

Company B

Company B's records start early, dating to September 1861. From that time until June 1862, the company drew a large quantity of Federal, Old Army uniforms from San Antonio. The first issue, in September 1861, consisted of seventy-two hats with letters, blouses, and pairs of bootees. Four of the blouses were "sergeant" and four were "corporal," and one sash was included as well. Reports dating from October 1861 indicate that twenty-eight hats, blouses, and pairs of bootees were received at San Antonio, as well as three sashes, and one hundred infantry hats with accompanying bands and tassels, eagles, and feathers. Also included in October was one pair of first sergeant chevrons; four pairs of sergeant chevrons; and four pairs of corporal chevrons. In December, an additional fifty-six pairs of shoes were received. On 30 June 1862 more Federal clothing was drawn, which included 77 hats; 8 cords and tassels; 8 letters; 79 pairs of trousers; 77 flannel sack coats; 134 shirts; 124 pairs of bootees; 30 pairs of stockings; 2 great coats; and 84 pairs of gloves. By the summer of 1862, Company B was fully outfitted in Hardee hats complete with almost all of the U.S. regulation trimmings; Federal sack coats; trousers; shirts; and bootees. The NCOs even had Federal chevrons and sashes.¹⁴

With regard to Old Army clothing, the captured stocks from San Antonio included dark blue trousers, adopted by the U.S. Army in 1858. Sky blue trousers were not re-introduced into the U.S. Army until 1861, and would not have been part of the Old Army inventory at San Antonio.¹⁵ Therefore, when the 3d Texas Infantry received Old Army trousers, these would have been the dark blue type.

Company B's last records are dated March to May 1863, near Brownsville, Texas. Accordingly, the company got 62 hickory shirts; 50 white cotton shirts; 50 pairs of white cotton gloves @ \$0.20 pair; and 60 pairs of cotton gloves @ \$0.28 pair. The company also reported drawing 1 gray cloth jacket; 1 pair of gray cloth trousers; and 1 pair of bootees. This may indicate that the company was on the verge of getting new gray uniforms.¹⁶

Company C

Company C's first clothing records start in the second quarter of 1862. These records indicate that the company received a mix of Federal and citizen clothing at Fort Brown, Texas. Items that were assuredly Federal included 5 "Hats, Cavalry"; 75 "Caps, Rifle"; 3 flannel shirts; 27 blouses; and 1 great coat. The cavalry hats were either Hardee hats or the earlier forerunner of the Hardee hat, the similar black, U.S. cavalry hat. The rifle caps were the pre-war style Federal forage cap that included the branch-of-service colored welt, or edging, around the crown, in this case emerald green. The U.S. Army discontinued the colored welt on caps at the outset of the war in lieu of a simpler, universal forage cap for all branches of the service. As a result, the welt on wartime forage caps was navy blue. The frontier army, however, had stocks of pre-war caps with colored welts.¹⁷ Thus, Company



FIG 3. Company B (Germans) soldier on parade, 8 April 1863, Brownsville, Texas. Armed with an M1842 percussion musket and bayonet, and carrying Old Army accouterments, he wears an Old Army blue blouse (sack coat); dark blue trousers; a Hardee hat with full infantry trim (including feathers, letter "B," eagles, and infantry bands and tassels); and black brogans. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.

C received green-edged, rifle caps. The flannel shirts, blouses, and greatcoat were only available from the Federal stocks at this time, and can be assumed to have been Federal, as well. The company also drew twenty-two "Hats, Campeche," a type of straw hat that was probably intended for the civilian market, but that Confederate quartermasters bought for general issue. Other items included 63 hickory shirts; 22 pairs of trousers; 98 pairs of shoes; 20 pairs of infantry bootees; and 41 pairs



FIG 4. Company C (Americans) soldier on parade, 8 April 1863, Brownsville, Texas. Armed with an M1842 percussion musket and bayonet, and carrying Old Army accouterments, he is dressed in a cadet gray jacket with blue collar and pointed cuffs; seven buttons; cadet gray trousers with a blue stripes; and an Old Army blue forage rifle cap with a green welt around the crown. He also has white cotton gloves and russet brogans. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.

of drawers. These items may have been Federal, citizen, or Confederate military issue.¹⁸

The next records date from January to June 1863. On 14 January, Company C appears to have received both Federal and Confederate clothing at San Antonio, Texas. One requisition includes 8 blouses at \$3.50 each; 12 pairs of trousers at \$3.25 each; 9 infantry forage caps at \$0.57 each; 18 pairs of drawers at \$0.85 each; 8 cotton shirts at \$1.50 each; and

8 osnaburg shirts at \$0.85 each. The descriptions and prices indicate the blouses, trousers, and caps are standard Federal items. The caps were the pre-war style with sky blue edging around the crown for infantry. The drawers, cotton and osnaburg shirts were Confederate issue, as these items crop up first during this timeframe associated with the issue of other Confederate clothing. On the same day, the company received eighty pairs of "Grey Cloth Trousers," "Grey Cloth Jackets," pairs of bootees, and hats. This would have been enough to outfit the entire company, and it is likely that the bootees and hats were imported from Great Britain.¹⁹ On 13 March, the company received 160 pairs of woolen socks and 84 pairs of cotton gloves at \$0.28 pair. Finally, during the second quarter of 1863, the company received 8 pairs of trousers at \$4.60 each (likely gray cloth at the stated price); 40 hickory shirts; 14 hats at \$2.25 each; 1 hat at \$3.00 each; 1 pair of shoes at \$2.00 pair; and 24 pairs of russet shoes without any charge.²⁰ From these records, one can conclude that the company was outfitted in Confederate cadet gray uniforms during January and continued to get some Confederate clothing thereafter. When considering the issue of hickory shirts, russet shoes, hats, and shoes with varying prices, it is clear that Confederate clothing was being issued.

Company D

One undated clothing roll constitutes the only surviving clothing record for Company D. However, the gray cloth listed on this roll clearly dates it to 1863. Company E has a similar issue dating to December 1862, which places this undated record within the timeframe of gray cloth issues. The roll includes 28 pairs of pants (use of the word "pants" rather than "trousers" dates it to about mid-1863); 44 pairs of drawers; 64 pairs of shoes; 46 shirts; 90 pairs of stockings; 4 blouses; and 12 black uniform hats. The stockings and black uniform hats are certainly imports, not Old Army stock. The blouses, by this time, referred to either white woolen or cadet gray fatigue clothing, devoid of any trim. More interestingly, however, are the last items on the roll. These were unfinished goods to include domestic (cotton lining), thread, buttons, buckles, and gray uniform cloth. Most soldiers on the roll took three fourths yard of domestic, some thread, five buttons, one buckle, and 1¼ yards of gray uniform cloth. The combination clearly indicates that each soldier took the materials he needed to have one pair of cadet gray pants made up in his size. Five buttons were standard for a pair of Confederate pants, being used on the fly. Most Confederate trousers had a cloth belt with a metal buckle at the rear seam. The gray cloth quantity of 1¼ yards was the standard quartermaster allotment for a pair of soldier pants and three-fourths yard domestic was the approximate amount needed for the lining. This indicates that the troops were wearing cadet gray pants by mid-1863. Finally, the roll included an unexplained entry, showing that five men each took one yard of kersey cloth.²¹

Company E

In sharp contrast to Company D's clothing records, Com-



FIG 5. Company E (Americans) soldier on parade, 8 April 1863, Brownsville, Texas. Armed with a Mississippi rifle and bayonet, and carrying Old Army accouterments, this soldier is dressed in an Old Army infantry frock coat and dark blue trousers; an Old Army infantry forage cap with a sky blue welt around the crown; white cotton gloves; and black brogans. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.

pany E's are very comprehensive, spanning from December 1861 to September 1863. The records dated 3–27 December list a variety of Old Army items received at San Antonio. These include 70 infantry forage caps; 51 caps unspecified; 22 coats; 61 pairs of trousers; 100 shirts; 19 pairs of stockings; 56 pairs of booties or shoes; and 32 pairs of drawers.²² The infantry forage caps were the same pre-war model Company

C drew, except they had sky blue welts around the crown for infantry. The mention of coats instead of blouses suggests the issue of frock coats.

The next series of issues date from 20 April to 31 December 1862. The descriptions of the clothing are less detailed, but it is likely much of it was Old Army stock because many equipment items were obviously Federal. Some, however, was Confederate, showing a gradual replacement of Old Army stock with Southern goods. For example, the company received fifty pairs of Mexican shoes at \$2.00 a pair at Fort Brown on 20 April 1862. These shoes were typical of what Confederate and Texas authorities contracted for.²³ In July, the company drew 1 hat; 19 caps; 8 pairs of trousers; 23 hickory shirts; 6 pairs of drawers; 17 pairs of shoes; and 1 pair of socks.²⁴ Again, this reflected a mix of Old Army and new Confederate issue. The caps were probably Old Army, while the hickory shirts were Confederate. From October to December 1862, Company E received 19 pairs of trousers; 62 pairs of drawers; 48 shirts; 33 pairs of shoes; 30 pairs of socks; and 4 greatcoats. Much of this was Confederate, but the great coats were undoubtedly Old Army. Interestingly, some newly imported materials were also issued to include 57¼ yards of gray cloth, one-half yard of domestic, and one pound of thread. This gray cloth was distributed to thirty-seven men, enough for each man to have one pair of pants (just as Company D received).²⁵

The records for 1863 suggest that the company drew no more Old Army stocks, and were getting all new Confederate issues. From 26 March to 12 June 1863, the company received at Fort Brown 33 hickory shirts; 36 white cotton shirts; 33 pairs of pegged shoes at \$3.06 a pair; 35 pairs of shoes at \$2.00 a pair; 13 pairs of russet shoes at no charge; 23 pairs of cotton socks; 10 pairs of woolen socks; 33 pairs of gloves at \$0.20 a pair; 32 hats at \$2.25 each; 1 hat at \$3.00; and 1 "Uniform Hat" at \$5.00. Perhaps more interesting are the uniforms drawn during this period. It included 33 pairs of trousers at \$4.60 each; 1 jacket at \$4.93; and 3 blouses at \$4.00 each. These prices and descriptions match that of other companies with better descriptions during the same timeframe. All would have been cadet gray cloth. The jackets may have been trimmed to judge by the higher price, while the lower priced blouse might have been made without facings.²⁶

Issues dating from 20 August to 30 September 1863 were received at Sabine City, closer to Houston than San Antonio, as the regiment had moved from Brownsville in the Western Sub-District of Texas, up the coast into the Eastern Sub-District of Texas. At this time, they were being supplied out of the Houston Depot. The company received some distinctive clothing at Sabine City on 20 August. This included 49 pairs of "Linnen Pants"; 35 blue flannel shirts; 37 hickory shirts; 26 pairs of socks; 34 pairs of drawers; 30 pairs of shoes; and no hats. A short time later, the company drew three hats.²⁷ The "linen" pants are actually white cotton jean, a material supplied by the Huntsville Penitentiary Mill. The blue flannel shirts are either imported finished products or Confederate made shirts from imported material. There is a strong possibility that the

shirts were the same type of blue-gray shirt imported into the eastern Confederacy from British sources.²⁸ These are the last surviving clothing records for Company E.

Company F

The first clothing issued to Company F dates to December 1861. The company received a fair amount of Old Army stock. Between 16–27 December they got from San Antonio fifty hats (Hardee) all complete with eagles, bugles, feathers, letters (“F”), and infantry bands and tassels, along with ten additional letters. They also drew fifty of each: blouses; pairs of trousers; pairs of drawers; and pairs of bootees, plus one hundred hickory shirts and pairs of stockings. In addition to the blouses, the company received fifty coats (indicating frock coats) along with infantry chevrons. The chevrons included two pairs of first sergeant, three pairs of sergeant, and four pairs of corporal chevrons. The company also received forty [leather neck] stocks, and one NCO sash. The company was fully outfitted in regulation Old Army infantry uniforms.²⁹

The next issues to Company F date from April to the end of June 1862. The issues included a mix of Old Army, citizen, and Confederate clothing. Some of these items are hard to distinguish based on generic descriptions, while others are clearly identifiable. In April, the company received 22 pairs of trousers at \$3.50 or \$2.50 a pair; 37 shirts at \$1.25; 37 pairs of drawers at \$1.25; 31 pairs of “Bootees, Citizen” at \$2.00 a pair; and two “Hats, Citizen” at \$2.35 each. By 30 June 1862, the company had received more clothing to include 5 caps; 33 hats; 50 bands and tassels; 32 “Coats, Citizen”; 59 pairs of trousers; 27 blouses; 66 shirts; 31 pairs of drawers; 86 pairs of “Shoes, Citizen”; and 12 pairs of stockings. Some of these items are clearly citizen clothes (the shoes at \$2.00 a pair may have been imported Mexican contract goods), while other items seem to be Old Army stock. The caps, bands, and tassels, and twenty-seven blouses are likely Federal clothing since no Confederate parallels have been identified to this place and timeframe for any of these items. Further, the thirty-three hats may also indicate Hardee hats, but by this time, the quartermaster was issuing citizen hats to the troops. This may have been the last Old Army clothing the company received.³⁰

The last available clothing records for Company F date to March and April of 1863 from Fort Brown, Texas. The meager descriptions, coupled with prices, suggest that this clothing was Confederate. By comparing these factors to similar issues within the regiment, it seems that the company drew twenty-three pairs of gray trousers and twenty-six gray blouses. The blouses at \$4.00 each match similar regimental entries for gray cloth blouses. The trousers were described as ten pairs of “Trowsers, Uniforms” at \$4.10 a pair and another thirteen pairs of “Trowsers” at \$4.60 a pair. The \$4.60 trousers match other records as gray cloth trousers. The “uniform trousers,” albeit slightly lower in price, are probably the same gray cloth. The records also included 69 hickory shirts; 21 white cotton shirts; 6 pairs of pegged shoes at \$3.06 a pair; 42 pairs

of shoes at \$2.00 a pair; 42 pairs of cotton socks; 6 pairs of woolen socks; 54 pairs of gloves at \$0.20 a pair; and 6 pairs of gloves at \$0.29 a pair. Having worn Federal blue for thus far, the company may have finally received its first Confederate gray uniforms.³¹

Company G

Company G’s clothing records are rather scant and begin relatively late, during the fourth quarter of 1862. Nonetheless, it is clear the company was getting some Old Army clothing, as well as Confederate clothing at that time. During the quarter, at Ringgold Barracks, the company drew sixty hat letters, two great coats, and some chevrons. The chevrons included one pair of first sergeant, four pairs of sergeant, and four pairs of corporal chevrons. All of these items were Old Army stock. Other items were Confederate, such as 60 white cotton shirts; 35 osnaburg shirts; and 54 of an unspecified shirt. The company also listed 60 hats; 60 pairs of drawers; 110 pairs of drawers at \$1.17 each; 60 pairs of cotton socks; 1 pair of wool stockings; 50 pairs of shoes at \$2.71 a pair; 20 pairs of shoes at \$1.60 a pair; and 1 pair of bootees at \$5.00. Clothing that could be construed as uniforms included a number of blouses and trousers. The descriptions are meager, but the prices give clues to their identity. The rolls include six “Blouses, Uniform” at \$3.50 each and fifty-nine pairs of “Trowsers, Uniform” at \$3.40 each. The prices and descriptions match those of other companies to suggest that these were Old Army sack coats and trousers. The same rolls carry issues of 60 blouses at \$2.10 each; two blouses at \$2.33 each; and 35 pairs of trousers at \$3.00 each. The less expensive blouses and trousers were probably Confederate-made white kersey or cotton jean clothing. These entries suggest the company wore a mix of Federal and Confederate clothing.³²

The last available clothing record from Company G is dated 25 March 1863 at Fort Brown. It lists the issue of 54 pairs of gloves at \$0.20 a pair; 50 hickory shirts; 50 pairs of woolen socks; 20 pairs of pegged shoes at \$3.06 a pair; and 13 pairs of pegged shoes at \$2.70 a pair. These were typical Confederate issues for this timeframe.³³

Company H

Company H has detailed clothing records that document the issue of Old Army stocks between 15 September and 25 October 1862. The first of these issues in September included 12 infantry hats; 8 infantry bands and tassels; 1 hat feather; 1 set of hat eagles and rings; 1 hat bugle; 10 private’s uniform blouses (one of these described as a sergeant’s); 2 sashes; 7 pairs of trousers; 12 hickory shirts; 8 pairs of drawers; 12 pairs of stockings; and 86 pairs of infantry boots. These Old Army stocks were all issued out of San Antonio. The company got more of the same on 25 October 1862 which included 71 “Hats or Caps”; 2 “Uniform Coats, Musicians”; 69 “Uniform Coats, Privates”; no blouses; 69 pairs of trousers; 68 cotton shirts; 63 pairs of drawers; 70 pairs of infantry bootees; and 62 pairs of stockings. Again, these were Old Army clothes, which clearly included frock coats and no blouses (sack coats).³⁴

The next, and last, complete clothing records from Company H date from 20 August to 30 September 1863. In August, the company received clothing similar to that of Company E. Company H drew 79 pairs of "Linnen" [sic] (cotton jeans) pants; 53 blue flannel shirts; 80 hickory shirts; three black hats (most likely British imports); 74 pairs of drawers; 37 pairs of stockings; and 39 pairs of shoes. This clothing was all Confederate, either imported or Southern-made. Finally, an interesting record from 30 September 1863 noted that two deserters had absconded with two "H" cap letters, reminding us that the company still used bits of the Old Army uniforms more than halfway through the war.³⁵

Company I

Company I received copious quantities of Old Army uniforms during 1862, although its first recorded issues reflect a mix of Federal and Confederate clothing. On 26 March 1862, the company drew 50 pairs of uniform trousers at \$4.50 each; 1 pair of uniform trousers at \$4.10 each; 141 hickory shirts; 46 pairs of pegged shoes at \$3.06 a pair; 27 pairs of pegged shoes at \$2.06 a pair; 1 pair of woolen socks; 100 pairs of cotton socks; and 90 pairs of cotton gloves. Of this clothing, only the trousers are definitely Old Army stock.³⁶ On August 1862, more recognizable Old Army items were issued, including six of each: hats with bugles; eagles, feathers, and bands and tassels; blouses; pairs of trousers; cotton (osnaburg) shirts; pairs of drawers; pairs of bootees; and pairs of stockings. The clothing prices indicate the blouses were Federal sack coats, the trousers Federal enlisted, and the hats were Hardee. The bootees were Old Army, as well. Later in August more Old Army clothing was issued to include 46 infantry hats (Hardee) with 41 bugles, eagles, feathers, cords, and tassels; 47 blouses; 100 pairs of trousers; 4 white cotton shirts; 95 pairs of infantry bootees; 93 hickory shirts; 93 pairs of drawers; and 48 pairs of stockings. Between 1 October 1862 and 9 January 1863, the company received even more Old Army clothing at Camp Hebert, Texas. While this clothing was issued over the entire period, most of it was drawn in on 1 October. This included 8 infantry hats; 113 infantry forage caps; 6 ordnance forage caps; 120 letters (for caps); 2 hat bugles; 10 eagles for hats; 2 musician's infantry coats; 121 private's infantry coats; 1 sash; 5 private's blouses; 132 pairs of trousers; 117 white cotton shirts; 113 pairs of drawers; 267 pairs of infantry bootees; and 123 pairs of cotton stockings. Again, the infantry caps had light blue colored welts, while the ordnance caps had crimson colored welts around the crowns.³⁷

The last records from Company I date to May and June 1863. They indicate that the company was drawing Confederate clothing at San Antonio consisting of hats at \$5.00, \$3.00, or at \$2.25 each (they drew three \$3.00 hats and sixty-seven \$2.25 hats); and shoes at \$6.00, \$2.00, or no charge (they received sixteen \$2.00 pairs and thirty-six russet pairs at no charge).³⁸

These records indicate that Company I was well clothed in Old Army blue uniforms for much of the war, but the rolls

are not complete enough to indicate when the blue uniforms were replaced with gray.

Company K

Company K's clothing records begin in January 1863, showing a mix of Old Army items and new Confederate issues. An 8 January record listed one hat, pair trousers, and cotton shirt, all new, suggesting recent Confederate items, not Old Army stock. By the end of March, at Fort Brown, the company had received 27 pairs of uniform trousers at \$4.50 each; 24 pairs of trousers at \$4.10 each; 48 gray cloth blouses at \$4.00 each; 49 pairs of woolen socks; 50 hickory shirts; 50 pairs of gloves at \$0.20 a pair; 10 pair of gloves at \$0.28 a pair; 1 pair of drawers; 51 pairs of shoes; and 5 hats. Although not implicitly stated, the trousers are evidently gray cloth. This is inferred through similar descriptions on other company rolls for the same timeframe. The gray cloth blouses match the descriptions of those issued to other companies within the regiment as well. All the other items are Confederate, too. Interestingly enough, the same record listed the issue of four cap letters; one musician's uniform coat; and one private's uniform coat, all remnants of Old Army stock issued alongside new Confederate uniforms.³⁹

The next issues for the company were received at Camp Lockridge on 20 April and 19 May 1863. This clothing consisted of 6 blouses at \$3.50 each; 6 pairs of trousers at \$3.25 each; 8 pairs of drawers; 6 white cotton shirts; 6 osnaburg shirts; and 6 pairs of shoes. Remarkably, these records indicate that some Old Army clothing was still being issued. While the shirts, drawers, and shoes are Confederate, the blouses and trousers are evidently Old Army clothes. Their prices stand in contrast to those given for Confederate clothing and, in fact, exactly match the prices for Federal sack coats and enlisted trousers. Another company record from Fort Brown, dated 30 April illustrates this point. There the company received 1 jacket at \$4.93; 8 blouses at \$4.00 each; 8 pairs of trousers at \$4.60 each; and 7 hickory shirts at \$1.22 each. Again, these are the prices and descriptions for gray cloth, Confederate clothing, issued at the same time that some Old Army residual stock was received.⁴⁰

The last clothing record from Company K dates from 1–11 September 1863, Houston, Beaumont, and Liberty, Texas, and alludes to articles of lost clothing. This short list probably indicates what the company as a whole wore about this time. The list includes 2 pairs of pants; 1 hickory shirt; 2 pairs of drawers; 1 pair of shoes; and, most significantly, 1 "blue flannel" shirt. The mention of the blue flannel shirt suggests that Company K, and perhaps the entire regiment, received the same blue shirt that Companies E and H drew at the same time and place.⁴¹

Observations on the Regiment's Arms and Accouterments

Records indicate the regiment was armed with percussion muskets from December 1861 to early 1862 in San Antonio and Ringgold, Texas. These issues frequently came with full

accouterments, implements, and cartridges. There can be little doubt that these arms, etc., were from the captured U.S. Arsenal at San Antonio.⁴² The accouterments, for instance, include regular waist belt plates, and sergeant's waist belts and waist belt plates. These are items typically found in the U.S. stocks, but are conspicuously absent from Confederate ordnance reports in Texas. In fact, throughout the war, Texas arsenals relied almost exclusively on iron harness buckles for all accouterment belts.⁴³ Waist belt plates are a clear indicator that the regiment was drawing U.S. accouterments and related implements.

It is also clear that the regiment drew .69 caliber muskets, but the records do not indicate whether they were M1816 or M1842. Daniel S. Peterson, an authority on the antebellum, frontier U.S. Army, believes they were M1842 muskets, since that model was closer to the state-of-the-art weaponry kept at active posts. The M1816 musket had been relegated to state armories for some time prior to 1861.⁴⁴

The next available reports taken on the Lower Rio Grande, dated 17 November 1862 to 18 November 1863, indicate a change in small arms. Companies A and K had rifle muskets, Companies B and G percussion muskets, and Company C had mainly percussion muskets with a smattering of rifle muskets.⁴⁵ Just weeks later, on 2 December 1863, at Houston, the regiment reported "440 guns on hand (either Enfields or Minies)." Less than two months later, a post report dated 21–23 January 1864, at Velasco, Texas, included 166 Enfield rifles with 118 Enfield rifle bayonets, and 197 rifle muskets with 212 rifle musket bayonets. The regiment also reported having 10 swords; 454 cartridge boxes; no bayonet scabbards; 487 cap boxes; 396 waist belts; 146 wipers; 269 screw drivers; and 166 tomponions. The regiment's ammunition supply consisted of 20,872 cartridges and 4,510 caps. The last available arms report for the regiment as a whole is from 30 January 1864, at Camp Slaughter, Texas. It includes 241 rifle muskets; 161 Enfield rifles; and 28 Springfields. It would seem the regiment traded its muskets for rifles during 1863, finishing by 2 December.⁴⁶ There is a strong likelihood that the men received different accouterments, as well. Whether these new

accouterments were imported British Enfield or Confederate arsenal-made is uncertain. The inclusion of tomponions (which quantity mirrors the quantity of Enfields) suggests that some accouterments were Enfield pattern. The absence of bayonet scabbards suggests a large quantity of Confederate arsenal accouterments since the Texas arsenals were notorious for not manufacturing or issuing bayonet scabbards.⁴⁷

The individual company records bear out what the regimental records show. The companies were first issued percussion muskets, and these were replaced with rifled small arms by the end of 1863. Company E was the only exception. Company E was issued both percussion muskets and Mississippi rifles, in roughly equal proportions. However, it also seems that Company E turned in its early-issue arms and received rifle muskets or Enfields in late 1863.

Field and Staff

The Field and Staff left no specific records other than the muster roll evaluations from Ringgold Barracks, Texas, dated 30 June, 31 August, and 31 October 1862. The comments for the arms and accouterments were "good."⁴⁸

Company A

Company A reported having a full issue of rifle muskets and bayonets (seventy-three of each) by November 1863. Although the type is not stated, they were likely imported Enfields. Prior inspections dating from June to October 1862 reveal little, stating only that arms and accouterments were "good." The company also received four NCO swords from the captured U.S. Arsenal in San Antonio.⁴⁹

Company B

Company B reported having a full issue of "percussion muskets" and bayonets (100 and 99 respectively) by November 1863. Most of these arms were issued prior to 27 January 1862, and included 55 "general muskets;" 66 cartridge boxes with 3 cartridge box belts; 21 waist belts with plates; 36 bayonet scabbards; 20 cap pockets; 34 screw drivers; 37 wipers; and 17,000 "Musket B&B Cartridges." From June to October 1862, the company reported "good" arms and accouterments on inspections. The company also drew fifteen rifle muskets with bayonets on 12 January 1862, and 1,000 rifle musket cartridges on 12



FIG 6. L. Cormier, Boone's Battery, Louisiana Artillery, wears a white jacket in this CDV. This image was made by S. Moses & Son Gallery, New Orleans, in July 1863, while Cormier was a prisoner following his capture at Port Hudson. Cormier's jacket is typical of the white jackets made from Huntsville penitentiary cloth and issued throughout the Trans-Mississippi. Photograph courtesy of the Port Hudson State Commemorative Area.

March 1862. All of these arms came from the captured San Antonio U.S. stocks.

The company also reported having four NCO swords and sword belts as well as two musician swords by November 1862. These were from captured U.S. stocks in San Antonio.⁵⁰

Company C

Company C's earliest records date from October 1862, consisting of muster roll inspections. These reported the company having "indifferent" arms and either "indifferent" or "good" accouterments. In June 1863, the company reported having 80 percussion muskets, and in November it reported 100 percussion muskets with bayonets, as well as 8 rifle muskets. These percussion muskets were also from captured U.S. stocks in San Antonio.⁵¹

Company D

Company D left no records regarding its arms, except for a single report dating from June to October 1862. This indicated "good" arms and accouterments.⁵²

Company E

Company E received both percussion muskets and Mississippi rifles. On 9 December 1861, the company drew forty percussion muskets complete with waist belts and plates, bayonets, scabbards, and frogs. The company also drew 40 screwdrivers; 40 wipers; 6 musket ball screws; and 2,000 "Musket B&B Cartridges." On 4 February 1862, the company reported getting another 40 percussion muskets; 34 musket wipers; and 1,600 musket ball cartridges. The same day, the company also received 40 Mississippi rifles; 7 minie rifles; 47 wipers; 8 cartridge boxes with cartridge box belts; 8 waist belts and waist belt plates; and 1,000 Mississippi rifle bore cartridges. In April and May, two additional Mississippi rifles; one "Minnie" rifle; and an "Imitative Harpers Ferry Rifle" were received, as well as 4 screw drivers; 1 wiper; 2 cartridge boxes with cartridge box belts; 2 waist belts with plates; 1,500 percussion caps; and 1,500 Mississippi rifle ball cartridges. These arms came from the captured San Antonio U.S. stocks. Muster roll inspections from June to October 1862 indicated that the company's arms and accouterments were "good."

The company also reported getting four NCO swords; two musician swords; and six NCO sword belts and plates on 9 December 1861. These were from captured U.S. stocks in San Antonio.⁵³

Company F

Company F was armed with percussion muskets. On 21 December 1861, the company drew 40 percussion muskets complete with waist belts and plates, bayonets, scabbards, frogs, cartridge boxes with cartridge box belts; 20 screw drivers; 20 wipers; and 19 extra cones. During the second quarter of 1862, the company drew 1,260 musket ball cartridges. It also reported having 55 "percussion muskets, complete," with accouterments sets to include 55 cartridge boxes with cartridge box belts; 45 waist belts with belt plates; 50 cap pockets; 55 bayonet scabbards and frogs; 50 screw drivers; 51 wipers;

17 cones; and 5 ball screws. These arms came from captured San Antonio U.S. stocks. Muster roll inspections from June to October 1862 indicated the company's arms were reported as "indifferent" and their accouterments "indifferent" and later "good."

The company also reported getting five NCO swords, two musician swords, and seven NCO sword belts and plates in June 1862, at Ringgold, Texas. These also were from captured U.S. stocks in San Antonio.⁵⁴

Company G

Company G reported having forty percussion muskets and bayonets; four NCO swords; and two musician swords from 17 November 1862 to 18 November 1863. These arms presumably came from captured San Antonio U.S. stocks.⁵⁵

Company H

Company H left no records of its arms.

Company I

Company H left no records of its arms.

Company K

Company K was armed with percussion muskets. In the 4th quarter of 1862 it reported having 69 percussion muskets; 67 musket cartridge boxes; 73 waist belts; 74 waist belt plates; 67 bayonets; 70 bayonet scabbards and frogs; 67 cap pouches; 60 percussion musket wipers; 50 percussion musket screw drivers; 2 percussion musket ball screws; 1 percussion musket spring vise; 1 sergeant's waist belt and plate; 69 gun slings; 7,000 percussion musket ball cartridges; and 1,000 large percussion caps. These arms came from captured San Antonio U.S. stocks. On 28 July 1863 the company received an additional 58 percussion muskets; 10 wipers; 6 screw drivers; 2 ball screws; 1 spring vise; 125 cartridge boxes; 125 cap boxes; 125 waist belts and waist belt plates; 2,000 percussion musket ball cartridges; and 1,000 large percussion caps. These arms were most likely from stocks captured in San Antonio. Later, on 18 November 1863, the company reported having forty-five rifle muskets and bayonets. This indicates the company may have had its muskets replaced by rifled small arms, perhaps Enfields.⁵⁶

Officers

There were four sales of swords to officers dating to 1861 for the regiment. These include three foot officer swords with cavalry saber belts and belt plates, and one horse artillery saber with a horse artillery belt plate. These items all came from captured U.S. stocks at San Antonio and may be indicative of what the regiment's officers used for swords.⁵⁷

Observations on the Regiment's Equipment

Aside from their clothing, arms, and accouterments, the 3d Texas Infantry drew a great amount of equipment from the quartermaster. Some was Old Army stock, but most was Confederate manufacture or import.

The most essential items of individual equipment included blankets, canteens, haversacks, and knapsacks. The regiment



FIG 7. Company A (Germans) soldier on field duty, March 1863, Fort Brown, Texas. Armed with an M1842 percussion musket and bayonet and carrying Old Army accouterments, he has a white haversack and tin drum canteen with a leather strap. He wears a black pillbox hat; white trousers; and a white, untrimmed shell jacket with five buttons and black brogans. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.



FIG 8. Company F (Mexicans) sergeant on parade, 8 April 1863, Brownsville, Texas. Armed with an M1842 percussion musket and bayonet, carrying Old Army accouterments, he has an Old Army, red NCO sash, an NCO sword, and NCO sword belt with plate. He is dressed in an Old Army, infantry frock coat (with infantry sergeant chevrons) and dark blue trousers, with a Hardee hat with full infantry trim (including feathers, letter "F," eagles, infantry bugles, and infantry bands and tassels), black leather neck stock, white cotton gloves, and black brogans. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.

left consistent, albeit incomplete records of these items. There were probably larger quantities issued than have survived in the existing records. The companies received blankets all through 1861 to 1863. At a minimum, the regiment received 151 blankets in late 1861; 281 in 1862; and 398 in 1863. The most comprehensive report available, dated 15 November 1863, states that the enlisted men had 598 blankets on hand, but needed 160 more. These numbers exceed the total number of men present for duty, which was 445, and indicate that the regiment was actually well supplied with blankets. Unlike other articles, few blankets were Old Army stock since only 628 were seized at San Antonio in 1861.⁵⁸ In fact, most blankets were imported, since none were made in the department until the last year of the war, and they were one of the very first things that department quartermasters purchased from abroad.⁵⁹ The first blankets to enter the department were white. Imports dating to 1863 are described as gray in two reports, and blankets imported in 1864 are described as "Blue Grey" or "Brown Grey." Based on the dates of the descriptions, the regiment would have received the white or gray blankets until late 1863. Little more can be said with certainty except that blankets were being steadily imported into Texas while the regiment was drawing them.⁶⁰

Little is also recorded about canteen and haversack issues. The records indicate the regiment received these items all along, but exact quantities are seemingly incomplete. Furthermore, the records convey almost nothing about what types of articles were received. Undoubtedly, some Old Army stocks were drawn early in the war and were gradually superseded by Confederate items. Regarding haversacks, for instance, quantities issued almost surely exceeded what the surviving records indicate. Total regimental issues of haversacks include 50 for 1861; 153 for 1862; and 439 for 1863. Regarding type, the 1861 issues to Company F listed twenty-three cotton and seventeen gutta percha Old Army haversacks. The 1863 issues of 439 haversacks were from the Houston Depot. The Houston haversacks were made of Huntsville Penitentiary cotton jean, and the "satchel" portion measured fourteen inches wide and twelve inches deep with a flap that buttoned on the front.⁶¹

The quantities of canteens issued seem to be more complete than the haversack figures. Regimental totals include 134 for 1861; 191 for 1862; and 297 for 1863. Only in one instance, however, are the canteens described. On 9 January 1863, Company I drew eight "tin canteens, new" with straps. Other descriptions are limited solely to their price. Companies A, E, and I drew 174 canteens at \$0.55 each in June 1863, and Company K drew one canteen at \$2.00 on 20 April 1863. Nothing more can be ascertained from the records.⁶²

More is known about the issue of knapsacks and other equipment. All of these were drawn between September 1861 and September 1862. Presumably, all of them were Old Army stock judging from the early date of issue. They may well have been the standard U.S. double-bag style. A total of 294 knapsacks were issued to the regiment as follows: 72 for Company B; 44 for Company C; 60 for Company F; 5 for Company G; 110



FIG 9. Company H (Mexicans) soldier in the field, December 1863, Houston, Texas. Armed with a P53 Enfield rifle and bayonet, and carrying Enfield accouterments, this soldier wears a dark, blue-gray flannel British import shirt; a hickory shirt under the flannel shirt; white kersey trousers; a black pill box hat; and black brogans. He carries a white haversack; tin drum canteen with a leather strap; Old Army double-bag knapsack; and a dark, blue-gray import blanket on the knapsack. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.

for Company H; and 3 for the Regimental quartermaster. The regiment also received 240 greatcoat straps during the fourth quarter of 1862 and 251 single bed sacks, mostly during 1862. The bed sacks were distributed as follows: 86 for Company E; 62 for Company F; 15 for Company H; 84 for Company I; and 4 for the Regimental quartermaster. The greatcoat straps and the bed sacks were Old Army stock.⁶³

Mess gear was also critical to the regiment and it apparently received a fair supply. From 1861 to the end of 1862, the companies drew 42 camp kettles; 72 mess pans; 2 fry pans; 3 iron pots; and 3 large kettles. This conformed to the stocks



FIG 10. Company K (Germans) soldier on parade, 8 April 1863, Brownsville, Texas. Armed with an M1842 percussion musket and bayonet and carrying Old Army accouterments, he is dressed in a cadet gray blouse (untrimmed, seven button jacket); cadet gray trousers; a brown, sugarloaf hat; white cotton gloves; and black brogans. Artwork courtesy of CMH Fellow Alan Archambault, DSA.

of Old Army mess gear available at the time.⁶⁴ Starting in 1863, the regiment started getting mess gear more typical of Confederate manufacture. These included 39 camp kettles; 26 mess pans; 15 fry pans; 33 iron pots; 25 coffee pots; 16 ovens and lids; 16 skillets and lids; 25 water buckets; and 37 tin pans.⁶⁵ Confederate quartermasters had been purchasing or fabricating mess gear from the start. Their manufactures included cast iron ovens, skillets, and lids, referred to as “hollow ware,” and various tinware. Captain Wharton, Quartermaster for the Houston Depot, wanted the hollowware mess gear to replace the tin gear if feasible. In any case, the issues of hol-

low ware to the regiment suggest that most of the mess gear received after 1862 was Confederate.⁶⁶ By November 1863, the regiment had on hand 56 camp kettles; 51 mess pans; 65 iron pots; and an unspecified quantity of iron pots; coffee pots; ovens and lids; skillets and lids; water buckets; and tin pans. This represented a mix of Old Army stock with Confederate gear, as well as a significant rate of attrition.⁶⁷

Another important item was tentage. The regiment received a fair quantity of tents throughout the war. What is surprising, however, is how much was Confederate from the very start. During October, November, and December 1861, Companies B, C, E, and F drew 1 wall tent; 3 Sibley tents; 3 tent stoves; and 18 Confederate tents. All of these tents came with poles and pins. The wall tent, Sibley tents, and stoves were Old Army stock, as would be expected so early in the war. The majority of the tents, however, were Confederate manufacture.⁶⁸ The regiment drew most of its tents from the mid-1862 to the end of 1863. During this time, an additional 72 complete “Common Tents, Confederate” were received along with 6 Sibleys; 5 wall tents; 3 flies; and 188 extra common tent pins.⁶⁹ It might be noted that Old Army common tents were wall tents. This coincides with the Confederate definition as well, since the standard Confederate tent in Texas was a nine by twelve-foot wall.⁷⁰ All in all the regiment received at least 115 tents of all kinds and three flies by November 1863. On 15 November, the regiment reported having forty-seven tents and one fly on hand, indicating an attrition of over half its tentage in two years.⁷¹

The last critical type of camp equipage is tools. The regiment received a steady supply of axes, hatchets, and spades or shovels during the war. Some few pickaxes were drawn, and towards the end of 1863, the regiment got some brooms. Most tools were drawn from the second half of 1862 until the end of 1863. It is difficult to say how much was Old Army stock and how much imported. It is also uncertain how many tools were issued, owing to incomplete records. However, by the end of 1863, the regiment had received at least 67 axes; 40 hatchets; 29 spades; 5 pickaxes; 5 shovels; and 8 brooms since the start of the war.⁷²

The final type of equipment carried in the records is for musical instruments. All but two of the companies reported getting instruments, and it is likely that all actually did. Furthermore, the instruments appear to be Old Army stock. The records pertaining to the quantities issued are somewhat inconsistent, but distribution of drums and fifes appears to have been fairly even. Each company appears to have received one or two infantry drums, each with two batter heads; two snare heads; a pair of drumsticks; a stick carriage; a case; and a cord. They also got one or two fifes per company. The records reflect that only three companies drew bugles that came with cords and tassels. Also noteworthy, musician frock coats and swords were issued to several companies. What is most surprising about the issues is that they were spread over a long period, beginning in late 1861 and continuing to the end of 1863. Since the San Antonio Depot had all these

instruments from the start, it is odd that they did not distribute them to the companies all at once. Whatever the explanation, the regiment was well supplied with drums, fifes, and bugles for much of its service.⁷³

Although not technically “equipment,” a few comments are appropriate regarding the regiment’s flags. Not only does one of the regiment’s flags survive in the collection of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, a full description of its genesis is available in Houston’s wartime newspaper, the *Tri-Weekly Telegraph*. According to the *Telegraph* the regiment was presented with two flags on Wednesday, 2 September 1863. One was a “regimental” flag, the other a “battle” flag, but both were made of heavy silk, with bullion stars, and heavy bullion cords and tassels. The surviving flag is probably the one referred to as the “battle” flag. It follows the general design of the Virginia Army battle flag closely with one notable variation. The color scheme is reversed, having a dark blue field and a red saltier.⁷⁴ Both flags were paid for by the citizens of Brownsville, Texas, out of gratitude for the regiment’s service there. They were made by exiled Confederate ladies from New Orleans living in Havana, Cuba. The project was headed by a Mrs. Phelps, formerly of Brazoria County, Texas. The exiled ladies’ remoteness from the South may account for the battle flag’s mismatched color scheme. In any case, both flags were presented to the regiment in front of the Academy in Houston before an admiring crowd.

Conclusions

So what did Lt. Colonel Fremantle see when the 3d Texas Infantry stood on parade before him on 8 April 1863 in Brownsville? Company by company, they would have appeared as follows:

The field and staff officers wore cadet gray cloth uniforms, while the enlisted men wore white kersey blouses and trousers. The officers might also have carried foot officer swords with cavalry saber belts and belt plates, or horse artillery sabers with horse artillery belt plates, judging from some quartermaster sales records to officers.

Company A was dressed in cadet gray cloth jackets and trousers. They also had white kersey blouses and trousers, but these would not have been worn on parade with gray uniforms available. They had a full complement of both hats (imported black British?) and caps (cadet gray?). For parade, they probably wore their caps, and wore their hats on field duty. The company also had white cotton gloves. The only available records about their arms, which postdate Fremantle’s visit, list unspecified rifle muskets and bayonets. It is probable that they carried Old Army .69 caliber percussion muskets. Four of the NCOs would have carried Old Army NCO swords.

Company B wore Old Army blouses and trousers. The NCOs had sashes and chevrons. All the men had Hardee hats with letters, eagles, feathers, and bands and tassels. The company also had white cotton gloves. The company carried Old Army .69 caliber percussion muskets and bayonets, along with Old Army cartridge boxes with a few cartridge box belts,



FIG 11. Battle flag of the 3d Texas Infantry Regiment presented to the regiment at Houston, Texas, on 2 September 1863 by grateful citizens. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Southern History, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Texas Division Collection.

waist belts with plates, bayonet scabbards and cap pockets. The company had a few rifle muskets with bayonets. Four of the NCOs had Old Army NCO swords and sword belts, and two soldiers had musician swords. The musicians had an Old Army infantry drum, infantry bugle, and fife.

Company C had cadet gray cloth jackets and trousers. The company had full complements of both hats (imported British?) and Old Army rifle forage caps. Perhaps the company wore its caps on parade and retained the hats for field duty. The company also had white cotton gloves. The company was armed with Old Army .69 caliber percussion muskets and bayonets, along with unspecified Old Army accouterments.

Company D had cadet gray cloth trousers and blouses of an unspecified type (either Old Army, cadet gray, or white kersey). The company left no records as to its arms and accouterments other than them being “good.”

Company E wore Old Army frock coats and infantry forage caps. They had both Old Army trousers and cadet gray trousers, so they could have worn either type. The company also had white cotton gloves. They carried both percussion muskets and Mississippi rifles along with accouterments. These items were all Old Army stock. The percussion muskets had waist belts with plates, bayonets, and scabbards and frogs. The Mississippi rifles came with cartridge boxes with cartridge box belts, waist belts, and waist belt plates. NCOs and musicians had four NCO swords, two musician swords, and six

NCO sword belts and plates. The swords and accompanying accouterments were Old Army articles. The musicians had an Old Army infantry drum and an infantry bugle.

Company F wore Hardee hats with letters, eagles, bugles, feathers, and infantry bands and tassels, and Old Army frock coats, neck stocks, and trousers. The NCOs had chevrons. The company also had a full issue of Old Army blouses, but probably retained them for field duty. The company also had white cotton gloves. Company F was armed with Old Army .69 caliber percussion muskets. These arms came with Old Army waist belts and plates, bayonets, scabbards and frogs, cartridge boxes with cartridge box belts, cap pockets, bayonet scabbards, and frogs. The company also reported having five NCO swords and two musician swords with NCO sword belts and plates. The musicians had an Old Army infantry drum and an infantry bugle.

Company G wore Hardee hats with letters, and Old Army blouses and trousers. The NCOs had chevrons. The company also had cotton jean blouses, white kersey trousers, and some few white kersey blouses. These, however, were probably retained for field duty. The company also had white cotton gloves. Company G was armed with .69 caliber, Old Army percussion muskets, and bayonets. The company also reported having four NCO swords and two musician swords.

Company H wore Hardee hats with letters and some few bands, and tassels. They also had Old Army frock coats and trousers. The NCOs had sashes and the musicians had musician frock coats. Company H left no records about its arms.

Company I had Hardee hats with eagles, bugles, feathers, bands and tassels. The company also had a full issue of Old Army infantry forage caps and letters. They had Old Army infantry private's frock coats and trousers. The company also had white cotton gloves. The NCOs had sashes and the musicians had infantry musician frock coats. The company also had a full complement of Old Army blouses, which were probably retained for field duty. If the company followed Old Army regulations, they would have worn their caps with their field uniforms and the Hardee hats on parade. Company I left no records about its arms.

Company K had cadet gray cloth blouses and trousers (in two grades). The gray cloth blouses (\$4.00 each) were probably an untrimmed version of the more expensive gray cloth jacket (\$4.93 each). Likewise, the trousers probably came both in a trimmed and untrimmed grade. Notably, at least one musician had an Old Army musician uniform frock coat. The company received cap letters, but left no record of what type of head gear they wore. The company did have white cotton gloves. Company K was armed with .69 caliber, Old Army percussion muskets. The accouterments were also Old Army stock consisting of musket cartridge boxes, waist belts, waist belt plates, bayonets, bayonet scabbards and frogs, cap pouches/boxes, one sergeant's waist belt and plate, and gun slings.

Following Fremantle's noted comments in the summer of 1863, the companies continued to receive clothing. Company A got more gray cloth caps, blouses, and trousers. Company

B may have gotten its first gray cloth jackets and trousers. Company C got more gray cloth trousers and hats. Company E finally received complete Confederate uniforms of gray cloth jackets, blouses, and trousers. Company F also finally drew Confederate gray cloth blouses and trousers. Company K, which already had gray cloth uniforms, actually drew Federal blouses and trousers, probably the very last of the Old Army clothing the regiment received. After these issues, in the late summer and early fall of 1863 Companies E, H, and K got white "linen" pants, which were actually cotton jean; blue flannel shirts, which were probably blue-gray British import shirts; hickory shirts; and black hats, which were most likely British imports. Perhaps the entire regiment was outfitted in this clothing.

The regiment upgraded its small arms after Fremantle's visit. At the time of his 8 April 1863 comments, most of the regiment carried percussion muskets. By 2 December, all of the smoothbores had been replaced with "rifle muskets" or Enfields. This change may have occurred on 18 November 1863 when Company K reported having forty-five rifle muskets and bayonets, following a series of reports for carrying percussion muskets.

The regiment continued to draw musical instruments. The Field & Staff received a drum, bugle, and two fifes. Company C received two drums and fifes. Company E got one more drum and two more fifes. Company G got a drum. Company H drew two drums and fifes. Company I drew one drum and four fifes. Although no records of musical instrument issues survive for Companies A, D, and K, it seems likely that these companies received similar items, as well.

Most spectacular of all, the regiment received its beautifully distinctive silk and bullion battle flag after Fremantle's visit, along with a regimental flag. Had Lt. Col. Arthur Fremantle seen the regiment's two new flags, he would have undoubtedly been even more impressed than he was in April.

Notes

1. Texas regiments commonly noted the ethnicity of their various companies. Foreign born troops were referred to as "German," "Irish," or "Mexican," and so on, while native born Anglo-Saxons were referred to as "Americans." The regimental muster rolls bear this out. 3d Texas Infantry, 1861-1863, Confederate Muster Rolls, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter MR).
2. Walter Lord, ed., *The Fremantle Diary: Being the Journal of Lieutenant Colonel James Lyon Arthur Fremantle, Coldstream Guards, on his Three Months in the Southern States* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1954), 16; 8 April 1863, 3d Texas Infantry Battalion, under Lt. Col. Buechel, Brownsville, Texas: (hereafter Fremantle).
3. Inventories of Reuben M. Potter, Military Store Keeper, USA, San Antonio, Texas, 19 March 1861, Box 839, Folders 1 & 6, Confederate Quarter Master and Commissary Records, Record Group 401, Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas: (hereafter Potter); Report of Capt. E. C. Wharton, Chief Quartermaster, District of Texas, 22 December 1863, File 155-J.41, 50-51, Capt. William Prescott's Report of the Western Sub-District of Texas, 22 December 1863 to Capt. E. C. Wharton, Confederate Inspection Reports, M935, Roll 8, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Wharton).

4. 3d Texas Infantry Records, 14 January 1863, issue of gray uniforms to Capt. S. Alexander, Company A, by Capt. William Prescott, Quartermaster, San Antonio Depot, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers from the State of Texas, M323, Roll 273, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter CSR).
5. U.S. Navy reports of seizures of blue grey cloth, 4, 5, and 6 November 1863, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1890–1901) ser. III, 20: 658–661: (hereafter OR); Wharton 141.J-89, 14, 50, 51–52, term “cadet grey”; Norman D. Brown, *Journey to Pleasant Hill; The Civil War Letters of Captain Elijah P. Petty, Walker’s Texas Division, CSA* (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texas Cultures, 1982), 273, 301, term “Confederate gray”; James L. Nichols, *The Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 80–81, words “army cloth” and “gray army cloth”; Reports of Capt. N. A. Birge, 1862–1863, Box 2C487, Folders 2-5, 10-12, words “Grey Cloth,” General Papers of the Confederacy, University of Texas, Austin, Texas: (hereafter Birge).
6. CSR, Microcopy 323, Rolls 273, 274, and 3d Texas Infantry Records, issues to the regiment throughout this period, Clothing Rolls, Carded and Not Carded, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC (hereafter CR), details follow by individual company further in this study.
7. CSR, Microcopy 323, Rolls 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, and 279 confirm that the regiment received its clothing from Capt. William Prescott, Quartermaster, San Antonio.
8. Wharton, 93-J.41.
9. CSR, M323, Roll 276, 20 September 1861, Capt. T. H. Kampmann, received at San Antonio, Texas; CSR M323, Roll 274, End 4th Quarter 1863, report of quarterly issues and on-hand, Lt. Richard C. Daly, Sabine City, Texas.
10. CSR, M323, Roll 277, issues to Adjutant Henry MacCormack from Seibert; OR III, 2: 766–775, U.S. Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, New Orleans, Louisiana, Major General Benjamin F. Butler, 13 November 1862. “B” cloth was the quartermaster code for fine, officer grade cadet gray cloth, while “C” was the code for enlisted grade, cadet gray kersey.
11. CSR, M323, Roll 273, issues to Capt. S. Alexander by Capt. William Prescott; CR, Company A, 3d Texas Infantry, roll dated 1 November 1862 through 31 March 1863.
12. Invoices and reports of James P. Spring, Huntsville, Texas, April to September 1863, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, M346, Roll 972, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Spring); Vouchers for making clothing, February–June 1863, Quartermasters at Huntsville, Brownsville, San Antonio, Marshall and Jefferson, Texas, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, M346, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC.
13. CSR, M323, Rolls 273 & 274; CR, Company A, 3d Texas Infantry; undated rolls.
14. CSR, M323, Rolls 276 & 277, issued to Capt. T. H. Kampmann and Lt. A. Moyer on 20 September, 23 and 31 October, and 12 December 1861, CR, Company B, 3d Texas Infantry, 30 June 1862.
15. U.S. Army General Order No. 3, dated 24 March 1858 & General Order No. 108, published 16 December 1861.
16. CSR, M323, Roll 276, issued to Captain T. H. Kampmann on 26 March and 1 May 1863.
17. U.S. Army General Order No. 13, dated 30 November 1858 & General Order No. 4, dated 26 February 1861.
18. CSR, M323, Roll 278, issues to Parker’s Company, 30 June 1862 (2d quarter), Camp Brown; CR, Company C, 3d Texas Infantry, issues for quarter ending 30 June 1862.
19. CSR, M323, Roll 276, issues to D. Lively by Capt. William Prescott at San Antonio.
20. CSR, M323, Rolls 276 & 279, issues to D. Lively.
21. CR, Company D, 3d Texas Infantry, undated (presumed mid-1863).
22. CSR, M323, Roll 273, issues dated 3, 21, and 27 December 1861; CR, Company E, 3d Texas Infantry, 14 December 1861.
23. CSR, M323, Roll 273, 3d Texas Volunteer Infantry, receipts of 20 April 1862; Wharton 92-J.41, 112-J.41, and 155-J.41, 6–8; Birge, Box 2C487, Folder 11; Agreements for shoes with Shelby & Eisenau, Philip F. Key and Shirley & Schleunig, 6 January 1863, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Contracts); Invoices and receipts of August through December 1862, and January through February 1864 and 4th quarter 1864, blanket imports, Box 401-840, Folders 13, 16, and 17, Confederate Quarter Master and Commissary Records, Record Group 401, Texas State Archives, Austin, Texas: (hereafter TSA).
24. CSR, M323, Roll 274, issue dated 31 July 1862; CR, Company E, 3d Texas Infantry, 3 July 1862.
25. CR, Company E, 3d Texas Infantry, 1 October–31 December 1862 (4th quarter).
26. CSR, M323, Roll 274, issues dated 26 March, 30 April, and 12 June 1863.
27. CSR, M323, Rolls 273 & 274, issues dated 20 August and 30 September 1863; CR, Company E, 3d Texas Infantry, dated 3d quarter 1863 and undated (presumed 3d quarter).
28. Wharton, 89-J.41, 50-51, and 95-J.41 Invoice *Sir William Peel*, 6 September 1863; Expenditure Report, Houston Clothing Depot, November 1863, Papers of the Chicago Historical Society; *Echoes of Glory, Arms and Equipment of the Confederacy* (Alexandria, VA: Time Life Books, 1991), 154: (hereafter *Echoes, Confederacy*).
29. CSR, M323, Roll 274, received at San Antonio.
30. CR, Company F, 3d Texas Infantry dating to April, June 30 and the fourth 2nd quarter 1862.
31. CSR, M323, Roll 274, dated 26 March and 30 April.
32. CSR, M323, Roll 277, dated 15 December received by James R. Marmion; CR, Company G, 3d Texas Infantry dating to the fourth quarter 1862.
33. CSR, M323, Roll 279, received by 1st Lt. Theodore H. Sheihagen.
34. CR, Company H, 3d Texas Infantry dating to 15 September, 30 September, and 25 October.
35. CSR, M323, Rolls 273 & 276, dated 1 May (received at Fort Brown), 20 August, and 30 September.
36. CSR, M323, Roll 279, received by Capt. E. Toole.
37. CSR, M323, Roll 279, dated 9 and 28 August 1862 (issued by Minter to J. M. Trainer) and 9 January 1863 (issued by Captain Prescott to Capt. E. Toole); CR, Company I, 3d Texas Infantry, dated 1 and 21 October, undated in third quarter, 18 November, 10 and 23 December, and undated December, and 4th quarter 1862.
38. CSR, M323, Roll 279, dated 18 May and undated, most likely June, received by J. M. Trainer, Toole’s Company.
39. CSR, M323, Roll 273, dated 9 January and 26 March; CR, Company K, 3d Texas Infantry, dated 1 January to 31 March.
40. CSR, M323, Roll 273, dated 20 and 30 April, 19 May.
41. CSR, M323, Roll 273.
42. The Federal Arsenal at San Antonio, Texas, was captured by secessionists on 16 February 1861.
43. Reference numerous conversations with relic hunters from the region and private viewings of their collections of recovered relics. Also, conversations with Butch Myers, an authority on Confederate accouterments. All of these encounters have born out the fact that the iron harness buckle was the most common Confederate waist belt buckle throughout the war. Myers estimates that at least 50 percent of all Confederate waist belts had the simple yet practical iron buckles.
44. Reference conversations with Daniel S. Peterson, noted author, historian, and relic hunter.
45. Post Reports, Department of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, Lower Rio Grande, 17 November 1862 through 18 November 1863, Reports of the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Post Reports).
46. Inspection Report of Lieutenant Colonel J. O. Long, 2 December 1863, Reports of the Confederate Adjutant and Inspector General’s Office, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Inspections).

47. Lt. Col. G. H. Hill Letter Books, Tyler, Texas, C.S. Ordnance Works, November 1863 to 8 May 1865, Volume 149, Chapter IV and Letters sent by Lt. Col. G. H. Hill, 1864–1865, M346, Roll 972, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Hill). Hill, commandant of the Tyler Arsenal, established throughout his tenure, standard sets of both infantry and cavalry accouterments. The infantry set included a waist belt with a harness buckle, infantry cartridge box, and cap box. There was no bayonet scabbard or cartridge box “sling” included. The cavalry set was the same except for a cavalry cartridge box.
48. MR, Field & Staff, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
49. Post Reports; MR, Company A, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
50. CSR, M323, Roll 276, received by Capt. T. H. Kampmann, 12 and 27 January, and 12 March 1862; Post Reports; MR, Company B, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
51. CSR, M323, Roll 276, quarterly return by D. Lively, 30 June 1863; Post Reports; MR, Company C, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
52. MR, Company D, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
53. CSR, M323, Roll 273, 9 December 1861 received at San Antonio, 4 February, 15 April, and 7 May 1862 received by Charles L. Arbuckle at Fort Brown; MR, Company E, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
54. CSR, M323, Roll 274, 21 December 1861 received at San Antonio, and quarterly return 2d quarter 1862, received by Pedro Cevallos at Fort Brown, 8 May and 13 June; MR, Company F, 3d Texas Infantry Regiment.
55. Post Reports.
56. CSR, M323, Roll 273, received at San Antonio, 1 and 29 September, reported 4th quarter 1862; Transfers by W. G. M. Samuels, Texas Arsenal, San Antonio to Capt. Julius Bose, 29 September 1862 and 28 July 1863, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Generals and Staff Officers, and Nonregimental Enlisted Men, M331, Roll 218, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Staff Officers); Post Reports.
57. CSR, M323, Rolls 274 and 280, Company F, 16 December, received at Fort Brown, and Company E, 28 December, received at San Antonio, Company F, 16 December, received at Fort Brown, Company B, 23 September, received by Paul Wagner of Major Sackfield Maclin.
58. Potter; Wharton, 93-J.41; M323, R273, 274, 276, 277, and 279, numerous issues throughout the regiment; CR for the regiment and Companies B, D, E, F, G, H, I, and K.
59. Wharton, 89-J.41, 71, and 107-J.41; invoice from Lippman & Koppel, delivered to Confederate Quartermaster Rainey in Galveston on 20 September 1861, Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, M346, Roll 592, War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Record Group 109, National Archives, Washington, DC: (hereafter Lippman & Koppel); Contracts, McCarthy 5 November 1862 and Johnson & Rhine, 24 January 1863; letter Haynes to Boggs, 10 June 1864, OR, Ser. I, 34/4: 657.
60. National Archives, Record Group 109, M346, Roll 592 Lippman & Koppel, Galveston delivered 92 “white” blankets to Captain Rainey, 20 September 1861; contracts, both the McCarthy and the Johnson & Rhine agreements called for “Grey or Blue” blankets; Wharton, 110-J.41, 141-J.41 - blankets described as “grey”; Ramsdell Microfilm Collection, E. Kirby Smith Papers, Reel 209B, Part 47, invoice of Quartermaster Stores Shipped to the Trans-Mississippi Department, 29 November and 19 December 1864 blankets described as “Blue Grey” or “Brown Grey.”
61. CSR M323, R274, 276, 279, numerous issues for the regiment, 1861 to 1863; CR for the regiment and Companies F, G, H, I; Wharton, 93-J.41; HTWT, 15 December 1863, p. 2, col. 4.
62. CSR M323, R273, 274, 276, 277, 279, numerous issues for the regiment, 1861 to 1863; CR for the regiment and Companies E, F, H, and I.
63. CSR M323, R273, 274, 276, 279, numerous issues for the regiment, 1861 to 1863; CR for the regiment and Companies B, C, E, F, G, H, I.
64. Potter; CSR M323, R273, 274, 276, 279, numerous issues for the regiment, 1861 to 1862; CR for the regiment and Companies H and I.
65. CSR M323, R273, 274, 276, numerous issues for the regiment in 1863; CR for the regiment.
66. Wharton, 89-J.41, 53–57.
67. Wharton, 93-J.41.
68. M323, R273, 274, 276, issues to Companies B, C, E, F.
69. M323, R273, 274, 276, issues to Companies D, E, H, I, K; CR Companies H and I.
70. Wharton, 89-J.41, 58.
71. Wharton, 93-J.41.
72. CSR M323, R273, 274, 276, 279, numerous issues, 1861 to 1863; CR for the regiment and Companies G, H, and I; Wharton, 93-J.41.
73. CSR M323, R273, 274, 276, 277, 279, numerous issues, 1861 to 1863; CR for Companies H and I.
74. HTWT, 20 August 1863, p. 2, col. 3, and 4 September 1863, p. 2, col. 1; United Daughters of the Confederacy, Texas Division flag collection,





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The Diary of Levin Christopher Gayle

Gayle Weiss and Harry C. Dillard, Sr.

LEVIN Christopher Gayle, Jr., was born in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1833. His nickname was "Kit." His parents were Levin Christopher Gayle, Sr., of Mathews County, Virginia (1804–before 1850) and Catherine Kitty Garland of Gloucester County, Virginia (8 June 1812–24 April 1885). He worked as a brick mason before the outbreak of the Civil War.

Gayle enlisted as a private in Company G, 9th Virginia Infantry, on 24 April 1861 at Portsmouth, Virginia. He was promoted to corporal on or about 15 September 1861 and to sergeant, 16 March 1863. Captured at the Battle of Gettysburg, 3 July 1863, he was sent to the Point Lookout, Maryland, prisoner of war camp where he remained until released on 9 June 1865.

His wartime diary has fortunately survived the years and it is presented here as a glimpse of the everyday life of an infantryman in the Army of Northern Virginia.

The 8th of March, 1862 the great Naval engagement between the Merimack and the Frigate Cumberland at the mouth of the James River.

Scenes of a member of Co. G, 9th Va. Reg Infantry commencing April the 20.

March to Deep Creek from Portsmouth. 11 miles.

21 South West locks

22 South Mills

23 Camden C. House

25 Renean Church

26 Rifle Pitts on Pasquetank Riv.

(May)

4 of May started to South Mills

5 Deep Creek again

6 to Portsmouth

10 Evacuated the town and left our homes to the enemy.

11 At Suffolk

12 at Weldon N.C.

13 Leave for Petersburg reached it in the evening camped in a church until the

15 went to Duns hill. Stop here until the 29.

(29) start for Richmond sleep in the Capitale square.

On the 30 start for Sevenpines.

31 Fight commenced at ten minutes past 2 Oh clock. Sleep tonight on the Battle Field among the Dead and wounded. I begin to think this looks like war.

(June)

June the First Sunday engaged this morning. Lost one member several wounded fall back tonight.

On the 5 moved to Yorke R Road remaine here untill 9

9 march down the Charles City Rode.

July the First – Malvourn Hill Fight commenced about 4 Oh clock. Henry White and Mebso Fisk killed.



FIG 1. Sgt. Levin C. Gayle. Courtesy of Harry C. Dillard, Sr.

The 4 (July) following the enemy down to Berkley.

On the 11 at fallen creek. Lef camp started for Louisa C.H.

On 16 arrived here about 11 Oh clock at night

19 Commenced marching

21 crossed Rapidan River 3 Oh clock at Sumerville Forde. Camped at Stevens Burge two spies hung here.

On 22 and on the 23 at Brandy station Welfords Farme

24 Jeferson town

25 on picket at Warrenton springs

26 heavy skirmishing across the River

27 at Salem

28 White Plaines

29 on the rode to Manassas pased Hay market

30 in line of Battle and the fight has commenced

31 engaged but very lucky the enemy routed Lewis Whitfield badly wounded

(No entry for August)

(September)

Slept the first – Commenced marching on the 5 pased through Leesburg

6 crosed the Potomak at 2 Oh clock

7 at Recker town Maryland

8 at Fredrick junction

9 destroyed the Bridge

10 pased Fredrick City and pased through Farmville and Middleton

11 on the march 12 and Brownsvill

On the 15 captured Harpersferry and about 12000 prisoners

On 16 crossed over to Virginia on the pontoon Bridges
 17 forded the Potomac at Shepardstown the Battle of Sharpsburg
 has commensed
 On 18 on the Battlefelde
 19 Retreated and crossed the river
 20 at Charlestown Va.
 21 Bunkerhill
 23 at Martinsburg
 27 at Bunkerhill again
 28 at Winchester
 On the 30 marching made 28 miles
 On the 31 pased through Frontroyal
 November the first past through Flint Hill and forded Hasel Run
 2 camped near Culpepper C. House
 3 in camp
 On the 4 transferd to Picketts Div.
 21 marched crosed the Rapidan at Rackoon Forde on our way to
 Fredricksburg
 12 on the rode
 23 marching yet 24 came to Camp on the Telegraph rode near town
 25 in camp
 December the 11 the Battle commensed about daylight. Yankees
 crosing the River some sharp fighting
 12 still in line of Battle and the enemy in our front. It is a great sight
 to witness they are in force and it is a beautifull day and the boys seem
 to be eager for the fray more so than I ever saw them and they say they
 will fight
 On the 13 the general fight has commensed it has been heavy and
 the enemy repulsed at all ponts with heavy loss and Burnsidés and his
 Ballon is gone down it done him no good as the sun went down his army
 fell back and the smoke cleared away and all is quiet but the groans of
 the wounded are now and then heard with that exception it is as still as
 death tonight. There is a great northern light to be seen we wer on the
 Front until 11 Oh clock. Relieved then went to camp.
 On the 15 moved camp near the telegraph rode and remained here
 until 27 then moved to Guinea station on the Richmond and Fredricksburg
 Rode.
 Ending of 62
 February the 15, 1863
 Sunday marched from Guinea station raine all day and mud a
 plenty
 16 Snow all day and marched 30 miles in two days
 18 at Hanover Junction snow and water A plenty and hungry as the
 Devil and nothing to eat
 Thursday the 19 camped at Stuarts Farme five miles from Richmond
 up to our ankles in water all night never saw it raine harder in my life
 we have no tents and cant get our fires to burne. It is harde times but we
 make the best of it. No sleep tonight again
 Friday the 20 passed through Richmond in colum order and made
 a fine desplay and wer complimented highly as being part of the Army
 of Northern Virginia and Longstreets corps and for the many victories
 wun and many other deeds in defence of all thet is dear to us. Camped
 at Manchester 5 nights.
 21 in camp 22 marching camped at Chester Station on the Richmond
 and Petersburg rode good weather
 23 Lieut Wood received his dismissal
 24 still in camp woke up this morning and found the snow ten inches
 deep and colde
 25 at the same place and up to the First of March then started through
 Petersburge. Camped three miles out side of town and here we are up to
 the 26 of March then took line of march for Suffolk went 6 miles and
 camped.

on the 27 marching yet 28 came to Ivor Station and camped near
 Blackwater River.
 April 3 went to Proctors Bridge on pickett duty
 On the 5 at night snow until morning and colde
 On the 9 started marching . 10 past Franklin on the Seaboard Rode.
 11 went over the river at South Quay it is fine weather
 12 on the Sumeton road in sight of the enemy at 12 oh clock
 On the 13 our Brigade in line of battle moving to the front and driving
 the enemy in his entrenchments. Our loss three wounded none killed in
 my regiment. Company in good luck as usual fell back two miles tonight
 and camped.
 On the 14 in line of Battle again and heavy skirmishing in front all
 day
 15 in the same position until noon Co. G ordered on picket first half
 of the night.
 On the 16 yet on the front at 4 Oh clock drove in the enemys pickets
 in sight of the town. Relieved tonight by the 11 and 15 Va. Regiments
 the later losing two men.
 On the 17 again in our entrenchments and good weather
 18 moved to the right on out post duty againe
 19 in the same place heavy firing on the Nanesmond River
 20 on picket in the same place
 21 back to the Regiment 22, 23 & 24
 26 went on the white marsh which is on the extreem right of our
 lines
 27 Co. G thrown to the front on picket
 28 Releaved all is quiet along the lines
 29 Very warm working on our entrenchments
 30 Raine all day and all is quiet on the lines today
 May the first – captured three yankee pickets on the Washington
 ditch. Second all quiet.
 Sunday the 3 Co. G on picket it is a beautifull day we fall back
 tonight to Blackwater River started at 8 Oh clock got there about 9 the
 next day went thirty two miles before we stop the boys are all tired as
 for me am down and cant get up. We know the Battle of Chanselorsville
 is going on Tuesday
 5 Started to a place caled Juresalem arrived there 5 Oh clock in the
 evening raining here verry hard here all night nothing to eat our wagons
 are on another road.
 The 6 have to march to Middleville before we can get any rations. It is
 harde to have to march 22 miles with out and carry all you have to cover
 with and then make your bed on the ground think Reader for a moment
 of the hardships of a poor olde Soldier in Bob Lees Army
 On the 7 marched 22 miles camped within 5 miles of Petersburg.
 On the 8 went through Town rainy day camped three miles out side
 of Town on the Richmond pike.
 On the 9 marching towards Richmond the Rebel Den. Camped at
 Rices Turne out 14 miles today and fine weather.
 Sunday May the 10 stil in camp and some of our Portsmouth Friends
 came out to see us.
 On the 11 General Jacksons remains arrived in town and it is sad
 news to us all.
 On the 12 still in camp Gen. Jacksons remains carried to Lexington
 to day brother Nat and myself are in Town.
 13 changed camp to Fallen Creek
 14 in the same place
 15 marching camped at Manchester
 16 pased through Richmond at 9 Oh clock camped 7 miles out side
 of town.
 Sunday the 17 marching came to camp 3 miles South of Hanover
 junction stopd here until June.
 (June) 3 started came 20 miles today camped close to Newtown in

Kingwilliam county and I have seen lots of prettie ladies they do look well and such yeling from the boys makes them stare at us verry harde.

4 off again camped close to Taperhanock

On the 5 commensed to go back to Hanover Junction finding none of the enemy after going 9 miles heard the yankees wer down here halted and waited until two Oh clock then moved on it being a false report – camped on the matsaponi to night came 20 miles today.

June 6 at one in the morning on our way to Eliotts Ferry but got orders to go back and turned to the right and after marching 20 miles camped manyohick Church in Kingwilliam Co. Heavy haile storme tonight.

On the 7 Sunday started this morning to Hanover arrived at 12 Oh clock.

and at three started for New Bridge no sleep now for two days and nights.

On the 8 started for Culpepper C. House at half past 9 Oh clock halted at 5 Oh clock came 22 miles. It is dry and verry dusty indeed.

Tuesday the 9 started at 6 Oh clock stoped at four pased Good Hope Church to day and a plenty of cherries on the rode 20 miles and we hear Stuart is fighting the enemy at Brandy station we can here the artillery.

10 start at 6 Oh clock and crosed the Rapidan River at 3 Oh clock at Summerville forde halted one mile from the River and camped 20 miles to day.

On the 11 moved closer to Culpeper C. House close to Clarke Slaughter and Ceder Mountain.

12 at a new camp on the Railroad still nearer the town.

On the 13 still in camp 14 also the 15 started on our way again and the weather is as hot as I ever saw it we had 7 men sunstroke today and only marched 7 miles.

16 started at 6 Oh clock and at eleven crosed the Hazel River at one crosed the Thornton camped at Gaines crossroads at 4 clock marched twenty miles. A beautiful view of Cobs mountain.

17 started at five Oh clock at eight Our Gallent leader General R.E. Lee past along our lines amid deafning cheers of our division. The Olde man looks to be very warme but is as polite as usuell we are all satisfied when he is with us. At nine crosed Rappahannock river at twelve Gen Pendleton past we stacked arms and rested until two it is awful warme halted at half past six Oh clock at Freedmont starion on the Manasas Rail Rode 24 miles today

the 18 still on the rode camping at Ashbys Gap in the Blueridge mountain about 12 Oh clock in the day at three it comensed raining and hailing continued so all night I am on guard and so is Harvey. General Stuart is fighting the enemy at Uperville which is about five miles distance

the 19 started on our march at 10 Oh clock in the day at three past the town of Upervill at sunset past through the town of Snickerville on the East side of the mountain and crosed the mountain and camped on the west side rain all night verry heavy. At three ordered to march at 5 Oh clock but could not cross the Shanedore River it having swollen so last night after the raine. Started at one and went on top of the mountain and marched five miles came to a halt and made fires all ringing wet and it still raining verry hard in fifteen minutes off again down the west side of the mountain and crosed the Shanedore at Sheperds forde the water up to our armpits camped half a mile from the forde came 10 miles today.

21 took up line of march 2 Oh clock it is Sunday came four miles camped on the Winchester and Leesburge pike two miles from Kernsville. A.P. Hills core came up today and brother John came to see me this evening. Our cavlery is still at Upervill we draw fresh beef to day.

22 still in camp 23 also 24 resumed our march to day Gen. Longstreet past at 11 Oh clock. We past through town called Smithfield camped at 6 Oh clock on the Winchester and Martinsburg pike marched 23 miles today now at a town caled DarkeSVill. Gen Lee is with us tonight.

25 started at four in the morning went through Martinsburg at 8 Oh clock crosed the Potomack at five in the evening now in Maryland pased through the town of Williamsport Gen. Lee and Longstreet pase us we camp one mile from town came 22 miles today.

On the 26 still on the rode my regiment Division guard pased through Heagers town at one Oh clock at five we entered Pennsylvania and pased through Middlevill and halted at Greencastle on the Pittsburg Railrode marched 13 miles today.

June the 27, 1863 started 7 Oh clock pased through Marion town 14 miles today pased through Chambersburg quite a large place and nice looking.

On the 28 in camp 2 miles from Chambersburg.

On the 29 moved camp one mile south of the town. On the 30 all is quiet and we are tearing up Railrode and visiting Pensilvanians and finde cherries a plenty.

July the First 1863 still in camp and driling three times a day just to keep us in camp and we here that Ewel is fighting the enemy at Gettesburg and we have orders to march at 12 Oh clock tonight and start on the Second at 2 Oh clock in the morning past through Chambersburg and take the Baltimore Pike and away we go againe pased through Hayettvill at 10 Oh clock then through the South Mountain and Cashtown and came within three miles of Gettesburge and camped for the night.

On the morning of the 3 caled up at three Oh clock in the morning and started for the Field of Battle and formed a line of Battle in front of Cemetary Hill and the enemy are in our front verry plaine. At 9 Oh clock General R. E. Lee A. P. Hill George C. Pickett are pasing up and down our line and we hav been tolde what to do that is to Charge that Hill and take those cannon. About one in the day we are all ready there is a great deal of Artillery here with us and it dose look Beautiful all in an open Field and a clear day and sun shines Beautiful and we are moving under a storme of shot and shell and many of our brave boys hav fallen. At one Oh clock our bateries opened fire on the enemys works and after two hours shelling we charged the works and tak a section of them and hold them 20 minutes and then the first thing that I knew they had me hemed up and carried me to the rear where I remained until 12 Oh clock at night then we started to Westminster a town in Maryland we get here about One Oh clock in the day on the fourth of July 1863. Stop here untill two Oh clock on the 5 and get on the cars and then to Baltimore stop at Fort Mc Henry until the sixth then start to that Hell on Earth caled Fort Deleware.

Oh what a place

This portion written after Levin Gayle's return to Portsmouth after the war.

You have not said anything as regards your imprisonment at Point Lookout.

I presume your fare was hardtack for port and bean soup.

I find I have kept a good history of the war, better than Pollards. I think I will follow it for a support, it pays better than bricks and mortar and I am sure the business is more respectable besides it will be so pleasant to see my name in print.

"A book is a book even if there is nothing in it"

Levin Kit Gayle

Gayle returned to Portsmouth after his release from Point Lookout and resumed his bricklaying trade.

He became a member of the Portsmouth and Norfolk County Association of Confederate Veterans on 5 November 1884.

Levin Christopher Gayle died 2 December 1886 and is buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery, Portsmouth, Virginia.

Don't miss the ...

2010 Company of Military Historians Annual Meeting The Greater Washington DC—Northern Virginia April 15 – April 18, 2010 Reston, VA

Outstanding Presentations ...

- will encompass the 1770 time frame to WWII campaigns, uniforms, artifacts, and more.

Outstanding Exhibits and Flea Market ...

The Chesapeake Chapter is instituting display awards to complement the Robert L. Miller Award:

- *Best CMH Chapter Display* outside of the Chesapeake region
- *Finest and or Most Interesting Item* brought by an individual for display.
- Of course, sale tables will also be available ... authors are invited to bring books to sign and sell.

Hotel Arrangements ...

The hotel room rate at the Sheraton Reston is \$119.00 single or double occupancy (normally \$300.00). Go to the following URL for the dedicated CMH site to see the hotel and/or make your reservations:

<http://www.starwoodmeeting.com/Book/COMP MILITA>.

The Reston Town Center location is pedestrian friendly with fine restaurants and small bistros, public art, shops, etc.

Sat. Field Trip is to The Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center, annex to the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum.

Registration and Hotel rates include ...

- Some meals on Friday and Saturday
- Sheraton Hotel shuttle service to and from Dulles Airport
- Free parking at the hotel
- "Welcome to the Annual Meeting" reception at the NRA's National Firearms Museum
- Saturday field trip to The Steven F. Udvar-Hazy Center, the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum's annex in the Chantilly area.
- Sunday field trip options (depending on response) include: Manassas Battlefield Park, Chantilly Battlefield Park, a 10am-3pm bus excursion to the Washington, DC Mall, and/ a bus to the Navy Yard and Navy Museum.

April is one of the finest months in the Northern Virginia Area, with fine evenings and spectacular days.

I look forward to seeing you at the 2010 Meeting,

John H. Thillmann, Meeting Chairman
jhtcav@aol.com

Nearby in Virginia

Balls Bluff Regional Park
Chantilly (Ox Hill) Battlefield
Dranesville Tavern
Fort Hunt Natl. Park
Fort Ward Museum and Historic Site Alexandria
Manassas Museum
Manassas Natl. Battlefield Park
Natl. Firearms Museum

Nearby in Maryland

Fort Washington Natl. Park

Nearby in DC

Daughters of American Revolution Museum
Lincoln Cottage
Natl. Air and Space Museum
Natl. Portrait Gallery (Patent Office Bldg)
Natl. Archives
Natl. Building Museum (Pension Bldg)
Natl. Museum of American History
Natl. Museum of the American Indian
Naval Historical Center
Navy Museum
Smithsonian Institution
Society of the Cincinnati

“The road appeared to be full of red Coats ...”:

An Episode in the Forage War: the Battle of Millstone, 20 January 1777

John U. Rees

AFTER the crucial Battles of Trenton (first battle on 26 December 1776; second battle, also known as Assunpink Creek, 2 January 1777) and Princeton (3 January 1777), there followed in northern New Jersey a series of actions from 4 January to 30 March 1777, known collectively as the “Forage War.” To my knowledge the first person to examine any of the actions in detail was author Jared C. Lobdell, whose 1967 and 1984 *New Jersey History* articles covered the engagements at Drake’s Farm, 1 February; Quibbletown, 8 February; and Rahway/Spantown, 23 February 1777. Recently, David Hackett Fischer in his book *Washington’s Crossing* included a chapter on the Forage War, plus an appendix listing fifty-eight separate small battles or skirmishes during that period.¹

This contribution to Forage War battle studies was instigated by the inadvertent discovery of an interesting combat narrative in former New Jersey militia officer Cornelius Van Horn’s pension deposition. Delving into Howard Peckham’s

JOHN U. REES *has written over 150 articles and monographs since 1986 on various aspects of the common soldiers’ experience, focusing primarily on the War for Independence. Current works and interests include soldiers’ food (1755 to the present day), Continental Army conscription (1777–1782), the organization and service of the late-war Pennsylvania battalions, and Lafayette’s 1780 Light Division.*

His work has appeared in the ALHFAM Bulletin (Association of Living History, Farm, and Agricultural Museums), The Brigade Dispatch (Journal of the Brigade of the American Revolution), The Continental Soldier (Journal of the Continental Line), Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture, Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association, Military Collector & Historian, Minerva: Quarterly Report on Women and the Military, Muzzleloader Magazine, On Point: The Newsletter of the Army Historical Foundation, and Percussive Notes (Journal of the Percussive Arts Society). He is a regular columnist for the quarterly newsletter Food History News, writing on soldiers’ food, wrote four entries for the Oxford Encyclopedia of American Food and Drink, thirteen entries for the revised Thomson Gale edition of Boatner’s Encyclopedia of the American Revolution, and contributed a chapter to Carol Karels’ The Revolutionary War in Bergen County (2007). A partial article list plus many complete works are available online at www.revwar75.com/library/rees. Selected Civil War monographs posted online at <http://www.libertyrifles.org/research/> Rees was elected Fellow of the Company in April 2009.

excellent resource, *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution*, I matched Van Horn’s narrative to the 20 January 1777 Millstone battle; from that point I was committed to writing about the incident. There have been several attempts at describing the Battle of Millstone, all containing inaccuracies or unsubstantiated claims. This then is my effort to detail one more action of that little known phase of the War of the American Revolution.²

The British 1776 occupation of Manhattan, Long, and Staten Islands, plus several posts in New Jersey, meant that a large force of British and German troops and their animals, spread over a wide area, had to be supported with food and fodder. The search for these necessities proved to be the main catalyst of most actions during the winter of 1777 and the Millstone battle was no exception.

While the New Jersey militia under Brig. Gen. Philemon Dickinson provided the bulk of the American forces at Millstone, the action seems to have been started by two Independent Wyoming Companies under the commands of Capt. Robert Durkee and Samuel Ransom. Whatever their role, the Wyoming men lost at least one man killed in the action. Dressed in hunting shirts and tow trousers, with perhaps a variety of other coats, and carrying both muskets and rifles, the Wyoming men were likely mistaken for solely rifle-armed troops, explaining the claim that Dickinson’s force on 20 January consisted of “a party of Jersey Militia ... of about 400, and about 50 of the Pennsylvania Rifle-Men ...” The Wyoming companies actually belonged to the Connecticut Continental forces, the area they came from, along the Susquehanna River, west of the Delaware River, being territory claimed by both Connecticut and Pennsylvania and inhabited by settlers from the New England state.³

Durkee’s and Ransom’s Independent companies had reached New Jersey near the beginning of January. Shortly after their arrival Gen. George Washington noted he intended that they, in conjunction with the militia, should take the initiative against the Crown forces:

January 14 1777

Dear Sir ... I would have no time lost in drawing the Flour from the Mills on Millstone, least the Enemy should attempt and avail themselves of it. — I would also have [Maj.] Genl. [Israel] Putnam draw his Forage as much as possible from the Vicinity of Brunswick, that the Enemy may thereby be distressed. The inhabitants of that district should be

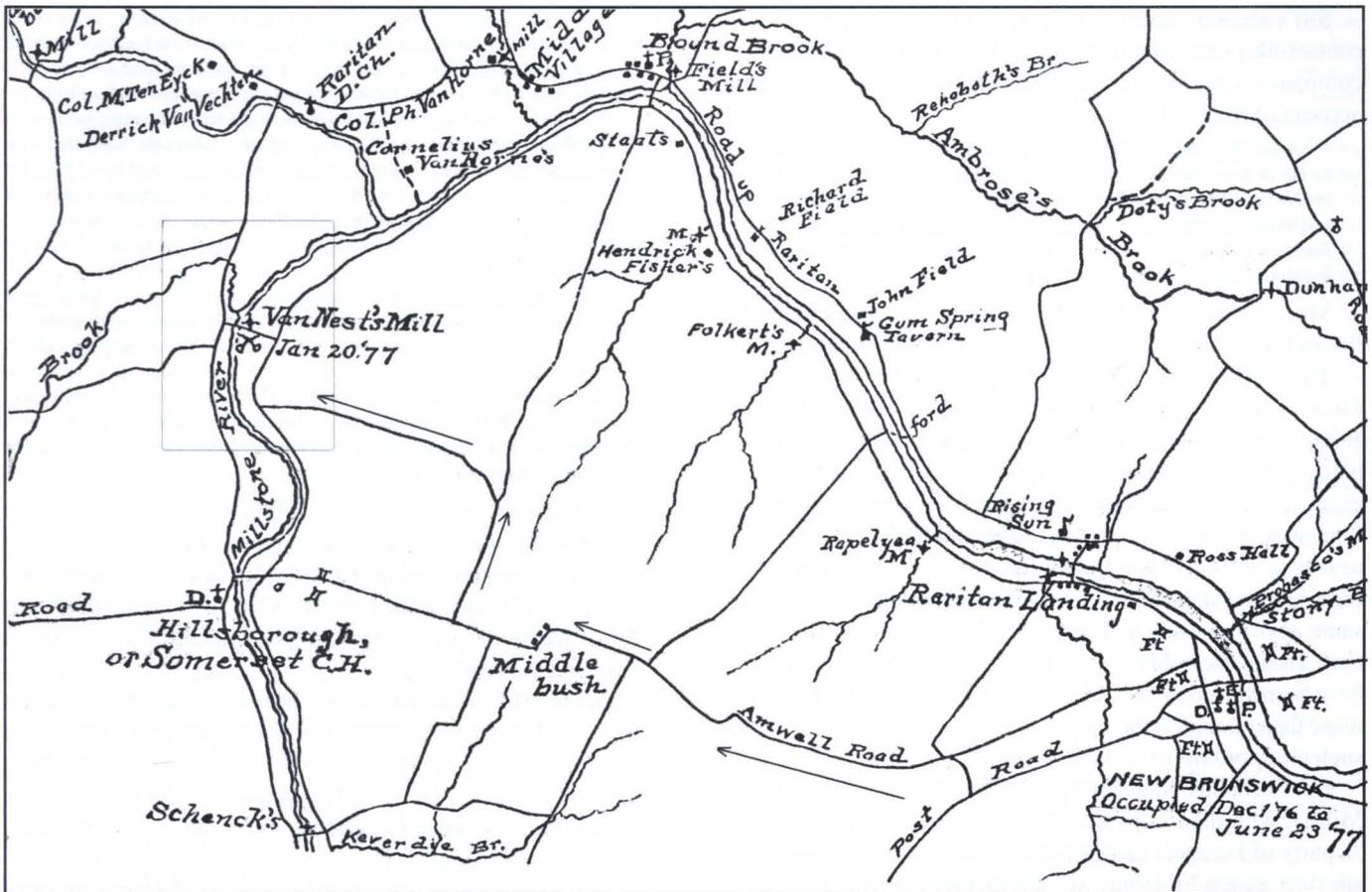


FIG 1. Area of operations for the 20 January 1777 Battle of Millstone. Crown forces occupied New Brunswick, New Jersey, from 1 December 1776 to 22 June 1777.

compelled to bring it in.

The two Companies under Command of Col. Durkee, aided by the militia in that Quarter should be constantly harassing the Enemy about Bound Brook and the Westroad side of Brunswick (Rariton I mean). I have directed [Maj.] Genl. [John] Sullivan to do the like on the quarter next him.⁴

Hessian Col. Carl Emil Kurt von Donop, in describing the Crown forces' situation in mid-January, testified to the effectiveness with which the New Jersey militia and mixed Continental troops carried out their mission. Writing from Brunswick, New Jersey, von Donop noted, "Although we have greatly reduced the number of our horses, it is a bitter task to obtain the necessary forage, for the rebels keep a sharp watch on our foraging. From four to five English miles from here they have left nothing more on the farms that can be delivered to us."⁵

Several Crown participants recorded events at Millstone. Sgt. Thomas Sullivan, 49th Regiment, noted that on the morning of 20 January 1777:

A detachment of 100 British Grenadiers, 100 Light Infantry, 200 Hessian Grenadiers, and a Squadron of Light Dragoons, with 2 three Pounders, under the command of Lieut. Colonel [Robert] Ambercrombie [37th Regiment, commander 1st Light Infantry Battalion], went from Brunswick to Forrage, with all the Waggon's of the Army, about 9 miles from the town, towards the Bridge that was on the Rariton river above Hillsborough. Major [William] Dilkes [49th Regiment, appointed to a

Grenadier battalion] with 100 British Grenadiers [and two field pieces] marched in rear of the Forragers, and took post in the skirts of the wood on their left, having the River on the right.⁶

Col. von Donop noted the Hessians came from his own brigade then composed of the 4th Battalion Grenadiere von Koehler, 1st Battalion Grenadiere von Linsingen, and 3d Battalion Grenadiere von Minnigerode.⁷

The, "Bridge ... on the Rariton river above Hillsborough" Sullivan mentioned was actually a span crossing the Millstone River near Abraham Van Nest's farm and gristmill, the farthest target of the British operation. Crown troops also scoured the adjacent countryside for inhabitants' animals and household edibles. Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby's force almost succeeded in their purpose, with all or most of the expedition's wagons loaded and ready to return to Brunswick.

Unfortunately for them, a detachment of Whig troops was alerted and commenced firing on the foragers and their escorting troops. Pvt. Elisha Sill of Durkee's Independent Company recalled that the:

American force at Millstone [before the battle] consisted of the Company in which he ... served and another company commanded by Captain Ransom ... [on the morning of 20 January 1777] the two companies were attacked by a Detachment of British troops from New Brunswick, and compelled to retreat a short distance when they were reinforced by a brigade commanded (as he thinks) by General Dickinson—[the Independent companies then] returned and renewed the engagement ...

Sill's account indicates that the Wyoming men made first contact. Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam likely thought the Independent companies were part of the militia in writing his 21 January account of the battle:

A foraging Party of the Enemy of about 1000 Men, came yesterday as far as Somerset Court House ... when a small Party of the Jersey militia [the Wyoming companies] posted near that place attacked them, and obliged them to give Way. But this small Body could not oppose the Enemy's Artillery. However they were most seasonably reinforced to the amount of about 400, [and] renewed the attack

Mustering at most 120 to 130 men, Durkee's and Ransom's troops had their hands full, but help was close at hand.⁸

The exact composition of General Dickinson's militia forces at Millstone is hard to determine, but elements of the Hunterdon, Somerset, and Sussex county battalions certainly participated, most serving as components in the cordon encapsulating British-held New Brunswick. While detachments of Somerset, Sussex, and perhaps other militias were stationed nearby, a portion of the Hunterdon men were called up from their homes on extremely short notice, some traveling that same day from as far as Hopewell, about fourteen miles distant. Troops from Middlesex and Morris Counties may also have been present; Essex County's civilian-soldiers likely had more than enough trouble of their own, with Crown forces in such close proximity to their homes.⁹

Lt. Cornelius Van Horn, 1st Regiment Sussex County Militia, with the troops that attacked across the river, noted "a party of Foragers came up the Raritan river to a branch of sd: river called Millstone at Vanests Farm & mill, to where wee the melitia where called early in the day by the roaring of Cannon & small arms," resulting from the attack of the two Wyoming companies, then being pushed back by British forces. Van Horn continued:

... when [we] come within a Quarter of a mile where the action had begun our Colonel [Mark] Thompson on horse at our head road a cross the water brakeing the ice at the shore with his Sword wee his men waided through after him, the water to our waistbands and after crossing a field about 40 rods wide to a road where wee took 36 English Wagons loaded with hay & grain & large english horses the drivers see us coming they left their Teams & cleared out [the wagon drivers being all civilians teamsters], our Collonel left men to take care of the Teams then led us about half a mile where was another road, where the Brititish where on the retreat over / it was through a peice of Timber Land, this suited our men very well as many took trees & made sure shots / the road appeared to be full of red Coats as much as a Quarter of a Mile, they had wagons along takeing their dead & wounded, wee had some men killed, I see three in one place but disremember how many¹⁰

All in all a chilly day to ford a river; a Philadelphia weather record for the 20th shows a temperature of 35 degrees at 8:00 A.M., intermittent clouds and sunshine, with a southwest wind. Six hours later the thermometer registered 42 degrees.¹¹

Samuel Sutphen, a slave serving for his master in the 1st Regiment Somerset County Militia, recalled in an 1834 interview:

In the spring following ... a party of the enemy from N[ew] B[runswick] came out to Van Ess' [Abraham Van Nest's grist] mills on the Millstone. A party of militia under Lieut. Davis was stationed near the two bridges, when an express rider on a black horse from Col. [Frederick] Frelinghuysen [1st Battalion, Somerset County Militia] gave tidings of the enemy at V.

Ess' mills. I piloted Davis' Co[mpany] and as many others as we could assemble to a fording place over the S[outh] branch, and hurried on to the mills. They had plundered the mill of grain and flour, and were on their way back to Brunswick, but had not got out of the lane leading from the mill to the great road. We headed them in the lane. The team laden with the flour was the first we fell in with; the lane, 100 yards, was filled with 4-horse teams. Davis ordered us to fire, and then we shot part of the 1st team, which stopped the whole drove. The drivers left their teams and run. A guard escorting the teams made their escape. We took, as was said, about 40 horses, and all the waggons, about 10, which were all sent off under an escort to Morristown.

A party of Hessians, about 1 company (70), an escort for these teams from Brunswick, was discovered secreted behind a hedge with some 4 or 5 field pieces. They fired upon us and retreated. We followed on a piece, but Lt. Davis ord'r'd us to retreat ... There was a large body of militia out, and Gen'l Dickinson commanded. The firing was principally across the river at the bridge. I was out on this alarm but one day. We mounted guard along the branch above the 2-bridges almost every night; nearly all this winter and spring on guard duty.¹²

In addition to other details, Sutphen notes the number of wagons captured in the mill lane ("about 10"), the number of horses per wagon, and how the militia headed them off. We also learn that not all the captured vehicles were taken in one lot or location, but separate parties gathered them in small parcels in several spots.

William Churchill Houston, who had resigned his captaincy in the 2d Regiment Somerset County Militia in August 1776, joined the "Amwell Militia," from Hunterdon County, New Jersey in January. Houston had been out with his company until 3 January, when he returned to his home in Hopewell:

Staid here in peace till Monday morning [20 January] we then received an Alarm and were ordered to march to Boundbrook, we arrived there between 11 and 12, then hearing that the Enemy was plundering at Millstone, we immediately marched for that place, being joined by a considerable body at Boundbrook we marched on till we passed Raritan Bridge, hearing several Cannon fired, while on the way. After crossing the Bridge, the Battallion I was in was taken off for the left wing, I crossed [the] Millstone, some distance below the Bridge, wading through the water, more than knee deep. We immediately marched towards the road, and fired upon the Baggage Guard, who were retreated that way. They immediately left horses wagons and plunder, and returned with the greatest precipitation. The main body of the Enemy lay just over south of the Bridge. Before we crossed the River below, our main Body began the Attack at the Bridge with one Field piece and made the Enemy give way. They continued their fire upon the Enemy some time. Our wing, after driving the Baggage Guard, pursued on and flanked the Enemy. After a short engagement, finding ourselves greatly overpowered with numbers, we received General Orders to retreat, having had 1 man killed and 2 wounded, and we had taken 2 of the Enemy prisoners. We then retreated back to the River, lest our retreat should be cut off. But finding the Enemy did not pursue, we rallied again, with as many of our men as we could collect, and marched on towards the Enemy the second time; but when we came in sight of them, they got possession of an eminence in the End of a clear Field, with one or more Field pieces and poured down their Grape shot upon us briskly. Then finding it in vain to attack them with our little Body, under so great a disadvantage, we immediately retreated back and most of our men went over the River up into a clear field, to where our main Body had by this time collected¹³

It is uncertain which Crown troops were posted on the "eminence" Houston mentions. Sergeant Sullivan, with the British grenadiers, tells of several artillery actions during the incursion:

There were about 4000 of the Rebels that mustered out of the woods, that attacked ye. front of the Waggon line, and drove off 24 of the English

Waggons with four horses in each, before the Grenadiers could come up. Major Dilkes with his party engaged them with two Field Pieces, and kept a continual fire up, untill they expended all their Ammunition, at the rate of 60 Rounds per man. Then they retreated to the second Party of Grenadiers from whom they got more Ammunition.

During this interval, the Hessian Grenadiers with their two Pieces of Cannon attacked ye. Enemy upon their Flank, and kept them in continual Play, until the British Grenadiers and Light Infantry joined them. The engagement began very hot, but with their united force & usual bravery they repulsed the Enemy, driving them across the Bridge which they defended for some time.

The Forragers threw their forrage away mostly, and made the best of their way home. Our loss in that action did not exceed 12 men killed or wounded.¹⁴

Colonel von Donop continued his narrative of the affair:

Hardly had they loaded up and were about to set out on their return when there came a troop of rebels over the Raritan from Bound Brook and took away the wagons from the English, who were posted on the flank. At different places elsewhere, they made an attack at the same time, but without succeeding so well. The detachment from my brigade did not make a similar mistake (they were commanded by Captain [Johann] Neumann) but on the contrary drove off the enemy whenever they were attacked. Two of the men were wounded, namely a grenadier of Captain [Ludwig Friedrich] von Stanford's Company of the von Linsing Battalion, and a grenadier of Captain [Georg] Hohenstein's Company of the Koehler Battalion. To all appearances the first is not in danger.

All our horses and wagons came back loaded but on the other hand, 21 wagons and 81 horses of the English Commissary were left in the lurch. Thus once more a serious misfortune has befallen us, for at this time we were already short of means of transportation. My detachment also brought back four rebel prisoners.¹⁵

Given the lay of the land, with the river to the north and east of Van Nest's Mill, and from the several accounts from both sides, it seems the British light infantry defended the Millstone Bridge, while Major Dilke's grenadiers covered the rear facing south ("having the River on the right"). The two hundred Hessian grenadiers likely remained in the center as a reserve force. All these troops would have been barely sufficient as a covering party, and it is likely a small detachment, separate from the troops listed, was assigned to escort and load the wagons. In any case the vehicles assigned the Hessians either loaded and departed first, or were foraging further from the river or the points forded by the militia, since few, if any, were captured.

Several American reports written immediately after the Millstone action provide additional information on the 20 January affair, including goods taken and troop losses. Only one of these accounts came from an eyewitness, and all varied, some greatly. Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam notified the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, the day after the battle from Princeton:

Gentlemen ... A foraging Party of the Enemy of about 1000 Men, came yesterday as far as Somerset Court House with 100 Waggons & 4 field Pieces. They collected 6 or 700 Head of Cattle, had plundered Fowls, Hams, Butter, Cheese, &c., &c., when a small Party of the Jersey militia posted near that place attacked them, and obliged them to give Way. But this small Body could not oppose the Enemy's Artillery. However they were most seasonably reinforced to the amount of about 400, renewed the attack, put them to flight, retook the whole of their Plunder, with about 50 Waggons & 100 horses, many of them English, and eight Prisoners. We had three men killed and several Wounded. The Enemy left no dead.¹⁶

On the 22d, General Washington wrote President John Hancock:

I have the pleasure to inform you, that General Dickinson, with about 400 Militia, has defeated a foraging Party of the Enemy of an equal number, and has taken forty Waggons, and upwards of an hundred Horses, most of them of the English draft Breed, with a great number of Sheep and Cattle, which they had collected. The Enemy retreated with so much precipitation, that General Dickinson had only an opportunity of making nine prisoners, they were observed to carry off a good many dead and wounded in light Waggons. This Action happened near Somerset Court House, on Millstone River. Genl. Dickinsons behaviour reflects the highest honour upon him, for tho his Troops were all raw, he lead them thro the River, middle deep, and gave the Enemy so Severe a charge, that, although supported by three field pieces, they gave way and left their Convoy.¹⁷

General Dickinson sent a very brief account to Col. John Neilson, 2d Regiment Middlesex County militia, dated Raritan, New Jersey, 23 January:

I have the pleasure to inform you that on Monday last with about 450 men chiefly our militia I attacked a foraging party near V. Nest Mills consisting of 500 men with 2 field pieces, which we routed after an engagement of twenty minutes and brought off 107 horses, 49 wagons, 115 cattle, 70 sheep, 40 barrels of flour – 106 bags and many other things ...¹⁸

This article from the 29 January 1777 *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly-Advertiser* gives relatively accurate troop numbers and closely tallies with the captures listed by Philemon Dickinson:

Extract of a letter from Raritan, Jan. '23. 'Last Monday a party of Jersey Militia, consisting of about 400, and about 50 of the Pennsylvania Rifle-Men [in fact the two Wyoming companies], marched to attack a body of the enemy, consisting of about 600, who were posted at a bridge at Millstone river, near Abraham Vannest's mill, which is two miles from Somerset Court House. In order more effectually to prevent our men from crossing, the enemy had placed three field pieces on a hill, about 50 yards from the bridge, when our men found it impossible to cross there, they went down the river, broke through the ice, waded across the river up to their middles, flanked the enemy, routed them, and took 43 baggage waggons, 104 horses, 115 head of cattle, and about 60 or 70 sheep – We lost 4 or 5 men. – We took 12 prisoners, and from the best accounts the enemy had about 24 or 25 killed and wounded. A man who came from Brunswick this afternoon says, the enemy allow that they lost 35 or 36 men, but say the rebels lost 300. – There were not more than 400 of our men crossed the river: The enemy report that they were attacked by 3000 of general Washington's troops there, and were absolutely certain they were not Militia, they were sure that no Militia would fight in that way. ... They (the enemy) do not pretend to send as a foraging party less than 500 or 600 men. The Militia here are in high spirits, and I hope they will continue so.¹⁹

Casualties at Millstone are difficult to determine with any accuracy. Howard Peckham in *Toll of Independence* cites four Americans killed, with nine captured British plus an unknown number of Crown troops killed and wounded. Putnam noted three Americans killed and "several wounded," plus eight British soldiers captured. Historian Charles Miner noted in the 1840s, "Several were killed, and a greater number wounded. Among the former, [Justice] Porter ... of Ransom's company, was cut down by a cannon ball." The 23 January *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly-Advertiser* account claimed the British lost twelve captured plus "24 or 25 killed or wounded," while Continental forces "lost 4 or 5 men." Von Donop stated two Hessians were wounded, and his forces took "four rebel prisoners," while British Sergeant Sullivan wrote, "Our loss ... did not exceed 12 men killed or wounded." Two of the three

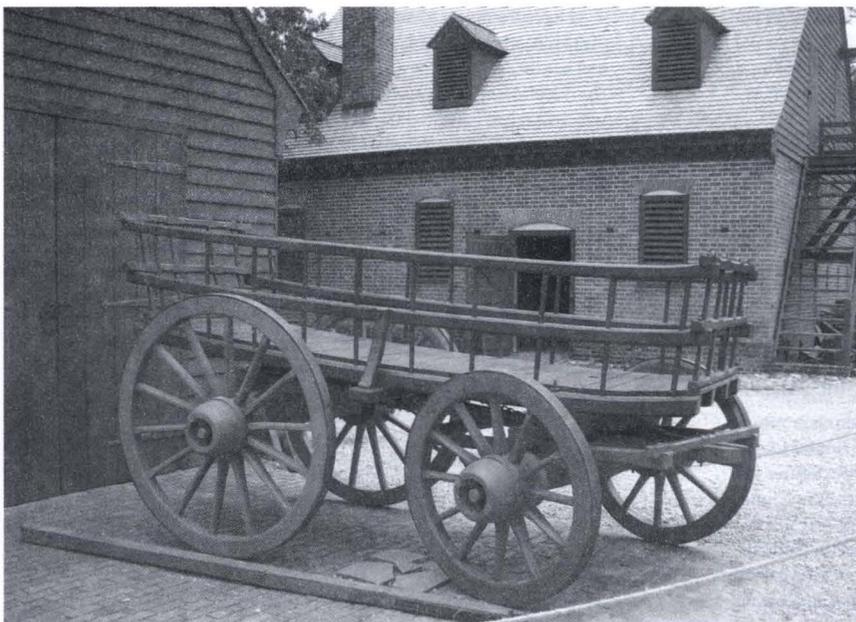


FIG 2. The “large English” wagons used by the British army at the time of the Millstone battle were likely similar in size and style to English carrier’s wagons of the period. This example, built and constructed by the Colonial Williamsburg wheelwright shop, and completed in late 2007, weighs approximately 2,500 pounds, compared to the 1,300 pounds recorded for the military vehicles. Photo courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg wheelwright shop.

who, when attacked, run back as fast as they will approach you again, who continuously find space to hide? Never have I seen these maneuvers carried out better than by the American militia, especially that of the province of Jersey. If you were forced to retreat through these people you could be certain of having them constantly around you.²³

A curious, perhaps important, sidelight of the Millstone action is the several mentions of British wagons and draft horses taken. British Lieutenant General Robertson likely gave the most accurate accounting when he noted, “42 Waggon were left behind.” An article in the 23

militiamen who left accounts noted troop losses: Cornelius Van Horn recalled “wee had some men killed, I see three in one place but disremember how many ...,” while William Houston told of his unit having “1 man killed and 2 wounded, and we had taken 2 of the Enemy prisoners.”²⁰

The Millstone battle cost the British much-needed food, horses, and wagons, but Crown commanders learned from the experience and promptly sent out two more parties the following day. Lt. Gen. Archibald Robertson recorded Abercromby’s foraging expedition, as well as operations on the 21st:

20th [January 1777] Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby with 500 men [200 British, 200 Hessians, and the remaining 100 troops serving as foragers] went on a foraging party towards Hillsborough. Part of this Corps was attacked by the Rebels, which occasion’d such disorder Amongst the Waggon Drivers that 42 Waggon were left behind.

21st [Brig. Gen.] Sir William Erskine went out the same route with 1,000 men. We return’d with our forage without any Molestation. Part of the Guards that went towards Boundbrook had a little Cannonading. They had 2 or 3 men wounded.²¹

Colonel von Donop gave more details of events on the 21st:

The next day [after Millstone], under orders of Quartermaster General Erskine, three battalions were sent as escort for the foragers. The Minnigerode Battalion of my brigade went with them. It is true that the rebels showed themselves in the distance but they attempted nothing. The English Guards Battalion which was foraging at the same time on the other side of the Raritan towards Bound Brook were attacked by them with two cannon and had two wounded.²²

And so it continued through the winter and early spring of 1777, until the weather and other conditions allowed for larger troop movements with higher stakes.

Millstone was the first notable event in a series of actions and campaigns in which the New Jersey militia performed quite well. After the war Hessian Capt. Johann Ewald wrote of the American militia he faced:

What can you do to those small bands who have learned to fight separate, who know how to use any molehill for their protection, and

January 1777 *Pennsylvania Evening Post* stated the Americans “took near six hundred head of cattle, upwards of fifty waggons, and a number of English horses, of the dray breed, which were so excessively emaciated that they were scarce able to walk.”²⁴ Charles Miner’s 1845 *History of Wyoming* covers the Independent Companies and their wartime service, using information gleaned from people who had participated in the events. Miner notes of the Millstone combat and the vehicles captured there:

The Mill Stone victory was, to their latest day, a darling theme with the old soldiers. By the unanimous declaration of those engaged, the attack was impetuous and well sustained. An order to charge was responded to with enthusiasm ... the enemy retired in confusion, leaving to the victors a handsome booty, consisting of 47 wagons, and more than an 100 horses. Each man shared several dollars of prize money, and Captain Ransom sent one of the wagons to his farm, at Wyoming, as a trophy. Nor was the victory achieved without loss. Several were killed, and a greater number wounded. Among the former, Porter, the gallant young fellow, the pride of Ransom’s company, was cut down by a cannon ball.²⁵

Militia Lt. Cornelius Van Horn recounted taking “36 English Wagons loaded with hay & grain & [pulled by] large english horses,” while the commander-in-chief himself noted the capture of “forty Waggon, and upwards of an hundred Horses, most of them of the English draft Breed ...”²⁶

According to Edward Curtis’s *The British Army in the American Revolution*, in spring 1776 “three hundred four-horse wagons were sent to the forces under Howe and Carleton. These were built under the directions of the Ordnance board by a Mr. Fitzherbert at a contract price of £31: 11: 6 apiece [most likely the large English wagons].” In all, 523 wagons were used by the British army between 25 December 1776 and 31 March 1777, that number increasing to 763 from April to June 1777, and to 1,376 in the three months after that. The loss at Millstone was hardly insignificant, especially considering the crucial need for food and forage, but quickly made up by Crown forces.²⁷

Interestingly, the large English wagons were a matter of some contention within the British army. Francis Rush Clark, "Inspector and Superintendent of His Majesty's Provision Train of Wagons and Horses," wrote extensively on transport problems in 1776 and 1777, stating, "The English Waggons, sent over for the use of the Army, were undoubtedly much heavier, than was either necessary or proper. It furnish'd a plausible excuse for not using them" Clark's recital of deficiencies in the hired wagons used as replacements seems to highlight the positive attributes of the English wagons: "Orders were given, to hire Country Waggons in preference ... Nothing of this sort could be constructed more unfit for an Army. They are so slight, as to be perpetually in want of repair. The Harness is made of slight leather & ropes, instead of Chains. These were taken promiscuously from the Farmers on Long Island & Staten Island, & some from the Jerseys. Many of them in a wretch'd Condition, & none having any Cover, to protect their Loading."²⁸

The "large English" wagon was likely similar in size to the "Carrier's wagon" commonly used in Great Britain during the period of the American Revolution. Like Clark's "large English," carrier's wagons were noted to be of "great weight." Both were probably the type known as a box wagon, with large wheels, and able to carry heavy loads over rough road surfaces, though Superintendent Clark still deemed them unsuited for use in America.²⁹ Francis Clark compiled a comparative listing of the different vehicles, used by the British army in America:

"The Weight of the Waggons of the Army"
[hundredweight]

The large English	13: 3:
The Philadelphia [two examples]	13: 3: 11
&	13: 2: _
The Dutch or American [four examples]	7. _ . _
	7. 2. _ .
	8. _ . _ .
	8. _ . _ .
The English reduced	8. 2. _ .
A new Waggon with Rope Sides & Bottom, runs light & handy	7. _ . _ .

NB This Waggon has been greatly approved by all that have seen it, as the best & most fit for American Service.³⁰

Wheelwright John Boag and Apprentice Andrew De Lisle provide details of an English carrier's wagon completed in late 2007 by the Colonial Williamsburg Wheelwright Shop, which gives some idea of British Army large English wagons' dimensions:

Bed length	11 feet 4 inches
Bed Length at top rail height	11 feet 11¼ inches
Width	3 feet 9¼ inches
Height of sides	2 feet ¾ inches ³¹

The weight of the large English wagons limited or precluded off-road travel, likely explaining the ease of their capture at Millstone, and that operation may have contributed to their being sidelined in favor of lighter vehicles. In any case Su-

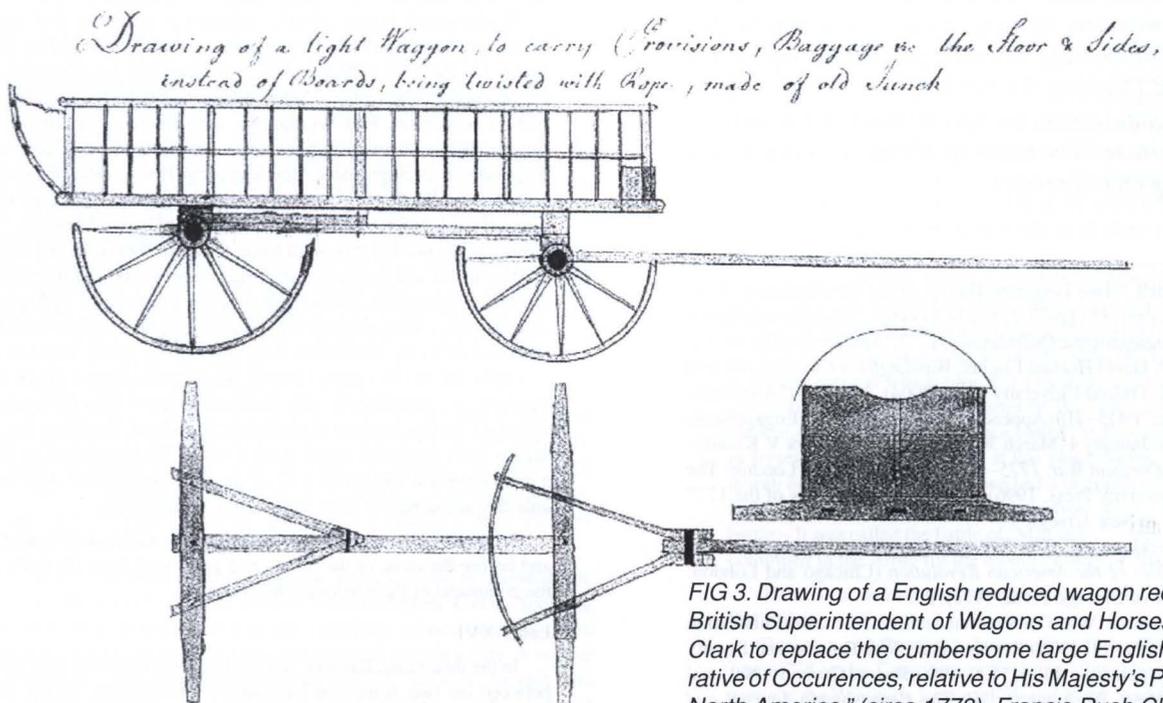


FIG 3. Drawing of a English reduced wagon recommended by British Superintendent of Wagons and Horses Francis Rush Clark to replace the cumbersome large English wagons. "Narrative of Occurrences, relative to His Majesty's Provision Train in North America," (circa 1778), Francis Rush Clark Papers (no. 2338), Sol Feinstone Collection, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA. Courtesy of the David Library of the American Revolution.

perintendent Clark was intent on lessening the weight and enhancing the durability of all wagons. One of his solutions was, "The English reduced" wagon, a modification of the "large English." He was:

Greatly distress'd at seeing the English Waggons & Stores, sent over at a considerable expence, remain unemployed ... With this view, I had several of the Waggons reconstructed, by which means I reduced the Weight from thirteen hundred & a half, to Eight hundred & a half, This made them very little heavier than the Country Waggons, & in every respect better & more compleat, besides the advantage of Covers, to protect the bread & baggage & screen the sick & Wounded.

A "new Waggon," designed by Clark, was proposed for adoption by the British army, and, not one to wait complacently while the new wagon was being considered, he had, "One of the English Waggons ... alter'd & set up upon the same principle, & reduced in Weight from 1350 lb to 900 lb, & made up very serviceable, & with some still lighter." In this manner the large English wagons, minus those captured at Millstone, were relegated to special uses or converted to "English reduced" wagons.³²

Finally, it is intriguing to think of Captain Ransom's captured English wagon sitting at his Wyoming Valley home, far from its place of origin and being used for peaceful purpose. Unfortunately, it was likely destroyed along with many other goods, hopes, and dreams in the July 1778 attack on the valley.³³

My thanks to the following people who contributed to this work: Sean Joyce apprised me of Thomas Sullivan's account of the battle; Donald Londahl-Smidt told me of the von Donop letter and Lidgerwood transcriptions; Harry Stephens provided rosters and other valuable information on the Wyoming Independent Companies; John Boag and Andrew De Lisle kindly provided information on the English carrier's wagon built by the Colonial Williamsburg wheelwright shop (completed in late 2007). And Thaddeus Weaver who gave his usual good advice and insightful comments. Special thanks to Glenn Valis, whose online article "The Battle of Millstone" I discovered after embarking on this project.

Notes

1. Jared C. Lobbell, "Two Forgotten Battles of the Revolutionary War," *New Jersey History*, 85 (1967): 225–234; Lobbell, "Six Generals Gather Forage: The Engagement at Quibbletown, 1777," *New Jersey History*, 102 (1984): 35–49; David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 346–362 ("Aftermath: The Forage War"), 415–418 (Appendix T, "The Forage War: Engagements and Casualties, January 4–March 30, 1777"); see also Mark V. Kwasny, *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783* (Kent, Ohio and London: The Kent State University Press, 1996), 113–117 (an overview of the 1777 "Forage War" in New Jersey).
2. Howard H. Peckham, ed., *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 29.
3. Elisha Sill deposition (W6057) (National Archives Microfilm Publication M804, 2,670 rolls, roll 2395) Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900, Record Group 15, National Archives Building, Washington, DC; *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly-Advertiser*, 29 January 1777; William S. Stryker, ed., "Extracts from American Newspapers, vol. I. 1776–1777," *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, Second Series,

(Trenton: John L. Murphy Publishing Co., NJ, 1901), 275–276. Descriptions of deserters from the Wyoming Companies show one man wearing a white frock (possibly a hunting shirt) and trousers and another with a "whitish jacket," coarse shirt, and tow trousers, both from Capt. Samuel Ransom's company. Another deserter notice has come to my attention, but the source is unverified: from researcher Harry Stephens, "Jan 11 1777 Parshall Terry a private in Durkee's company deserted and was described as wearing a white hunting frock. ... Probate records indicate that [of the men in the Wyoming Independent Companies] some had muskets, rifles, cartridge boxes and powder horns in their property, which would indicate a mixture of rifles and muskets. As the rifles fell in disrepair muskets replaced them."

Charles Miner's *History of Wyoming in a Series of Letters from Charles Miner to his son William Penn Miner, Esq.* (Philadelphia: J. Crissy, Publisher, 1845), letters XV and XVI (World Wide Web, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~srgp/books/wyomtoc.htm>) details the history of the Wyoming Companies as follows:

Letter XV.

Friday, Aug. 23, 1776. – Resolved, that two companies on the Continental establishment, be raised in the town of Westmoreland, and stationed in proper places for the defense of the inhabitants of said town, and parts adjacent, till further order of Congress; the commissioned officers of the said two companies, to be immediately appointed by Congress.

Aug. 26. – Congress proceeded to the elections of sundry officers, when Robert Durkee and Samuel Ransom were elected captains of the two companies ordered to be raised in the town of Westmoreland, James Wells, and Perrin Ross, 1st Lieutenants; Asabel Buck, and Simon Spalding, 2nd lieutenants; Herman Swift and Matthias Hollenback, ensigns of said companies.

Early in September, information was received of the Resolution of Congress, and rendezvous for the enlistment of men on the terms prescribed, were opened by Capt. Durkee on the east, and Captain Ransom on the west side of the river. As the troops raised were by the express pledge of Congress, 'to be stationed in proper places for the defense of the inhabitants,' while, of course, the existing danger should continue, the able-bodied men flocked to the standard raised, and in less than 60 days, both companies were full, numbering about 84 in each.

Washington's Army, greatly impaired in numbers and spirit, 'by their expulsion from Long Island, were now sorely pressed by General Howe. On the 15th of September, New York was taken possession of by the enemy. The battle at White Plains had been fought, and on the 16th of November, Fort Washington surrendered to the British arms, General Howe claiming to have taken 2500 prisoners. Gloom—almost despondence—overspread the American camp. Howe pushed his advantage with energy. Washington was compelled to retreat, from post to post, through the Jerseys. "The commander in chief," says Marshall, "found himself at the head of this small force, less than 3000 soldiers, dispirited by their losses and fatigues, retreating, almost naked and barefooted, in the cold of November and December, before a numerous, well appointed and victorious Army, through a desponding country, much more disposed to obtain safety by submission than to seek it by manly resistance."

On the 8th of December, General Washington crossed the Delaware, and Congress immediately took measures to retire from Philadelphia to Baltimore. At this moment of peril, they "Resolved, Thursday Dec. 12th, that the two companies raised in the town of Westmoreland, be ordered to join General Washington, with all possible expedition." And the very same day adjourned to meet on the 20th, at Baltimore.

Promptly obeying the order, the two companies hastened their march, and before the close of the month and year, were upon the lines, under the command of their beloved Washington.

Letter XVI.

In the meantime, Ransom and Durkee were stationed near the lines, between the two armies, in New Jersey; Washington, by his brilliant achievements at Trenton and Princeton, having wrested the western portion of the state from the hands of the enemy. They were termed "the two Independent Companies of Westmoreland," and kept from being incorporated with any corps or regiment, the intention being, it is not

doubted, to order without unnecessary delay, their return to the duty for which they had been enlisted.

After joining the Army, the first time they were under fire, was on the 20th of January 1777, at the affair, or battle, at Millstone, one of the most gallant and successful actions, considering the numbers engaged, that was fought during the war.

"When General Washington to Army was hutted near Moorestown," says Rogers, "and laboring under the fatal malady, the smallpox, a line of posts was formed along the Millstone River, in the direction of Princeton. One of these, established at Somerset Courthouse, was occupied by General Dickinson, with a few hundred men, (consisting of Durkee and Ransom's independent companies, from Wyoming, mustering about 160, and 300 militia.) not very distant, and on the opposite bank of the stream, stood a mill, in which a considerable quantity of flour had been collected for the use of our troops. At this time Lord Cornwallis lay at Brunswick, and having received information of this depot, immediately dispatched a large foraging party, amounting to about 400 men, and upwards of 40 wagons, drawn by imported horses, of the English draft-breed, for the purpose of taking possession of it. The British troops arrived at the mill early in the morning, and having loaded the wagons with flour, were about to march on their return, when General Dickinson, with an inferior force, which he led through the river, middle deep, attacked them with so much spirit and effect that they fled, abandoning the whole of their plunder."

The Mill Stone victory was, to their latest day, a darling theme with the old soldiers. By the unanimous declaration of those engaged, the attack was impetuous and well sustained. An order to charge was responded to with enthusiasm. Nor did the British yield the ground without a manly, though ineffectual resistance, the enemy retired in confusion, leaving to the victors a handsome booty, consisting of 47 wagons, and more than an 100 horses. Each man shared several dollars of prize money, and Captain Ransom sent one of the wagons to his farm, at Wyoming, as a trophy. Nor was the victory achieved without loss. Several were killed, and a greater number wounded. Among the former, Porter, he gallant young fellow, the pride of Ransom's company, was cut down by a cannon ball. ...

Gen. Lincoln's letter and Col. Butler's reply, will show the position of the companies, in May. "Bound Brook, May 27th, 1777. Sir,—it is his Excellency, General Washington's orders, that you march immediately with the three detachments from the Connecticut regiments, and the two companies of Wyoming men, to Chatham, there to take General Stephens orders, if there—if not, you will send to headquarters for directions. I am your humble servant, B. Lincoln."

"Chatham, May 29th, 1777. Pursuant to orders received from your Excellency, by the hand of Major Gen. Lincoln, I have marched with the detachments from the Connecticut Regiment, and a few of the Westmoreland independent companies, and expect more of them will join me this day, and now encamped upon the heights between Chatham and Springfield. I find General Stephens has gone from this place, and no orders can be obtained from him, as I expected. My quartermaster waits on your Excellency, by my directions, to know your Excellency's pleasure concerning my detachment.

"Many soldiers in the independent companies have received no clothes since they entered the service, and are almost naked. Many of their arms are useless, and some of them lost. They are also destitute of tents, and every kind of camp equipage. I hope your Excellency will give special directions how they are to be supplied with those articles. I am, with the greatest esteem and, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant ... Z. Butler."

The companies were at Bound Brook, at Brandywine, at Germantown, and at Mud Fort. At that terrible bombardment, Lieut. Spalding commanded a detachment of Ransom's company. Almost every shot from the British tore through the Fort, and men fell on every side. A soldier of Spalding's throw himself fled on the ground, "nobody" he said "can stand this!" "Get out, my good fellow," said Spalding, coolly, "I should hate to have to run you through—you can stand it, if I can;" and the man returned cheerfully to his duty. Constant Mathewson, who was with Spalding, a brave man an excellent soldier, a fine intelligent fellow, was

blown to pieces by a cannon ball. Sickness carried off several. The two brothers, Sawyers, died of camp distemper. Porter was killed—Spencer and Gaylord died; and three or four were reported as discharged or missing. The Company of Ransom, in October 1777, mustered still 62.

At the time of his 5 October 1832 pension deposition veteran Elisha Sill was 71 years old and residing in "Mindson," Hartford County, Connecticut. Before his testimony he stated that he enlisted in September or October 1776 under Capt. Robert Durkee and Lieut. James Wells, "that when he entered the service, he resided in Wyoming in the County of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania and was marched from Wyoming to a place called Millstone in the County of Somerset and State of New Jersey. The American force at Millstone consisted of the Company in which he the deponent served and another company commanded by Captain Ransom and were both called & known by the name of 'the two Wyoming companies.' In about two months after their arrival at Millstone the two companies were attacked by a Detachment of British troops from New Brunswick, and compelled to retreat a short distance when they were reinforced by a brigade commanded (as he thinks) by General Dickinson—returned and renewed the engagement & drove the British back to Brunswick & captured their loaded baggage Waggon's.

Shortly after the battle at Millstone both companies with the brigade under General Dickinson marched to a place called Boundbrook in said County of Somerset, and in two or 3 weeks after their arrival were inoculated for the smallpox. At this place they were attacked by a British force detached from Brunswick and after a severe engagement forced to retreat, to avoid being surrounded and taken prisoners. The British were vastly superior in numbers, and after plundering the village returned to their quarters at Brunswick and the American troops resumed their former position at Boundbrook the same evening. In a few weeks after this engagement the troops were marched to Morristown in said state of New Jersey, and there remained until the Arrival of the Army under General Washington about the fall of the year 1777 [this seems the only corroborated instance where Sill confuses events and dates]—About this time he the deponent was taken sick and confined to his bed with a disease Called the 'Camp distemper'; which completely prostrated his strength, and rendered him Intirely unfit for military duty—under these circumstances, he was obliged to ask for a furlough & return home to his fathers family at Wyoming and was under the care of a physician for nearly six months confined with a hard fever; About May or June 1778 Colonel Zebulon Butler returned from the Army, to his family at Wyoming and gave the deponent a written discharge ... The deponent further states, that one Doctor Dyer was surgeon to the two Wyoming Companies, and that he the deponent assisted the said Dyer in the capacity of surgeons mate, for a period of nine months, having been selected from his Company for that purpose—and at the same time answered to the call of the muster roll and stood ready at all times to perform his duty as a private soldier ... "

John Cary, another private in Durkee's company, gave a supporting deposition on 4 September 1832: "John Cary aged seventy six years residing in Wilkes barre Luzern County Pennsylvania being duly sworn ... says, that he knew Elisha Sill alias Elisha W. Sill in the year 1776 at Wilkes barre at which time this Deponent enlisted with said Sill in one of the Independent Companys of Wyoming commanded by Capt Durkee—and marched to a place called 'Mill stone' on Raritan River in Jersey—We were stationed at this place during the winter—In the month of January or February we had a skirmish with the British—and took a number of waggon's and horses from them—Mr Sill was in that battle—It was called the battle of 'Mill stone'—I recollect that said Sill continued in the Army till the month of May or June [1777] ... "

There is a second supporting deposition by George Ransom in Sill's file.

Durkee's and Ransom's Independent Companies were merged in June 1778 under Capt. Simon Spalding (Spaulding), and served as to garrison the Wyoming forts in 1779 and 1780. Spalding's company was disbanded in January 1781 and the men and officers assigned to the 1st Connecticut Regiment.

Elisha Sill deposition (W6057), roll 2395, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files; Fred Anderson Berg,

Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units: Battalions, Regiments and Independent Corps (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1972), 113.

4. Washington to Joseph Reed, 14 January 1777, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1932), 7: 14–16; complete text as follows:

“Dear Sir: I very much approve of your visiting Genl. Putnam, as I cannot acc’t for his remaining at Crosswicks instead of removing to Princeton, as I have desired in several of my Letters.

“I would have him keep nothing at Princeton (except two or three days’ provisions) but what can be moved off at an hour’s warning; in that case if good Scouting Parties are kept constantly out, no possible damage can happen to the Troops, under his Command, who are to retreat, in case they are compelled to leave Princeton, towards the mountains, so as to form a junction with the army under my immediate Command. This will serve as a direction to him in removing the stores if any yet remain at Princeton.

“I would have no time lost in drawing the Flour from the Mills on Millstone, least the Enemy should attempt and avail themselves of it. — I would also have Genl. Putnam draw his Forage as much as possible from the Vicinity of Brunswick, that the Enemy may thereby be distressed. The inhabitants of that district should be compelled to bring it in.

“The two Companies under Command of Col. Durkee, aided by the militia in that Quarter should be constantly harassing the Enemy about Bound Brook and the Westroad side of Brunswick (Rariton I mean). I have directed Genl. Sullivan to do the like on the quarter next him.

“Particular attention should be paid to the Surgeon sent by Lord Cornwallis (by my consent) to take charge of their wounded at Princeton. He will more than probably convey a true account of your numbers (which ought to be a good deal magnified) at Princeton; and give other useful knowledge of your situation. If therefore, the wounded are in a condition to remove, would it not be best to send them to Brunswick with the Surgeon? If any of them or their attendants, have been considered, and properly were Prisoners to us, for an equal number to be demanded in lieu.

“I have inclosed Genl. Howe a copy of Mr. Yates’s declaration, and have remonstrated sharply on the treatment of our Prisoners. What have you done with the Negro you apprehended? The waggon with the ammunition and watch coats, I am obliged to you for taking care of. It is not yet arrived. In what manner did Col. [Abraham] Quick’s [Somerset] militia leave the Rangers? In the field? — run away? If so, they ought to be punished, or sham’d.

“I recollect of my approving of [New Jersey militia Brig. Gen. William] Wind[s] waylaying of the Roads between Brunswick and Amboy. — I must beg the favor of Colo. [Cornelius] Cox [Assistant Deputy Quartermaster General], in your absence, to continue the pursuit after Intelligence. — Would it not be well for the Militia under Colo. Malcom to unite with the Rangers for the purpose of keeping out constant scouts to annoy and harass the Enemy in manner before mentioned? I ask for information, as I would not suffer a man to stir beyond their Lines, nor suffer them to have the least Intercourse with the Country. I am, &c.”

Roster of Capt. Robert Durkee’s Wyoming Independent Company

Capt. Robert Durkee, commissioned 26 August 1776; resigned May–June, 1778; killed in Wyoming Valley Massacre, 3 July 1778. Brother of Col. John Durkee, 4th Connecticut Regiment.

1st Lt. James Wells, commissioned 26 August 1776; killed 3 July 1778.

2d Lt. Asahel Buck, commissioned 26 August 1776; killed by the Indians, 10 February 1779.

Ensign Heman Swift, commissioned 26 August 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers And Privates

(From original roll in the New Hampshire Archives.)

(Arranged as follows; name, height, and remarks.)

Sergeants

Solomon Johnson, 31, 6’2”, employed by the Commissary.

Samuel Cole, 43, 6’, reported killed at Wyoming, 3 July 1778.

Thomas McClure, 36, 5’10”, 11 July 1777.

Ebenezer Skinner, 45, 5’6”, discharged 8 January 1778.

Corporals

Perigrene Gardner, 37, 5’ 11”.

Stephen Preston, 27, 5’11”.

(Name illegible), 16, 5’3”.

Privates

Benjamin Clark, 47, 5’6”, discharged 5 July (year uncertain).

John Cary, 16, 5’2”, deceased 22 July (year uncertain).

Jesse Coleman, 37, 5’9”, deceased 5 September (year uncertain).

William Cornelius, 27, 6’, employed by the Commissary, 11 July (year uncertain).

Jeremiah Coleman (Jr.), 19, 5’7”

William Davidson, 17, 5’5”

Douglass Davidson

William Dunn (Jr.), 26, 5’10”

reported killed at Wyoming, 3 July 1778.

Daniel Denton, 20, 6’1” reported killed at Wyoming, 3 July 1778.

Josiah Dewey, 22, 5’

Samuel Ensign, 16, 5’3”

Nathaniel Evans, 20, 5’10”, died 26 October 1777.

John Foster, 27, 5’6”, died 1 January 1778.

Frederick Follet, 30, 5’11”

James Frisby, 30, 6’

James Frisby, Jr., 19, 5’10”

Nathaniel Frie, 38, 5’6”, died 10 February 1777.

James Gould, 31, 5’10”

Titus Garret, 31, 5’10”

Elisha Garret, 36, 5’11”

Mumford Gardner, 16, 5’7”, died 12 June 1777.

John Hutchinson, 19, 5’10”

Azel Hide, 25, 6’

Abraham Hemester, 25, 5’10”, deserted 2 March 1777.

Thomas Hill, 30, 5’6”, deserted 17 April 1777.

Israel Harding, 20, 5’9”

(Illegible), 37, 5’9”

Stephen Harding, 37, 5’10”

John Holsted, 19, 5’10”

Richard Holsted, 17, 5’7”, deserted 1 September 1777.

Henry Harding, 20, 5’9”

Oliver Harding, 20, 5’9”

Benjamin Harvey, 42, 6’, deserted 18 March (year uncertain).

Asabel Jeroms, 31, 5’9”, died 31 July 1777.

Job Kelly, 26, 5’7”, died 26 October 1777.

Stephen Munson, 18, 5’5”, discharged 24 May 1778.

Seth Marvin, 43, 5’10”, deserted 18 August 1777.

Martin Nelson, 28, 5’6”, deserted 9 April (year uncertain).

Thomas Porter, 46, 5’4”, discharged 8 July (year uncertain).

Aron Perkins, (page torn), 5’2”,

discharged 10 July (year uncertain).

Aron Perkins (Jr.), (page torn), 5’7”, died 6 July 1777.

Stephen Pettibone, 17, 5’3”

Justice Porter, 21, 5’7”, killed 20 January 1777.

Ashbel Robinson, 22, 5’10”, died 25 September 1777.

Ebenezer Phillips, 36, 5’10”, discharged July 1777.

Shadrack Sill, 18, 5’6”

Elisha Sill, 16, 5’3”

Fra Stevens, 17, 5’6”

John Swift, 16, 5’9”

Robert Sharer, 36, 5’9”, discharged 5 July 1777.

Isaac Smith (Jr.), 21, 5’7”, deserted 18 August 1777.

Luke Swetland, 46, 5’5”, discharged January 1778.

Adam Showers, 23, 6’, deserted 18 January 1777.

(Page torn) bal Torry (Jr.), –, 5’6”, deserted 11 January 1777.

1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 3 corporals, 54 privates.

Roster of Capt. Samuel Ransom's Independent Company, Later Capt. Simon Spalding's United Company (Captain Ransom's/Captain Spalding's Company)

Capt. Samuel Ransom, commissioned 26 August 1776; killed at Wyoming, 3 July 1778.

1st Lt. Perrin Ross, commissioned 26 August 1776.

2d Lt. Simon Spalding, commissioned 26 August 1776; promoted captain of the united company; as below.

Lt. Timothy Pierce, promoted to ensign from sergeant 3 December 1777; promoted to lieutenant 17 January 1778.

Ens. Matthew Hollenback, commissioned 26 August 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

(The following list is printed in "Penn. Rev. Records," vol. II, p. 114. Arranged as follows; name, height, and remarks)

Serjeants

Wilson, Parker, reported killed at Wyoming 3 July 1778.

Pasco, Josiah, reported killed at Wyoming 3 July 1778.

Privates

Alden, Mason Fitch
Atherton, Caleb
Benjamin, Isaac
Bennett, Oliver
Bennett, Rufus
Beyale, Jesse
Billings, Jehial
Billings, Samuel
Burnham, Asahel
Church, Gideon
Church, Nathan
Clark, Benjamin
Cole, Benjamin
Cooper, Price
Corning, Josiah
Franklin, Daniel
Gaylord, Ambrose
Gaylord, Charles
Gaylord, Justus
Hempstead, Benjamin
Hopkins, Timothy
Kellogg, William
Kinney, Lawrence
Lawrence, Daniel, reported killed at Wyoming 3 July 1778.
McClure, William
Marshall, Nicholas
Mathewson, Constant
Mathewson, Elisha
Nash, Asahel
Neal, Thomas
O'Neal, John
Osterhout, Peter
Ormsbury, Amos
Pickett, Thomas
Roberts, Ebenezer
Sawyer, Samuel
Sawyer, Asa
Satterly, Elisha
Searle, Constant, reported killed at Wyoming 3 July 1778.
Smith, William, Jr.
Spencer, Robert
Swift, John
Van Gordon, John
Walker, Elijah
Worden, Caleb
Worden, John
Williams, Thomas
Williams, Zeba
Woodstock, Richard

1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 sergeants, 49 privates.

Henry P. Johnston, *The Record of Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service during the War of the Revolution, 1775-1783* (1889; reprint; Baltimore, MD: Clearfield Company, Inc., 1997), 263, 264.

**Bounty List Transcription, Durkee's Company
(Held in a private collection)**

1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 5 sergeants, 7 corporals, 60 privates

Robert Durkee, captain
James Wells, Sr., 1st lieutenant
Aschel Buck, 2d lieutenant
Herman Swift, ensign

Sergeants

Peregrew Gardner
John Hutchenson
Solomon Johnson
Thomas McClure

Corporals

Benjamin Clark
Jeremiah Coleman, Jr.
Daniel Denton
William Dunn, Jr.
Azel Hyde
Edward Lester
Stephen Preston

Privates

James Bagley
Waterman Baldwin
Charles Bennett
Isaac Benjamin
Asa Brown
David Brown
James Brown, Jr.
Moses Brown
William Buck, Jr.
John Cary (deposition in E. Sill's pension file)
Samuel Cole, Jr.
Jessie Coleman
William Cornelius
Douglas Davidson
William Davidson
Samuel Ensign
Nathaniel Evans
Frederick Follett, 18 years old
John Foster
Nathaniel Frye
James Frisbie
James Frisbie, Jr.
Mumford Gardner
Elisha Garrett
Titus Garrett
John Halstead
Richard Halstead
Abraham Hamister
Henry Harding
Israel Harding
Oliver Harding
Stephen Harding, Jr.
Thomas Hill
Thomas Horsfall
Asahel Jearoms, 35 years old
Job Kelly
Seth Marvin
Stephen Munson
Martin Nelson
Aaron Perkins

John Perkins, Jr.
 Stephen Pettebone, 42 years old
 Justice Porter
 Thomas Porter
 Asahel Robinson
 Robert Sharar
 Elisha Sill
 Shadrack Sill
 Ebenezer Skinner
 Isaac Smith, Jr.
 Ira Stephens
 John Swift
 William Terry
 John Tubbs
 Samuel Tubbs (filed for a pension)
 Ephraim Tyler
 Edward Walker
 Obadiah Walker (filed for a pension)
 James Wells, Jr.
 Nathaniel Williams, 60 years old

5. Col. Carl Emil Kurt von Donop to Lt. Gen. Leopold Philip von Heister, 24 January 1777, Hessian Documents of the American Revolution, 1776–1783, Lidgerwood transcripts, Morristown National Historic Park, Letter H – Journal of the First Brigade of the Van Heister Corps, 1776–1777 (English transcript), fiche 2, 187–188; (German transcript), fiche 95, 546–549. As of 6 January 1777 the garrison of New Brunswick consisted of:

Guards – Grenadiers - [and] Light Infantry –
 2d. Brigade; 5th, 28th, 35th, 49th [Regiments].
 42d Regiment
 Donnop's Corps of Hessian Grenadiers, & Chasseurs
 4th. Brigade, 17th, 40th, 46th, 55th [Regiments].

Unknown to Sir Jeffrey Amherst, 7 January 1777, Amherst Archives, Kent County Council, United Kingdom, Archives Office, U1350, 077/5. Microfilm collection, David Library of the American Revolution. Courtesy of Gilbert V. Riddle.

6. Joseph Lee Boyle, ed., *From Redcoat to Rebel: The Thomas Sullivan Journal* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1997), 102.
 7. "Brunswick, 20th of January 1777. . . . On Monday a foraging expedition was sent out to the neighborhood of Hillsbury [Hillsborough, present day Millstone, N.J.] on this side of the Raritan, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel [Robert] Abercromby composed of 100 English grenadiers, 100 men of the Light Infantry and 200 grenadiers of my brigade," Carl Emil Kurt von Donop to Lt. Gen. Leopold Philip von Heister, 24 January 1777, Hessian Documents of the American Revolution, 1776–1783, Lidgerwood transcripts, fiche 2, 187–188; Philip R. N. Katcher, *Encyclopedia of British, Provincial, and German Army Units 1775–1783* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1973), 118 (Koehler), 119 (von Linsingen), 120 (Minnegerode); As of 25 December 1776 von Donop's brigade also comprised the Bloch Grenadier Battalion and the Field Jaeger Corps, Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 394.
 8. Elisha Sill deposition (W6057), roll 2395, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files; Israel Putnam to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, 21 January 1777, Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, vol. V (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Co., 1853), 196.
 9. William S. Stryker, *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War* (Trenton, NJ: Wm. T. Nicholson & Co., Printers, 1872), 331–334.

On 16 August 1775 each New Jersey county was directed to form militia units, as follows:

Bergen county, one regiment.
 Essex county, two regiments.
 Middlesex county, two regiments.
 Somerset county, two regiments.
 Monmouth county, three regiments.

Morris county, two regiments and one battalion.
 Sussex county, two regiments and one battalion.
 Hunterdon county, four regiments.
 Burlington county, two regiments and a company of rangers.
 Gloucester county, three battalions.
 Salem county, one regiment.
 Cumberland county, two battalions.
 Cape May county, one battalion.

The same legislation called for the formation of "minute" companies to be "held in constant readiness, on the shortest notice, to march to any place where assistance might be required, for the defence of this or any neighboring Colony." Somerset County organized five companies of "Minute Men," and identical units were raised in the adjacent counties, as follows: Essex County, six companies; Hunterdon, eight companies; Middlesex, six companies; and Morris, six companies. The minute companies of each county formed a single battalion. These special troops would serve for four months, and had precedence of rank over the "common militia" of the Province. On 31 August 1775 the New Jersey legislature directed men in the minute companies to adopt as their uniform, hunting shirts "as near as may be to the uniform of riflemen in Continental service."

Although the minute companies had been abolished in February 1776, it may be that some of the county militias unofficially retained a portion of the old system, and some of those men marched from their homes to Millstone on the morning of 20 January 1777.

Regarding equipment, the New Jersey Provincial Assembly stipulated on 28 October 1775 that men enrolled in the militia provided themselves with "a good musket or firelock and bayonet, sword or tomahawk, a steel ramrod, worm, priming-wire and brush fitted thereto, a cartouch-box to contain twenty-three rounds of cartridges, twelve flints, and a knapsack." They were also directed to keep "at their respective abodes, one pound of powder and three pounds of bullets." In the event of an alarm, the "Minute Men" were to rendezvous at the homes of their respective captains, who were to lead their companies immediately against the enemy.

10. Cornelius Vanhorn deposition (S11636) roll 2447, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files. Oddly, Vanhorn, writing in 1832, noted, "since the revolutionary war I have lived nearly three years at Wioming Lieuzern County Pennsylvania, then returned to my Mothers house in Mansfield, continued with the family about 15 months, in the spring of the year 1788 the 12th: day of May my selfe with eight other persons incamped on the eastern bank of French Creek under a big Cherry tree where wee lay all night, one mile down on the western bank of sd: Creek I have indeavoured to make my home ever since —" Perhaps his move to Wyoming was prompted by an acquaintance among the Wyoming Companies.

Sussex County Militia, First Regiment

William Maxwell, colonel.
 Mark Thompson, colonel.
 Jacob West, lieutenant colonel, colonel.
 Matthias Shipman, first major, lieutenant colonel.
 William Bond, captain, lieutenant colonel.
 John B. Scott, first major.
 John Van Vleet, captain, first major.
 Edward Demund, second major.
 Robert Arnold, quartermaster.
 Abraham Bescherer, lieutenant, second major.
 Robert Cummins, surgeon.

Stryker, *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, 347.

11. Phineas Pemberton Weather Diary, American Philosophical Society. Weather for 1 December 1776 to 31 January 1777 cited in Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, 346–362 ("Aftermath: The Forage War"); 399–403 (Appendix K, "Weather Records in the Delaware Valley, 1776–77"); 415–418 (Appendix T, "The Forage War: Engagements and Casualties, January 4 – March 30, 1777").
 12. Samuel Sutphen, Negro slave and militia substitute, 1834 interview, Larry R. Gerlach, ed., *New Jersey in the American Revolution, 1763–1783*:

- A Documentary History* (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), 354–360 (originally published as A. Van Doren Honeyman, ed., “The Revolutionary War Record of Samuel Sutphin, Slave,” *Somerset County Historical Society*, 3 (1914): 186–190.
13. “The Campaign Journal of a Militiaman, 1776–1777” (likely William Churchill Houston, 1768 Princeton graduate, Princeton professor 1768–1783), originally printed in the *Princeton Standard*, 1, 8, and 15 May 1863; Gerlach, *New Jersey in the American Revolution, 1763–1783: A Documentary History*, 332–336; Houston, William C., Captain, Second Battalion, Somerset, 28 February 1776; resigned 17 August 1776, Stryker, *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, 395.
 14. Boyle, *From Redcoat to Rebel: The Thomas Sullivan Journal*, 102.
 15. Carl Emil Kurt von Donop to Lt. Gen. Leopold Philip von Heister, 24 January 1777, Hessian Documents of the American Revolution, 1776–1783, Lidgerwood transcripts, fiche 2, 187–188.
 16. Israel Putnam to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, 21 January 1777, Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, vol. V, 196.
 17. Washington to John Hancock, 22 January 1777, Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington* (1932), 7: 48–50.
 18. Philemon Dickinson to John Neilson, 23 January 1777 (source uncertain); this letter was found in an online article by Glenn Valis on the Millstone battle (see <http://www.doublegv.com/ggv/battles/millstone.html>). Unfortunately, the source is given merely as “Rutgers library.” E-mail queries revealed that the letter is not in the collections of the Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, New Brunswick; New Jersey Historical Society, Newark; or Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.
 19. Stryker, “Extracts from American Newspapers, vol. I. 1776–1777,” *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, 275–276.
 20. Peckham, *The Toll of Independence*, 29; Israel Putnam to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, 21 January 1777, Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, 5: 196; Miner, *History of Wyoming in a Series of Letters from Charles Miner to his son William Penn Miner, Esq.*, letter XVI (World Wide Web, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~srgp/books/wyomtoc.htm>); *The Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly-Advertiser*, 29 January 1777; Stryker, “Extracts from American Newspapers, vol. I. 1776–1777,” *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, 275–276; Carl Emil Kurt von Donop to Lt. Gen. Leopold Philip von Heister, 24 January 1777, Hessian Documents of the American Revolution, 1776–1783; Lidgerwood transcripts, fiche 2, 187–188; Boyle, *From Redcoat to Rebel: The Thomas Sullivan Journal*, 102; Cornelius Van Horn deposition (S11636), roll 2447, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files; “The Campaign Journal of a Militiaman, 1776–1777” (likely William Churchill Houston), Gerlach, *New Jersey in the American Revolution, 1763–1783: A Documentary History*, 332–336.
 21. Harry Miller Lydenberg, ed., *Archibald Robertson, Lieutenant-General Royal Engineers: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762–1780* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1930), 122; Deputy Adjutant General Stephen Kemble related an exaggerated second-hand account in his diary, “Wednesday, Jan. 22d. By a Letter from Capt. Payne, A.D., Quarter Master General, are informed that our foraging Parties fell in with the Rebels near Brunswick, Killed near four Hundred and took one hundred with the loss of but few on our side.” “Journals of Lieut.-Col. Stephen Kemble,” vol. I, 1773–1789, “The Kemble Papers,” *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1883, vol. XVI* (New York: Printed for the Society, 1884), 108.
 22. Carl Emil Kurt von Donop to Lt. Gen. Leopold Philip von Heister, 24 January 1777, Hessian Documents of the American Revolution, 1776–1783, Lidgerwood transcripts, fiche 2, 187–188.
 23. Johann Ewald, *A Treatise on Partisan Warfare by Johann von Ewald*, translation, introduction, and annotation by Robert A. Selig and David Curtis Skaggs *Contributions in Military Studies, Number 116* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 115. The New Jersey militia performed well in many actions and several campaigns, beginning with the January 1777 Millstone affair. Later that year they fought hard on the American left flank at Germantown under Brig. Gen. David Forman. After several setbacks during the winter of 1777–78, they turned out in large numbers to harass Crown troops as they marched through New Jersey during the Monmouth Campaign in June and ably supported Washington’s army during the ensuing battle. Their last large-scale and most effective effort was in opposing the June 1780 incursion by British, German, and Loyalist forces under Lt. Gen. Wilhelm von Knyphausen.
 24. Lydenberg, *Archibald Robertson, Lieutenant-General Royal Engineers: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762–1780*, 122; “Within these three or four days there have been several skirmishes in the East-Jersies, in which our troops have always beat the enemy. About three miles up the Rariton, from Brunswick, a party of our army attacked a large body of the enemy, and took near six hundred head of cattle, upwards of fifty waggons, and a number of English horses, of the dray breed, which were so excessively emaciated that they were scarce able to walk.” *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, 23 January 1777, Stryker, “Extracts from American Newspapers, vol. I. 1776–1777,” *Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey*, 268.
 25. Miner, *History of Wyoming in a Series of Letters from Charles Miner to his son William Penn Miner, Esq.*, letter XVI (World Wide Web, <http://www.rootsweb.com/~srgp/books/wyomtoc.htm>).
 26. Cornelius Van Horn deposition (S11636), roll 2447, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files; Washington to John Hancock, 22 January 1777, Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of George Washington*, 7: 48–50.
 27. Edward E. Curtis, *The British Army in the American Revolution* (1926; reprint; Gansevoort, NY: Corner House Historical Publications, 1998), 136, 184, 188–189.
 28. “Narrative of Occurrences, relative to His Majesty’s Provision Train in North America,” (circa 1778), Francis Rush Clark Papers (no. 2338), Sol Feinstone Collection, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.
 29. J. Geraint Jenkins, *The English Farm Wagon* (Wiltshire, UK: Oakwood, 1972), 9–13.
 30. “Narrative of Occurrences, relative to His Majesty’s Provision Train in North America,” (circa 1778), Francis Rush Clark Papers (no. 2338), Sol Feinstone Collection, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.
 31. Andrew De Lisle, “The length of the bed was measured from the inside edge of the tailgate to the inside edge of the headgate. The length at the top rail was measured in the same manner. The difference between those two measurements is caused by the outward rake of both the tail and headgates. The weight is approximate (roughly estimated at 2,500 pounds), as we are unable to weight the completed wagon and weighing individual pieces at this point is not practical. The rear pair of wheels alone total 500 lbs. . . . the wagon was constructed by the Wheelwright’s Shop, and was finished up in late 2007.”
 32. Ibid.
 33. For an excellent narrative of events in the Wyoming Valley in July 1778 see, Glenn F. Williams, *Year of the Hangman: George Washington’s Campaign Against the Iroquois* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2005), 114–144.

Why a Civil War Museum in the Midwest? Indeed, Why Not?

Daniel Joyce, Lance Herdegen, Doug Dammann, and Brett Lobello

The six states of the Upper Midwest—Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin—contributed nearly three-quarters of a million men to the Union cause along with providing large amounts of the raw materials and food used to equip and feed the massive armies. Despite being glossed over in many histories, the abolitionist movement in the Upper Midwest was a strong one and there is well documented evidence that the underground railroad was alive and well too. This was the home of Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Ulysses S. Grant, and many more names familiar to Civil War historians. The post-war effects were felt here too. Many soldiers' homes and orphanages were established. Even the Grand Army of the Republic was founded in Illinois with its second post being in Wisconsin. Civil War battlefields are far away from our museum, but those who fought on them are buried nearby in our cemeteries and church yards. Our answer is—why not a Civil War Museum of the Midwest?

The Civil War Museum of Kenosha, Wisconsin, is located on the shore of lower Lake Michigan between the cities of Milwaukee and Chicago, making it an ideal stop for both students of history and people who want to enjoy the natural beauty of our freshwater harbor. The museum opened during the summer of 2008. The museum examines how the American Civil War changed the people and communities of the six

states of the Upper Midwest during this turning point in our nation's history. We tell the personal stories of the men and women of the region and how social, political, and economic influences contributed to the start of the war. From the home front, to the railways and waterways, to the battlefield and home again, the Civil War is seen through the eyes of soldiers, nurses, spouses, children, free blacks, slaves, and tradesmen through first person accounts and personal stories.

In the Upper Midwest, immigrants from other parts of the United States and foreign countries combined with free African-Americans and native peoples to form a diverse population in a newly settled land. The oldest was Indiana established in 1816, and the most recent addition to the Union was Minnesota, admitted just three years before the war started. With the formation of these new states: political, social, and economic questions persisted about the region. What were the attitudes of these Westerners on the questions of slavery and emancipation? Would the people of the Upper Midwest play an active role in the Underground Railroad or would they conform to the restraints of the Fugitive Slave Act? Would the area's political identity be influenced more by the Yankees of New England or the agrarian planters of the South? Which area were they most similar to?



FIG 1. The new 58,000 square foot building is located on the shore of Lake Michigan, north of Chicago.



“The Fiery Trial” exhibit

The main exhibit of the Civil War Museum immerses visitors in the nineteenth century by placing them on the street of an 1850s town during a political rally or in the parlor of a family debating the dangers of harboring a fugitive slave. Through meticulously researched and recreated architecture to the interiors of trains and ships, the museum brings the experience of the civilians and citizen soldiers to life within its galleries.

FIG 2 (above). The exhibit starts with typical reminders of the Civil War that we pass everyday, like statues in the park or the graves of those that served.



(FIG 3 right). We pass them and give little thought to their meaning.



FIG 4. Transported to the 1850s Upper Midwest, the visitor gains an understanding of this relatively new frontier area and how they felt about the political upheavals that led to the war. The museum features people stories not tactics and strategy. You can find out how ordinary people from every walk of life was affected by the war.



FIG 5. Exhibit cases in the museum feature artifacts that illustrate the themes presented. Each case has modern fiber optic lighting, humidity control, and air filters for the safety of artifacts.

FIG 6. The town hall features stories of the abolitionist movement and the Underground Railroad, stories often ignored in the Upper Midwest. A Frederick Douglas video features typical abolitionist rhetoric seen in his appearances in the area. The exhibit case here features letters by an escaped slave who was "conducted" through the area in 1842 and contacted her "conductor" 28 years later. A door from the house in Iowa where John Brown trained his men is also featured. Most of the labels present information in a familiar newspaper format.



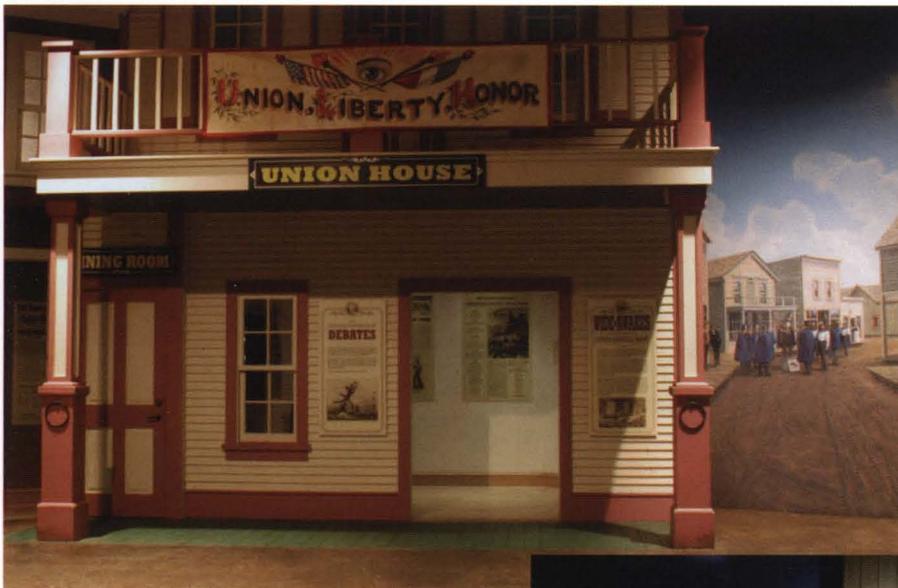


FIG 7 (left). Entering the Upper Midwest town in 1860 and leaving it at the outbreak of the war. In different rooms, you can overhear conversations of people of the day. They argue politics and tell you about how people felt about the issues. You can also overhear and see a Wide Awake rally supporting Lincoln and learn about the debates and candidates.

FIG 8 (below). By the time you leave the town through the train station, war has broken out and Lincoln has called for 75,000 troops. A nearby case features items from Elmer Ellsworth, who trained militia companies in the Upper Midwest. There is a portrait of him that he gave to his Rockford, Illinois, fiancée.

At the train depot, troops are being sent off with band music, picnics, and tears. Visitors sit on the train next to mannequins that tell them why they are on the train and where they are going. A young mother with her son say that her husband enlisted for ninety days and she cannot take care of their new farm so they are going to stay with her parents back in New York for a while. A free African-American barber is off to make a better life barbering for the army, and a grizzled Mexican-American War veteran shares a dimmer view on all the hoopla about war.



FIG 9. Stepping onto the platform, the rush and enthusiasm of defending the Union is obvious. Parades, picnics, and tearful goodbyes prevail. The militia companies are enthusiastic in their gray uniforms and believe that they will quickly whip the secesh.

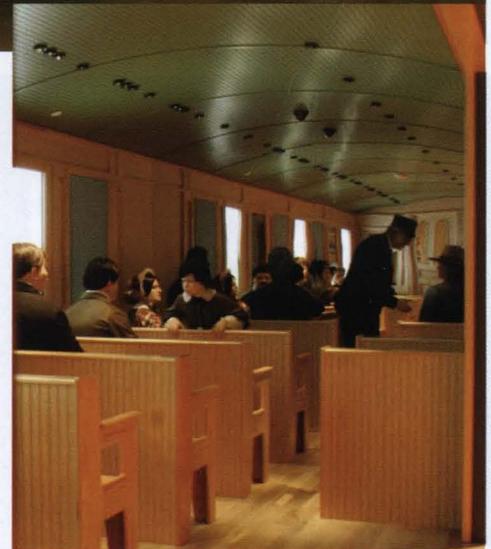


FIG 10. Boarding the train you can sit next to figures and find out why they are on the move at the beginning of the war. A free African-American barber is going to barber for the Army, a woman and child are going back to her parents in New York because her husband has enlisted and she can't care for the homestead alone.



FIG 11. Arriving at the front through a supply dump, the area is divided into battle and non-battle activities. Everything from getting mail to food, politics, sutler, medical practices, and more are discussed.



FIG 13. An army travels on its stomach! Nearby artifact cases feature everyday enlisted men's artifacts.

Within the immersive exhibit gallery, the Civil War museum combines original artifacts, sound effects, and painted murals to present the military experiences of officers and enlisted men. The exhibit shows how the soldiers passed the time in camp by writing letters, cooking food, playing cards, and discussing their misdeeds. The artillery area depicts the men of a battery loading and firing their guns. A diorama, wounded soldiers lie in the courtyard of a home awaiting the attention of a doctor. The exhibit also discusses the sacrifices these men made and the hardships and dangers they endured while serving the Union.

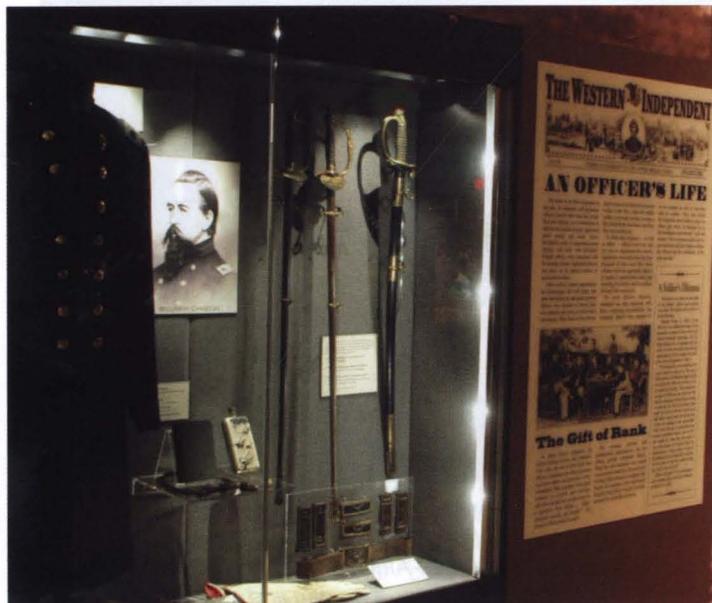


FIG 12. The political views of the officers are shown to differ from those of the enlisted men.



FIG 14. Weapons, both large and small are also featured. Their impact on casualty figures is also a featured discussion.



FIG 15. Everyday activities during the summer fill the men's lives.

FIG 16 (right). One of the many artifact cases within the exhibit highlights cavalry artifacts.



artifacts with photographs, dioramas, mannequins, and enlisted soldiers at the front. A camp life diorama showing men playing games, mending clothes, or being punished for losing a Parrott gun from a fortified position. In the medical area, there is a diorama of a doctor or a nurse. These exhibit areas illustrate the daily life of the men in their country.

FIG 17 (below). Medical practices, myths, and realities are also a subject.



FIG 18. The boredom and tedium of winter is featured here.

FIG 19. The well stocked sutler's shack is only for those who could afford the fineries.



FIG 20 (right). In the battle experience area a laser map shows movements and major battles of each state along with statistics, such as total served, died of disease, and died in battle. The six states of the Upper Midwest contributed three-quarters of a million men.



FIG 21 (above). The battle area features a case for each state that highlights their unique battle contributions and displays artifacts from each state. This is the Indiana case.

Within the gallery, changes in the physical surroundings also signal changes going on in the country. As you enter a recreated riverboat on its way back home, you learn that the war is over and President Lincoln has been assassinated. By interacting with mannequin characters on board, visitors can see the high price war has extracted on the civilian and military populations. Children anxiously await reuniting with their mother after the passing of their father and a soldier wonders how he is going to reenter his profession as a carpenter now that the war has left him with only one arm. Here you also learn about the Brown Water

In an adjacent area you can trace troop movements by year and state with a laser presentation and see that Midwestern troops were in every theater of action. You also see the number of men who served, were killed, wounded, or died of disease from each state. Exhibit cases devoted to each state's "at the front" contributions as well as multi-state stories such as the Iron Brigade, U.S. Sharpshooters, and an opening of another front in the Midwest—the Dakota Wars—are also found here.



FIG 22. Having taking the train to war, we now take the riverboat back home. Standing figures tell you what has happened to them during the war.



FIG 23. The interior of the boat offered us an opportunity to tell the story of the Brown Water Navy of the west and the importance of its role in the war. Cases feature both original and reproduction artifacts.



FIG 24. Arriving back in the Upper Midwest. Lincoln has been assassinated, the town is in mourning and it is now different from the town you left four years before. After an initial depression at the start of the war, the Upper Midwest prospered through agriculture, animal husbandry, and manufacturing. The town now has brick buildings and cobblestone streets.

Navy and its importance to the struggle to preserve the Union.

Life in an Upper Midwestern town was very different in 1870 than it had been in 1850. After a short lived depression, wartime demand for manufactured goods and food brought increased revenue to the farms and communities of the area, but there remained constant reminders of the cost of such prosperity. Orphanages were built to care for children whose parents did not survive the conflict and soldiers' homes were created by the government to care for men disabled by wounds or disease. Veterans groups remembered fallen comrades by instituting Decoration Day, later renamed Memorial Day, and by erecting monuments in cemeteries, town squares, and battlefields.

Four years of fighting nearly destroyed a generation and the nation. But the bloody conflict ended slavery, created a strong national union of states, and eliminated the threat of secession. It also affected American life in surprising ways that linger even today. The generation that built monuments, parks, and cemetery memorials as a reminder of their sacrifices and loss, is itself a distant memory.

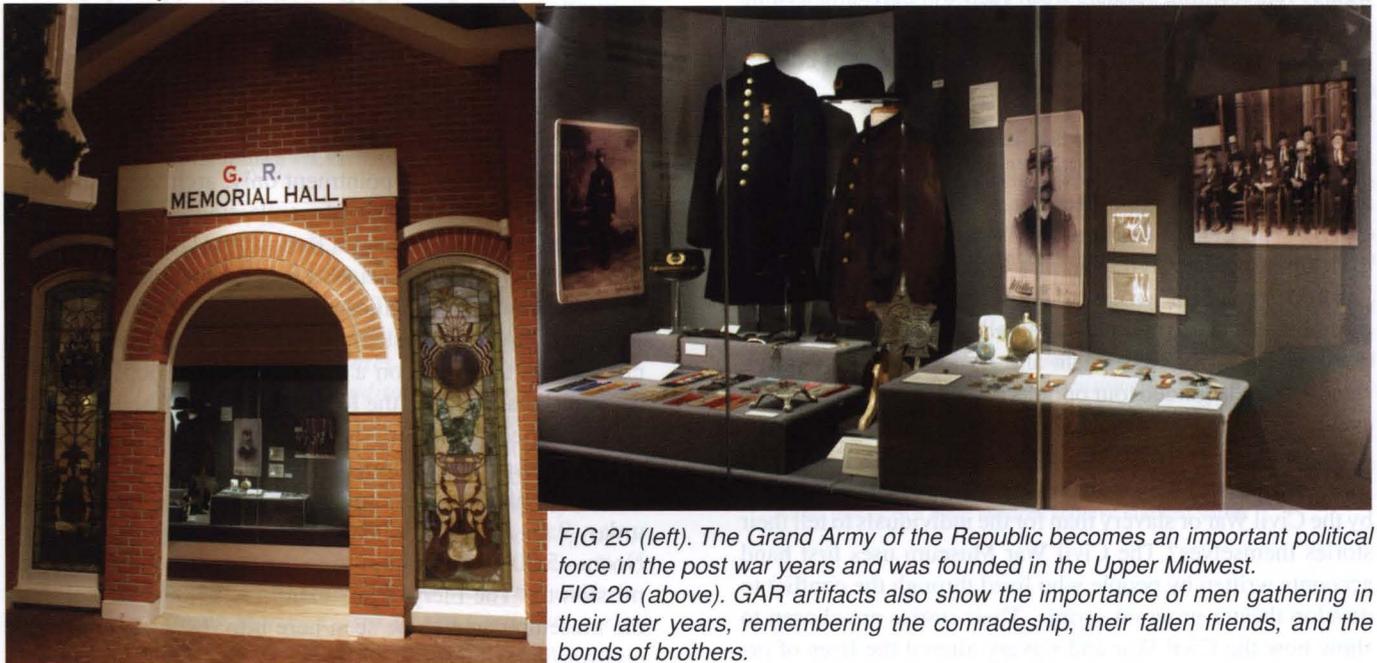


FIG 25 (left). The Grand Army of the Republic becomes an important political force in the post war years and was founded in the Upper Midwest. FIG 26 (above). GAR artifacts also show the importance of men gathering in their later years, remembering the comradeship, their fallen friends, and the bonds of brothers.



FIG 27. Veterans Memorial—This area honors veterans of all U.S. wars. A quiet, contemplative place set in the evening outdoors. The monoliths have each war inscribed on them. Behind them are changing exhibit cases.

Veterans Memorial Gallery

A separate Veterans Memorial Gallery honors veterans of all American wars, from the Revolutionary War to the present day conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Artifacts and cast figures representing soldiers from each war surround a camp fire where the soldiers gather under a canopy of stars sharing their common experiences across time over a cup of coffee.

Other Facilities

The exhibits are geared to adults as well as school groups. School programs use “The Fiery Trial” exhibit as a learning tool. Middle school groups receive a guided tour through the gallery with trained tour guides. Younger students examine the causes of the Civil War in a classroom based activity that incorporates a gallery tour. A highly trained corps of museum staff and volunteers lead all these programs which are designed using Wisconsin and Illinois state curriculum standards. Self-guided tour options are also available. Special events and classes take place in a seminar room, a classroom, and a lecture/multipurpose hall.

How better to tell the stories of the people who were touched by the Civil War or slavery than for the individuals to tell their stories themselves? The Civil War Museum uses first hand accounts written by people who lived through the conflict to develop theater program scripts. Their stories are chosen to show how the Civil War and slavery altered the lives of or-

dinary citizens of the Upper Midwest. Professionally trained actors and actresses portray each of these authentic historic characters in thirty to forty-five minute performances.

The John Antaramian Gallery is an exhibit gallery which features frequently changing traveling or temporary exhibits. The Jack Michaels Resource Center contains copies of letters, journals, books, magazines, videos, microfilm, maps, music recordings, and computer terminals all designed to assist students, researchers, and genealogists in finding more information on Civil War soldiers, civilians, battles, and historic sites. A separate, by appointment only, archives and library allows researchers access to the collections.

Other attractions located at Kenosha’s Harborpark include the Kenosha Public Museum, a natural history and decorative arts museum, the Dinosaur Discovery Museum, and the Kenosha Streetcar System, which operates 5 refurbished circa 1950s streetcars on a 1.7 mile transit loop. The three museums that make up the Kenosha Public Museums system are accredited by the American Association of Museums and are a Smithsonian Institution affiliate.

The Civil War Museum is open Tuesday through Saturday, 9:00 A.M.—5:00 P.M. and on Sunday and Monday, Noon—5:00 P.M. Admission to the museum is free, but admission to “The Fiery Trial” exhibit is \$5.00. Video clips of the museum can also be seen here <http://www.kenosha.org/civilwar/index.html>.

Rear Adm. John A. Dahlgren's "Plymouth" Rifle Musket and the Marine Corps

David M. Sullivan

ON 9 June 1860, a circular was sent to all officers of the Marine Corps by the Quartermaster of the Marine Corps, Maj. Daniel J. Sutherland, announcing the new pattern Springfield rifle musket (M1855), caliber .58, had been adopted as the standard arm of the Marine Corps, and would be forwarded as soon as they were received from the Army Ordnance Department.¹ This long arm was intended to replace the M1842 smoothbore musket, caliber .69, that had been modernized by having the barrel rifled beginning around 1857–1858.² For at least two years prior to the issuance of the circular, the Corps had been requisitioning and issuing small quantities of the M1855 rifle musket and, despite complaints that the Maynard system was prone to deterioration when exposed to the sea air, the M1855 was preferred over the reworked M1842.³

A solution to the lack of uniformity with regard to long arms being used by Marine detachments serving at sea was proposed by Rear Adm. John A. Dahlgren by way of the manufacturer of the rifle musket the admiral had designed while he was a commander in command of the U.S. Frigate *Plymouth* during her cruise of 1857–1859.⁴ On 30 March 1864, having received the proposal to standardize long arms used by the naval services, Gideon M. Welles, Secretary of the Navy, wrote Col. John Harris, Commandant of the Marine Corps on the subject:

The Contractor, Mr. Eli Whitney [Jr.], has delivered to the Bureau of Ordnance a sufficient number of the Rifled muskets designed by Rear Admiral Dahlgren and styled the "Plymouth musket" to be considered and used uniformly as the rifled musket of the Navy. It would seem desirable that this same musket should also be used by Marines on ship board in order that uniformity of caliber, ammunition and drill may be established between them and the seamen when acting as infantry in boat expeditions.

DAVID M. SULLIVAN joined the Company in 1974 and was elected Fellow in 2001. He has served as editor of *Military Collector & Historian* since 1999 and as Administrator since 2000. Author of the multi-volume *The United States Marine Corps in the Civil War*, he has also written more than fifty journal articles on the United States and Confederate States Marines and Navies and is the editor of the revised, annotated, and expanded editions of *Biographical Sketches of the Commissioned Officers of the Confederate States Marine Corps and Service Records of Enlisted Confederate States Marines*, both originally written by the late Company Fellow *Ralph W. Donnelly*. He is currently working on a biographical dictionary of the officers of the Confederate States Navy and a soon to be published illustrated work on the uniforms of the United States Marine Corps of the Civil War period with CMH Fellow Charles Cureton.

But before carrying out such measure, the Department directs that you will examine this new arm and place it in the hands of the Marines under drill, and after this examination and trial to report upon its merits compared with the arm now in use. You are authorized, if you think necessary, to appoint a board of officers of the Marines Corps to examine the new musket and report whether the change contemplated is advisable.⁵

Accordingly, a board was selected, the tests conducted, and the results reported to Maj. Augustus S. Nicholson, acting head of the Corps due to the recent death of Col. John Harris, and duly forwarded to the Navy Department:

Head Quarters Marine Corps
13th June, 1864

No. 54

Sir;

The enclosed report of a board of officers, convened by order of the Secretary of the Navy for the purpose of inquiring into the practicability of introducing into the Marine Corps the gun known as the "Plymouth Musket" in lieu of the one now in use, is respectfully submitted as the result of the examination.

I have the honor to be
Very Respectfully
Your Obedt. Servant
Augustus S. Nicholson
Adjt. & Inspector, USMC

Hon. Gideon Welles
Secretary of the Navy

Contents noted:
Bureau Ordnance, 17 June 1864, R. Aulick,
Asst. Chf. Bur.

U.S. Marine Barracks
Washington, D.C. 11 June 1864

Sir;

In conformity with your order of the 1st instant, we have examined the "Plymouth Musket" and respectfully submit the following report.

The "Plymouth Musket" is a heavier arm and in our opinion is less easily handled and account of the great recoil is rendered a less accurate arm than the "Springfield Rifle Musket" now in use.

The following result of a test made for the comparative accuracy of the two arms is submitted and explains itself.

Ten "Plymouth Muskets" were compared with ten "Springfield Muskets" in the hands of twenty men using a

Target	Eight feet square
Circle	Three feet outer diameter Twenty-eight inches inner diameter
And Spot	Eight inches diameter

At the distance of three hundred and five hundred yards.

RECORD

DISTANCE THREE HUNDRED YARDS									
Man #	PLYMOUTH				Man #	SPRINGFIELD			
	Number of Shot					Number of Shot			
Remarks: The numbers are in inches and denote distance from shot hole to center of "Bull's Eye." [M = missed target; R = ricochete]									
	1st	2d	3d	4th		1st	2d	3d	4th
1	M	M	M	M	1	M	M	12	30
2	24	M	M	M	2	21	R	10	16
3	M	M	M	M	3	M	39	M	M
4	M	M	M	M	4	M	M	M	48
5	M	M	49	44	5	M	M	M	19
6	M	M	M	44	6	32	39	35	19
7	38	32	M	M	7	67	R	15	40
8	M	M	M	M	8	37	M	39	21
9	50	M	M	M	9	66	31	39	M
10	R	M	M	M	10	M	12	R	M
11	M	M	M	M	11	M	39	25	19
12	M	M	28	M	12	38	19	M	M
13	M	M	10	M	13	M	M	R	44
14	58	55	29	M	14	M	36	40	4
15	M	50	M	M	15	M	55	9	22
16	M	M	M	M	16	5½	42	M	M
17	12	M	M	M	17	56	10	34	M
18	35	M	M	M	18	58	22	43	15
19	M	M	M	M	19	M	48	M	M
20	R	12	M	M	20	28	32	R	19

DISTANCE FIVE HUNDRED YARDS
Only two trial with each piece at this distance

Man #	Number of Shot		Man #	Number of Shot	
	1st	2d		1st	2d
1	M	M	1	M	M
2	M	M	2	M	37
3	M	M	3	M	M
4	M	M	4	M	M
5	M	M	5	54	M
6	M	M	6	M	M
7	M	M	7	M	M
8	M	M	8	M	M
9	M	M	9	48	M
10	M	M	10	34	48

Member of Board Member of Board

We respectfully submit our opinion that the "Plymouth Rifle Musket" does not possess any advantage over the "Springfield Rifle Musket" now in use to warrant a change in the arm of the U.S. Marine Corps.

We are very respectfully
Your obdt. Servts,
Geo. R. Graham, Capt., USMC
McLane Tilton, 1st Lt., USMC
N. L. Nokes, 1st Lt., USMC⁶

Within days of the arrival of this report at the Navy Department, Rear Admiral Dahlgren penned a lengthy message to the

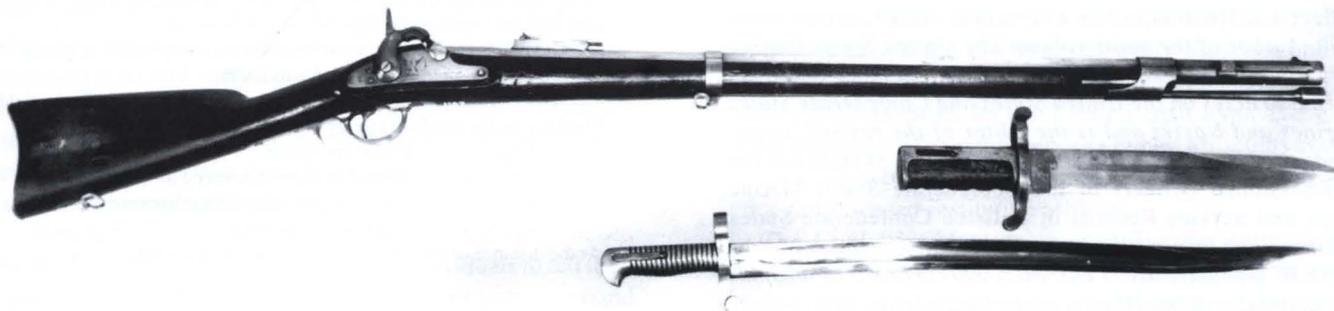


FIG 1. The M1858 Plymouth rifle musket shown here with the Bowie-style bayonet that Rear Adm. John A. Dahlgren designed specifically for use with this weapon and the saber bayonet that was also produced and used. Courtesy of the West Point Museum.



FIG 2. Another view of the M1858 Plymouth rifle musket showing the long range sight and the saber bayonet. Courtesy of the West Point Museum.

secretary of the navy, touching upon a suitable garment for Marines to wear in warm climates that would take the places of the undress uniform coat and fatigue shirt and, not unexpectedly, the proposal to make the rifle musket he designed the standard arm of the Corps. After outlining his design of a lightweight coat for the Marines, he turned to his desire to have the rifle musket of his design become the standard arm of the Corps:

I beg leave to add here, while writing on this subject, that the late change of arm of the Marines from the Navy Musket (.69) to that of the New Army Musket (.58) was very unfortunate and should be annulled.

Marines are essentially Sea Infantry. The circumstances, therefore, which control in arming troops are of little consequence in arming Marines. They seldom have marching to execute and, therefore, the small difference in weight of the 58 Cal. Musket is not felt.

On the other hand, the Navy Calibre (.69) is in all respects better for sailors and would be more convenient for Marines who are shipboard because it avoids confusion in the ammunition, and is even better when the Marines are in barracks or Yards because they are always supplied from the Navy Ordnance Yard and the fabrication is thus simplified.

I therefore suggest that the Marines should be armed with the new Navy Musket (Cal. .69)—Plymouth pattern—and sword bayonet.⁷

Dahlgren concluded his communication by strongly suggesting that the Marine Corps change its drill from heavy infantry to light infantry, stating, "Nothing has tended more to repress the efficiency and advancement of the Corps than its being constituted as heavy infantry. The elite of an army is always light infantry."

Welles forwarded Dahlgren's proposal to Col. Jacob Zeilen, successor to the late Col. John Harris as Commandant of the Marine Corps. A new Board of Officers was convened, performed its duties, and replied:

In obedience to your order of the 16th inst., we have carefully examined the arm presented for adoption into the Marine Corps known as the "Plymouth Musket," and in compliance with that paragraph which requires us to state whether in our opinion it possesses any advantage over the one now in use. (The Springfield Musket Cal. .58), we respectfully report as follows: That is no doubt an advantage to have the caliber of our musket the same as that used by the Navy, and that the length being less is also an advantage on board ship; the length of the saber [bayonet] however makes the two nearly equal. We are also of the opinion that the "Plymouth Musket" possesses no advantage in shooting over the Springfield, but on the other hand it weighs two pounds more, which is a serious disadvantage for bayonet drill. As the drill of the Marine Corps is exclusively light infantry (according to Casey's Tactics) the bayonet drill is, of course, a part of the instruction.

We are informed that the "Plymouth Musket" is made in private workshops, and that its cost is about twenty-four (24) dollars pr. musket

complete. Thus to arm the Marine Corps with it would cost about eighty three thousand (\$83,000) dollars. The arm now in use costs the Marine Corps nothing, being drawn directly from public armories. We are informed that the cost to the government of it is about thirteen (\$13.00) dollars pr. Musket. In view of this we are of the opinion that the "Plymouth Musket" possesses no advantage which would authorize such an expense.⁸

The recommendation of the Board was presented to Colonel Zeilen who forwarded it to the Secretary of the Navy with the following comments:

I have the honor to enclose a report of a Board of Officers convened by order of the Honorable Secretary of the Navy for the purpose of examining into the practicality [*sic*] of introducing into the Marine Corps the arm known as the "Plymouth Musket"

The adoption of the "Plymouth Musket," in the opinion of the Board, seems not advisable and I agree with the remarks as set forth by the Board.⁹

The matter was concluded.

Notes

1. Records of The Quartermaster's Department, 1813–1942, Records of the United States Marine Corps, Record Group 127 (RG 127), National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, DC.
2. On 22 April 1857, Col. H. K. Craig, Chief of the Army Ordnance Department, responded to an inquiry made by then Secretary of the Navy Isaac Toucey with regard to altering the M1842 musket for use by the Marine Corps:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st instant, inquiring whether muskets belonging to the Marine Corps can be rifled at the U. States' Armories, and in reply I state that the work can be done either at Harper's Ferry, Va., or Springfield, Mass. To adapt such arms for long ranges and the use of pointed projectiles, it will be necessary in addition to rifling the barrels, to attach new front and rear sights to them and make some alteration in the ramrod. The cost of this work will be about two dollars and sixteen cents for each arm so altered.

I have to request that I may be informed by the commanding officer of the Marine Corps, which armory he will prefer to send the arms to, which can be done in parcels to suit his views.

3. On 7 July 1858, Bvt. Brig. Gen. Archibald Henderson, Commandant of the Corps wrote Naval Secretary Toucey:

I have to ask of the Dept. that a requisition be made on the Dept. of War for five hundred /500/ new Rifle Muskets with the rear sights attached to them. It is believed that those manufactured at Springfield are superior to those made at Harper's Ferry. One hundred and fifty /150/ of them are wanted at New York, the remainder at Washington.

A short time later, on 30 July, Henderson wrote to Capt. Duncan N. Ingraham, USN, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance and Hydrography:

The new Rifle Musket which we are now obtaining from the War Department for the Marine Corps is of the caliber of .58 inch. We have but about fifty of the altered Rifle Muskets remaining after which we will issue the new musket to the Guards. Will you be pleased to have prepared

ammunition for the new Rifle Musket for the use of the Marine Guards which will be shortly ordered to sea.

Entry 2, "Commandant's Letters Sent, Mar 1804–Feb 1884," volume of 13 April 1855–12 August 1858, RG 127, NAB.

4. Dahlgren's design was based upon the French M1846 *Carabine a Tige*, a weapon that had a thirty-four inch barrel with a .69 caliber bore. Although heavier than the .58 caliber rifle musket of the Army, Dahlgren was confident that the additional weight would not adversely effect its use aboard ship or when taken ashore by naval landing parties. See, John D. McAuley, *Civil War Small Arms of the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps* (Lincoln, RI, Andrew Mowbray Incorporated, 1999), 34, 36–38.
5. Entry 10, RG 127, NAB.
6. Entry 14, General Records of the Navy Department, Record Group 80 (RG 80), NAB.

7. J. Dahlgren, Rear Admiral Comdg. S. A. B. Squadron to Honorable Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Flag Steamer *Philadelphia*, 15 June 1864. Entry 10, RG 80, NAB.
8. C. G. McCawley, Major, U.S.M. Corps, Geo. R. Graham, Major, U.S. M. Corps, N. L. Nokes, 1st Lieut., U. S. M. Corps to Colonel J. Zeilen, Commandt. U. S. M. Corps, Washington, D.C., 20 July 1864. Entry 42, RG 127, NAB.
9. Jacob Zeilen, Colonel and Commandant, to Hon. Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, Head Quarters, Marine Corps, Washington, 27 July 1864. Entry 4, RG 127, NAB.

Our Readers Write

To the Editor,

Thanks for publishing my Ridgely Family article in *MC&H*, 61, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 227-231. As for the unidentified device on the pendant of the UDC medal, here's my explanatory information taken from the UDC website and other sources.

The UDC medal is called the United Daughters of the Confederacy Cross of Military Service and it was first issued in 1923. It is "an outgrowth of the Southern Cross of Honor, [and] is presented to veterans of World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam Conflict who are lineal blood descendants of Confederate military personnel." For WWI and WWII periods, any military service qualified the recipient for the award; the pendant device is a dolphin and it represents overseas service. For periods later than WWII, the recipient must have served in the combat theater to be eligible for an award. Each medal is numbered and accompanied by a certificate of issue. Randolph Ridgely, Jr., received medal #2564 from United Confederate Veterans Camp 435 (Augusta, Ga.), probably in 1926.

Russell K. Brown

ERRATA

Back cover of *MC&H*, 61, no. 3 (Fall 2009)

Well, it finally happened! The back cover of *MC&H*, 61, no. 3 (Fall 2009) had a great-looking plate by the late Danish military artist Preben Kannik with a text in its pages. The only problem was that the text was not for that

cover but for a future MUIA plate, also by Preben Kannik, on the St. Croix Militia during the 1830s and 1840s. What the back cover showed instead was the Governor General of the Danish West Indies with two aides de camp and the garrison's senior surgeon. Somehow, there was a mix up and while we apologize for any inconvenience, we also welcome the opportunity to delve a bit further into the little-known but most attractive uniforms of the Danish West Indies that became, in 1917, the U.S. Virgin Islands. As it turns out, detailed information on the uniforms of the Governor General and his staff was given in *MUIA* plate 534 and its text by Barry Thompson and John R. Elting, also in *MC&H*, 34, no. 4 (Winter 1982). With regard to the red or scarlet uniforms, suffice it to say here that British soldiers were not the only "redcoats" existing; it was also the basic coat color of the Danish army until 1849 when it was changed to dark blue. While the line and colonial infantry, the artillery, and part of the cavalry wore red, the rifles and "freikorps" light troops were assigned green uniforms from the end of the eighteenth century. This was also followed, if somewhat loosely, in the uniforms of the kingdom's volunteers and militiamen.

René Chartrand

On Danish uniforms, flags, and weapons see: B. Walbom-Pramvig, *Uniformer, Faner og Vaben I Den Danske Haer fra 1659 til 1980* (Thorsgaard, 1988). For more details, please see my text on page 220 of *MC&H*, 61, no. 3 (Fall 2009).

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Eighteenth Century Signal Mortar?

Col. J. Craig Nannos, AUS (Ret.)

THIS cast iron signal mortar was found in the early 1960s in a trash area west of the current nineteenth century Fort Mifflin fortification. Just outside of the fort at a depth of about three feet, then State Game Warden Carl Lorpe found elements of kettles, evidence of burnt material, and other refuse. He was then responsible for the marshes and river front in this part of the state and had a love of the local history. He took me to the British redoubts, then still standing, and other sites in the area west of the current Fort Mifflin. Much of this is now gone due to the construction of the expanded Philadelphia airport and additional roadways. He had collected cannon balls and other objects from the actions on the Delaware.

Based on the design, method of construction, size, and the location where found, it would appear to be a signal gun for firing powder or rockets to communicate with ships in the Delaware River. It is much larger than other known examples

of what are considered or described as powder testers. I believe it to be an efficient means of saving powder to have a small gun, such as this, used to fire charges or rockets for communication with ships on the river front.

Dimensions:

- Barrel/tube: Muzzle diameter is 4 ½ inches, exterior
Bore diameter is 1 ¼ + inches
Large pan for priming powder
 - Base: Height of base is 2 inches
Length & width are both 7 ¼ inches
- Overall height of this artifact is approximately 12 inches.



FIG 1. Muzzle view.



FIG 2. Pan & touch hole.



FIG 3. Overall view.

J. CRAIG NANNOS has owned and operated "The Sentry Post" for 34 years. His work bridges the historical, educational, entertainment, and business communities. He has provided historical, organizational, and educational expertise for international events, museum exhibitions, and film productions including working on the D-day anniversary celebrations in France and involvement with Taps, The Last of the Mohicans, Master and Commander, and other movies. He was active during the American Revolution bicentennial, when he was in charge of the Battle of Brandywine reenactment and on the NPS team for the Siege of Yorktown. He was one of the founders of the 2d Pennsylvania/43d Regiment of Foot reenactment unit and the 250-man Corps of the Continental Line. He is a retired Colonel, AUS, with 38 years of service in the U.S. Army, Army Reserve, and National Guard. He has studied military history and artifacts for 45 years.



Grenadier, Infantry

Major, Infantry

*Second Sergeant,
Cazadores de la
Escolta Directoria*

Gunner, Artillery

Chilean Army, 1817-1819

THE year 2010 marks the 200th anniversary of the beginning of Chile's struggle for its independence. In the early nineteenth century, there was increasing political uneasiness in Latin America concerning Spain's rule. In Chile, an independent council peacefully came to power on 18 September 1810. However, in Chile as elsewhere, the gradual transition to independence was not accepted by the Spanish government. In 1813–1814, Spanish troops bloodily ousted the independence-minded Chileans, many of whom fled to Argentina. In early 1817, Gen. José de San Martín's Andean Army of Liberation, which comprised one Chilean division under Gen. Bernardo O'Higgins and two Argentine divisions, crossed the Andes into Chile. It numbered 4,131 officers and men accompanied by 9,281 mules. The Andean army quickly concentrated at El Plumerillo on 9 February and defeated the Spanish army at Chacabuco on 12 February. Santiago, the capital city, was liberated and O'Higgins proclaimed Supreme Director of Chile. The country thus entered a new era called "The New Nation." The Spanish did not give up easily and other battles followed until they were crushed at Maipú on 5 April 1818 by San Martín's Chilean and Argentine troops thus securing Chile's independence. Chilean troops later campaigned in Peru until the final defeat of the Spaniards in 1824.¹

In February 1817, only a few days after the battle of Chacabuco, the first units of the new Chilean army were organized—an infantry and an artillery battalion. By November, four more numbered infantry battalions had been raised as well as a cavalry regiment armed with lances and a guard company of mounted chasseurs (the *Cazadores de la Escolta Directoria*) that eventually grew into a full regiment. The army now numbered nearly five-thousand men. A small general staff, several specialist corps, and a military academy to train officers were also being organized.²

The uniform of the new army introduced in 1817 was efficient-looking and practical. Its main inspiration was obviously the French army's new uniforms introduced the previous year. Various details such as the artillery's dress and precise rank badges were vague at first, but had been defined by January 1819. The uniform orders given at that time appear to have codified some existing practices.

The line infantry wore a dark blue coat with red collar, cuffs, turnbacks, and piping with yellow metal buttons. Dark blue trousers and black gaiters (white in summer) completed the uniform. The black shako had brass chin scales; a small brass plate stamped with the unit's number; a red (outside), white, and blue (center) national cockade; a yellow top band; and a red ball tuft. Infantry grenadiers were distinguished by red fringed epaulets, red cords, and a tall red plume on the shako. Officer's shakos had a red over white over blue plume and they had their battalion's number on their collar. Infantrymen were armed with muskets and bayonets of various origins, most being British, Spanish, or French. Grenadiers also had a short sword. Accouterments tended to follow the French patterns. Ponchos were used as a combination blanket and overall garment

and would be rolled up on top of the cowhide knapsack.³

The artillery had a blue coat with a red collar with a yellow grenade badge and piping; blue cuffs and turnbacks edged with red piping; and red cuff flaps with three bars of yellow lace. Red epaulets and yellow metal buttons, and blue trousers with red piping and stripes were also worn. The cuffs were reinforced with black leather. A black shako with brass chin scales; yellow band; red cords; brass crossed cannons and grenade badge; the national cockade; and a white over red plume comprised the headgear. They also had a French-style short artillery sword.

The cavalry, sometimes called "lancers," had basically the same uniform as the infantry, but with gray trousers strapped with black leather and a red side stripe. The shako had a red band with red cords and tuft. The troopers were armed with swords, carbines, and lances. The *Cazadores de la Escolta Directoria* company wore a dark green coat with red collar with a white sword and palm badge; red cuffs; with piping and turn backs. Red epaulets and white metal buttons, blue trousers with red piping and stripes, reinforced with black leather completed the ensemble. Headgear comprised a black shako with brass chin scales; yellow band, green cords; white metal bugle horn badge; the national cockade; and a green plume.⁴

Noncommissioned officers were distinguished by chevrons above the cuffs. Second corporals had a red chevron; a corporal had two; a second sergeant had one gold chevron; and a sergeant had two. Officers had better quality versions of their unit's uniform with gilt or silver buttons and badges. Their commissioned status was denoted by a red sash. Rank was indicated by lace bars on the cuffs for junior officers: one gold lace for a sub-lieutenant; two for a lieutenant; and three for a captain. Senior officers wore epaulets: all silver for majors; gold strap and silver fringes for lieutenant colonels; and gold with a black strap embroidered with gold and three gold stars for a colonel. The senior officers could also wear a bicorn hat.

We are grateful to Chile's military academy and the Chilean army for their very kind assistance in making available the artwork for this plate. Digital assembly of individual figures by John K. Robertson.

Art: Julio Berrios Salazar

Text: Carlos Alberto Méndez Notari

1. John Fletcher, *Liberators! Napoleonic Warfare in South America* (Los Angeles: Grenadier Productions, 2005).
2. Chilean infantrymen tended to wear sandals in the field, keeping the shoes and gaiters for parades and battles. There was also the light infantry battalion *Cazadores de Coquimbo* that had green instead of red facings.
3. Alberto and Antonio Marquez Allison, "The Andean Liberation Army" part 2, *Campaigns* (May-June 1982): 28–30; Edmundo Gonzales Salina, *Historia de Ejército de Chile, Tomo XI: Nuestros Uniformes* (Santiago: Biblioteca Militar, 1985), 46–55, 58–61; Nicanor Molinare, "Breve estudio sobre los uniformes usados por la tropas coloniales e independientes de Chile," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, no. 16 (1914): 170–214.
4. Allison gives a green cuff with red piping to this unit.



Operational Detachment A, 2d Battalion, 10th Special Forces Group, U.S. Army, Northern Iraq, 2003

Operational Detachment A, 2d Battalion, 10th Special Forces Group, U.S. Army, Northern Iraq, 2003

Plate 870

STUDY of the uniforms worn by U.S. Army Special Forces Groups at the commencement of Operation Iraqi Freedom is possible because of the availability of on-the-spot digital images made by a member of one of the Operational Detachments A (ODAs), also known as “A” Teams, involved in the opening phase of the campaign, known as Operation UGLY BABY. The purpose of Operation UGLY BABY was to place “SF soldiers on the ground and conducting combat operations with ... Kurdish Peshmerga units.”¹

This high risk movement of Special Forces ODAs into the heart of the Kurdish-dominated northern Iraq took place 22 March 2003, and resulted in the direct airborne insertion of ODAs in spite of attempted interdiction by Iraqi anti-aircraft artillery.² “Almost immediately upon arrival, the SF teams moved via buses and civilian cars directly to the Green Line, where they arrayed against opposing Iraqi forces, tying up valuable Iraqi military resources.”³

The official history of the Special Forces in Iraq concludes that the “... gamble of infiltrating by air ... paid off. In a single movement, nineteen ODAs and four Operational Detachment Bravos from the 10th SFG deployed to northern Iraq ...”⁴

This plate depicts the transitional battle dress uniforms (BDU) employed by “A” Teams during their initial March to May deployment to northern Iraq as well as their adaptability, in comparison to conventional Army forces, allowed by “A” Teams when in combat situations to adopt nonregulation dress to be worn with the prescribed uniform. The beret flash of the 10th Special Forces Group is a shamrock green.⁵ Even after the receipt of complete desert BDU, photos of “A” Team members in Iraq reveal a continued propensity to modify their appearance. The foreground figure is in three-color desert BDU with desert pattern B “Boonie” hat. Over his jacket he wears a three-color desert pattern protective vest with chest plate, fitted with modular pouches. A 9mm Beretta pistol is worn in a “gunslinger” holster strapped to his right leg. He wears a locally procured *kefia* scarf around his neck and he holds an M-4A1 carbine with ACOG 4X scope. The left rear team member wears the woodland pattern BDU, a protective vest with chest plate in woodland pattern, and a civilian baseball cap. He is equipped with an M4A1 carbine with standard sight. The right rear team member, wearing the three-color BDU, desert hat, and woodland pattern protective vest, is preparing to fire his M4 carbine with M203 grenade launcher. An

abandoned Iraqi RPG-7, or shoulder-fired grenade launcher, with bandoleer is on the ground.

A word about the “A” Team organizational structure might be useful. “A” Teams are the basic component of all Special Forces Groups (SFG). Each SF company consists of six “A” Teams. Each twelve-man “A” Team is composed of a captain as leader; a warrant officer as second in command; two or more noncommissioned officers; and other enlisted ranks “trained in each of the five SF functional areas: weapons, engineer, medical, communications, and operations and intelligence.”⁶ Each team member is SF qualified and has been cross-trained in the skills required to perform in the five functional areas. Along with the above functions, “A” Teams are trained in such diverse combat skills as operation by air, land, or sea; adjustment to remote and difficult terrain and weather conditions; and the ability to operate separately or as part of a larger unit. Depending on the mission requirements, equipment used by “A” Teams varies greatly, but may include, but not be limited to tactical satellite combinations; global position systems; medical, laboratory, and dental instruments; defensive weapons; electric and nonelectric demolition devices, and night-vision goggles; ram-air parachutes; SCUBA tanks and Zodiac boats; and so on. As this plate is limited to one type of operation, on land and in desert conditions, only a small proportion of “A” equipment can be depicted in this format.

The preparation of this plate would not have been possible without the help of CWO3 Timothy Zlatich, United States Army.

*Art: Alan H. Archambault
Text: Marko Zlatich*

1. Robert W. Jones, “Getting There is Half the Battle: Operation UGLY BABY,” *Veritas, Journal of Army Special Operations History* (Winter 2005): 10, hereafter referred to as Jones, “Ugly Baby.” See also, Charles H. Briscoe, et al., “All Roads Lead to Baghdad,” *Army Special Operations Forces in Iraq* (Fort Bragg, NC: USASOC History Office, n.d.), 117–121, hereafter Briscoe, “All Roads.” This book is a comprehensive official history of Special Operations Forces in Iraq, 19 March 2003 to the capture of Saddam Hussein, 13 December 2004.
2. Jones, “Ugly Baby,” 11.
3. *Ibid.*, 14.
4. Briscoe, “All Roads,” 120.
5. Briscoe, “All Roads,” Fig. 3.6, 66.
6. Special Forces “A” Team Organizational Structure Fact Sheet, Internet Website, www.soc.mil/SF/Ateamsfs.shtml.



U.S.S. PHILADELPHIA



Marine Sergeant



*Marine Lieutenant
(Field Dress)*



*Marine Lieutenant
(Summer Undress)*



Navy Petty Officer

Sailors

*Navy Chief
Master At Arms*

Marine-Naval Landing Force, Samoa, 1899

FROM 1847, Britain, Germany, and the United States vied for dominance in Samoa. In 1886, Germany imposed a puppet king, but Samoan opponents of the king defeated the Kaiser's troops. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck called off a forcible invasion only to avert a Great Powers showdown. Hostilities seemed sure in 1889, but a typhoon crippled the ships of the three powers. The Treaty of Berlin set up a tripartite protectorate, but in 1893, the First Samoan Civil War broke out. Britain and the U.S. imposed peace until 1898, when the Second Civil War erupted.

A detachment of Marines and sailors from the cruiser USS *Philadelphia* landed 15 March 1899, and the warring factions fled the capital. On 1 April, an Anglo-American foray into the interior was attacked at Tagalii.¹ Thereafter, the landing force held towns and roads while German-supported guerrillas held the bush. To end the crisis, the powers banned any monarchy and partitioned Samoa, with Germany in control in the west and the U.S. in the east. Britain was consoled with Tonga and parts of the Solomons.

The plate is based on contemporary photographs.² At left is a Marine sergeant in dark blue coat piped scarlet; sky blue trousers; dark blue service cap; and light brown leggings. His Winchester-Lee rifle is paired with web cartridge belt (blue with black leather flaps) and suspenders, both with brass mountings. The second figure is a lieutenant of marines in light brown field hat, and blue flannel shirt (trousers and leggings as before), with mameluke sword, revolver, holster, and cartridge boxes. He wears a crimson sash—normally worn diagonally across the torso when officer of the day—around his waist, probably to make him readily identifiable in action. At right, a Navy chief petty officer is equipped for field duty, with cutlass, haversack, and canteen; he wears another type of shirt (in denim) and a blue service cap.³ At the stairway are a petty officer (with souvenir German revolver and bayonet) and seaman in blue jumpers, the former with sailor's blue cap (flat hat), the latter a blue watch cap. On the stairs are a Marine bugler in blues with white pith helmet and belt with rectangular eagle buckle, and a Marine lieutenant in white "undress" jacket.⁴ Above are sailors ready for the field, one

with a flag (pilot signal for the letter "S," likely used to mark the force's position for ships watching offshore) with blue square on white field, and one in a short-sleeved shirt showing a flag of the pro-German "Tuiaana" faction.

We thank CMHFellow John Stacey and Ms. Lena Kajot of the Marine Corps History Division for their kind assistance.

Art: John C. Andrews

Text: Ken Smith-Christmas

1. Four Medals of Honor were awarded for this action: to Gunner's Mate 1c Frederick Thomas Fisher; marines Sgt. Bruno Albert Forsterer, Pvt. Henry Lewis Hulbert, and Sgt. Michael Joseph McNally. The battle involved 36 U.S. Navy and 20 Marine servicemen, 48 Britishers, about 100 anti-German Samoan militiamen (who fled), against about 800 pro-German Samoans and some Germans. Four Americans were killed and five wounded; the Royal Navy suffered three dead and one seaman wounded, plus one Royal Marine wounded. Losses would have been worse, but for the use of a USN Colt machinegun. *The Globe and Laurel, The Journal of the Royal Marines*, 42, no. 7 (April 1899). Forsterer, born German, had previously served in Samoa in the Kaiser's forces. Hulbert was born English, worked as a civil servant in Malaya, and enlisted after a venture in the Klondike gold rush. Other highlights of his career were status as the first Marine Gunner, and the award of the Army Distinguished Service Cross in 1918. <http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/hhulbert.htm>
2. Official Marine Corps Photographs 306145, 514830, 515332, 523451, and 523456, Marine Corps History Division, Quantico, VA. Some pieces of uniform and equipment seen in these pictures vary from the regulations promulgated in 1892. An example is the service cap, introduced about 1895 and evolving in details before being covered in the next regulations (1900). It was first made with vertical sides, not belled crowns, and marines manipulated them into a preferred semi-belled shape. From 1897 the cap was made with semi-belled crown, but this type does not appear in the Samoa photographs. The caps had no red piping until 1902.
3. His hat lacks the USMC device and cords as these were not promulgated until 1902. The photos cited show no devices on helmets or service coats, although they appear in other pictures of the era. As with Navy working dress in general, shirts were made aboard ship according to taste and often varied from official patterns. An official Marine pattern shirt existed, but its use in Samoa is unconfirmed. Leather goods for the Navy were black, but russet for marines per regulation, with officers allowed either. In service, oiling and polishing (perhaps with Navy polish) darkened USMC items. Pistol belts in the photos also were likely made aboard ship, as they differ from official types.
4. Details of undress coat per Charles H. Cureton, *The United States Marine Corps* (London: Greenhill Books, 1997).

A Story of Two Soldiers in the 2d New Hampshire Infantry

Joseph Stahl

THE 2d New Hampshire was one of the first regiments formed in response to President Lincoln's call for troops in spring 1861. When the regiment was recruiting in early May 1861, the War Department requested only units that enlisted for three years in lieu of the ninety-days regiments as previous. Therefore, the 2d was one of the first of the three-year regiments. The regiment was mustered into service in June 1861 and left Portsmouth for Boston on 20 June, then New York City, and finally arrived in Washington on 23 June.¹

One of the privates that arrived with the 2d New Hampshire was Pvt. George L. Chase, a member of Company H. His service record describes Chase as being twenty-four years old, having black eyes, brown hair, florid complexion, and 5 feet, 3 inches tall. He stated that he was a farmer before joining the Army. Chase was mustered for three years on 5 June 1861.² Private Chase's early bimonthly returns show his status as "not stated," common in the early part of the war. However, they do show that on 13 August 1861 he was detached to the quartermaster department as a teamster. Since this date follows that of the First Battle of Bull Run, 21 July 1861, it appears that Chase was in the fighting. Today if you go to the parking area on Mathews Hill you will find a trail into the woods. Walking down this trail will bring you to a marker. It is for the 2d New Hampshire. The regiment was there about 11:00 A.M. on the 21st. Later in the afternoon, the regiment was heavily involved in the fighting on the west side of the modern Sudley Road. According to the *Official Records (ORs)* the regiment lost 9 killed, 35 wounded, and 63 missing.³ After the First Battle of Bull Run the 2d returned to their Washington, D.C., campsite.

On 17 September 1861, Paul Morgan was mustered into Company E, 2d New Hampshire Infantry. He was described as 5 feet, 7 inches tall, with a light complexion, blue eyes, and light hair. He said he was eighteen years old and had been working as a farmer before enlisting at Keene, New Hamp-

JOSEPH STAHL retired from the Institute for Defense Analyses where he authored or co-authored more than 50 reports on defense issues. He grew up in St. Louis, where he earned an MBA from Washington University in St. Louis. He is a member of the Company and is co-author of the first book on ID discs *Identification Discs of Union Soldiers in the Civil War*. He has spoken to various Civil War groups and has authored more than two dozen articles about items in his collections for the *Gettysburg Magazine*, the *Washington Times*, *Manuscripts*, *America's Civil War*, *MC&H*, *Civil War Historian* and the *Skirmish Line of the North-South Skirmish Association*. Displays of items from of his collection have won awards at Civil War shows.

shire. Private Morgan enlisted for three years. His service record gives his status as "not stated" from his muster-in until March/April 1862.⁴

Private Chase's records state on the January/February 1862 return that he was "overpaid one day by Major Hazelton June 30 1861, thirty-six cents." Sometime during the spring or summer of 1862, both soldiers bought ID discs of the same type and probably from the same sutler. The discs are shown in FIGS 1 and 2. Both discs have a bust view of George Washington and the words, "George Washington Born February 22, 1732." Research shows that the Merriam Company made these tags. Looking at the image of Washington the word "Merriam" can be seen below Washington's shoulder. Joseph H. Merriam was a maker of ID discs and was listed in Boston directories 1854–1863 as a "Die Sinker" and "Medals struck in—gold—silver—copper, or Tin."⁵ Private Chase's disc is stamped, "Geo. L. Chase. Co. H. 2 R. E. G. BULLRUN WAGONER July 21, 1861 HENNIKER." Private Morgan had, "P. C. Morgan. Co. F. 2d R. E. G. War of N.H.V. 1861 Clinton Mass." stamped on his. This is typical of the information stamped on these ID discs. Two unusual pieces of information were stamped into Private Chase's disc: "Bull Run" and "July 21, 1861." The second is "Wagoner." Soldiers occasionally had their rank on their ID disc, but seldom their assignment. "Henniker" is shown as his hometown on his enlistment form.⁶ Private Morgan lists his home town as Clinton, Massachusetts. Why he joined a New Hampshire Regiment is unknown.

Both Privates are present though the August/September 1862 bimonthly returns. Prior to this the regiment was involved in the Siege of Yorktown (5 April–4 May), the Battles of Williamsburg (5 May), Fair Oaks (31 May), and Malvern Hill (1 July) during the Peninsula Campaign. After these engagements the regiment was ordered back to Alexandria



FIG 1A and B. Reverse and Obverse of Pvt. Chase's ID disc. Photos by the author.



FIG 2A and B. Reverse and Obverse of Pvt. Morgan's ID disc. Photos by the author.

and arrived there in late August. From there it was sent west to Warrenton Junction for the beginning of the Second Bull Run Campaign.⁷ Chapter VIII of the regimental history is about the actions of the 2d at the Second Battle of Bull Run.⁸ The chapter starts with the arrival of the regiment at Aquia Creek on 23 August 1862. The next day, the ships moved on to Alexandria and the soldiers disembarked. Brig. Gen. Cuvier Grover's Brigade, which was in Maj. Gen. Joseph Hooker's Division of the III Corps of the Army of Virginia, moved by railroad from Alexandria to Warrenton Junction and went into camp. The 2d New Hampshire was assigned to this brigade. Three days later, 27 August, found the men on the march back toward Manassas Junction along the path of the Orange & Alexandria Railroad. At Kettle Run, Maj. Gen. Richard S. Ewell's entire division was encountered. The Union troops deployed and advanced toward the Confederates. After some fighting, General Ewell withdrew back toward Gen. Thomas J. Jackson's forces at Manassas Junction. The Union forces spend the night of 27 August at Bristoe Station. On 28 August, the regiment moved to Blackburn's Ford near Manassas with the rest of General Hooker's division.⁹

The regiment was on the march on the Warrenton road (modern State Route 29) toward Groveton, 29 August 1862. The regimental history says, "The brigade marched down (west) the Warrenton road toward Groveton, past the stone house [still there today] and the crossing of the Sudley Road (modern State Route 234), and at length filed into the fields to the right."¹⁰ Later, the history reports that, "[Brigadier General Cuvier] Grove placed his command in two lines—the Second in the center of the first with the 1st Massachusetts on its right and the 11th Massachusetts on the left."¹¹ These units advanced toward the railroad cut behind which the Confederates were waiting. "In the New Hampshire section, it was understood and agreed that the Old Second was to be put in, this time, 'for all she was worth.'"¹² According to the regimental history, the attack was a success at first. "The fragments of the first [Confederate] line were driven in upon a second, a few rods beyond the railroad [cut]," but the Confederates brought up reinforcements and forced the 2d back.¹³ (Today if you walk from tour stop 5 northeast following the railroad cut you will find a marker for the 2d New Hampshire.) They re-crossed the railroad cut and returned to the field where the attack first

started. After this the brigade was subject to a Confederate attack and retreated again back to Dogan's Ridge where Union artillery units were positioned.

"The remnants of the brigade were now assembled in a little grove by the side of Young's Branch, and the rolls called. Out of about 1,500 men the brigade had lost 486 killed, wounded, and missing. The heaviest loss had fallen upon the Second, which, out of the 332 officers and men, reported 16 killed, 87 wounded, and 29 missing." Later an additional 22 would succumb to their wounds making the total killed 38.¹⁴

Private Morgan was sent to a hospital with a wound of the upper right arm, subsequently amputated. His National Archives pension file has a very faded photograph of him showing him after the amputation (FIG 5). He was also hospitalized in Annapolis later that the fall. Private Morgan was discharged from the service on 10 November 1862 due to the loss of his arm. He was granted a pension of \$8 per month starting on 11 November 1862.

After the Second Bull Run Campaign the regiment camped near Fort Ward in the defenses of Washington. It moved to Falmouth, Virginia, in late November 1862. The regiment spent the Battle of Fredericksburg in reserve. Morgan apparently recovered sufficiently to return to his regiment and performed the duties of a teamster until until 25 May 1863 when he is reported as absent, sick, in Concord, New Hampshire. The regimental history describes how the regiment was ordered to New Hampshire on 28 February 1863 and arrived there on 3 March 1863 to allow the troops to vote in important local

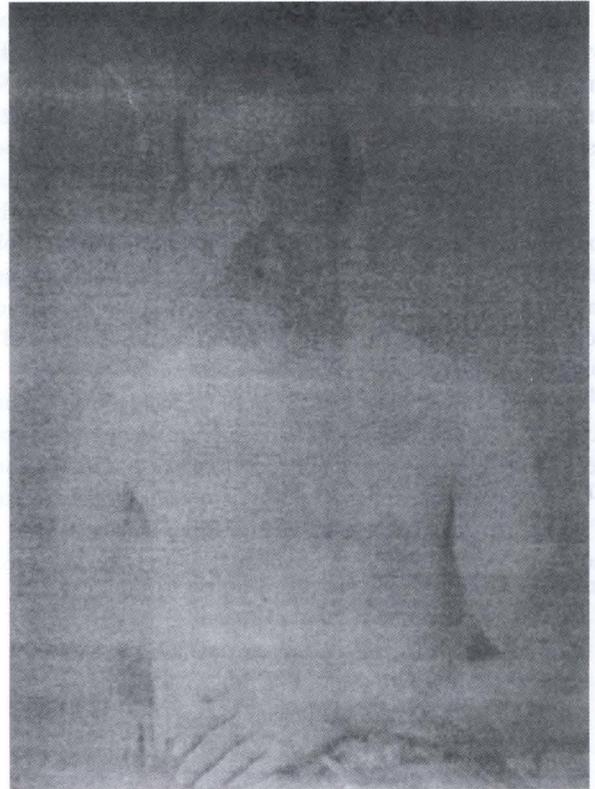


FIG 5. Pvt. Paul Morgan. Photo from his National Archives pension file.

elections. It remained in New Hampshire until 25 May 1863 when it was ordered back to the Army of the Potomac.¹⁵ Based on the muster roll for September/October 1863, Morgan had recovered from his wound, but didn't report back to his unit. The roll states that he was "Apprehended as a deserter, Aug 14/63 in NH. Returned to duty by order of General [Gilman] Marston Expense of apprehension \$3.50 to be deducted from his pay."¹⁶

While Private Morgan was absent, the 2d New Hampshire was heavily engaged at the Battle of Gettysburg. The regiment was in the heavy fighting on the Emmitsburg Road as a part of III Corps. Private Morgan returned to the unit in August 1863 in time for the fall campaigns. However, he decided to enlist in the Invalid Corps. In a statement in his pension file dated 23 January 1898, Morgan described his post-2d New Hampshire service in this fashion:

That after the loss of said arm he re-enlisted in Co "99" 2 Battalion I. Corps That he was enrolled in said Co on the 14th day of July 1863 & was discharged there from Jan 22 1864 by reason of surgeon's certificate of Disability that on or about the 20th day of December 1863 being then stationed at Alexandria Va. He was placed one night on guard at the corner Prince and St. Joseph Streets That the day having been raining the pavement was [totally] covered with ice that while on duty his feet suddenly slipped out from under him letting him down, That as he fell he felt something give way in the left groin and feeling unable to get up he called to the Corporal of the guard to assist him.

After this injury he was sent to the 3d Division Hospital where he was discharged on 22 January 1864. This ended Morgan's military service. Sometime after this his pension was resumed, probably still at \$8 per month.¹⁷

While Private Morgan was serving in the Invalid Corps, Pvt. George Chase was still with the 2d New Hampshire. His January 1864 regimental record states he was fined "\$0.90 for 1 canteen & 1 haversack." According to the regimental history the regiment was assigned to the Army of the James in April 1864 and took part in the fighting at Drewry's Bluff 4-16 May 1864. After this it moved to join the Army of the Potomac. The 2d saw its final combat in the fighting at Cold Harbor. Private Chase was present during these actions and was mustered out on 21 June 1864. According to his service record, he was due \$15.11 for his clothing allowance and a bounty of \$100.

On 5 September 1864, Chase re-enlisted and mustered into Company C of the 18th New Hampshire Infantry at Concord, New Hampshire. His enlistment record shows that he was born in Groton, Vermont, and that he was to receive another bounty of \$100. He gave his age as twenty-nine. Private Chase is shown as "present" from 31 October 1864 to February 1865.

While on duty he lost a haversack during January/February 1865 that cost him 67 cents deducted from his pay. He was sent to hospital on 18 March 1865 and lost his canteen, costing him 65 cents from his pay during the March/April period. He shown as "admitted to Slough G. H. Alexandria Va, April 26, 1865 with chron, Diarrhea." Chase was sent to Manchester, New Hampshire, on 25 May 1865 and mustered out with the regiment on 10 June 1865. The government owed him \$33.33 of his bounty and \$48.84 for clothing not used.¹⁸ Regardless, he was still a sick man. The regimental history of the 2d New Hampshire notes that he died 13 June 1865 at Henniker.¹⁹

Private Morgan returned to New Hampshire and after the war, married and fathered seven children His pension was increased to \$24.00 on 4 June 1874 and eventually reached a total of \$55 per month by his death on 5 March 1922, one of the many soldiers that carried a very visible reminder of his service to the Union for the rest of his life.²⁰

Notes

1. *The Union Army* (1908, repr; Wilmington, NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1997), I: 81, 82.
2. Compiled Service Record of George L. Chase, Company H, 2d New Hampshire Infantry, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, DC: (hereafter Chase, MSR).
3. United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: GPO, 1880-1901), ser. 1, 2: 287.
4. Compiled Service Record of Paul Morgan, Company E, 2d New Hampshire Infantry, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s-1917, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, DC: (hereafter Morgan, MSR).
5. Russell Rulau and George Fuld, *Medallic Portraits of Washington 2d Edition* (Iola, WI: Krause Publications, 1999), 261.
6. George L. Chase, military service records, Company H, 2d New Hampshire Infantry, National Archives.
7. *The Union Army*, I: 81, 82.
8. Martin A. Hayes, *A History of the Second Regiment, New Hampshire Volunteer Infantry, in the War of the Rebellion* (Lakeport, New Hampshire, 1896)
9. *Ibid.*, 123-127.
10. *Ibid.*, 128.
11. *Ibid.*, 129.
12. *Ibid.*, 130.
13. *Ibid.*, 132.
14. *Ibid.*, 135.
15. *Ibid.*, 152-156.
16. Chase, MSR.
17. Morgan, MSR.
18. Chase, MSR.
19. Hayes, *A History of the Second Regiment*, 20, Roster.
20. Morgan, MSR.

THE MESSAGE CENTER

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New Members Spring 2010

Joshua D. Mann via CMH website
L. E. Hagmann via CMH website
Enrique Robles by Alex de Quesada
Juan Pablo Méndez Fernández
by Alex de Quesada
Escuela de Carabineros
by Alex de Quesada
Escuela de Aviación "Capitán Manuel
Avalos Prado" by Alex de
Quesada
Museo Nacional Aeronautico
y del Espacio by Alex de
Quesada
COL Charles W. Mood, USAFR
by Steve Abolt
Barbara Marchant by Juanita
Leisch-Jensen
Jack Helm by Juanita Leisch-Jensen
James I. Beale, IV by Les Jensen
Michael S. Bennett by Paul Martin
Hugh Edward Way
by Larry Munnikhuysen
Patricio Rodriguez O'Ryan
by Alex de Quesada
Matthew Keagle by John U. Rees
Daniel McMahon by John U. Rees
Myles Grant by Synthia Santos
Anne C. St. John by Russell K. Brown
Chris Woolf by John U. Rees
Patrick O'Kelley by John U. Rees
Jacob Neely by Steve Henry
LTCOL Douglas H. Lloyd, USAF (Ret.)
by John L. Morris
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by John L. Morris
CAPT Kevin Callahan, USNR,
by Dr. Alfred Hurley
Ralph J. Naveaux by David M. Sullivan
Sherri Rapp by John U. Rees
Warren W. Privott by John U. Rees
David G. Yahnke by SgtMaj Michael
Stelzel, USMC (Ret.)
Thomas A. Laemlenn
by Dr. Edwin Libby
William E. Warner
by Larry Munnikhuysen

LTC Michael E. Hall, USA (Ret.)

by SgtMaj Michael Stelzel,
USMC (Ret.)

M. Gordon Thruston via CMH website

Harry Nowak by John L. Morris

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by Thomas Crawford

James E. Crawford by Thomas Crawford

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USMC (Ret.)

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Daniel Sauerwein

by MAJ Stuart E. Lawrence Jr.

Robert L. Silverman by Joseph G. Bilby

Mike Evans by MAJ Stuart E.

Lawrence Jr.

Mark S. DeVecchis by Robert A. Selig

Richard W. Rhone, Ed.D.

via CMH website

Albert Joseph Fitzgerald

by Gerald Roxbury

Thomas B. B. Price by John F. DePue

John Muller by Phil Weaver

W. Scott Ferriss by John Morris

Joseph W. Smith by Dan Umstead

Joseph R. Beck by Larry Munnikhuysen

On Our Covers

13th British Hussars, Canada,
1866–1869

Front cover

This plate of a kettledrummer of the 13th Hussars, ca. 1869, was probably done from sketches taken in Toronto by British Army Captain Seccombe. It was published in London, England, about a year later by Captain Seccombe in his humorous plate book entitled *Army and Navy Drolleries*. The plate shows the uniform of the 13th Hussars with remarkably good detail. The officially buff collar and busby bag are shown in their actual white hue. The kettledrum banners of the 13th are dark blue rather than the usual practice of having them in the facing color (the 14th and 18th Hussars, and 17th Lancers also had dark blue kettledrum banners). Photo by the author from an original plate in a private collection.

Back cover

In September 1866, the 13th Regiment of Hussars was posted at York, in England, when the unit received urgent orders to immediately proceed to embark for Canada. The regiment left at 3:00 A.M., 11 September, for Liverpool on special trains; officers, men, and their horses all embarked on the transports *Tarifa* and *Europa* that sailed out later the same day, the dismounted men on the *Damascus* that sailed the next day. After a very bad passage across the Atlantic, the 13th landed at Quebec City on 25 and 27 September, boarded trains and steamers for Montreal where E and F Troops remained while the rest of the regiment went to Toronto. The regiment's women and children joined the men a month later.

What had caused the urgency were the Fenian Raids that had been made into Canada from the American side of the international border in June 1866. Tens of thousands of Irish-Americans belonged to the Fenian Brotherhood, which had organized a sizeable "private" army to free Ireland from British rule. Its immediate objective was to invade and conquer Canada, then part of the British Empire, and exchange it for Ireland's freedom. The Fenian's initial raids were repulsed by Canadian volunteers and British regulars, but caused considerable anxiety in Canada's population and a rather sensitive diplomatic situation between the United States, Britain, and Canada. It was feared in Canada that new raids would occur at the time of the American elections in October 1866, hence the urgent reinforcements shipped from Britain to Canada.

The 13th was the only British regular cavalry unit in the country. As it turned out, the Fenians did not attack and the regiment spent nearly three years in Canada posted in Montreal and Toronto. Its main activity was to train Canadian volunteer militia cavalry units, which proved to be very beneficial to Canadian cavalymen. In early 1869, the 13th was recalled and, after selling most of its horses—215 in Toronto and 75 in Montreal—the regiment embarked at Quebec City for England in July.

The prolific artist Orlando Norie painted a large and lovely watercolor of the 13th during maneuvers at this period, from

which we reproduce the party of officers and men being led by Lt. Col. S. G. Jenyns, who commanded the regiment in Canada. The painting is now in the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island, where it was photographed by the author thanks to the kind assistance of Mr. Peter Harrington, curator of the collection.

The 13th was converted from being a light dragoon to a hussar regiment in 1861 but it was April 1862 that its new hussar uniform was issued. This uniform was dark blue with buff collar and double trouser stripes; black bearskin busby with buff bag and white plume; yellow cords for the men; gold cords and trouser stripes for officers. It should be noted that the facings of the 13th, although officially termed "buff," were actually white.

Although the 13th Regiment of Hussars was in Canada for a relatively short time, its influence on Canadian cavalry was long lasting. Nearly all Canadian mounted corps were light cavalry and, except for a few units, the uniform issued to Canadian volunteer cavalymen was similar to that of the 13th Hussars. This became more varied from the 1870s but, until the 1930s, Canadian hussars officially had the same full dress as the 13th except for regimental badges

René Chartrand

Sources:

C. R. B. Barrett, *History of the XIII Hussars* (Edinburgh and London, William Blackwood and Sons, 1911), 2: 16–20, 278–279.
Public Records Office (Kew, U.K.), War Office 380/2, compilations of regimental establishments and movements, 13th Light Dragoons.

New Webmaster Appointed

It is with great pleasure that the appointment of Steve Baule as our webmaster is announced to the membership, effective as the new year starts. Steve combines academic proficiency in military history, some of which is shared with Company members in the journal, with lesser known talents in informatics. Thus, he generously responded to John Robertson's call for a new webmaster and now fully assumes this responsibility after a fruitful transition period during the past autumn and approval by your Board of Governors.

From the President

Is it just me or have you also noticed that every "not for profit organization" you belong to these days is telling you about their endowment fund and encouraging you to contribute to it. Well, did you know that the Company of Military Historians is also a 501(c) "not for profit" organization and we too have an established endowment fund? We do, honestly! The problem is we haven't done a very good job of telling you about it or encouraging you to consider contributing to it. You know the old saying, "You have not, because you ask not." Well, we haven't done the best job in the world of making the membership aware of either the need or the fact that *you can make a tax deductible contribution* to the Company's endowment fund, but you can.

The Company is no different than any other "not for profit" organization in that the annual membership fee rate is set at the lowest point possible to meet expenses in the hope of not discouraging membership. The truth of the matter is however that membership is never constant and there is always a need for monies to cover those periods when the funds on hand are not adequate to cover the costs of publication and mailing. While the sale of surplus copies of the Journal and the *MUIA* plates helps

with this dilemma, it is never adequate, especially in the first quarter of every year when paid memberships seem to be at the lowest level.

We would love to have a benefactor, and certainly do encourage you to remember us in your estate planning. However, small donations go a long way in helping us remain in the black and pay our printing and mailing expenses. For those periods when funds aren't adequate, we are forced to consider reducing the number of pages in the Journal and printing fewer (if any) pages in color. When this happens many members become discontented with the product and drop membership, so this situation creates a negative financial spiral that is best to avoid. Adequate funding guarantees that we can avoid this to everyone's benefit.

If you can't afford to make a donation to the Company's endowment fund, you can be a big help by paying your annual membership fee on time and by recruiting at least one new member every year. Have you considered giving a friend a gift membership for their birthday or other occasion? What about mentoring a younger member and bringing them into this outstanding organization and helping to assure our future?

On a different note, I wish to again

remind you to visit our website at www.military-historians.org. There, among other things, you can keep track of information about our annual meetings (the 2010 meeting is in April in northern Virginia: <http://www.military-historians.org/company/meetings/2010-meeting/2010-meeting.htm>) and learn about local chapters in your area. Participating in annual meetings and in a local chapter are the best ways to enhance your enjoyment of being a member of this unique organization. And, while discussing the website, I wish to welcome our new Electronic Editor (aka webmaster) Steve Baule. Look for some exciting updates to our website in the not too distant future!

As a final note, I will once again remind you that the Journal and the *MUIA* plates are the product of the membership. If you aren't seeing articles and/or plates on subjects and periods of history that interest you, get busy and produce something to be published. Guidelines are on the website. We would love to have your input. We are especially interested in receiving more material for publication covering the twentieth century.

This is your Company: Get excited about it and get involved!

Stephen M. Henry
President

Maryland 11th Field Artillery

The *Baltimore Sun*, 9 August 2009, reports the proud history of Maryland's 110th Field Artillery, which traces its roots back to the Revolutionary War and stormed Omaha Beach on 6 June 1944, came to an end on Saturday morning, 8 August 2009, when members rolled up their red and gold flags and sheathed them for good. The unit's deactivation after ninety-four years in Pikesville, Maryland, is part of an overall reorganization of the Maryland National Guard.

Peter J. McDermott

Female World War II Pilots Receive Overdue Honors

On 1 July 2009, the president signed a bill to award the Congressional Gold Medal to the Women Airforce Service Pilots of World War II, the first women in American history to fly military aircraft.

More than sixty years ago, they piloted fighter, bomber, transport, and training aircraft with the primary mission of flying noncombat military missions in the United States, thus freeing their male counterparts for combat missions. But their contribution went largely unrecognized for years; they were not even acknowledged with veteran status until 1977.

From 1942 to 1943, more than one thousand women joined the unit, and thirty-eight of them made the ultimate sacrifice in performing its mission. This legislation,

which passed the Senate and House in recent months, confers proper recognition on the women's achievements.

The Women Airforce Service Pilots, known collectively as WASPs, participated in instructor piloting, towing targets for air-to-air gunnery practice, ground-to-air anti-aircraft practice, and transporting personnel and cargo, among other tasks. In total, the women flew more than sixty million miles on American missions.

The Women Airforce Service Pilots were the subject of *Military Uniforms in America* plate 624, Raymond Johnson and Dale Biever, "Women Airforce Service Pilots, 1942-1944."

Adapted from the *American Forces Press Service*, 2 July 2009,
by John J. Kruzel

An Unusual Friendship between the United States and Denmark: the *Danmark's* World War II Coast Guard Service

Nora L. Chidlow

WAR clouds were swirling in the sky in the summer of 1939, when Adolf Hitler announced that he was sending two cruisers to Poland. Most of Europe was treading into unchartered waters, on the brink of war, and Denmark was no exception, despite being a neutral country. In New York, preparations were well underway for the 1939 World's Fair. Denmark was to send her largest naval ship, the *Neils Jud*, but she went into active service. Instead, the *Danmark*, in her first visit to the United States, sailed right into the heart of the Coast Guard.¹

Built in 1933, *Danmark* was designed by Aage Larsen. She measures 252 feet, 7 inches, and has a beam of 32 feet, 9 inches. Her depth is 17 feet and she carries 26 sails totaling 17,610 square feet. She has a 486hp diesel engine capable of moving under power at nine knots. Her tonnage is 790 tons gross.²

Knud Hansen embarked on *Danmark* as her captain in 1935 at the age of thirty-four, while thirty-year-old Knud Langevad became the ship's first officer in 1937. They had a combined forty-four years of sailing experience. *Danmark* carried 6 officers and 120 cadets. Most cadets had four to ten months of training on other vessels, since Danish law required that

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seamen serve a certain amount of time aboard sailing vessels before they could take officer examinations.³

As *Danmark* left Copenhagen on 8 August 1939, her crew had no idea it would be six years before she would return. The transatlantic crossing was uneventful, and *Danmark* arrived in New York on 16 September.

Newspapers heralded *Danmark's* appearance at the

fair. There was a Danish Cadets Day luncheon in her honor. New York's mayor, Fiorello La Guardia, arranged for the crew to attend a Yankees baseball game. Her next port of call was Annapolis, Maryland, arriving there on 17 October. Stopping in the nation's capital a week later, *Danmark* arrived in Puerto Rico on 2 December for the holidays. She docked in Jacksonville, Florida, on 1 April 1940 to prepare for the



FIG 1. The *Danmark*, circa 1945. Photo courtesy of USCG Historian's Office.

voyage home on 10 April.

On Sunday morning, 7 April, an elderly Finnish lady traveled by train from the Florida countryside to visit *Danmark*. Captain Hansen found her to be very strange and noted that a complete solar eclipse occurred the same day. He later would refer to the incident as a prophecy of what was to come.

"Listen to what I say," she began, "do not sail from here, Captain. Another eagle has cast its insatiable eye on your country. It has hissed its beak for a long time and will tear out from the breast your people's heart. When it will happen, I do not know, but I have thought a lot about you and your men and your boys since you came to New York to the big



FIG 2. Crew of Danmark at the New York World's Fair in 1939. Photo courtesy of Jan Langevad (from private collection of Knud Langevad).

World's Fair and I have seen that you will not all return to Denmark. Do not let the eagle strike its claws into you and tear out your hearts. Remain where you are and fight against it until the day comes when its wings are clipped and you can sail home in peace."⁴

Two days later, on 9 April, Denmark was invaded by Germany. Captain Hansen was at a farewell dinner for *Danmark*. Arriving back on the ship, Captain Hansen called the crew together and it was decided to remain in Jacksonville indefinitely. In Washington, Minister Kauffmann turned his back on the Nazi regime now in power in Denmark. Not knowing when they could go home was a harsh slap in the faces of the crew.

The *Danmark* was anchored at a Coast Guard station. Overnight, she became a ship without a homeland. Captain Hansen and his crew lost all wages and any additional supplies by remaining in American waters indefinitely. The Danish Embassy in Washington arranged for a monthly stipend of ten dollars for the crew. At eight o'clock the next morning, Captain Hansen was greeted by a group of Jacksonville citizens and two large trucks on the pier. They brought seventeen tons of food and supplies for the ship. Captain Hansen could not turn them away, although there was no room on board for these items. Each morning thereafter, women brought cookies and pies and men brought tobacco and other items. An anonymous shipment of summer uniforms arrived, much to the crew's delight.⁵

The *Danmark* remained in Jacksonville for twenty months, from 9 April 1940 until 27 December 1941. Many of her cadets transferred

FIG 3. First Officer Knud Langevad, seated center, celebrates his 33d birthday in September 1940 on board Danmark in Jacksonville. Photo courtesy of Jan Langevad (from private collection of Knud Langevad).



to the Merchant Marine. Fourteen died serving Allied forces. Ten of her original crew remained on board, including Captain Hansen and Langevad. VADM Russell Waesche, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, visited *Danmark* in the summer of 1940. Waesche immediately recognized the ship's potential as a training vessel and initiated paperwork to acquire her.⁶

The Coast Guard's training program dates back to 1876, when the *Dobbin* was commissioned. During World War II, many Coast Guard cutters normally reserved for cadet training were put into service overseas, and what ships she had left were deemed insufficient for training.

The initial reaction in Washington to Nazi-occupied Denmark was one of extreme skepticism. The *Danmark* was, in fact, still under the orders of Minister Kauffmann. In 1940, Denmark was a country of 4 million who did not have the military resources to resist invasion. Denmark was a pawn in the Nazi desire to control Norway because of her strategic location. Special treatment was given to the Danish people because Hitler was under the mistaken belief that they were part of the Aryan race.

In 1940, the United States Navy seized two Danish ships. *Danmark* was untouched because she was a government ship. The State Department began negotiations with Denmark in December 1940. Opposition to the idea quickly arose. It was felt that Danish citizens in the United States might find themselves under pressure from German agents in this country. Jacksonville was not a major American city, and the ship was safer there for the time being. There were more German

agents in New York than in Jacksonville and there was no risk in moving the ship out of Florida. The Coast Guard had been looking for a training ship ever since two of its vessels were badly damaged in the Hurricane of 1938. The original plan was for *Danmark's* crew to transfer to the Merchant Marine and for the Navy to purchase the ship. However, due to no agreement, negotiations were postponed several times. Captain Hansen entered into direct negotiations with Vice-admiral Waesche, but Copenhagen refused to sell *Danmark* if a similar ship could not be constructed.

In February 1941, the Nazis asked Denmark for the transfer of twelve torpedo boats, which Denmark refused. The Nazis gave Denmark an ultimatum, forcing them to turn over eight of the boats. This blatantly violated Germany's solemn declaration of 9 April 1940, respecting Danish sovereignty and integrity. Denmark began to resist the Nazi presence, primarily through the press. Many secret newspapers carried Allied news and Danish radio broadcasts with England and Sweden were voice-coded.

On 17 June 1941, RADM James Pine, the Superintendent of the Academy, recommended to the Academy's Congressional Board of Visitors that *Danmark* be purchased as a training ship. Senator Claude Pepper was the chairman of the Subcommittee on the Coast Guard of the Committee on Commerce of the Senate. His intention was to create an amendment to H.R. 4887, which authorized the construction of Coast Guard cutters for defense purposes.

The amendment to H.R. 4887, passed on 18 June, read as follows:

The President is authorized and empowered, in the interest of the national defense, through the Commandant of the Coast Guard, to purchase, requisition, charter, requisition the use of, or take over the title to, or the possession of, for the use of the Coast Guard in the training of Coast Guard cadets and Merchant Marine personnel, any foreign vessel designed as a merchant marine training ship, which is lying idle in foreign waters within the jurisdiction of the United States.

The United States offered to purchase the ship for \$350,000 in the spring of 1941. This was half of *Danmark's* value, but considerably less than the cost of building a similar ship. However, President Roosevelt felt that the price was too high and Denmark rejected the offer. Negotiations continued until the Act of 15 July 1941, was signed into law. Vessels acquired for war service under this act did not need to be documented, allowing *Danmark* to go into American service as a public vessel. The act also freed Denmark from any financial agreements.

A month later, on 16 August 1941, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8850:

... whereby the Commandant, United States Coast Guard, is authorized and empowered to proceed under the provisions of section 2, Act of July 15, 1941, (Public Law 178, 77th Congress) with the purchase, charter, requisitioning the use of, or the possession of, any or all foreign vessels designed as merchant marine training ships which are lying idle in waters within the jurisdiction of the United States ...

Danmark was essentially a foreign vessel lying idle in American waters. However, Denmark did not wish to sell or

requisition *Danmark* in fear of being vetoed by the Nazis. Negotiations were still underway on the morning of 7 December 1941, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, pushing the United States into the war. The next day, Captain Hansen sent a telegram to Washington:

In view of the latest days' developments, the cadets, officers, and captain of the Danish Government Training Vessel "Danmark" unanimously place themselves and the ship at the disposal of the United States Government, to serve in any capacity the United States Government sees fit in our joint fight for victory and liberty.

Washington quickly accepted the offer, and the final agreement was signed on 14 December 1941.⁷

The *Danmark* was the only ship under the Danish flag outside of Nazi-occupied Denmark, thus she was considered an enemy ship sailing in foreign waters. A telegram was sent to the North Atlantic Command in Bermuda, and permission was granted to sail under her flag, with Navy escorts. She arrived at the Coast Guard Academy on 3 January 1942.⁸

On 2 February, the Stars and Stripes was raised on *Danmark*. The State Department requested to waive the stipulation that her officers be American citizens. *Danmark* was commissioned as a Coast Guard vessel on 15 May 1942.

For three and a half years, *Danmark* trained over 5,000 Coast Guard cadets. Each month, new cadets embarked for training. The ship never went any further than Martha's Vineyard or the southern tip of Manhattan, primarily for defense

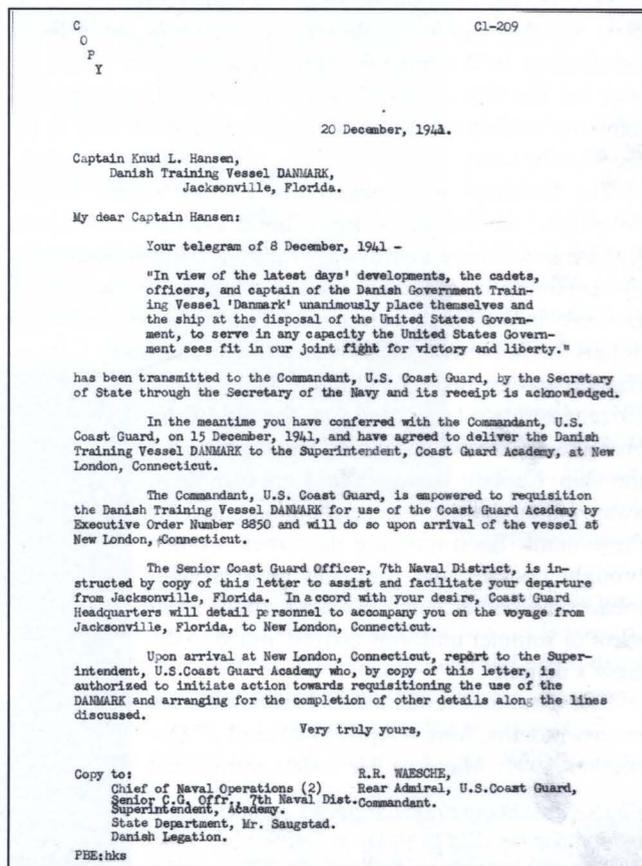


FIG4. Official acceptance of the loan of *Danmark* and its transfer to the Academy. Photo courtesy of USCG Historian's Office.



FIG 5. First Officer Langevad, center, and Captain Hansen, far right, on *Danmark*. Photo courtesy of Jan Langevad (from private collection of Knud Langevad).

purposes. No American officers were on board.

The United States let the Danish officers keep their navy blue uniforms as a cost-saving measure for the duration of the war. American cadets wore white uniforms with blue piping on their hats. Danish officers had a challenge before them—everything that a Danish cadet learned in the normal six years, plus what he had to learn if he was to be an officer in the Danish navy, was taught to the American cadets in four months.⁹ They were considered the best; sixty percent (3,200) of *Danmark*'s American cadets were commissioned as officers in the Coast Guard and the Navy.¹⁰

Not one cadet left *Danmark* without an indelible impression firmly planted into his memory. Dubbed the "Dirty D," *Danmark* was scrubbed at least three times a day by her cadets. Cadets spent rainy days scrubbing out lifeboats and sanding oars. The wheelhouse was varnished seven times biweekly.

Classes were held below deck, and included Rules of the Road, and Rope and Ground Tackle, with an infrequent foray into the instructor's seafaring background. It was lights out at midnight when the ship's generator shut off. As the last liberty boat returned to *Danmark* at midnight, cadets, in total darkness, undressed, slung out hammocks, and climbed in. There was no more than twelve inches between a cadet's face and the ceiling. Hammocks were rolled up and stored in lockers during the day. Cadets were required to climb to the top of the mast some 150 feet up and down to the other side. Not all cadets were eager to accomplish this. One of the Danish officers would take a belaying pin out of the fife rail, go over and hit a stay just below a cadet's feet and say very firmly, "You VILL go up." The officer then climbed the rigging, leaving the cadet with no choice but to go up. In winter, cadets were not permitted to wear gloves. Training was done manually, and this is what *Danmark* is best remembered for. Not once did Captain Hansen run the engines for training purposes. Captain Hansen would sail up the Thames River, through the drawbridge in New London, back the sails to

FIG 6. Manual labor on *Danmark*. Photo courtesy of USCG Historian's Office.

stop the ship, and send a boat to the pier carrying a mooring line. He also enjoyed a realistic drill where he would throw something overboard and shout, "Man overboard!" As soon as the cadets were in the water, Captain Hansen would fire up the engines and sail away.

Hoisting the anchor capstan was every cadet's nightmare. It took approximately two dozen cadets to make some 200 revolutions around the capstan, pushing on its six bars. Hoisting the yards and setting the sails to the shrill of Langevad's bos'n pipe was another feat. If the sails were not furled to perfection in Langevad's eyes, he would exclaim, "What you got in there—the Chief Engineer?" This was the cue for all of the cadets to repeat the exercise until Langevad was satisfied.¹¹

CAPT James Durfee, USCG (Ret.), is a 1945 graduate of the academy. The Coast Guard was Durfee's second choice. Durfee's father was in the stationery business in Upper Darby, Pennsylvania. Young Durfee sometimes accompanied his father on business trips to the Coast Guard Academy and the Naval Academy. After graduating from high school in 1940, Durfee attended prep school for one year and then took examinations for both schools. He was accepted by the Coast Guard first. The Naval Academy accepted him a year later, but Cadet Durfee had already entered the Coast Guard Academy in July 1941.

Cadet Durfee did not have any special training, other than basic seamanship, before embarking on *Danmark* in the summer of 1942. He recalls learning to adjust to being on the yardarms and handle the sails while standing on a piece of rope in midair, even when the wind was very gusty.

It wasn't all sailing for Cadet Durfee. He drew sketches of the sailing configuration on board, identifying every line and every sail. He also became familiar the entire makeup of *Danmark*'s rigging. Cadet Durfee stood watch in the engine room in order to learn how *Danmark* operated under power. He also participated in emergency drills, and learned the rules

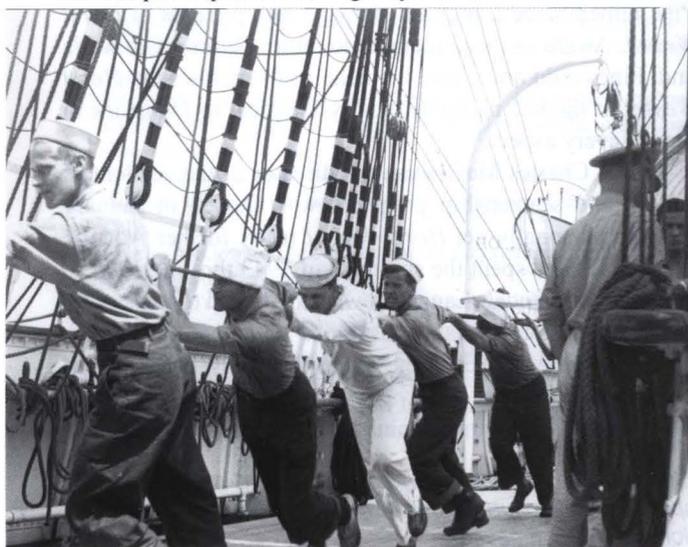




FIG 7. Cadet James Durfee, second from right, on *Danmark*. Photo courtesy of CAPT James Durfee, USCG (Ret.).

of navigation.

Cadet Durfee and his fellow cadets were directed by the Class of 1944. Those cadets served as *Danmark*'s American "officers," under the leadership of Captain Hansen. Captain Durfee never forgot the lessons learned on *Danmark*, especially from Langevad.¹²

Many of *Danmark*'s American cadets remember Langevad as a man of patience and good humor. One cadet awoke Langevad to show how his bearings had put the ship in the middle of Main Street in Massachusetts. Without saying a single word or moving a muscle in his face, Langevad pointed out that the cadet had applied the steering compass deviation to the standard compass, yawned, and went back to sleep. His lectures on the rules of the road amused cadets with his sincere admonishing not to take the right of way when a trawler is bearing down on your ship.¹³

In August 1943, the Nazis dissolved the Danish government and began persecution of its Jews. Nazi forces were driven out on 5 May 1945, but *Danmark* was bound to serve the United States for as long as she was actively in the war, which ended in August 1945.

As part of war repatriations, the surviving German naval fleet was up for grabs. One ship was the *Horst Wessel*, the flagship of the German navy's training vessels. Rear-Admiral Pine remembered Langevad showing him pictures of *Horst Wessel*. Aware of the agreement to return *Danmark* at war's end, Pine could not ignore the benefits of such a ship. *Horst Wessel* fit the bill perfectly, nearly identical to *Danmark* in almost every aspect.¹⁴

CAPT Charles McGowan, the director of the academy's sailing and seamanship program, was chosen in January 1946 to personally get *Horst Wessel* ready for her Atlantic voyage. He had spent the summers of 1943 through 1945 as a guest on *Danmark*. Langevad was also asked to assist with the voyage, more of as an insurance policy. *Horst Wessel*, renamed *Eagle*, arrived at the academy in July 1946 and has been there ever since.¹⁵

Danmark's decommissioning occurred on the morning of 26

FIG 8. Langevad instructs American cadets in the fine art of splicing. Photo courtesy of Jan Langevad (from private collection of Knud Langevad).

September 1945. It coincided with King Christian X's birthday, as per Captain Hansen's request. The Academy presented a bronze plaque to *Danmark*, still on board today. Tributes to the ship's officers were given by several dignitaries, including the governor of Connecticut, Raymond Baldwin. CAPT Louis Olson, *Danmark*'s Executive Officer, stepped forward to read the orders of decommissioning. As the Star Spangled Banner played, the American flag was slowly dropped and the Dannebrog was raised to the notes of the Danish national anthem. Captain Hansen remarked:

To my American crew, or, rather, my former American crew, and my new Danish crew, there have been many days, V-E day, and V-J day included, that we celebrated and rejoiced together and now we have our day, *Danmark* day. What more could we ask? Look aft and see what is there now, our flag. We rejoice not because it is a red and white flag flying there, but because we have the right to fly that flag. Forgive me if I am a little overcome just because that flag is free again. ... We are so thankful that America has been able to help us make that flag free. ... We were proud to be accepted to sail under your flag and train the best you had - your young men. It was a great responsibility placed upon our shoulders and we did our best to carry it out ... Yes, there is friendship; you don't stay in this country six years without becoming attached to it.¹⁶

Danmark set out again on a training cruise in December 1946, stopping at various American ports before returning home in March 1947. In the summer of 1954, *Eagle* was on a summer training cruise in Copenhagen and spotted *Danmark*. CAPT Carl Bowman of *Eagle* and Captain Hansen of *Danmark*, arranged for a race in Kattegat Strait. *Eagle* won—but not before Captain Bowman signaled, "Are you dragging anchor?"¹⁷

Danmark returned to Washington in April 1985 for a reunion with many of her former cadets. The 81-year-old Langevad joined them on board at the invitation of ADM James Gracey, now the Commandant of the Coast Guard. Admiral Gracey was up on the yardarms of *Danmark* as a cadet when he first learned of the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941:



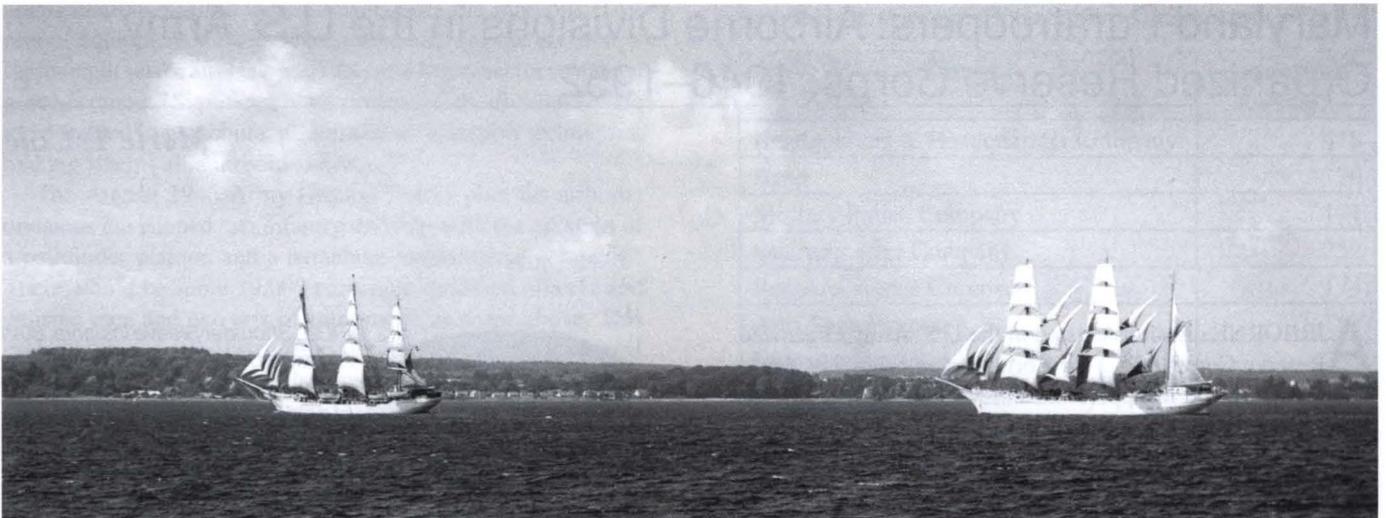


FIG 9. Danmark, left, and Eagle, right, engage in a friendly race in Danish waters in 1954. Photo courtesy of USCG Historian's Office.

[Langevad] came and spent an evening with us at our quarters. ... The two of us stood out on the step ... and told *Danmark* and cadet stories for a long time, but everybody was just eating it up. It was a marvelous evening and he was a marvelous fellow.¹⁸

During OpSail, *Eagle* is always first in line, being the host country's premier tall ship. And, right behind her, is always *Danmark*, a nod to her role in Coast Guard history. That has been an OpSail tradition since its inception in New York in 1964.¹⁹ If not for the service of *Danmark* during World War II and the ensuing warm friendship between the United States and Denmark, the Coast Guard would have never acquired *Eagle*.



FIG 10. CAPT James Durfee, USCG (Ret.), with a framed citation of *Danmark* presented to him by the Danish government in 2005, on the 45th anniversary of her return to Denmark.

Notes

1. Suzanne McMurray Ko, "Langevad: Story of a Danish Seaman," 60–61. This is a copy of an unpublished manuscript in the *Danmark* files at the Coast Guard Historian's Office (hereafter "Langevad: Story of a Danish Seaman.")
2. Frank O Braynard, *The Tall Ships of Today in Photographs* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1993).
3. "Langevad: Story of a Danish Seaman," 18.
4. *The Training Ship Danmark Under the Dannebrog and the Stars and Stripes*. As told by Knud Andersen according to the account of Captain Knud L. Hansen. Translated from Danish by Suzanne McMurray Ko. (Copenhagen, Denmark: Samleren Forlag, 1985), 143–146 (hereafter *The Training Ship Danmark*).
5. *Ibid.*, 150–157.
6. *Ibid.*, 61.
7. RG 59, Records of the State Department, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD. Much of the information in this section of the article is gleaned directly from State records, although by no means comprehensive.
8. "Langevad: Story of a Danish Seaman," 63.
9. *The Training Ship Danmark*, 168.
10. "Langevad: Story of a Danish Seaman," 64.
11. The paragraph describing daily life on board the *Danmark* is taken primarily from two sources: a) *Danmark* files at the Coast Guard Historian's Office, and b) the 1942–1947 issues of the Coast Guard Academy's yearbook, the *Tide Rips*.
12. Oral history interview with CAPT James Durfee, USCG (Ret.), by Nora Chidlow, March 2009. Transcript is in the *Danmark* file at the Coast Guard Historian's Office.
13. *Danmark* files at the Coast Guard Historian's Office.
14. Archives of the Coast Guard Academy at the Coast Guard Historian's Office.
15. Charles McGowan, *The Skipper and the Eagle* (Princeton, NJ: D. van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), 2–6.
16. "Glowing Tribute Paid Danes At *Danmark* Rites by Baldwin and Coast Guard Speakers," *The New London Evening Day*, 27 September 1945, 6. Other articles from the *New York Times* were also consulted.
17. *Danmark* Files at the Coast Guard Historian's Office.
18. Oral history interview with ADM James S. Gracey, by Paul Stillwell, 21 February 2001, 24. Transcript is at the Coast Guard Historian's Office.
19. This is from two sources: (a) *Danmark* files, and (b) OpSail files, both at the Coast Guard Historian's Office.

Maryland Paratroopers: Airborne Divisions in the U.S. Army Organized Reserve Corps, 1946–1952

Merle T. Cole

AIRBORNE divisions existed in the U.S. Army Organized Reserve Corps (ORC) for a brief period following World War II, but proved insupportable and were quickly eliminated from the Army force structure.

Reserve Parachutists

The Army's reserve components did not exist at the end of the Second World War and had to be completely rebuilt. This proved to be a long and difficult process due to shortage of funds, equipment, and personnel.

A tentative [ORC] troop basis, prepared in March 1946 (after the National Guard organizational structure had been presented to the states), outlined 25 divisions—3 armored, 5 airborne, and 17 infantry. These divisions and all other Organized Reserve Corps units were to be maintained in one of three strength categories, labeled Class A, B, and C. Class A units were divided into two groups, one for combat and one for service, and units were to be at required table of organization strength; Class B units were to have their full complement of officers and enlisted cadre strength; and Class C were to have officers only. The troop basis listed nine divisions as Class A, nine as Class B, and seven as Class C.¹

The plan (especially inclusion of Class A divisions) encountered resistance from the National Guard Association because of potential conflict with funding and manning of Army National Guard (ARNG) units. The Army proceeded with the ORC reorganization in summer 1946, but all divisions began as, "Class C (officers only) units, progressing to the other categories as men and equipment became available." Six geographic armies replaced the former nine corps areas as the basis for administering the Army in the continental United States (CONUS) following World War II. Each geographic army commander was responsible for organizing and training Regular Army (RA) and ORC units. The five airborne divisions included in the initial postwar plan were designated 15th, 84th, 98th, 99th, and 100th.²

Even in an era focused on atomic warfare, airborne forces were valued by Army leaders who envisioned their strategic mobility being used to "seize strategic bases from which the enemy's homeland might be bombed or from which the enemy might bomb the United States."³ Reserve units were especially attractive because the "maintenance of a large active peacetime airborne force was deemed too costly, especially as the U.S. had the monopoly on nuclear weapons and this was thought to limit the need for large standing special purpose forces."⁴

The twenty-five reserve divisions activated between September 1946 and November 1947 differed somewhat from the original troop basis. The First Army declined to support an

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FIG 1. Shoulder Sleeve Insignia, 80th Airborne Division. The division insignia is a white bordered escutcheon of gold emblazoned with three azure blue mountain peaks. It symbolizes the three "Blue Ridge" states, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia, from which the majority of the 80th's World War I personnel were drawn. The light blue on brown Airborne tab is unique to this division. (U.S. Army Quartermaster Museum web site (www.qmmuseum.lee.army.mil/airborne/80th_abndiv.jpg) and U.S. Army Center of Military History (www.army.mil/cmh-pg/documents/eto-ob/80ID-ETO.htm))

airborne division, and the 98th Infantry Division replaced the 98th Airborne Division. A note on the troop list nevertheless indicated that the unit was to be reorganized and re-designated as an airborne unit upon mobilization and was to train as such. After the change, the Organized Reserve Corps had four airborne, three armored, and eighteen infantry divisions. The Second Army insisted upon the number 80 for its airborne unit because the division was to be raised in the prewar 80th Division's area, not that of the 99th. The Seventh Army (later replaced by Third Army), allotted the 15th Airborne Division, refused the designation, and the adjutant general replaced it by constituting the 108th Airborne Division, which fell within that component's list of infantry and airborne divisional numbers.

ORC airborne divisions were activated in three army areas: Second Army, 80th (Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia) and 100th (Kentucky, West Virginia); Third Army, 108th (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina); and Fifth Army, 84th (Indiana).⁵

Manning ORC units proved very difficult. Plans to fill units with soldiers via universal military training had to be rethought when Congress responded to public opposition by failing to pass authorizing legislation. Personnel therefore came from prior service volunteers, Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) graduates, and those having a service obligation after being drafted (the draft law having been reenacted in 1948). But these sources proved inadequate, and both ARNG and ORC "fell considerably below full strength."⁶

ORC airborne divisions were initially structured using World War II tables of organization and equipment (TO&E). The post-war committee appointed to review divisional requirements concluded that airborne divisions "should have the same organization and equipment as the infantry division, along with

augmentations needed to perform its airborne missions. Two sets of equipment were thus recommended for the division, a lightweight set for airborne assaults and a heavy set for sustained ground combat." Significantly, all elements of the divisions "were to be trained in parachute, glider, and air transport techniques, making [them] all... airborne units. ..."⁷

The August 1946 Army Ground Forces plan for airborne divisions envisioned "an infantry division with the addition of a pathfinder platoon and a parachute maintenance company." There would be some 19,000 parachute-qualified officers and enlisted men and two sets of equipment, as noted above. This proposal was rejected because an airborne division so structured could not be transported by air in existing aircraft. A subsequent structure developed by the Army General Staff's Organizational and Training Division was approved.

The staff proposed an airborne division with two categories of units, organic elements that could be airlifted and attached ground units that were to link up with them. To make the unit air-transportable, the staff eliminated heavy mortars and tanks from infantry regiments and restricted the number of howitzers in field artillery batteries to four. The attached units included two heavy tank battalions, a 155mm. howitzer battalion, a reconnaissance company, a medium maintenance company, and a quartermaster company, which totaled 2,580 officers and enlisted men. Those units along with the division's organic elements numbered 16,470.⁸

To resolve the conflict between "strategic mobility and tactical sustainment," the General Staff directed that the 82d Airborne Division be realigned on 1 January 1948. Subsequent tests convinced Army Field Forces (organizational successor to Army Ground Forces) that the airborne division should be organized identically with the infantry division, even at the cost of air transportability. Strategic mobility using large airborne units remained a critical goal, however. On 4 May 1949 the Army Chief of Staff therefore "directed that the attached combat elements be made organic to the division and that only 11,000 of its 17,500 men be airborne qualified." New tables (Table 1) were published on 1 April 1950, and RA and ORC airborne divisions were reorganized "shortly thereafter."⁹

The outbreak of war in Korea just over two months later stressed available Army manpower.

Manning of divisions scheduled for deployment to Korea forced the Army to strip the General Reserve, so that by fall 1950 only the 2d Armored Division (under strength), 11th Airborne Division (partially organized), and 82d Airborne Division (nearly at authorized war strength) remained. Most military and civilian leaders feared that the fighting in Korea was a diversion from a planned Soviet attack against Western Europe, and desperately desired to rebuild the strategic reserve. On 10 August President Truman approved induction of four under strength ARNG divisions into federal service, and two more were federalized in January 1952 following the Chinese Communist intervention. By March 1951, 18 Army divisions were on active duty—2 armored, 2 airborne, and 14 infantry.¹⁰

The Korean War prompted a reevaluation of the reserve component structure established after World War II. An April 1951 study suggested that thirty-three properly manned (rather

Element	Authorized Strength
Headquarters & Headquarters Company	418
Band	70
Military Police Company	171
Quartermaster Company	252
Reconnaissance Company	174
Anti-Tank Platoon	67
Engineer Battalion	753
Medical Battalion	333
Division Medical Detachment	15
Signal Company	340
Ordnance Company	255
Replacement Company	41
Quartermaster Parachute Maintenance Company	243
Tank Battalion (2)	each 684
Division Artillery	2,862
Headquarters & Headquarters Battery	152
105-mm Field Artillery Battalion (3)	each 547
155-mm Field Artillery Battalion	520
Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion	536
Medical Detachment	13
Airborne Infantry Regiment (3)	each 3,376
Headquarters & Headquarters Company	218
Service Company	140
Support Company	207
Medical Company	180
Airborne Infantry Battalion (3)	each 877

than fifty-two undermanned) ARNG and ORC divisions would be adequate to meet limited and major mobilization needs. Nine ARNG divisions would comprise an "early ready" force with twenty-four divisions (twelve each ARNG and ORC) forming the "late ready force." ARNG units would be manned at 100 percent officer and 50 percent enlisted strength, and ORC divisions at 100 percent of officers but only cadre enlisted strength. Thirteen remaining ORC divisions were determined to be unnecessary and their immediate inactivation proposed.¹¹ After reviewing these recommendations, the six CONUS army commanders suggested that all ORC divisions be infantry divisions "because they believed that the reserves could not adequately support armored and airborne training." In December 1951 the Army Vice Chief of Staff decided to hold off reducing the number of ORC divisions for a year "but directed the reorganization and re-designation of airborne and armored divisions as infantry as soon as practicable. In March 1952 the 80th, 84th, 100th, and 108th Airborne Divisions were reorganized and re-designated as infantry divisions."¹² Thus ended the experiment with

State	Unit Headquarters
Virginia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Headquarters, 80th Airborne Division, Richmond • 318th Parachute Infantry Regiment, Richmond • 313th Parachute Field Artillery Battalion, Richmond • 314th Parachute Field Artillery Battalion, Roanoke • 315th Glider Field Artillery Battalion, Norfolk • 905th Glider Field Artillery Battalion, Bristol
Maryland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 319th Glider Infantry Regiment, Baltimore

ORC airborne divisions.

Maryland Paratroopers

The 80th Division was originally constituted in the National Army on 5 August 1917 and organized at Camp Lee, Virginia. After service in the Somme Offensive and Meuse-Argonne campaigns, it was demobilized 5 June 1919 at Camp Lee. The division was reconstituted 24 June 1921 in the Organized Reserves and organized in December 1921 with headquarters at Richmond. It was ordered to active military service 15 July 1942, re-designated 1 August as 80th Infantry Division, and served in the Northern France, Rhineland, Ardennes-Alsace, and Central Europe campaigns. The division was inactivated 4 January 1946 at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey. It was officially re-designated 15 July 1946 as 80th Airborne Division and activated 23 December with headquarters at Richmond.¹³

The division's units were located in three states within the Second Army area (Table 2), with the 319th Glider Infantry Regiment assigned to Maryland. The 319th Infantry's earlier history followed the 80th Division's. On 15 July 1946 the unit was re-designated 319th Glider Infantry Regiment but was re-designated as parachute infantry on 23 September (switching delivery media with the division's 317th Regiment in the District of Columbia), then activated 14 November 1946 with headquarters in Baltimore. On 26 September 1950, the unit was again re-designated, this time as generic airborne infantry in line with the Army's new airborne TO&E. The division and regiment were both re-designated as infantry on 10 May 1952.¹⁴

Col. William C. Baxter was designated to command the 319th Parachute Infantry Regiment. A February 1947 article in the *Baltimore Sun* reported that its soldiers "are studying from books now" but would "start jumping from planes" in June. According to Baxter, the 319th was "well along" in the organization process. There were then "85 officers and several

FIG 2. Distinctive Unit Insignia, 319th Infantry Regiment. The shield is blue (Infantry), with a black and gold fess from Lord Baltimore's arms (Maryland, the regiment's home area). The four fleurs-de-lis commemorate World War I service in the Somme, Meuse-Argonne, Picardy, and Lorraine campaigns. The motto, "Volens et Potens," is translated "Willing and Able." (U.S., Dept. of the Army, Office of the Chief of Military History, The Army Lineage Book, vol. II, Infantry (Washington, 1953): 635).



hundred enlisted men, with an eventual goal of 129 officers and 1,800 enlisted men." The regiment assembled for drill "at 7:30 P.M. every Wednesday at the Standard Oil Building," with the men receiving "instruction in air-ground infantry tactics." Baxter hoped to relocate the headquarters to Fort Holabird in the summer, so as to have the unit "nearer the airport."

Colonel Baxter said that as soon as transport planes become available, probably in June, the men would be given practical experience and practice in jumping. Junior officers who lacked previous jump training were attending courses at the Army Airborne School at Fort Benning, Georgia. Plans were being made for the entire regiment to train there in the summer of 1947. The regiment's organic companies were being organized at Hagerstown, Aberdeen, and Cumberland, with Baltimoreans expected to constitute the remainder of the outfit.¹⁵

Table 3 shows 319th structure as reorganized in late 1950 under the new airborne division tables.

The 80th Airborne Division underwent summer training in July of each year. In 1950, the soldiers trained at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, and in 1951 at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. Divisional training was split between Fort Campbell and Camp Pickett, Virginia, in 1952.¹⁶

Headquarters, 80th Airborne Division was activated "in a Class 'C' status for ultimate expansion to Class A-2." It expanded to Class B between April 1947 and January 1948, but



FIG 3. COL. William Baxter

was then downgraded to Class C effective 31 March 1950.¹⁷ As noted earlier, the division and its units were re-designated as infantry in March 1952.

Notes

1. John B. Wilson, *Maneuver and Firepower: The Evolution of Divisions and Separate Brigades*, Army Lineage Series (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1998), 215. Citations are to the online version at www.army.mil/cmh-pg/books/Lineage/M-F/chapter8.htm#b1. The ORC was redesignated Army Reserve in July 1952 by Congressional action. Wilson, 255.
2. Wilson, 216–217.
3. Major Robert A. Doughty, “Evolution of US Army Tactical Doctrine, 1946–76,” *Leavenworth Papers*, No. 1, Combat Studies Institute (Ft. Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, August 1979): 2.
4. Sgt. 1st Class Gordon L. Rottman and 2d Lt. Tim Moriarity, “Army Reserve Airborne Divisions,” *Trading Post* (American Society of Military Insignia Collectors) 43 (July–September 1984): 51–52.
5. Wilson, 217.
6. Wilson, 221–222. See also Rottman and Moriarity, 51–52. The Army also decided to use divisional designations for its replacement training centers, which fluctuated in number as training loads varied. Two centers received airborne designations—17th Airborne (Camp Pickett, VA) and 101st Airborne (Camp Breckenridge, KY). Wilson, 222. Even the RA suffered manpower shortages before Korea. For example, only two of the three organic battalions were active in most infantry regiments. The same was true of Marine Corps units.
7. Wilson, 223–224.
8. *Ibid.*, 229.
9. *Ibid.*, 229.
10. *Ibid.*, 242–243. ARNG divisions were selected because “it would have taken too much time to organize new Regular Army divisions and Class B Organized Reserve Corps divisions (officers and enlisted cadre). ...” These specific ARNG divisions were federalized “because of their geographic distribution, the status of their equipment, and their strength, which ranged from 8,000 to 9,500 officers and enlisted men each.” Wilson, 243. Activated ARNG divisions were the 28th (Pennsylvania), 40th (California), 43d (Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont), 45th (Oklahoma), 31st (Alabama and Mississippi), and 47th (Minnesota and North Dakota).
11. Wilson, 254. As noted in *The Army Almanac: A Book of Facts Concerning the United States Army* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Co., 1959): 224: “Until the Korean outbreak the ORC was, in the main, a body of officers. Most had seen World War II service, and age, infirmity, or changed family circumstances had disqualified many for the field. When the 1950 emergency occurred, only junior-grade officer Reservists (largely fresh from college ROTC’s) and the physically able enlisted men were sent to Korea, as individual replacements. One lesson of that conflict was that the United States was paying too heavily for a large unwieldy Reserve establishment from which it derived relatively little benefit in a limited emergency. Because of political considerations, reform was slow in coming and was finally forced on the Army by shortage of funds.”
12. Wilson, 254–255.
13. U.S. Dept. of the Army, Lineage and Honors Statement, HQ and HQ Company, 80th Division (Training) (Blue Ridge), U.S. Army Center of Military History, Washington, DC (hereafter USACMH).
14. Letter, AGAO-I 322 Army Res (6 March 52) G3-M, 18 April 1952, To: Commanding General, Second Army, Subj: Change in Status of Certain Army Reserve Divisions, in file “Publications and General Information, 80th Division (Training),” U.S. Army Center of Military History, Organizational History Branch, Washington, DC (USACMH-OHB). As noted in Rottman and Moriarity, 51–52: “One regiment in each division

Table 3: 319th Reorganization, September–October 1950 (TO&E 71-31)

From	To
319th Parachute Infantry Regiment	319th Airborne Infantry Regiment
Headquarters & Headquarters Company	Headquarters & Headquarters Company
Service Company	Service Company
Medical Detachment	Medical Company
HHC, 1st Battalion Company A Company B Company C	HHC, 1st Battalion Company A Company B Company C Company D
HHC, 2d Battalion Company D Company E Company F	HHC, 2d Battalion Company E Company F Company G Company H
HHC, 3d Battalion Company G Company H Company I	HHC, 3d Battalion Company I Company K Company L Company M Support Company

was designated Glider Infantry (319th, 333d, 339th, 485th). Most were re-designated Parachute in 1946 before they were actually formed and others retained the [Glider] designation until they were re-designated Airborne in 1950–51 even though the Army had officially retracted the requirement for glider training in the regular airborne regiments by 1947.”

15. *Baltimore Sun*, “Parachute Unit to Begin Jumps,” 9 February 1947: 32. The airport was probably Harbor Field, now the site of the Maryland Port Authority’s Dundalk Marine Terminal. John F. R. Scott, Jr., *Voyages Into Airy Regions* (Annapolis: Fishergate Pub. Co., 1984): 19, 23, 97, 105. Rottman and Moriarity stated (51–52) that: “Airborne qualification to any significant degree was not obtained by most units. Each of the divisions were [sic] able to [airborne qualify] personnel only in the hundreds rather than in the thousands required. It was also found that the level of training required for a proficient airborne unit, with the limited inactive duty training time allowed, was out of reach also.”
16. Historical Data Card (AGAZ Form 373)--80th Airborne Division, in file “Publications and General Information, 80th Division (Training),” USACMH-OHB.
17. Historical Data Card (AGAZ Form 373)--80th Airborne Division.

THANKS to the marvels of the web, it is now possible to track changes in public sentiment and the material evidences those shifts in opinion leave behind. The e-publication of the comprehensive collection of newspapers held by the American Worcester Antiquarian Society covering the approximate dates 1690–1850 is a treasure trove in information waiting to be woven together, like the story of the “American Cockade.”

During the eighteenth century, the custom had grown up in Europe to show one’s national allegiance by inserting a piece of colored cloth in one’s tricorne hat. The custom could involve military officers but it was also a way for civilians to proclaim their loyalty. In a parallel fashion, grenadiers often wore high mitre caps with the royal arms of their lord stamped in relief from sheet brass.

The British cockade was black, that of Royalist France, white. The Dutch used orange, proclaiming their loyalty to the house that took them out of Spanish tyranny in the sixteenth century.¹ In the late 1780s, grateful for the support of the king of Prussia, they temporarily combined their traditional orange cockade with the Prussian eagle. The Swiss wore red, yellow and black cockades symbolizing their old democratic cantons or blue and white for the city of Zurich² while the *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 December 1815, states that the “... cockade of the Swedes is blue and yellow; of the Dutch, orange; of the Austrians, white and red; of the Russians, yellow and black; of the Spaniard, red and yellow and of the Portuguese, red and blue ...”³

The American Revolution put our new nation into something of a bind, hatwise. Most countries had their own cockade color and ours should logically have been blue, the color of the Continental uniforms—but it was not. The Continental army officers continued wearing the British black cockade. The Alliance with France had temporarily solved the prob-

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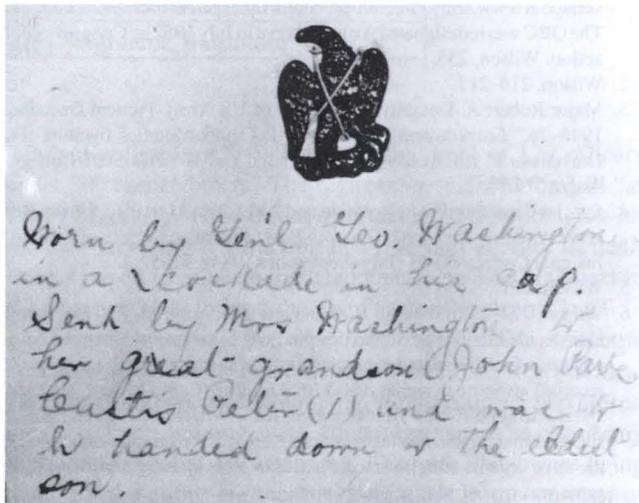


FIG 1. Officers Cockade Eagle owned by George Washington. The note on the card upon which the eagle is mounted indicates that it was sent by Mrs. Washington to her great grandson, John Parke Custis Peter (1) and that it had been handed down in the family to the eldest son. Presumably this is one of the eagles featured in Washington’s correspondence of January 1799, as he did not live out the year. Courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies Association for the Union.

lem by wearing white over black—the “Alliance or Union Cockade.” The Union Cockade is referred to in November 1789⁴ describing a procession in Boston which included “... Officers of the late American Army ... a flag with the union cockade. ...” 1789 was a year of great patriotic display owing to the adoption of the U.S. Constitution. The eagle, king of the American pantheon since 1782, was given new prominence in these spectacles and is depicted as surmounting the patriotic archway in the Boston procession. This flag was followed by representatives of the various professions, each with its own banner. In November 1789 the ladies of Boston had agreed to wear a broad white ribbon with “G.W.” in gold letters (or spangles) encircled with a laurel wreath in front; on one end of the sash to be painted with the American Eagle, and on the other end a fleur de lis.⁵ However, this noble expression of solidarity with the French, like the alliance itself, did not long survive the Peace of Paris in 1783. With a small army and no European enemies, the Americans drifted along wearing what they pleased. The War Department on 30 January 1787 specified “COCKADES. Infantry and Artillery, black leather, round with points, four inches diameter.”⁶

The wars of the French Revolution, coming just as the new United States adopted its Constitution, put an end to

all complacency. In November 1789, a description from the French islands in the Caribbean shows, "... Not a person is to be seen at the Cape (or indeed any of the French islands) without the national cockade in his hat, blue and white; and VIVE LA NATION all their cry."⁷ In January 1790 on Tobago "... every person, both English and French, wears the national cockade ..."⁸ The new French Republic had adopted a cockade of red, white, and blue—just the same as the American flag—but in the United States, support for the new French Republic waned quickly, particularly in the ruling Federalist party whose preference it was to support England. As the 1790s continued, the first political parties in the United States galvanized around the issue of whom to support in Europe's wars, and so did the cockade representing each side of the controversy.

The U.S. military of the time was a thoroughly Federalist outfit. Those few militia officers who dared to put on a red, white, and blue cockade were accused of treason. According to Thomas Garrigues—a French hat merchant then in New York, writing in January 1795,⁹ he had given the pattern of the French cockade (to France) in 1788, and refused to be compensated for it three times.

Be that as it may, the U.S. military was staunch in retaining the old British black cockade. In turn, the officers of the 3d Regiment of Infantry, Connecticut Militia, adopted a uniform for officers of the regiment on 1 January 1791 "... a cocked hat, with a black cockade and a black feather; a blue coat with white eagle buttons ..."¹⁰ *The American Minerva*, 24 January 1795, deplores the enthusiasm in New York for French caps, "... If Frenchmen worship red caps and cockades, why half the town must stick a French cockade in their hats, and a red cap must be stuck on a pole in public places ..."¹¹ Americans, the author had previously stated "... attach ourselves to every thing FOREIGN ... and in short to be everything but what we ought to be—AMERICANS ..."¹¹

This admonition points up a fundamental difference in usage that figures in the rest of the American debate about the cockade emblem. The British black cockade was a military ornament used by officers. The French red, white, and blue badge was a national ornament, to be worn by all citizens.

For Americans in Europe, the lack of a distinctive cockade was beginning to have consequences as Americans were assaulted in foreign ports as being English or French sympathizers. *The Daily Advertiser* in August 1796 states that the king of Spain had conferred special privileges on the French, but would acknowledge only those who wore the tri-colored cockade as

being Frenchman.¹² Another notes that the French Minister to the U.S., Citizen Adet, would acknowledge as French citizens and the use of French chanceries only to Frenchmen "... who wear the National Cockade ..."¹³

A third raises the question, "... Suppose we should declare war tomorrow against England, Spain, and Holland, what is to be done ... In one case we should cruise with a striped cockade, in the other case a black one ..." reflecting the different sides of the war at that moment.¹⁴

The *New-York Gazette*, 10 May 1798, comments that the cockade and its use should be "... as a badge of Americanism ..."¹⁵ while *Greenleaf's New York Journal* of 10 May



FIG 2. Cockade eagle of brass, ca. 1799, but meeting the 1798 regulations for tin eagles to be used by NCOs and privates with clouds not delineated. The eagle is quite close to that presented to Washington. Richard Graney collection.

1794 stated, "... It is time the Americans should put away the old cockade, borrowed from the nation that formerly tyrannized over them and has lately injured and insulted them. Let them form a new one from the colours of their national flag ... The colours of the French cockade run circularly; let the America be striped from the centre to the circumference, with alternate red and white, which will correspond with the stripes of the flag, and then a blue star in the middle will also represent the union ..."¹⁵ The Federalist pro-British approach taken by

the Adams administration was, by 1797, beginning to draw U.S. into a war with France. Corrupt members of the French Directory wanted bribes to even talk to American diplomats. The response to this "X Y Z Affair" was an undeclared naval war with France, causing the revival of the U.S. Navy as a fighting force in 1797. Insignia that reminded the public of the former French Alliance of the Revolution disappeared. The French "Liberty Cap" was removed from our early U.S. minted coinage just as a liberty cap used as proof mark on the barrels of U.S. muskets disappeared about the same time. More and more sentiment was aroused to keep the cockade, now seen as a military officers' device, black. But this did not stop the confusion with the British black cockade.

The year 1798 dawned on a patriotic note, fed by hostility toward France, and a belief that Americans, or at least their military, needed some distinctly American patriotic badge to wear in at least officers', and perhaps in civilian headgear if the wearer was going overseas. "The American cockade at the commencement of the late revolution, was black—when a treaty took place between the United States and France, a white rose was added; no red or blue was ever worn. That treaty—is it now in force? Or do the French faction wish the royal emblem to be retained?"¹⁶ "The National Cockade of France has been long, and latterly more especially—considered

as a badge of an open avowed attachment to that country; and the black Cockade, which is the American, that of attachment to our own country and government; and had been chiefly worn by the young citizens who handsomely addressed the President a few days since."¹⁷

The next move was in the military. It was reported on 9 May 1798, that a Capt. Torboss of the N. Y. Militia was arrested "... having appeared on parade with his company wearing the symbol of the French military. A court martial is to be provided in due time; and henceforth none but the American cockade to be worn ..."¹⁸ The court-martial met 17 January 1799 and noted that wearing the French cockade was "highly dishonorable" but ultimately Terboss was discharged.¹⁹ The article goes on to state that the struggles of the French nation evoked "... a universal sympathy for their misfortunes But at the

present time, when that imposing power has virtually declared herself our enemy—robbed U.S. of millions—demanded immense requisitions, and even threatened U.S. with annihilation,—to see the defenders and hope of country still wearing the badge of this fiend-like power, is indeed not more astonishing than presumptuous and insulting, ..." One editorial declares "... The old veterans of 76 declare they will not turn out with the Black Cockade because it is British, nor will they wear the French because they are now equally opposed to that also; and none is yet established by law is purely American ..."²⁰

The uniform of the U.S. Navy, as authorized 24 August 1797, speaks only of black cockade for officers. The Army had traditionally had its officers wear a similar black cockade and had revived the practice of using a black cockade for officers by 1790. One New York paper shows William Mayells at 45 Maiden Lane selling both military hats and cockades—almost certainly not yet "eagled."²¹

The birth of the cockade eagle seems to have been from the hand of an unidentified artisan in Newark, New Jersey, who produced a small silver eagle and mounted it in the center of his cockade. A reference in a New York paper, *The Spectator*, of 20 June 1798 describes a tour of Newark and Elizabethtown. "Juvenis," the author, was very pleased to see the American cockade with the eagle in the center, very generally worn by the inhabitants of those places The cockade having been adopted by the friends of government, as a mark of their at-

tachment to it (that we are) ... determined to support it to his last breath, we shall prove to the Athiests of France, that the number of their adherents is very small Those that object to the expense of procuring the silver eagles, are informed, that at Newark, very handsome ones are manufactured at a shilling each, why not in this town?" (New York City)²² We do not know who this craftsman of Newark was but it is possible, by process of elimination, to note that he may have been William Barry. This happy solution to our cockade problem spread quickly. *Greenleaf's New York Journal* of 6 June 1798 contains a letter from "A DEMOCRAT (to) Mr. Greenleaf (the editor), The cockade has again raised its head, with the addition of a silver Eagle Let U.S. wear the American Cockade, with the eagle, and convince them that we do not merit the title which they so kindly have attached to U.S.: 'The dupes of the French Nation.'"²³

Other artisans followed. In June 1798, the *New-York Gazette* carried an advertisement for John Cook & Co., 133 Wm. Street, entitled "IMPROVED EAGLES" Cook & Co inform the public that they have now finished a die for striking silver eagles for American Cockades, and are ready for sale as above ...²⁴

Baltimore's *Federal Gazette*, 26 June 1798, describing the New Jersey militia, states that they wear a "... uniform

with the black national cockade with a small eagle in the center" The issue of the *Gazette*, 30 June 1798, describes the 4th of July Procession in New York. The committee organizing that event realize young men, not in the military, will join the procession but recommend "... to all who join in the procession, not in military uniform, to distinguish themselves at that time by displaying the black cockade with a white eagle in the center ..."²⁵

In spite of the patriotic hoopla and comments like those in *The Spectator* of 30 June 1798 stating that on the 4th of July, "... No man, we presume, on that day will be admitted into good company, who has about him any badges of the French or British nation, not any man who does not wear the American cockade ..."²⁶ On the other hand, the War Department on 30 June 1798 simply reiterated the order of 30 January 1787 for Infantry and Artillery to wear a black leather cockade, round with points, four inches diameter. No silver eagle was included.

However, things were moving. A Hartford paper suggested



FIG 3. Eagle and anchor signed GA (George Armitage), ca. 1799. This eagle is sometimes found mounted into the grips of Federal period Navy swords. This is presumably the piece marked "GA" or "JB" described in Philadelphia newspapers in June 1799 as being that approved by Washington and marked with the maker's initials. Richard Graney collection.

that a national cockade be established by Congress, white with a black eagle, which would distinguish U.S. from every other nation. At the same time, it defines the American cockade as a rose of black ribbon with a white button in the center.²⁷ Three days later, a Boston paper defined the “AMERICAN COCKADE. The War Office has established the black round cockade as the true American badge. It should have no white in it. The Jacobins have the impudence to say, that the people of Boston were really divided, and they give as a proof, that not more than half of them wears an AMERICAN COCKADE ...” The article goes on to claim that the cockade itself was of French origin.²⁸ The *Massachusetts Mercury* of 10 July 1798 was even more explicit, stating, “... The Cockade is a pledge of friendship among Federalists, and of attachment to our Constitution and Government, while at the same time it proves an eyesore to the Jacobins ...”²⁹

This debate sounds rather arcane, but in the context of the times, it was anything but. The Federalists, the party which wrote the constitution and elected our first two presidents, Washington and John Adams, had defined patriotism as loyalty to the Federalist Party. Part of the debate was a reaction to the aggressive methods of revolutionary France, and particularly its U.S. representative, Citizen Genet, who in the early 1790s was recruiting a naval force in the U.S. to make war on British shipping. The Federalists, on the other hand, having signed the 1794 Jay Treaty with England were decidedly pro-English. The Jeffersonian Republicans, in spite of the excesses of the French Revolution, still maintained a mild attachment to its principles, as similar to the ideals aspired to in our own Revolutionary era. By 1798, the Adams administration, at the same time as the debate on the cockade eagle was being played out in the nation’s newspapers, had enacted the Alien and Sedition Acts which put teeth into the government’s ability to control popular freedom by allowing the administration to deport aliens without due process and to curb American freedoms of speech and of the press by playing on their fears of foreign sedition. Federalist fears of a popular revolution now demanded conformity of thought and action as proof of American loyalty. The wearing of the black cockade was one small example of this tension. The issues would ultimately play themselves out in the contentious election of 1800. In the meantime, the United States was virtually at war with France on the side of England. Her new navy, ships like *Constitution*, *Constellation*, and *United States*, which would distinguish themselves fifteen years later against Britain, were initially in 1797 and 1798 built to protect U.S. shipping against France.

The Army officer corps, a Federalist institution, continued to wear the black cockade. Washington again assumed command and is described by the *Newburyport Herald*, 13 July 1798, and “... carries still with him the American Cockade, which he has uniformly worn.”³⁰ However, a Philadelphia paper notes that the black cockade was going out of fashion and that assemblies of ladies were wearing the American eagle in an elegant breast knot, “... It is considered that the black cockade is properly British, and although the government can direct the troops in service to wear what badge it shall please, yet the citizens in general will not wear the same cockade as the British, or French ...”³¹ “... Citizens differ in their ideas of our national cockade.—The war-office has established the black round cockade as the true America badge ...”³²



FIG 4. Many early cockades included eagles and other devices stamped into leather. This is a very late example featuring an embossed device used by Governor Daniel Drais Jones of Rhode Island and signed by John R. Penniman, a noted flag painter. Ca. 1835. Courtesy of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

A solution was near at hand. The *Vermont Gazette*, 26 July 1798, states that “... the first two black cockades with white eagles that had been observed by us ...” belonged to Mr. Williams, the ex deputy to Congress from Salem, New York in company with a “chubby sophomore [sic]” from Dartmouth College. When asked “whether the black cockade was not British, they said it was, but they supposed the eagle took off the foreign tincture: a dissatisfied Whig observed that he hoped the American eagle might soon detest a British roost. The preceptor had a number of little eagles in his pocket, to give to BIG BOYS that had black ribbons.”³³ A Salem, New York, paper in August 1798 states that, “Col. THOMAS has recommended in Regimental Orders that, all his regiment put on the AMERICAN COCKADE, a black rose with an eagle or small button in the centre.”³⁴ The *Albany Centinel* records a conversation in Wilmington, Vermont, in September 1798 where a Hibernian wearing a black cockade of unusual size received the comment that the eagle had no under part to its beak answered, “By J---s, sir, says he, he has worn it off eating Democrats!”³⁵ *Claypoole’s American Daily Advertiser* of 18 October 1798 reported that a Maryland vessel who docked at Hamburg (Germany), where the entire crew “... which is numerous wears a cockade surmounted with an Eagle ...”³⁶

The practice of wearing the black cockade with a silver eagle was building, but far from resolved. *The Daily Advertiser* (New York), 15 September 1798, recommends that the militia cavalry and artillery wear a white cockade, wearing an emblem of contrasting color to that worn by the Infantry (black).³⁷

Enter George Washington, once again in command of the American Army during the crisis with France. Writing from Philadelphia on 10 November 1798, “... As there has been many objections to, and remarks made upon, the black Cockade; (being that of Great Britain); might not something

be devised by way of annexation thereto to distinguish it from that of any other Nation? I have seen, and it appeared to have no bad effect, a small eagle (of pewter, tin, and in some instances silver) fixed by way of Button in the center of a rose cockade; which was not only distinguishable, but somewhat characteristic ...”³⁸

Washington next wrote to Secretary of War James McHenry on 13 December 1798, “All persons belonging to the army to wear a black cockade with a small white eagle in the Centre. The cockade of non Commissioned officers musicians and privates to be of leather with eagles of Tin ...”³⁹ And from Mt Vernon, 27 January 1799, “... The Eagle too, having become a part of the American Cockade; has any of them been brought into use yet? My idea of the size is, that it ought not to be larger than would cover a quarter of a dollar at most and should be represented (for the officers) as clothed with their feathers. This and ingenious [*sic*] Silver Smith can execute; and if four were sent to me, I would thank you; and would remit the cost, as soon as known to me.”⁴⁰

Alexander Hamilton also wrote to McHenry in December 1799, “Sir Pursuant to an instruction some time since received from you, I have the honor to offer to your consideration a new plan for the uniform of the army. Uniform for the army of the United States ... For the Commander in Chief ... Hat A full cocked hat with a yellow button gold loop, a black cockade with a gold eagle in the Center and a white plume ... For the Infantry Hatts [*sic*] full cocked with a narrow black binding ... Black cockade of four inches diameter having a white eagle in the center the cockade to rise above the brim. Loop and button black.”⁴¹

Not surprisingly, with Washington and Hamilton’s endorsement, the Army Regulations were changed on 9 January 1799, and included in that change was a perch for the new bird device. “All persons belonging to the army, to wear a black cockade, with a small white eagle in the centre. The cockade of non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates to be leather, with Eagles of tin ...”⁴² Many states soon followed suit. As of 30 July 1799, the Massachusetts Militia was well-armed and that “... the black cockade, with small white eagle in the centre, is established as the military badge. In conformity to that regulation, the Commander in Chief orders that the same be established as part of the uniform of the militia of the Commonwealth ...”⁴³ The New York regulations of 7 and 9 May 1799 repeat word for word the Federal regulations.⁴⁴

Where there was a market, it was soon answered by enterprising craftsmen. Four months had passed since John Cook of New York had advertised his improved eagles on 21 June. Barzillai Davison of Norwich advertised in the *Norwich Courier* on 18 October “... DOG COLLARS of every description, Silver plated Eagles for Cockades ready made and for sale ... At his shop in Lower-street ... Chelsea (Connecticut).”⁴⁵ In Charleston, South Carolina, an advertisement appears for “COCKADES. THE AMERICAN COCKADE surmounted with the AMERICAN SPREAD EAGLE, made of SILVER, for sale at Mrs. Monk’s, No. 138 Meeting-street ...”⁴⁶ Her advertisement of 3 July is for “COCKADES AND EAGLES. Gentlemen furnished with Eagles, either Gold, Gilt, or Silver, as the uniform may be, to be wore on the 4th day of July, at Mrs. Monk’s, MEETING-STREET.”⁴⁷

George Armitage, a well known supplier of military insignia, also produced cockade eagles, “For American Officers and Volunteers, Small silver Eagle approved by the Secretary of War, as uniform for the center of the black Cockade, now as sold at the silversmiths in Philadelphia. Silver Smiths and Venders

May be supplied at the Manufactory of George Armitage, in Race between Twelfth [*sic*] and Thirteenth streets, or of James Brearley, watch maker, No. 77 north Secondstreet, who will endeavor to keep a stock on hand to execute orders at the shortest notice, N. B. He likewise

makes Larger Eagles, well adapted for the cavalry.”⁴⁸ Boston’s *Columbian Centinel* of 2 March contains an advertisement by Ebenezer Moulton of Boston, goldsmith and jeweler at 11 Cornhill and a manufacturer of gold and silver ware, “Small silver eagles for the national cockade, where gentlemen officers who order them will please to apply; a few gold do.” *The Massachusetts Mercury*, 21 May 1799, shows, “For sale at EBEN. Mouton’s, No. 11. Cornhill ... Silver Military Eagles, of different kinds and prices, from 8 s to 18s. pr. Dozen ...”⁴⁹ *The Philadelphia Gazette* of 6 May 1799 shows John Myers, goldsmith and jeweler at 28 South 2d Street, “Continues to manufacture SWORDS, of all descriptions, both silver and gilt mounted--Silver & Gilt Eagles ...”⁵⁰ William Wightman advertised in the *South-Carolina State-Gazette* on 23 May 1799 describing his import from London of arms and jewelry notes that he also has “... an Elegant Brilliant Diamond Eagle, adopted to be worn in a Military Cockade ...”⁵¹ *The Newburyport Herald* in May 1799 notes, “SILVER EAGLES. ELEGANT SILVER EAGLES for Cockades, of a new pattern approved by the Secretary of War and now universally



FIG 5. Pewter cockade eagle found at Sackets Harbor by Duncan Campbell and James Hart. Letter “B” appears on the back which may stand for James Brearley of Philadelphia who made the 1799 eagles along with George Armitage. Hart collection.

worn in Philadelphia, may be had of Abraham Perkins, No. 4, Market-Square. Newburyport ... ”⁵²

Russell's Gazette notes on February 11 preparations for celebrating Washington's Birthday “and that citizens will mount the American Cockade—black, with a silver eagle in the center.”⁵³ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, 17 June 1799 repeats Armitage's advertisement of 6 February 1799, but adds Breamly's new address of 75 rather than 77 North Second St., and refers “likewise the eagle and anchor for the navy, in gold or gilt, with a variety of fancy eagles and ornaments, which are also sold at most shops in the city, and may be held by the quantity as above. N.B. The uniform eagle is marked G.A. in order that it may be known in the future; every true American ought to recollect that it is adopted by General Washington.”⁵⁴

This last addition is very helpful as indeed a surviving example of this eagle in gilt (for the Navy) does exist with a “G A” raised beside the eagle and an anchor in an oval shield. It is also occasionally found mounted into the bone grips of a navy officer's sword as a decoration.

Mount Vernon, in fact, has in its collections Washington's eagle. It is a well delineated strike of an eagle wings furled within a comma of clouds, somewhat ingloriously termed an “eagle on banana,” and described in the *Writings of Washington*.

The Norwich Packet in June 1799 describes what appears to be the import of cockades by a “Comus & Co” referring to a trunk of cockades “truly Federal,” which in sorting he found a few tricolored kind, which they immediately packed up and sent back again.⁵⁵ A more definite evidence of import is found in the *New York Mercantile Advertiser* of 12 July 1799 showing Thomas H. Hill, Nos. 1 and 7 Maiden-Lane, having received from London beaver hats and feathers as well as “... cockades and silver eagles ... ”⁵⁶ *The Columbian Museum* (Savannah), 6 August 1799, shows a Mrs. Munn, a millinery dealer at 4 and 5 Bull-Street, having imported millinery and dry goods from London including, “... Military stocks, Cockades &c ... ” Miller & Powers, also from Savannah include “... military eagles for cockades ... ” in their advertisement in the *Columbian Museum*, 3 December 1799. Thomas Brewer of Boston advertised in the *Columbian Centinel*, 19 October 1799, also mentions Cockades among his London military imports at 55 Cornhill.⁵⁷ Alexander Mackenzie shows, “... Military Cockades” among his imports from New York in the *Charleston City Gazette*, 23 December 1799,⁵⁸ as does Robert Mathison in the *New York Mercantile Advertiser*, 20 January 1800.⁵⁹ John Joseph Roch advertises in the *Federal*



FIG 6. Brass eagle with lead or pewter filling marked “AMP” (Aaron Merrill Peasley) a Boston maker 1810-23. Bruce Bazelon collection.

Gazette, 1 July 1800, at 34 Bridge Street, Baltimore, that he “... manufactures and sells Military Plumes, Feathers, Cockades and Bear Skins ... ”⁶⁰

In the meanwhile, another problem was being sorted out. This question involved the British use of the cockade as a military device as opposed to the French and Continental practice of allowing ordinary citizens to wear the cockade as a symbol of national patriotism. *Cary's United States Recorder* of 10 May 1800 put it this way: “... Citizens have no business with cockades; it is a military emblem which ought to be worn by a soldier. To wear it as a badge of distinction is indiscreet and improper ... ”⁶¹

In the summer of 1800, with the crisis of the election drawing near, the cockade issue seemed to have lost its steam as a political issue. The inclusion of the eagle in that device had

created something American in the minds of most of the country. In the minds of some, the controversy of the Federalist cockade vs. the Republican device seems to have been forgotten as if it never existed. *The Constitutional Telegraph* (Boston) of 25 June 1800 noted that indeed the Federal black cockade was a British cockade “... the Eagle was ordered to be added to the black cockade, to take off the disgrace

incurred by our bearing the colours on our foreheads, of the nation which attempted to enslave us, but which we defeated. The illustrious Washington at Trenton it is said declared against the Black Cockade without the eagle ... ”⁶²

With Jefferson's elevation to the Presidency the basic orientation of the United States was fundamentally changed. The New England merchants who had supported Adams and his pro-British stance were out of power. Federalist officers were purged from the Army by the simple expedient of reducing the number of regiments, most of them never completely mustered, from sixteen to two. This did not affect the enlisted strength so much as it terminated most of the Federalist appointed officer corps. Jefferson's establishment of West Point to train additional officers, who would most likely be politically neutral, takes on a whole new meaning in this context. The Federalists never again won a national election.

With a sympathetic government now in power, the difficulties with France, greatly helped by the fall of the corrupt Directory, healed as if by magic. As Napoleon discovered that his dreams of a French empire in America were doomed, he sold Louisiana to America, now deemed a friendly power, in 1803, effectively doubling the size of the country. Unfortunately, as relations with France improved, those with Britain went down hill just as quickly. From being virtually an ally

in 1798, the United States and Britain were on the verge of war in 1808 over the *Chesapeake* affair and in actual war by 1812.

With the flush of victory for the Jeffersonians in 1800, one voice was raised in favor of changing the cockade—that of Governor McKean of Pennsylvania who set out in General Orders for the Pennsylvania Militia as reported in the *United States Oracle* of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 2 November 1800, that the cockade was to be "... composed of Blue and Red, corresponding with the color of the uniform, worn in the militia." "... It is unnecessary to make any other remark on this ridiculous and democratic measure, than just to observe that the American Cockade, Recommended to be worn by General Washington and President Adams, is BLACK, With an eagle in the Center."⁶³ Just as the position of the recently deceased Washington survived the demise of his party in 1800, so did the small silver eagle he had approved as one of his last acts. A toast found in the *Balance* (Hudson, NY) in July 1808, "Like our Cockade—May the whole circumference of the Union, find an eagle's heart in the center." The simple addition of the eagle to the black American Cockade not only disarmed a political controversy but had created a tradition which survived through the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

With the tradition now set, a number of manufacturers continued to make cockade eagles thru the War of 1812. Besides Armitage, *The Palladium* noted that R. Evans of Boston made, "... Gold, Silver and laquer'd Eagles, for Cockades as well as gold ciphers and silver spoons ..." in 1809.⁶⁵ "Cockades, with Eagles ..." were a standard part of Moses Wallach's large stock of military goods in his "Armory" in Boston as shown in *The Palladium*, 26 March 1811.⁶⁶

Normand Smith advertised in the *Connecticut Courant* of 4 May 1813, "... Stocks, figured and plain, Cockades, silver and gilt, Eagles ..." ⁶⁷ to name just a few.

The cockade eagle continued to have a place in the "Detailed Rules Respecting the Uniform of Officers, of the



FIG 7. Thin silver "sew on" eagle, ca. 1810. Hart collection.

General Staff," published in the *Columbian*, 18 October 1813, "... Black cockade of leather, 4½ inches diameter, with a gold eagle in the centre ..." ⁶⁸ In fact, cockades and eagles continued to be quite common in regular Army dress through the War of 1812, and with the militia as an ornament through the Mexican and even to the Civil Wars. The American Cockade, as such, is still referred to as a term in the New York State Regulations of 1 June 1818, "... Company officers may wear round hats with the American cockade ..." ⁶⁹ The only reference to the controversy which gave birth to the cockade eagle so far noted is in the *Vermont Gazette*, 16 June 1829, where the anti-Republican aristocracy is chided in the paper as they did "... after the nation's escape from cockade times, and after Mr. Jefferson's elevation to the Presidency ..." ⁷⁰

The *Daily National Intelligencer* in December 1815 has the last word. With the end of the Napoleonic wars, national colors once again became an item of importance as Americans were again being assaulted for wearing what appeared to be a British cockade. "I observed ... an account of some of our countrymen being treated not only with rudeness, but violence in France on account of their cockades, which are at present black, the colour of those of the English. The Americans first became odious to the Bonapartists by being mistaken for Englishmen. They put an eagle in the center of the cockade to show they were not English, and afterwards were opposed by the Bourbonites ... because the eagle was the symbol of the Bonapartists. The cockade is the mark and sign of nationality in an individual as much as the flag is in a ship or fortress. It is consequently of the first importance that it not be confounded with the

same mark of any other nation, or dangerous consequences may follow in war and some inconveniences even in time of peace ..." ⁷¹ The article concludes with a plea to change the cockade to blue.

The cockade eagle as an established part of the cockade continued in use for a long time.



FIG 8. Eagle cut from a half dollar and named to "I. Moore." The name Joseph Moore appears engraved on the reverse while the Latinized "I.M" is on the front along with "LIBERTY OR DEATH." Ca. 1805. Bruce Bazelon collection.



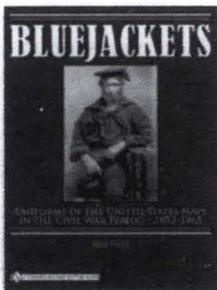
During that interval, the patterns of these eagles changed with artistic fashion. The early eagles, after the eagle on comma of clouds disappeared in the first years of the nineteenth century, diversified to include variants of U.S. mint or other designs by the militia while the U.S. Army continued to favor a modification of the 1798 eagle on clouds design, sometimes including lightning bolts during the 1812–1815 war up through the uniform changes of 1818–1821. Those changes specified a 3-inch eagle in flight holding an olive branch and arrows. A smaller version of this standard eagle was often employed on militia headgear while a full size eagle of evolving patterns was on the chapeau which once sported the black cockade and its small eagle. A few early examples are shown below.

Notes

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2. *The Alexandria Times*, 19 June 1798, 2.
3. *Daily National Intelligencer*, 20 December 1815, 2.
4. *New-York Journal*, 5 November 1789, 2.
5. *The Vermont Gazette*, 23 November 1789, 2.
6. *Philadelphia Gazette*, 30 June 1798, 3 (Extracts from an arrangement for the Troops of the United States; given at the War Office the 30th January, 1787).
7. *The Vermont Gazette*, 23 November 1789, 2.
8. *Charleston City Gazette*, 6 January 1790.
9. *New-York Daily Gazette*, 16 January 1795, 2.
10. *The Connecticut Gazette*, 7 January 1791.
11. *The American Minerva*, 24 January 1795, 3.
12. *The Daily Advertiser*, 22 August 1796.
13. *Courier of New Hampshire*, 29 November 1796.
14. *Federal Spy*, 10 September 1793, 1.
15. *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, 10 May 1794, 3.
16. *Gazette of the United States*, 16 May 1798, 3.
17. *The Newburyport Herald*, 18 May 1796, 131.
18. *The Commercial Advertiser*, 19 May 1798, 3.
19. *Ibid.*, 17 January 1799, 2.
20. *The Daily Advertiser*, 28 June 1798, 2.
21. *Ibid.*, 21 June 1798, 1.
22. *The Spectator*, 20 June 1798, 3. William Barry advertised in the *Centinel of Freedom*, 26 June 1804, 2, as a "... SILVER-PLATER ..." on Broad Street. "... gilds watch cases and sword mountings; cleans and bushes guns; repairs and soddors [sic] all kinds of tinware ..." While there is no direct connection thus far known, he may have made the eagles in question.
23. *Greenleaf's New York Journal*, 6 June 1798, 2.
24. *The New-York Gazette*, 21 June 1798.
25. *The Federal Gazette* (Baltimore), 26 June 1798, 3.
26. *The Spectator*, 30 June 1798, 2.
27. *American Mercury* (Hartford), 12 July 1798, 2.
28. *The Columbian Centinel* (Boston), 4 July 1798, 2.
29. *Massachusetts Mercury*, 10 July 1798, 3.
30. *Newburyport Herald*, 13 July 1798, 194.
31. *Carey's United States Recorder* (Philadelphia), 14 July 1798, 2.
32. *The Connecticut Gazette*, 18 July 1798, 3.
33. *The Vermont Gazette*, 26 July 1798, 3.
34. *The Northern Centinel* (Salem, New York), 13 August 1798, 3.
35. *The Albany Centinel*, 28 September 1798, 3.
36. *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, 18 October 1798, 2.
37. *The Daily Advertiser* (New York), 15 September 1798, 2.
38. John C Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1931–1944), 37: 16–17.
39. *Ibid.*, 53.
40. *Ibid.*, 111.
41. Harold C. Styrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 127, 130. Courtesy: Marko Zlatich.
42. *Gazette of the United States*, 14 January 1799, 2.
43. *The Newburyport Herald*, 12 April 1799, 1.
44. *Daily Advertiser*, 7 May 1799, 2.
45. *Norwich Courier*, 18 October 1798, 6.
46. *The South Carolina State-Gazette*, 8 January 1799, 1.
47. *City Gazette*, 3 July 1799, 3.
48. *Porcupine's Gazette*, 6 February 1799, 3.
49. *The Columbian Centinel*, 2 March 1799, 4; *Salem Gazette*, 22 February 1799; and *Massachusetts Mercury*, 21 May 1799, 4.
50. *The Philadelphia Gazette*, 6 May 1799, 1.
51. *South-Carolina State-Gazette*, 23 May 1799, 3.
52. *The Newburyport Herald*, 24 May 1799, 3.
53. *Russell's Gazette*, 11 February 1799, 3.
54. *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, 17 June 1799, 4.
55. *Norwich Packet*, 20 June 1799, 1.
56. *New York Mercantile Advertiser*, 12 July 1799 Sup., 2.
57. *The Columbian Museum* (Savannah), 6 August 1799, 1.
58. *Charleston City Gazette*, 23 December 1799.
59. *New York Mercantile Advertiser*, 20 January 1800, Sup., 1.
60. *Federal Gazette*, 1 July 1800, 4.
61. *Cary's United States Recorder* (Philadelphia), 10 May 1798, 4.
62. *Constitutional Telegraph* (Boston), 25 June 1800.
63. *United States Oracle* (Portsmouth, NH), 22 November 1800, 2.
64. *Balance* (Hudson, NY), 12 July 1808, 109.
65. *New England Palladium*, 26 May 1809, 1.
66. *Ibid.*, 26 March 1811, 4.
67. *Connecticut Courant*, 4 May 1813.
68. *Columbian*, 18 October 1813, 2.
69. *Ibid.*, 12 June 1818, 2.
70. *Vermont Gazette*, 16 June 1829, 3.
71. *Daily National Intelligencer* 12/20 December 1815, 2.



FIG 9. Gold eagle with shield and stars, button shank back, ca. 1820. Bruce Bazelon collection.



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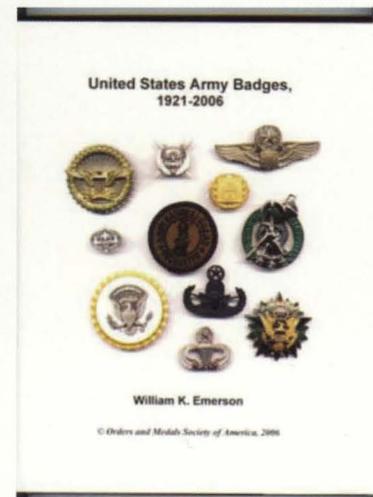


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