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Captain Philemon Griffith and Lieutenant Colonel Moses Rawlings, 1780

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IN THIS ISSUE

MILITARY UNIFORMS IN AMERICA

FEATURES

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French Colonial Troops in the West Indies and Guyana, 1935–1943

René Chartrand

FOLLOWING the First World War, the armed forces of the exhausted nations went through a period of reorganization. It had been the "war to end all wars" but, within a few years, a more realistic view of human affairs dictated that armed forces, even in a reduced scale, still played an essential role in world affairs. Of the victorious countries of the Great War, France had the world's second largest overseas colonial empire after Britain. The French tricolor flew over much of North Africa, Western and Central Africa, Madagascar and various islands in the Indian Ocean, Indochina (later Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia), New Caledonia, and a myriad of islands in French Polynesia in the Pacific Ocean. In America, France's domain was not as important and consisted of remnants of its sizeable eighteenth century empire, the small islands of Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon off Newfoundland, Martinique, Guadeloupe and a few smaller holdings in the West Indies, and French Guiana on the South American mainland.

To safeguard this empire, France had a sizeable army apart from its metropolitan forces in Europe. North Africa had the "Armée d'Afrique" in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, which formed its own entity and was closely linked to the metropolitan army. The other part of the empire was garrisoned by the "Troupes coloniales"—the colonial troops. In 1922, this arm of the service amounted to over 135,000 men of whom 34 percent were European and 66 percent were Africans or Indochinese. This proportion was almost the same before the First World War and would remain until the Second World War. The European units of the colonial troops were recruited mainly from volunteers in France and were considered an elite professional branch of the army.[1]

The French territories in America had a small proportion of the colonial troops. The Headquarters for the West Indies and Guyana was at Fort-de-France in Martinique, which was also the location of the French Navy's main base in America. The French territories in America were not under any unusual external or internal threat and the garrisons of colonial troops were quite modest, at least initially. In 1912, the West Indies and Guyana had only two companies of infantry and one battery of artillery. In 1922, some 35 officers and 405 NCOs and privates were posted in the area. They all were, and would continue to be, Europeans recruited in France belonging to a regiment of colonial infantry or of colonial artillery.

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By a series of laws enacted in 1928, the colonial troops were structured into three divisions, one of metropolitan soldiers enlisted in France and two of Senegalese soldiers. Additional corps outside of these divisions comprised the units recruited in Indochina and Madagascar. Insofar as the garrisons of the West Indies and Guyana were concerned, the detachments of metropolitan colonial infantry could be of variable strength under the command of a colonel. The colonial artillery detachment of the "Antilles et Guyane" group had its HQ at Fort-de-France and consisted of a battery of artillery and detachments of "ouvriers" (artisans) to maintain ordnance. As previously, Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon did not have a military garrison.

World War II and the Vichy Government

During the 1930s, this organization remained the same although, as the world slowly drifted towards another major war, the number of troops in Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Guiana steadily rose. By 1939–1940, as World War II started, over 2,700 officers and men of the colonial infantry and artillery were posted in the "Antilles et Guyane" area. Clearly, there were far more concerns over the safety of this area than for most other parts of the overseas territories. No other territory had anything like the five-fold plus increase in garrison that was seen in America.[2]

During the summer of 1940, after a period of the "sitting war," the German "Blitzkrieg" swept through northern France, the French metropolitan army was overrun, the Germans entered Paris, and the government collapsed. Overcome and discouraged by such dramatic and unexpected disasters, an armistice was concluded by a new government headed by Marshal Henri Pétain, a hero of the Great War. Northern and central France would be governed and occupied by the Germans, while southern France would be run by a puppet French government in collaboration with the Germans and its capital was the small provincial town of Vichy.

The Vichy government had the responsibility of the overseas territories. In the absence of any real alternative in France's metropolitan authority, most colonies initially rallied to the Vichy government. This included the French West Indies and Guyana for whom a High Commission was set up and run by Rear Adm. Georges Robert at Fort-de-France. The powers of local governors were correspondingly reduced as this new and autocratic regime was installed.

Faced with West Indian islands run by pro-Vichy government factions, the British set up an increasingly tight blockade of the French territories from the fall of 1940. The local

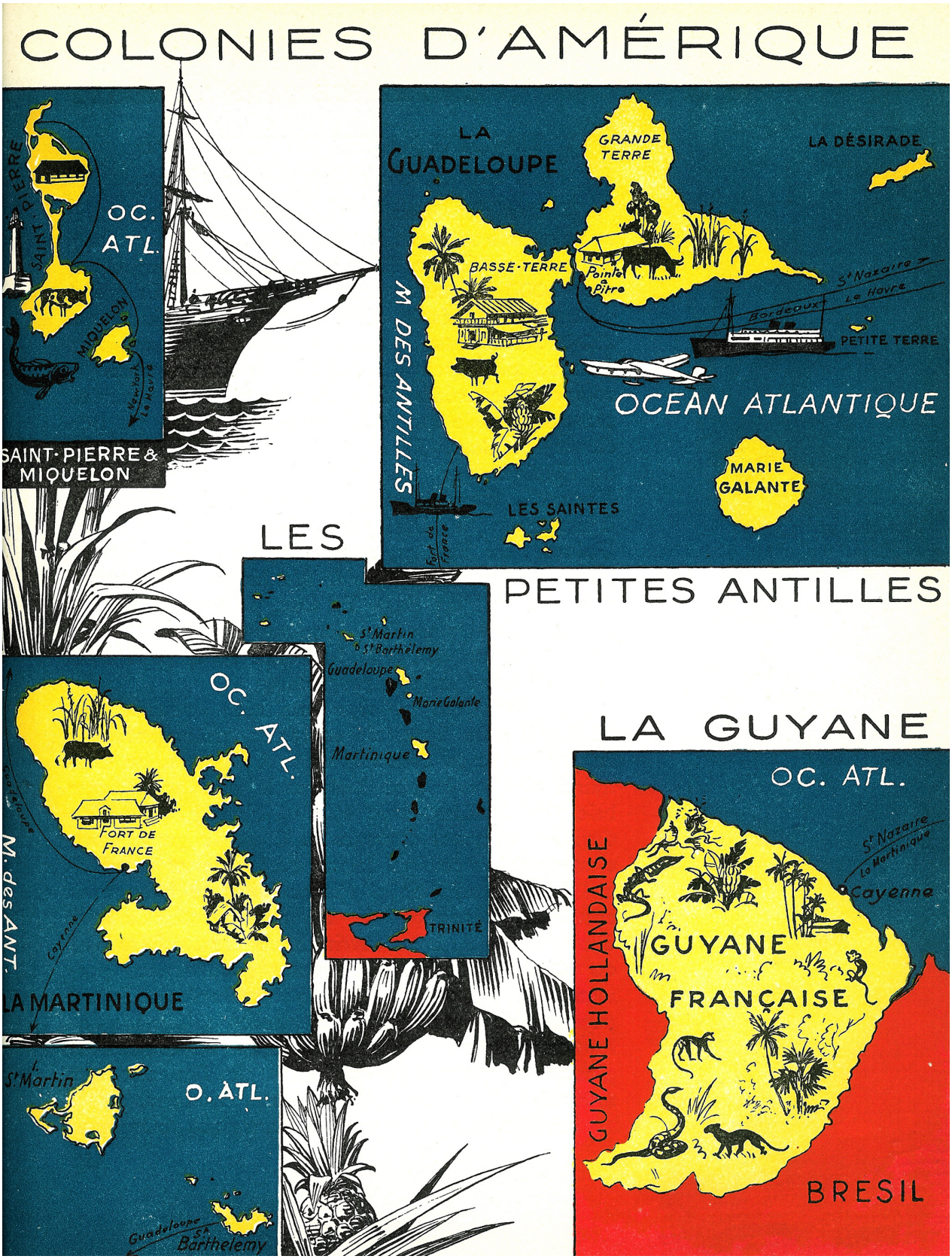


FIG 1. Maps of the French colonies in America during the 1930s. Fort-de-France in Martinique was the military HQ and main naval base. The little plane over Guadeloupe hints to the airfield that had just been built there. The black lines indicate shipping links. From La France dans le Monde *published in Paris in 1939. Author's photo.*

economy, which was mainly based on exports of agricultural products to Europe, practically collapsed as a result.

For the French authorities in the West Indies, the arrival of Axis personnel was not good news either. Although cut off from France, their primary objective was to safeguard these territories from occupation by foreign powers, be they Axis, British, or Americans. The garrison was nevertheless constantly on alert and, because of shipments that had arrived from France in 1940, was also quite well supplied in warlike stores. This even included 105 American-built planes that had arrived in Martinique on board the French aircraft carrier *Béarn*. Shortly thereafter, the cruiser *Emile Bertin*, one of the fastest of its class in the world, arrived at Fort-de-France loaded with the gold reserves of the Bank of France, which were immediately stored in Fort Desaix under a very strong guard.

After the 1940 establishment of the Vichy government in France, there was concern in Martinique that the nearby Dutch islands might pose a threat. Holland had also been overrun by the Germans, but its government had gone to England rather than surrender. The sleepy small island of Saint-Martin was half-French and half-Dutch and, in the fall of 1940, a squad of about twenty French colonial infantrymen, dressed in their regulation "puttees, knee-length khaki shorts," and tropical helmets went to "occupy" the Dutch half of the island. As it turned out, the operation on the isolated little island soon turned into an embarrassment and the squad withdrew after six weeks.[3]

The whole farcical episode was based, however, on very real fears that British troops would try to occupy Dutch and possibly outlying French islands. This certainly proved correct in the case of the oil-rich Dutch islands of Curaçao and Aruba where British troops had arrived to "protect" the oil refineries

However, during 1940 and 1941, Britain and its Commonwealth had far more urgent preoccupations elsewhere as the only countries still fighting Germany and Italy, the Axis powers (Japan was

FIG 2. The new 1935 dark blue dress uniform for colonial troops. At the center is a colonial infantry senior sergeant in full dress. To his left is a corporal of the colonial artillery. In the background are field officers of the colonial artillery and colonial infantry. Senior NCOs and officers wore a full-skirted, single-breasted tunic; other ranks wore a shorter double-breasted tunic. Artillerymen's tunics had scarlet collars. At left of the plate, a private in ordinary walking out dress (in khaki) with the dress kepi of dark blue piped red (laced with gold for officers). Trousers were of a slightly lighter blue with red piping for the infantry. These uniforms might be seen in the colonies during the winter. Plate by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

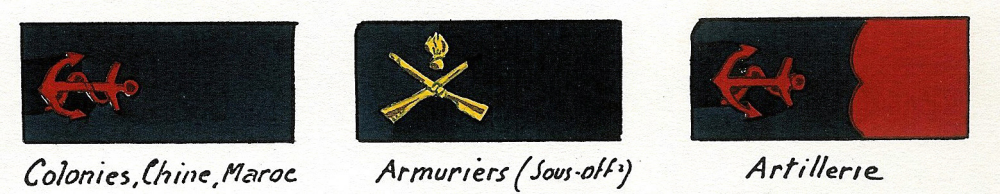


FIG 3. Badges for the dark blue dress tunic, the white tropical dress tunic, and the light khaki tropical tunic, 1935. At left, colonial infantry; at center, specialist armorers; at right, colonial artillery (which had a red tunic collar). Plate by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

FIG 4. French colonial infantry wearing the new Model 1935 dark khaki uniform. This was for Europe and dress during chilly weather in the colonies. Two buglers are in the foreground, one of whom is a corporal. Plate by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

not then at war). There were no serious British intentions of attacking the pro-Vichy authorities in the West Indies. Such an attack might prove costly in military terms. A strong French Navy squadron was in Fort-de-France and, with the memory of the recent British attack on the French fleet at Mers-el-Kebir in North Africa, would likely put up a tough fight. The garrison would probably also put up quite a defense to protect the gold reserves of the Bank of France. The airfield in Guadeloupe might also be used by the French air arms, which certainly had enough planes to create military worries. In diplomatic terms, such an assault would probably have been seen as a lowly attempt to grab France's gold assets. The British intent was mainly to contain the influence of the pro-Vichy islands and basically handed the various security and diplomatic issues in the West Indies over to the Americans.

American and Free French pressures

The aims of the United States during this period, although not at war, were similar to British objectives and American forces and diplomats became predominant in the area. In the middle of 1940, the United States gained the right to set up bases in a number of British territories in North America under the Lend-Lease Agreement. One notes that this included Antigua and St. Lucia near Martinique and Guadeloupe, and British Guiana near French Guiana (see map). The American congress had invoked the Monroe Doctrine and passed the Havana Act at the end of 1940, which aimed to restrict the transfers of sovereignty of territories in America by non-American nations. There was a growing concern that the pro-Vichy areas might be used as bases for Axis forces.

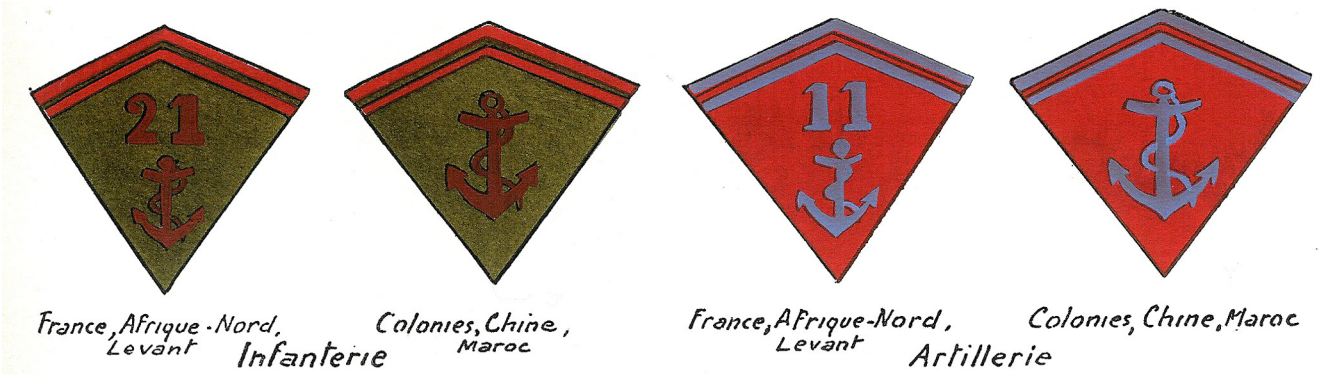


FIG 5. Collar badges of the dark khaki uniform on the colonial troops, 1935. The two at left were for the infantry; the two at right were for the artillery. Regimental numbers were worn if the units were in France, North Africa or the "Levant" (which meant Lebanon and Syria), and territories under a French Mandate after the First World War. The anchor only was worn elsewhere and this was the type of badge put on the uniforms of the colonial troops in the French West Indies and Guyana. Plate by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

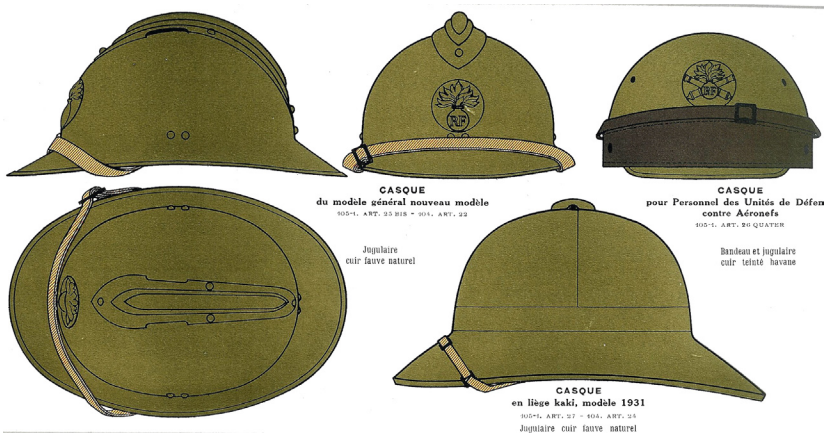


FIG 6. Side, front, and top view of the French army's new steel helmet. Colonial troops had the same steel helmet, but the badge in front was a fouled anchor. At lower right, a side view of the 1931 Model khaki tropical cork helmet worn by colonial troops. The sling was of tan leather. The dress tropical helmet was similar, but covered with white material instead of khaki. Detail from a plate of the 1937 Dress Regulations. Private collection. Author's photo.

For the Americans, this posed a threat to the all-important Panama Canal Zone. In June 1941, for instance, there was some alarm in the United States over a totally false rumor that German officers had flown to the French Caribbean. As a result, American troops were rumored to be about to occupy the pro-Vichy French territories. These rumors were denied but were indicative of rising tensions in the area. In November, Marshal Pétain removed the rather anti-Axis Gen. Maxime Weygand as pro-consul of French North Africa and this had an immediate effect on the still neutral United States. A few days later, American troops secured Dutch Guiana (Surinam) with the agreement of the Dutch government in exile and cut off relations with the Vichy government.

Within the islands, life for the population was coming into increasing hardships under the autocratic pro-Vichy High Commission. Civil liberties were curtailed, censorship strictly enforced and, soon, it was considered unwise for anyone to utter a political opinion. Opponents were jailed at the small Salut islands or in Guyana, already notorious for its Devil's Island prison. By the end of 1941, problems in nutrition amongst the population became increasingly severe notably due to a lack of cereals and protein. Rice, cod, flour, and meat had practically disappeared and local produce, mostly bananas and sugar, could not compensate. Thus, while warehouses were filled with huge amounts of unexportable sugar and rum, infant mortality rose to alarming levels.

Some French islanders left to take refuge in neighboring islands, notably Dominica where Gen. Charles De Gaulle's Free French forces were recruiting. General De Gaulle's now historic call on BBC Radio to resist uttered on 18 June 1940 was slowly but surely gaining adherents. By the end of 1941, French territories in Polynesia, the Indian Ocean, and parts of Equatorial Africa had joined the Free French movement and its agents were active everywhere. Britain was no longer alone fighting the Axis since Germany's invasion of the USSR in June 1941 and, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December and declaration of war by Germany, the United States had entered the war against the Axis powers.

Thus, 1942 was an increasingly uncomfortable period for the Vichy government and its credibility was practically shattered with the occupation of southern France by the Germans during the summer. For Vichy loyalists overseas, there was much soul-searching over the unfolding events. Insofar as the colonial troops in the Antilles/Guyana area, they might well resist an overt attack by the Americans or the British because of national pride at defending French soil, but their political allegiance was increasingly far from being in support of the diminishing pro-Vichy faction in Fort-de-France. Indeed, General De Gaulle's Free French could no longer be ignored as the colonial population, and its garrison, recognized it as representing the real France that they loved and cherished. It was thus only a matter of time and, on 14 July 1943, Bastille Day, representatives of General De Gaulle arrived at Fort-de-France to take over the government. There was no resistance and they were greeted as liberators by the population and by the garrison. Civil liberties

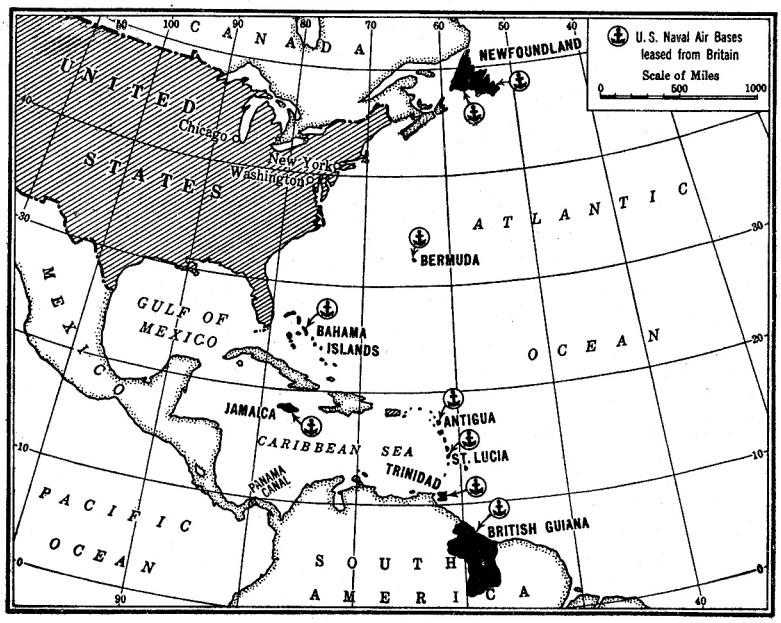
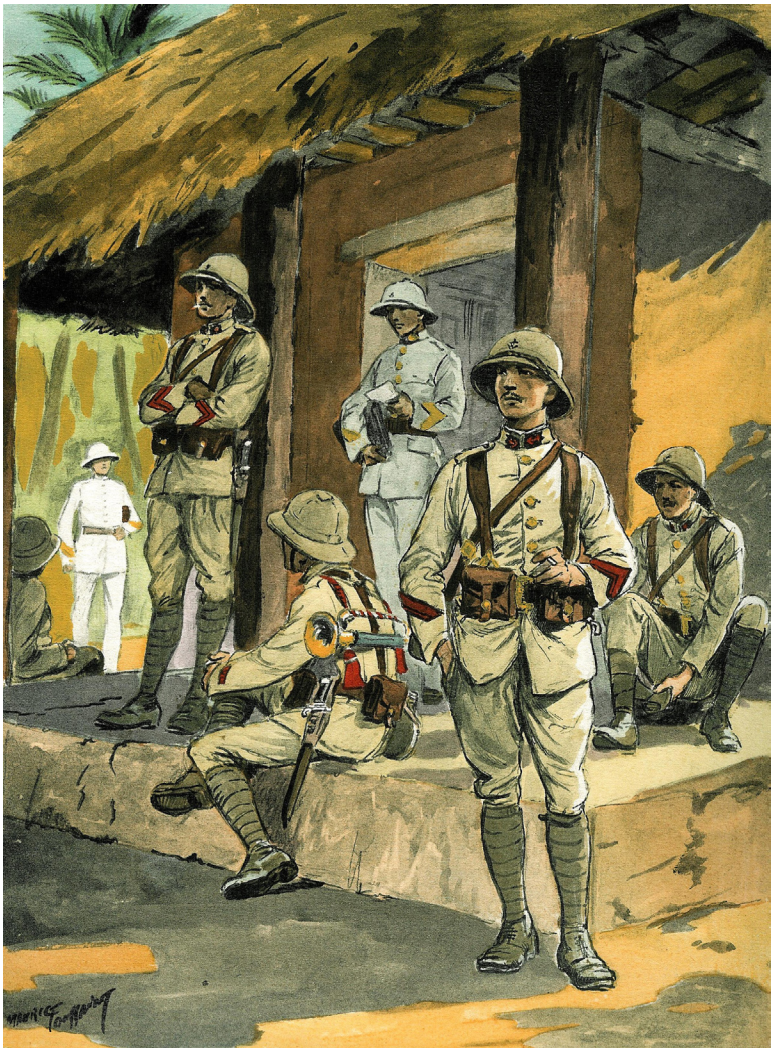


FIG 7. Location of American bases leased from Britain under the Lend-Lease Agreement of 1940. Latin America in maps, 1942. *Author's photo.*

FIG 8. (Right) From left to right: a private in the light khaki tropical uniform, a corporal in the white tropical dress uniform, and a private in the tropical khaki service uniform. These orders of dress were only worn in the colonies. All tropical helmets had a brass fouled anchor badge in front. Detail from a plate of the 1937 Dress Regulations. Private collection. Author's photo.

were reestablished and local elections announced amidst much joy from the population. The tense and very awkward Vichy period in the French West Indies was finally over and all were now eager to join in the effort for the final objectives: the liberation of France and Germany's defeat.[4]

For the garrison of French colonial troops, the arrival of the Free French authorities with the full support of the United States meant total and immediate transformations. By the end of August 1943, over 2,000 French infantrymen from Martinique had arrived at Fort Dix, New Jersey, to be re-equipped and given new infantry training. Later on some 200 gunners and artisans from Martinique were sent to several bases in the United States for ordnance training. For all, a whole new era opened within the Free French Army.[5]



Uniforms

Until the mid-1930s, the French army basically wore the same types of uniforms as at the end of the First World War. With the prospect of conflict becoming increasingly probable, the army went through a reorganization that included substantial changes in its dress. Starting in late 1935 and extending to April 1937, a series of regulations introduced the new orders of dress. These were published or sponsored by the French Ministry of War in two publications: a fine quality book featuring plates by Maurice Toussaint, one of the leading military artists of the day, published in late 1935; and a series of regulation schematic colored plates published in 1937. A number of the plates featuring the dress of the French "Troupes des colonies" have been selected to illustrate this article.

The French colonial troops had a full dress dark blue tunic with a dark blue kepi and somewhat lighter blue trousers, and a dark khaki uniform with a steel helmet. The colonial troops' had the distinction of having double-breasted tunics whereas most French metropolitan army units

FIG 9. (Left) Colonial infantrymen wearing the light khaki tropical dress with M 1931 cork tropical helmets, c. 1935–1943. In the foreground: a private first class, a bugler to his right, and a corporal leaning on the pillar. In the background is a sergeant in the white dress uniform. These orders of dress were only worn in the colonies. Plate by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

FIG 10. (Left) Colonial artillery in the khaki service uniform serving a 75 mm field gun, 1935. Note the red collar tabs on the tunic and the red piping on the trousers. Plate by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

only had khaki single-breasted tunics. Colonial troops had, in addition, a dress white uniform with a white cork helmet, a light khaki uniform with a khaki cork helmet, and a duty light uniform featuring khaki short-sleeved shirts and khaki Bermuda-style short. The various uniform coats had a system of collar badges that, for colonial troops, featured an anchor for all with variations in color. In France, the unit's number accompanied the anchor. In the colonies, only the anchor was worn without any unit designation. The equipment was of tan or brown leather and most colonial troops were armed with the M 1916 (8mm caliber) or M 1934 (7.5mm caliber) rifle and bayonet, and the old but dependable 75mm field guns.[6]

This was the dress and equipment of the garrisons in the French West Indies and Guyana until the late summer of 1943. Thereafter, like in much of the re-born French army, American uniforms, equipment and weapons were issued.

Notes

1. Most of the French metropolitan army was conscripted since the time of the French Revolution. National service was phased out at the beginning of the twenty-first century.
2. Much of this data on organization comes from Jean Barreau, "Evolution des troupes de la Marine de 1871 à 1950," *Revue historique des armées*, no. 2 (1983): 4–19; Louis Beaudza, *La formation de l'armée coloniale* (Paris: 1939), 77. As in 1914–1918, there were contingents of French West Indians drafted and sent to France in 1939, but served in different units and were not part of the troops studied in this article.
3. Bryan Dyde, *Islands to the Windward* (London: Macmillan Caribbean, 1987), 40.
4. Much of the events related are taken from: W. Adolphe Roberts, *The French in the West Indies* (Indianapolis: Bobb-Merrill Co., 1942), 303–318; an anonymous article on wartime Guadeloupe published in *Entente*, (1946): 33–40.
5. Marcel Vigneras, *Rearming the French* (United States Army in World War II Special Studies) (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1957), 234, 237
6. E.-L. Bucquois and Marcel Toussaint (illustrator), *Les uniformes de l'Armée française: Terre, Mer, Air* (Paris: Éditions militaries illustrées, 1935), 175–180, plates 92–96; *Armée française: Unifomes 1937* (Paris: Ministère de la Guerre, 1937) plates 6, 18–20. For a general view of the evolution of French army uniforms from the end of the First World War to the early part of the Second World War, see the well-illustrated study by François Vauvilliers, *1940, l'infanterie* (Uniformes: hors-série No. 3), (Paris: 1980).

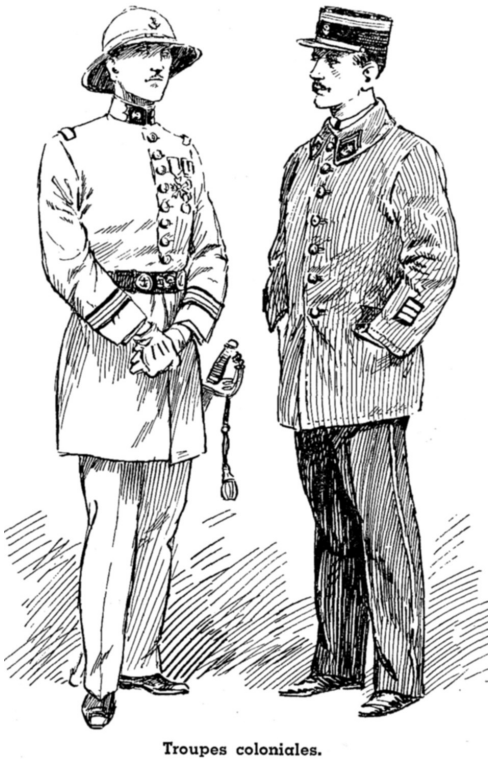


FIG 11. At left is a captain of the colonial infantry in the full dress white uniform for a formal gala occasion, 1935. At right is a colonial infantry captain wearing the undress khaki "pelisse"—a loose-fitting tunic—with the blue kepi and trousers. Pen and ink sketch by Marcel Toussaint. Private collection. Author's photo.

Unit History of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (1776–1781): Insights from the Service Record of Capt. Adamson Tannehill

Tucker F. Hentz

OVER the past century, the American Civil War has attracted much more popular and scholarly attention than the Revolutionary War. One little-noticed byproduct of this disparity is the stark contrast in the number of published military-unit histories for these two most significant conflicts waged on American soil. Ward's 1941 account of the Delaware Regiment is a prominent example for the Revolutionary War, but more recent works are rare and focus on infantry regiments from the state line organizations. This case study of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, the longest serving Continental rifle unit of the war, highlights one of the handful of regiments that formally organized in multiple states, and one of the few specialist units armed with rifles instead of muskets. Both aspects merit attention to gain a context for comparison with histories of single-state Continental infantry units.[1]

Details of the origins, formal organization, and service record of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment have defied easy synthesis. Primarily because most of the unit was captured or killed at the Battle of Fort Washington on 16 November 1776, the historical trail of the regiment's "surviving" element has become complex. Modern and contemporaneous accounts of the war's 1776 New York City Campaign convey the impression that the battle marked the end of the regiment as a combat entity. In truth, however, a significant portion of it continued to serve actively in the Continental Army through several major campaigns, and although it never regained its original troop strength, the unit nevertheless maintained its regimental status and identity throughout most of the remainder of the war. Adamson Tannehill, a Marylander, was the regiment's only officer with an uninterrupted service history that extended from the unit's military roots in mid-1775 until its disbanding in early 1781. His service record thus provided a logical focal point for research that has helped resolve a clearer view of this notable regiment's heretofore untold history.

Antecedents

Although the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment was not formally organized until mid-1776, the foundations of the unit lie in the earliest months of the war. On 14 June 1775, the Continental Congress directed the raising of ten independent rifle companies in the Middle Colonies as part of the creation of the Continental Army as a national force to oppose British military actions. The use of these riflemen not only provided a symbolic gesture that the armed struggle would be carried out by all of the colonies, not just New England and New York, but also tapped into a specialized long-range marksmanship capability to augment the predominantly musket equipped forces of the era. Congress directed county committees of safety in the frontier regions of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to raise the companies and select their officers, reserving for itself the authority to issue the officers' commissions. This action bypassed the provisional colonial governments. The men enlisted for a period of one full year.[2]

Maryland raised two companies in Frederick County (then the entire western part of the colony) under Capts. Michael Cresap and Thomas Price, mustering both into service on 21 June 1775 at the county seat of Frederick Town (now Frederick). Twenty-five-year-old Adamson Tannehill enlisted on 23 June and served as a sergeant in Thomas Price's Independent Rifle Company. Virginia also raised two companies: Capt. Daniel Morgan's in Frederick County, which mustered into service at Winchester on 22 June, and Capt. Hugh Stephenson's in Berkeley County (now part of West Virginia). Stephenson's company mustered into service at Mecklenburg (now Shepherdstown), also on 22 June. Pennsylvania was to have formed six independent companies, but Congress quickly increased that colony's quota to nine, which were soon thereafter organized into the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment (informally known as Thompson's Rifle Regiment).[3]

By order of Congress, the four rifle companies from Maryland and Virginia immediately set out for Cambridge, Massachusetts, to participate in the Siege of Boston as independent forces directly under the command of George Washington's main headquarters. However, Daniel Morgan's company left the siege in mid-September to join Col. Benedict Arnold's task force of the Canadian Campaign, during which Morgan and his riflemen were captured at the Battle of Quebec City on the last day of 1775. In mid-March 1776 the three companies that remained at Boston departed the siege as the British began to evacuate the city, and they proceeded to New York City to bolster its defenses in anticipation of the colony coming under attack once the British regrouped and received reinforcements.

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The units initially served there in the forward-deployed elements, skirmishing at long range with Royal Navy warships and at short range with their landing parties beginning in early April, primarily from positions on Staten Island. In late April, Washington temporarily assigned the three companies to Brig. Gen. Lord Stirling's Brigade then encamped with much of the Main Army on southern Manhattan Island. Although the riflemen were periodically posted on Manhattan before the main British assault on New York City commenced in midsummer, they were primarily engaged in continued outpost duty on Staten Island.[4]

A few key changes in the command structure of the three rifle companies occurred while they were still at Boston. In October 1775 Captain Cresap died of illness, and his first lieutenant, Moses Rawlings, became captain. Several months later, in mid-January 1776, Captain Price received a promotion to major and a transfer to the newly authorized Maryland Regiment under Col. William Smallwood. As a result, his first lieutenant, Otho Holland Williams, succeeded to the command of the company with a promotion to the rank of captain (FIG 1). These changes left Captain Stephenson as the senior captain of the three companies (FIG 2). The original one-year enlistments of all three companies expired in late June 1776.[5]

FIG 1. Portrait of Otho Holland Williams (1749–1794) by Charles Willson Peale (ca. 1782). Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia.

Formal Organization and Recruiting

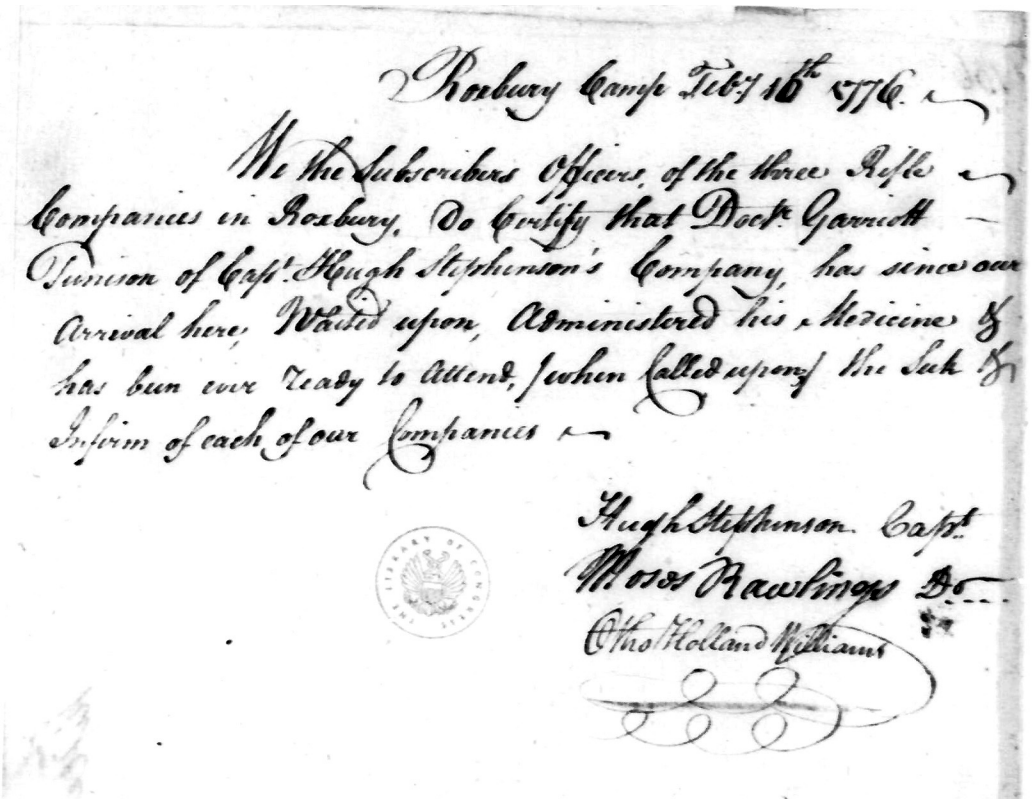
Congress responded to Washington's warnings that the riflemen would have to be discharged at the end of their one-year enlistment periods by authorizing on 15 April 1776 two-year reenlistments. Congress soon thereafter expanded its original vision, and in two resolves of 17 and 27 June it directed that the three companies be supplemented with six new companies—two from Maryland and four from Virginia—to be enlisted for three years. The entire force of nine companies was to become a regiment on the same tables of organization as the 1st Continental Regiment, originally the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment but re-designated on 1 January 1776. On 29 June, Congress ordered the two colonial governments to raise their new companies and appoint the officers as rapidly as possible. The new force would be called the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, with Hugh Stephenson becoming the colonel, Moses Rawlings the lieutenant colonel, and Otho Holland Williams the major, preserving the three officers' relative seniority. However, unlike Pennsylvania's 1st Continental Regiment, the new unit would be an Extra Continental regiment. As such, it was not part of a state line organization because of its two-state composition but was directly responsible to national authority (Congress and the Continental Army). Congress also requested on 29 June that Washington send Colonel Stephenson and one of the other field officers to Philadelphia to work with the delegates from Maryland and Virginia in organizing the regiment's companies. Washington sent all three field officers to Congress on 4 July with his recommendations on how to promote the remaining original officers and noncommissioned officers to fill up the three original companies.[6]

Congress acted in accordance with Washington's wishes. On 9 July 1776, Congress reorganized Stephenson's Virginia company, appointing 1775's Lt. Abraham Shepherd as captain and Sgts. Samuel Finley, William Kelly, and Henry Bedinger as his first, second, and third lieutenants, respectively. (In rifle companies, the customary title of the fourth officer was third lieutenant; in infantry units it was ensign.) Two days later, Congress carried out a similar process for the two Maryland companies. Michael Cresap's 1775 company, which had been commanded by Moses Rawlings, passed to Richard Davis, who became captain, with Daniel Cresap, Nieman ("Ninian") Tannehill, and Rezin Davis as his lieutenants. Thomas Price's old company (later under Otho Holland Williams) went to Philemon Griffith, with Thomas Hussey Luckett, Adamson Tannehill, and Henry Hardman as his subordinates. However, Hardman (the only one of the officers not an original company member) soon thereafter resigned, leading to a new commission granted by Congress on 17 September to Elijah Evans. His date of rank was set retroactively at 8 August, twenty-eight days after those of the other officers in Griffith's company.[7]

Back in the two states, as they officially became with the Declaration of Independence, the other six companies had to be completely recruited (FIG 3). On 11 July 1776, Harford County, Maryland, recommended to the state's Council of Safety that Alexander Lawson Smith be captain, James White

Hall first lieutenant, William Bradford second lieutenant, and Josias Hall third lieutenant. The four men subsequently received commissions in those grades, with 13 July as the date of rank. The second new company from Maryland formed in Frederick County. The Frederick County Committee of Safety submitted its recommendations to the Council on 13 July. Four officers received their commissions from Congress on 17 September, carrying a date of rank of 25 July: Capt. Thomas Beall and Lts. Peter Contee Hanson, James McCubbin Lingan, and Richard Dorsey. Virginia raised its four companies, with commissions dated as follows: Capt. Thomas West (with Lts. William George, Thomas Warman, and Edward Smith) on 21 July; Capt. Gabriel Long (with Lts. Nathaniel Pendleton, Philip Slaughter, and James Harrison) on 23 July; Capt. William Brady (with Lts. William Pyle, Christopher Brady, and Battaille ["Battle"] Harrison) on 23 July; and Capt. William Blackwell (with Lts. John Marshall [future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court], James Wright, and Thomas Ransdell) on 31 July. Notably, several of the Virginia lieutenants had been veterans of Hugh Stephenson's original 1775 company.[8]

By early July 1776 the new regiment's original three-company cadre evacuated its outposts on Staten Island, when the British under Maj. Gen. William Howe landed there in force at the start of their New York City Campaign. The companies were temporarily diminished at this time owing to nominal reenlistments, and by no later than early August, they appear to have moved to the west bank of the Hudson River, rather than working directly with the troops committed to the defense of Long Island and Manhattan. The historical record of the companies' activities during this period is sketchy. However, evidence suggests that they were probably either posted at Fort Lee, where the regiment's newly recruited companies would have initially reported, or attached to Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer's Flying Camp, headquartered primarily at Perth Amboy. The riflemen most likely stayed in New Jersey, conducting scouting and intelligence-gathering missions throughout the regiment's period of building and recruiting, which extended well into November.[9] Because the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment had to be formed while the three original companies remained in active service, the "paper trail" of the regiment's building phase tends to be complicated and incomplete. However, the Continental Army followed fairly standard procedures, and these, supported by primary documentation, allow logical inferences to fill in the gaps. Washington recognized that the best riflemen available had been recruited in 1775 and allowedtalented noncommissioned officers and even privates to receive commissions in 1776, despite his overall reluctance to promote from the ranks. Sgt. Adamson Tannehill was one of these riflemen who were promoted, receiving his commission dated 1 January 1776 as third lieutenant in Capt. Otho Holland Williams' Independent Rifle Company, formerly commanded by Thomas Price. Congress approved Tannehill's subsequent promotion to second lieutenant on 11 July 1776, when Capt. Philemon Griffith's Company was formed during the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment's organization. Such a policy gave


Roxbury Camp Feby 10th 1776.

We the Subscribers Officers of the three Rifle Companies in Roxbury, Do Certify that Doctr Garrett Tunison of Capt. Hugh Stephenson's Company, has since our Arrival here, Waited upon, Administered his Medicine & has been ever Ready to Attend, when called upon; the Sick & Inform of each of our Companies

Hugh Stephenson Capt.
Moses Rawlings Do
Otho Holland Williams

FIG 2. Document penned by senior Capt. Hugh Stephenson and signed by all three commanders of the independent Maryland and Virginia rifle companies serving at the Siege of Boston. This testimonial, dated 10 February 1776 and sent to General Washington, attests to Dr. Garrett Tunison's service to the three companies to gain his formal recognition as a Continental Army surgeon. Tunison was a physician who had enlisted as a private in Stephenson's rifle company in 1775. Many members of the four 1775 rifle companies, like Tunison, were literate and educated, and the four units produced a number of field, staff, and company-grade officers from both the commissioned and enlisted ranks. Courtesy of Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

the six new companies experienced leaders and filled gaps in the leadership of the three original companies. However, when combined with normal attrition and the need to grant furloughs to some men to get them to reenlist, the policy left the older element of the regiment temporarily weak. In fact, as of early July 1776, only about forty of the approximately 240 enlisted men in the three companies had reenlisted. As a result, Washington temporarily consolidated the three companies into a single provisional force until their numbers were supplemented by new recruits.[10]

Officers and some noncommissioned officers from each of the three companies hurried home in the midsummer of 1776, along with the men on furlough, to conduct the necessary recruitment of replacements and then moved them back to New York to join the regiment as rapidly as possible. For example, Capt. Abraham Shepherd and Lts. Samuel Finley and Henry Bedinger of Stephenson's original 1775 Virginia company were dispatched back home to Berkeley County in mid-July to early August "to recruit, and re-fill the old Company." The officers appointed to the six new companies also had to carry out their recruitment and initial training programs. Custom provided for a company to establish a central recruiting point in the home state and then for the officers to spread out and find "quotas" of men. As soon as possible, the company's commander would depart for the front with the main body, leaving junior officers behind to finish the process. The company could move in one body or pieces and join with elements of other companies and move in a composite column. In the case of Alexander Lawson Smith's Maryland company, paperwork submitted to the Continental Congress confirms that the usual procedures were utilized in the recruitment of the new regiment. Among the documents are the original 13 July 1776 recruiting orders issued by the Maryland Council of Safety to Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith (required to recruit thirty men) and Lt. William Bradford (required to recruit twenty men) and the certified roster, dated 7 November 1776, of forty-nine men actually recruited by Smith and Bradford for their company. The roster is significant because technically the two men were given their commissions only after presenting their recruits to authorities. Therefore, the roster indicates the earliest date the contingent would have set out to join the Main Army.[11]

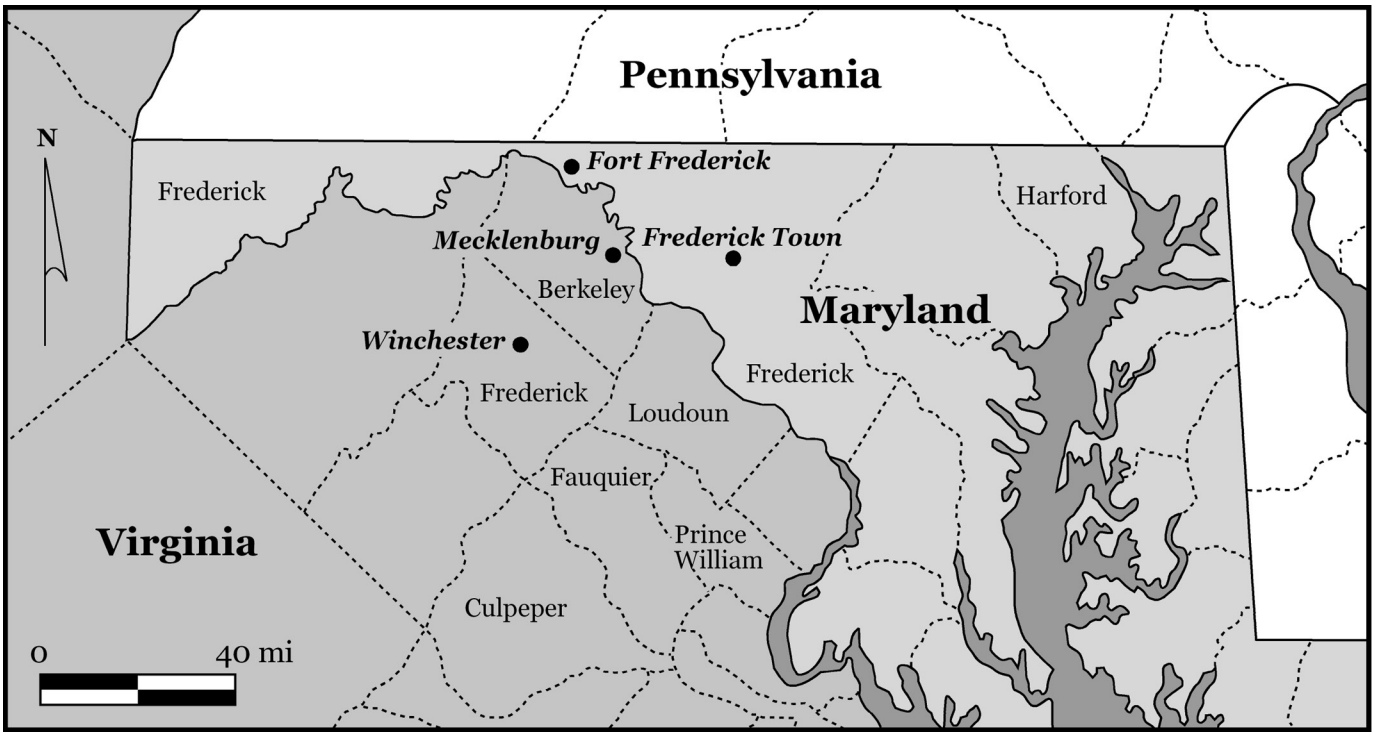


FIG 3. Labeled Maryland and northern Virginia counties are those from which the riflemen of the four 1775 independent rifle companies and the six new 1776 companies of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment were recruited. Configuration of county and state boundaries are as they existed prior to 4 July 1776 (portions of Virginia are now West Virginia and Pennsylvania). Geographic boundaries modified from Wright, 260, 274, 276.

All lines of evidence indicate that Adamson Tannehill was one of the "new" officers from the three original companies who traveled back to Maryland in the midsummer of 1776 to recruit replacements. The normal process employed by the Continental Army for an established unit already in the field was that one or more experienced junior officers in that unit were sent back to their home state to recruit, to supervise men on furlough or convalescent leave, or to perform various logistical activities such as the procurement of uniforms, blankets, or other items furnished directly by the state. By

traveling back to Maryland to recruit replacements, Tannehill would have been entitled to compensation for the rations (subsistence) that he had missed by not being with his company when it drew its food, and his unit's first payroll after he returned shows that he drew such pay for two months and one day. Both Lts. Adamson Tannehill and Elijah Evans of Philemon Griffith's Company are listed as having been compensated with subsistence pay on the roll, indicating that Evans had assisted Tannehill in his recruiting for their company. Tannehill most likely had been given a cash advance, which was standard practice in the Continental Army for assignments that involved extended time away from the regiment. Recruiting parties from the three companies probably headed south nearly simultaneously and were issued cash advances at the same time, an administratively logical action. Tannehill's time of subsistence would, therefore, be an indicator of the extra time not covered by the cash advance that he needed to complete the recruiting process. Elijah Evans received subsistence pay for three and a half months and one day, probably close to the total time Tannehill and Evans each spent recruiting in Frederick County. However, because of Evans' delayed inclusion into Griffith's company, he was likely not present when the recruiting parties drew their cash advances. Tannehill and Evans would have been given certified rosters of their recruits and would have gone through a validation process comparable to that of Alexander Lawson Smith and William Bradford for official confirmation of promotion to second and third lieutenant, respectively.[12]

Battle of Fort Washington

The Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment fed replacements to the front in New York as quickly as possible, limiting the comprehensive tracking of their exact movements. The Maryland Convention reported on 28 October 1776 that the two new companies from that state formed at different speeds. Frederick County filled Thomas Beall's company rapidly, and by that date it had already departed. Harford County's quota under Alexander Lawson Smith lagged, containing only about fifty men on that date, all still back in Maryland. By 4 October, Capt. Abraham Shepherd's Virginia company had completed its reorganization because it was on duty at Bergen Point, New Jersey, near Staten Island. Moreover, advance trail detachments of officers and recruits had

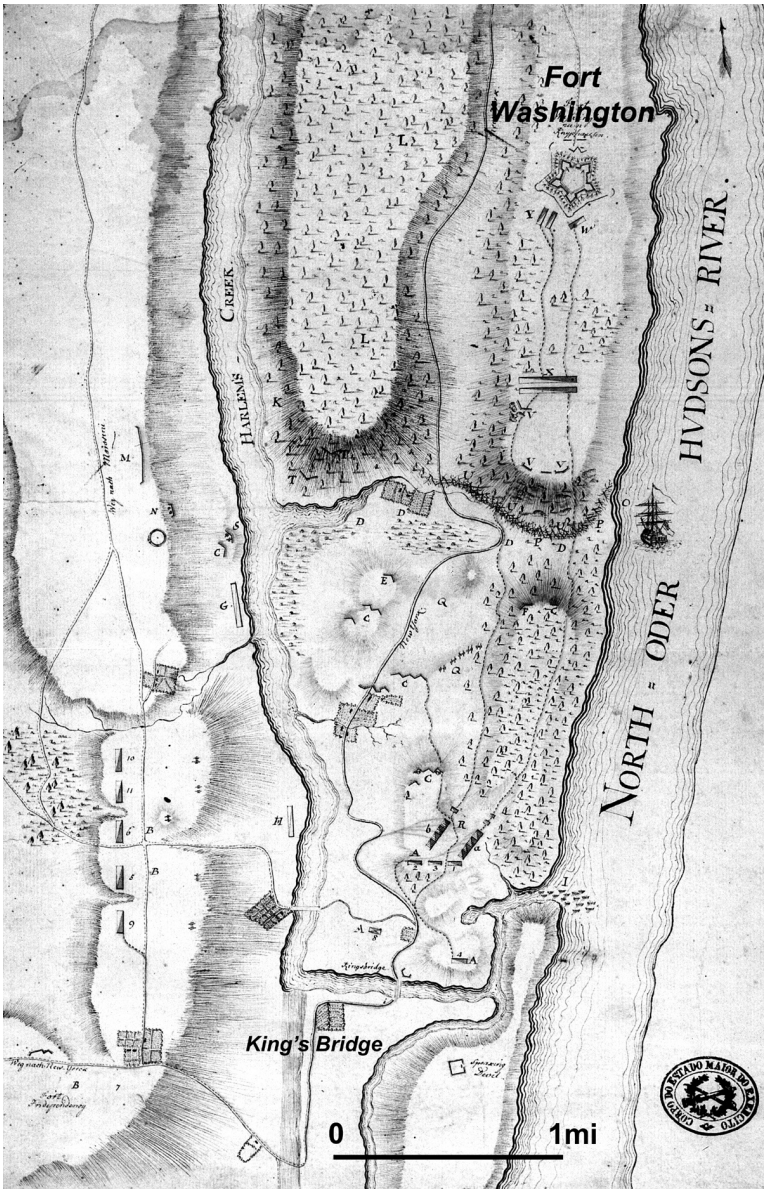


FIG 4. Contemporary depiction of the topography, German movements, and American entrenchments at the northern end of the Fort Washington battleground (north is to the bottom). This map is the official Hesse-Cassel graphic account of the battle, preserved in the Hesse-Cassel topographic-engineering map set housed in Lisbon. It was constructed by Lt. Bernard Wilhelm Wiederhold, who served in North America for the entire deployment of this Hessian contingent, including the 1776 New York City Campaign. Wiederhold used fine dashed lines to trace the routes taken by the German regiments as the battle progressed. His representation of the engagement begins with five German formations on the high ground east of the Harlem River ("Harlem's Creek"), their jumping-off point (five north-south-aligned rectangles at bottom left). Once the Germans crossed to Manhattan Island at King's Bridge, they deployed into two assault columns (two short segments of aligned pyramids leading to two long subparallel dashed lines, extending from bottom center to top right) and advanced toward Fort Washington. The riflemen of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment were positioned primarily on the northern edge of the main plateau (top right) on which the stronghold was situated but were eventually driven back to the fort where all the American forces under Col. Robert Magaw surrendered. Bar scale reproduced from that on map; "Fort Washington" and "King's Bridge" labels also added to the figure. Courtesy of Biblioteca do Exército*, Lisbon, Portugal.*

moved north from Maryland and Virginia to join the Main Army ahead of their companies' main bodies. For example, 1st Lt. Nathaniel Pendleton, 1 sergeant, and 11 privates from Capt. Gabriel Long's Virginia company arrived on or before 29 October, about one month prior to the arrival of the bulk of their unit.[13]

By the first week of November, the regiment, minus the elements still completing organization and recruiting in Maryland and Virginia, was serving in garrison at Fort Washington on the northern end of Manhattan Island. Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene had decided on 31 October to order the regiment from Fort Lee, New Jersey, to Fort Washington (both under Greene's overall command) to complement the stronghold's existing force under Col. Robert Magaw. As of 13 November, however, the regiment was again stationed at Fort Lee on the west side of the Hudson River opposite Fort Washington with a force present of 1 lieutenant colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 7 first lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 5 ensigns (third lieutenants), 20 sergeants, 7 drummers and fifers, and 293 rank and file, 48 of whom were sick. The following day, Greene redeployed the regiment to Fort Washington to reinforce the American troops, when a major Anglo-German assault on the fortification was imminent. The riflemen tenaciously defended the northern end of the American position from a much larger force of some 4,000 Hessian troops (FIG 4). However, Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings was forced to surrender the main body of the regiment as part of the garrison of Fort Washington on 16 November. Rawlings was commanding the regiment at that time because Colonel Stephenson had died of illness in September and had not been replaced. The colonel's position was being held vacant to allow Capt. Daniel Morgan of the other 1775 Virginia rifle company to be restored to relative seniority once he was released from British captivity.[14]

A memorial (formal memorandum) written in August 1778 by Moses Rawlings to George Washington includes a roster of all the regiment's officers who participated in the Battle of Fort Washington. Rawlings composed the document about seven months after his exchange as a prisoner of war, and it addresses a grievance. While Rawlings and his officers were in British captivity, Congress approved a major reorganization of the Continental Army that involved the raising of additional regiments within each state. Continental Army policy protected the interests of officers while they were in enemy hands by tracking when they would have been promoted if they had been free, and then making those promotions retroactively after the officers received their freedom. However, during their incarceration, the Maryland officers of the regiment were "totally overlooked, neglected, or forgot" by their state, therefore putting them "quite out of the Line of Promotion by the new Arrangement of the Army." Rawlings apparently did not fully understand the technical nature of his unit's status. He incorrectly believed that the Maryland portion of his Extra Continental regiment was part of the Maryland Line. His argument to have retroactive promotions granted for his officers was, therefore, misdirected, although understandable.[15]

Washington forwarded the document to Congress on 21 August 1778, and it was formally presented before the body of representatives four days later. The roster includes 2 field officers, 2 staff officers, and 19 company officers and an accounting of their then-current technical status (TABLE A). Transcribed by a clerk prior to formal submission to Washington, it also includes secondary notations in Rawlings' handwriting for two officers who were not present at the battle: Alexander Lawson Smith and Adamson Tannehill. Rawlings' intention in appending Smith's and Tannehill's names was to officially document them as the two *only* other fellow Maryland officers from 1776 remaining in his regiment in mid-1778, thereby ensuring that they would not be inadvertently overlooked if Congress granted his memorial. The document also specifies that 214 privates in the regiment were taken prisoner. In contrast, a return of the regiment's component still left at liberty in northern New Jersey that was compiled five days after the fall of Fort Washington shows that the unit comprised a force present of only 2 captains, 2 second lieutenants, 2 third lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 2 drummers and fifers, and 69 privates. By 22 December, however, the number of enlisted men present increased to at least 102, with the arrival of the remaining recruits and trail detachments from Maryland and Virginia and perhaps the return of some sick and wounded personnel to full duty. Significantly, this total represents about one-third the number of enlisted men in the regiment who were present on 13 November and who fought at Fort Washington.[16]

Surviving Elements and Attachment to the 11th Virginia Regiment

The officers and enlisted men of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment ("Rawlings' regiment") not captured in the Battle of Fort Washington continued to serve actively with Washington's Main Army. Payrolls and muster rolls in the National Archives, supported by other primary records (including Rawlings' 1778 memorial), document that three of the nine companies of the regiment remained intact in early 1777 and thus had not participated in the battle: Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's Maryland company and the Virginia companies of Capts. Gabriel Long and William Blackwell. The pension testimony of Lt. Thomas Lingan of Smith's company also affirms that Smith's and Long's companies had not joined the regiment in time for the battle. Lt. Reuben Long of Long's company specified that his unit marched north from Virginia in November 1776 and joined the Main Army "near Elizabeth Town" (on 27 or 28 November, according to dates and camp locations recorded on Washington's correspondence) as it was retreating through northern New Jersey soon after the Battle of Fort Washington. Lt. Col. Christian Febiger of the 11th Virginia Regiment recorded the presence in early March 1777 of Blackwell's company in Philadelphia, where its members were being inoculated against smallpox after moving up from Virginia. (Starting the previous summer, Washington required smallpox inoculation of all new recruits who had not already

suffered from, and therefore had no immunity to, the virus.) Blackwell's company did not join the Main Army until early April 1777, arriving at the winter encampment at Morristown with Col. Daniel Morgan and part of his recently organized 11th Virginia Regiment. Although in line for command of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, Morgan accepted the colonelcy of the 11th Virginia after his prisoner-of-war exchange in January 1777. The Virginia state government, with Congress' approval, initially designated Blackwell's company as one of the four new 1776 Virginia companies of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment. However, the company had difficulty recruiting even close to full strength, with the effort extending into early 1777. By this time, Morgan had been exchanged by the British, had been promoted to colonel, and had assumed command of the 11th Virginia Regiment. The formal incorporation of the five remnant Virginia companies of Rawlings' regiment into the 11th Virginia Regiment had also been ordered by the Virginia state government, although it had exceeded its authority in doing so (such action was technically only within the purview of Congress). As a result, Blackwell's company arrived at Morristown as the sixth company of the 11th Virginia Regiment, never having taken up arms as part of Rawlings' regiment. Surviving pension testimonies of men who enlisted in Blackwell's company in late 1776 are consistent in relating that the unit was an element of Morgan's 11th Virginia Regiment, with no mention of the rifle regiment. Their statements are not strictly accurate in that at the time of most of their enlistments, Morgan had neither yet been exchanged nor had the Virginia companies (including Blackwell's) of Rawlings' regiment yet been "formally" incorporated into the 11th Virginia Regiment. The statements nonetheless reveal that the men never considered themselves to have been part of Rawlings' command.[17]

Partly because Washington had come to consider separate infantry companies inefficient by the end of 1776, in early December he provisionally grouped the Maryland and Virginia remnants of Rawlings' regiment not captured at Fort Washington into two composite rifle companies commanded by the highest ranking officers still free—Capts. Alexander Lawson Smith and Gabriel Long. All the Marylanders still left at liberty (remnant members of Philemon Griffith's, Richard Davis', and Thomas Beall's companies) formed the core element of Smith's composite company, which also included the riflemen of Smith's original Harford County company. Capt. Gabriel Long's composite company provided a similar "home" for the remnant members of Abraham Shepherd's, Thomas West's, and William Brady's Virginia companies. With the arrival of Morgan at the winter encampment in early April 1777, Washington administratively attached the two provisional composite companies to the 11th Virginia Regiment (their permanent unit remained the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, however). As a result, the army staff compiled the companies' first payrolls and muster rolls since the Battle of Fort Washington, the payrolls representing the period through 1 May 1777 and the muster rolls dated 16 May 1777.[18]

The earliest official records of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company document that Adamson Tannehill, after recruiting in Maryland, had not rejoined Philemon Griffith's Company in time to participate in the Battle of Fort Washington. The information contained in the "Casualties" (remarks) column of the 1 May 1777 payroll of Smith's composite company establishes that effective 1 December 1776, the first day of the next regular reporting period following the fall of Fort Washington, Washington instituted the provisional composite-company organization for the Maryland and Virginia members of the rifle regiment who were not in captivity. This small element remained "below the level of visibility" in correspondence during the chaotic period of the Trenton and Princeton Campaign, but as soon as the situation stabilized in northern New Jersey in the spring of 1777, steps were taken to provide a clear paper accounting. On 1 May (again, the first day of a monthly reporting period) the army staff prepared a payroll for Smith's composite company, carrying all relevant data for the period 1 December to 30 April. Adamson Tannehill and all other members (except Lt. Elijah Evans) of the composite company's specifically defined core group comprising the remnants of Griffith's, Davis', and Beall's companies are shown as being present for duty from 1 December 1776. Evans' presence is shown to be effective 8 December, confirming that the army staff was precise in recording such information. Unlike Tannehill, Elijah Evans had returned to New York, almost certainly with recruits, in time to participate in the Battle of Fort Washington. However, he was not captured at the battle (TABLE A). In Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings' 1778 memorial, the regimental commander documented that Evans was "wounded but made his retreat good over the north [Hudson] River." Pension testimonies, supported by payrolls and muster rolls, record that a number of enlisted men in the regiment also escaped within a few days of capture and rejoined the Main Army soon after the engagement. The time Evans needed to recover from his wound(s) probably accounts for his later date of integration into Smith's composite company. Adamson Tannehill initially served as a second lieutenant in Smith's composite company, having been promoted to that rank with the formation of Capt. Philemon Griffith's Company. He subsequently advanced to first lieutenant on 18 May 1777, with his effective date of promotion retroactive to 15 November 1776.[19]

The riflemen of Alexander Lawson Smith's and Gabriel Long's composite companies served with Washington's Main Army during the retreat across New Jersey in late November and early December 1776, in the ensuing counterattacks at Trenton and Princeton (serving in Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer's Brigade), and in the early 1777 skirmishing in northern New Jersey. In a letter to Congress dated 24 December 1776, one day before the initial actions to take Trenton began, Washington related that "a small part of Rawlins's [*sic*]" regiment was with his Main Army at its "Camp above Trenton falls." Moreover, pension testimonies of several officers, including Gabriel Long, and enlisted men in Long's and Smith's composite companies are

consistent in recording their units' participation in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton. Alexander Lawson Smith himself documented the presence of Rawlings' regiment at the "Ingagement [*sic*] at Trentown [*sic*]" in a letter dated 17 February 1777 to Lt. Michael Gilbert, an officer in the Maryland contingent to the Flying Camp and friend from Harford County, Maryland. Smith also related that "at that time [of the battle] got my Right foot frost Bitten which obliged me to Keepe [*sic*] Close House for sometime [i.e., recuperating in a local residence]." Early family records document Adamson Tannehill's own presence at the battles. Tannehill's 1820 obituary from his brother's personal papers in part states that "he was at the taking of the Hessions [*sic*] at Trenton, and in the affairs at Princeton when the enemy was forced to abandon that village; the remainder of that campaign he spent on the enemy's lines, with a special command from General Washington."[20]

TABLE A.

Names and technical status of all officers in the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment who were present at the Battle of Fort Washington, as documented in Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings' August 1778 memorial to George Washington. The roster groups the company officers first by state and then by company (except Lt. William Pyle), which are in turn presented in order of their seniority. The officers appear in order of rank within their companies.*

Maryland Officers	**Status in Mid-1778**
Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings	Wounded and exchanged
Maj. Otho Holland Williams	Wounded and exchanged
Capt. Philemon Griffith	Exchanged
1st Lt. Thomas Hussey Luckett	Prisoner
3d Lt. Elijah Evans	Wounded and escaped capture
Capt. Richard Davis	Exchanged and resigned
1st Lt. Daniel Cresap	Exchanged
2d Lt. Nieman Tannehill	Killed in action
3d Lt. Rezin Davis	Prisoner
Capt. Thomas Beall	Exchanged
1st Lt. Peter Contee Hanson	Killed in action
2d Lt. James McCubbin Lingan	Prisoner
Adj. Josiah Tannehill	Exchanged
QM John Reid	Exchanged
Virginia Officers	
Capt. Abraham Shepherd	Prisoner
1st Lt. Samuel Finley	Prisoner
2d Lt. Henry Bedinger	Wounded and prisoner
1st Lt. William Pyle	Exchanged and resigned
1st Lt. William George	Prisoner
2d Lt. Thomas Warman	Prisoner
3d Lt. Edward Smith	Prisoner
3d Lt. Battle Harrison	Killed in action
1st Lt. Nathaniel Pendleton	Prisoner

* Rawlings' memorial, Aug. 1778, M247, roll 51, item 41, 8:365, NA.

While in winter quarters at Morristown during the winter and early spring of 1777, the Main Army needed to maintain an effective field presence to buy time for the new regiments of Washington's still nascent force to complete their organization and training. Because the units under Capts. Smith and Long provided an experienced, if small, force in being, Washington used them to bolster the 11th Virginia Regiment after its arrival at Morristown in early April. Washington had a clear logic in making this decision: that regiment was built around a cadre from Daniel Morgan's 1775 rifle company (prisoners of war exchanged late in 1776). Returning members of Morgan's 1775 rifle company were re-equipped with muskets because Washington's mobilization plans of late 1776 had created more units than could be filled by true marksmen. In fact, by the end of 1776 Washington called for the elimination of most earlier rifle units, including Pennsylvania's 1st Continental Regiment (reorganized and redesignated by Congress on 1 January 1777 as the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, an infantry unit), requiring that they trade in their rifles and draw muskets as replacements. However, implementation of this regiment's arms exchange was delayed until the late spring of 177, and several units that performed specific skirmishing duties during the first half of 1777 did serve continuously as riflemen. Specifically, Alexander Lawson Smith's and Gabriel Long's composite companies served alongside these Pennsylvania and other Virginian riflemen to maintain patrols in northern New Jersey during the winter and spring of 1777. The Virginians included representatives of the three-company rifle elements from several of that state's line regiments. (In late January or early February, the effective force of Smith's and Long's companies was temporarily diminished when those members of the units who had not already had smallpox marched to Whippany, just northeast of Morristown, where they underwent inoculation.) In his letter to Lieutenant Gilbert, Captain Smith described several skirmishes and scouting and escort missions in which his rifle company and Rawlings' regiment were involved in early 1777. The two provisional composite

companies constituted an administratively autonomous unit from their organization in early December 1776 until April 1777, when Washington formally attached them to the 11th Virginia Regiment. During this chaotic period after the Battle of Fort Washington, they therefore continued in their roles as riflemen.[21]

Attachment to Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps

The success of these rifle units during that skirmishing period, coupled with the arrival of large numbers of new infantry recruits, led Washington to expand the force of riflemen and to group them under unified command. Drawing on the most qualified marksmen from all regiments of the Main Army, in early June 1777 he created additional provisional rifle companies and placed them under the command of Col. Daniel Morgan, calling it the Provisional Rifle Corps (FIG 5). Some of the riflemen of Alexander Lawson Smith's, Gabriel Long's, and William Blackwell's units, as well as others detached from their regular (musket) regiments, were selected to join this regiment-sized force.[22]

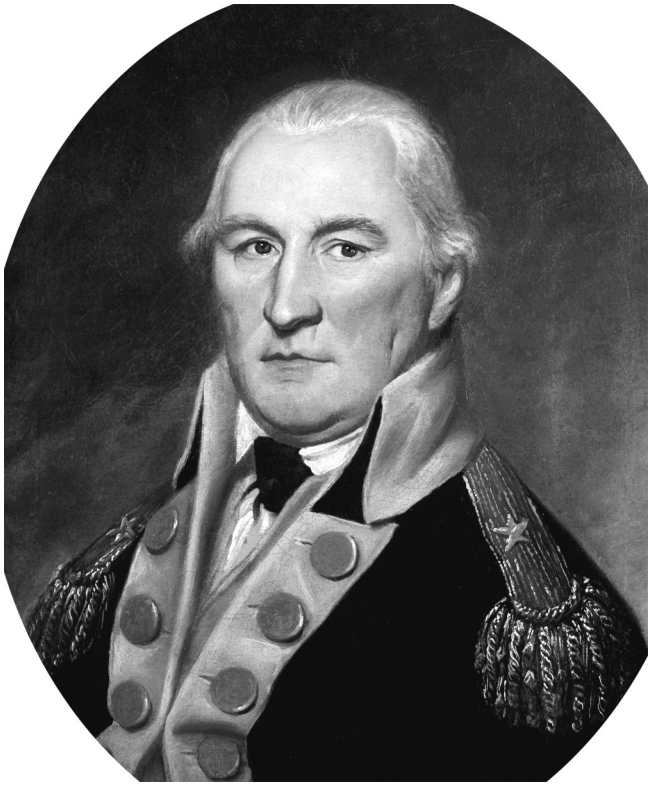


FIG 5. Charles Willson Peale's post-war portrait of Daniel Morgan (1736–1802). Courtesy of Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

In mid-June 1777 Washington immediately used this new body of light infantry to monitor and help check the advance of British troops from their winter quarters at New York City and vicinity into northern New Jersey. For much of July, Morgan continued to report from forward positions on British activity in and around New York City, and when the British army put out to sea late that month, Washington ordered the entire Rifle Corps to points south to scout the enemy's possible drive toward Philadelphia. In mid-August Washington sent the Rifle Corps north to help in blocking Maj. Gen. John Burgoyne's invasion of New York State from Canada (the Saratoga Campaign). In the meantime, the assignment of men from the 11th Virginia Regiment to the Rifle Corps left the Virginia unit short of its authorized number of companies. Attaching the remnants of Rawlings' unit who did not accompany Morgan therefore provided Lt. Col. Christian Febiger, the acting regimental commander in Morgan's absence, with a more complete force for tactical efficiency. The Marylanders in Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company served with the 11th Virginia Regiment and the Main Army at the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, as well as at the Battle of Monmouth after they were administratively attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment at the end of the 1777 campaign season. The Virginians in Capt. Gabriel Long's composite company remained attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment and fought at the same engagements in 1777 and 1778, with Lt. (later Capt.) Philip Slaughter as acting commander of the unit during Long's attachment to the Rifle Corps and as its permanent commander after Long's resignation in mid-May 1779.[23]

All of the riflemen from Rawlings' regiment who were attached to Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps served in Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company, one of the eight companies that composed the Rifle Corps (TABLE B). The earliest payroll for Long's provisional company is for the month of July 1777, the first complete month of the Rifle Corps' existence as a tactical organization. This roll shows that the company contained four commissioned officers: Capt. Gabriel Long, Lt. Adamson Tannehill (from Smith's composite company) as second in command, and Lt. James Harrison (listed as "on Command," or absent on other duties) and Ens. (3d Lt.) Reuben Long (both from Long's composite company). Significantly, the roll shows that Long's provisional company comprised enlisted men from eight different permanent companies, identifying each contingent as a separate entity. Captain Long's own company of Rawlings' regiment contributed 1 sergeant major (the senior enlisted man on the Rifle Corps' staff), 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 16 privates. Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's Company of Rawlings' regiment contributed 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 5 privates; Capt. Abraham Shepherd's Company of Rawlings' regiment contributed 4 privates (this small contingent was from Long's composite company but is listed as from the 11th Virginia Regiment on the roll); Capt. John Thornton's Company of the 3d Virginia Regiment contributed a lone corporal; Capt. William Blackwell's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment contributed 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 6 privates; Capt. William Smith's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment contributed a single private; Capt. Peter Bryant Bruin's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment contributed 2 corporals and 10 privates; and Capt. Charles Porterfield's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment contributed 2 sergeants, 1 corporal and 15 privates. With the exception of a single man, all members of the com-

TABLE B.
Original 1777 companies of Col. Daniel Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps, specifying the permanent units of the detached captains.*

Company	Permanent Unit
Capt. Hawkins Boone's	12th Pennsylvania Regiment
Capt. Samuel Jordan Cabell's	6th Virginia Regiment
Capt. William Henderson's	9th Virginia Regiment
Capt. James Knox's	8th Virginia Regiment
Capt. Gabriel Long's	Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment
Capt. James Parr's	1st Pennsylvania Regiment
Capt. Thomas Posey's	7th Virginia Regiment
Capt. Van Swearingen's	8th Pennsylvania Regiment

* "A Pay Roll of Captn. Hawkins Boone's [and Samuel Jordan Cabell's, William Henderson's, James Knox's, Gabriel Long's, James Parr's, Thomas Posey's, Van Swearingen's] Compy. in the Rifle Regt. Commd. By Coll. Daniel Morgan" (rolls of July-Dec., 1777, Jan.–May 1778 [Boone's Co.], Aug.–Nov. 1777 [Cabell's Co.], July–Dec., 1777, Jan.–May 1778 [Henderson's Co.], July–Dec., 1777, Jan.–May 1778 [Knox's Co.], July–Dec., 1777, Jan.–May 1778 [Long's Co.], Nov., Dec. 1777, Jan.–May 1778 [Parr's Co.], July–Dec., 1777, Jan.–May 1778 [Posey's Co.], July, Nov., Dec, 1777, Jan.–March 1778 [Swearingen's Co.]), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frames 351–368 [Boone's Co.], 369–373 [Cabell's Co.], 374–394 [Henderson's Co.], 395–413 [Knox's Co.], 414–432 [Long's Co.], 451–463 [Parr's Co.], 467–475 [Posey's Co.], 500–509 [Swearingen's Co.]), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; supported by period correspondence in the case of incomplete payroll records of Parr's and Swearingen's companies (e.g., James Chambers to Edward Hand, 18 June 1777, PA Archives, Series 2, 10:312-313; George Washington to Van Swearingen, 18 Aug. 1777, Series 4, GW Papers).

posite company came from either Rawlings' or Morgan's permanent regiments, both of which had been built around veterans from the four original Maryland and Virginia rifle companies of 1775. They were, therefore, hand-picked men with demonstrated skill as riflemen.[24]

As is well documented, Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps (about 500 strong) played a pivotal role in September and October 1777 at the first and second Battles of Freeman's Farm (Saratoga) against the combined British and German forces under Burgoyne. All eight companies of the Rifle Corps, including Gabriel Long's company with Adamson Tannehill, participated in the campaign. After Burgoyne's surrender, Morgan's riflemen rejoined the Main Army at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, in mid-November. The Main Army entered winter camp at Valley Forge on 19 December, and while there, Colonel Morgan had to divide his attention between the Provisional Rifle Corps and his own 11th Virginia Regiment. The Rifle Corps had scouting and outpost duties during the British occupation of Philadelphia and was deployed in forward positions primarily southeast of the encampment. Like many of the formations at Valley Forge, it probably grew during the spring of 1778 as a result of successful recruiting and of sick and wounded personnel returning to full duty. Upon vacating the encampment in mid-June, the Main Army, with Gabriel Long's company and the rest of Morgan's riflemen, moved to intercept the British army as it was marching to New York City after evacuating winter quarters at Philadelphia, culminating in the Battle of Monmouth on 28 June.[25]

Fort Frederick and Reorganization

From mid-1778 through mid-1779, Washington and Congress engaged in a comprehensive effort to increase the organizational efficiency of units within the entire Continental Army. As part of this effort and in response to the large-scale shift in British strategic objectives in early 1778 (i.e., initiation of their "southern strategy," which focused on engaging American forces in the southern states), in July 1778 after Monmouth Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps was severely reduced in size to two companies under Capts. Gabriel Long and James Parr and was placed under the command of Capt. Thomas Posey. Posey was promoted to major in late 1778 and remained in command of the unit through early 1779. In July 1778 Washington immediately sent the reduced Rifle Corps and the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment to New York State, where they were under the overall command of Lt. Col. William Butler, to help counter depredations to frontier settlements by loyalist units and tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy.[26]

All members of the Rifle Corps not retained in these two companies returned to their permanent units. At this time Lt. Adamson Tannehill was probably detached from the Rifle Corps and rejoined the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment when Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings, exchanged from British captivity in January 1778, was marshalling scattered remnants of his regiment and recruiting new members to guard prisoners of war at Fort Frederick, Maryland. Initially, in late March 1778 the Council of Maryland had recommended to the Board of War that Rawlings take command of a guard of Maryland militia at Fort Frederick in response to a Congressional resolve of 18 February. However, maintaining a sufficient and reliable force of state militia quickly proved impractical. Therefore, starting in the late spring to early summer Rawlings gradually replaced the militia guard with Continental Army recruits and a few recently exchanged prisoners of war from his regiment, the ranking member of the latter group being Capt. Thomas Beall. His efforts to rebuild the unit met with limited success, however, despite Washington's request to

Maryland governor Thomas Johnson in late December 1777 (in anticipation of Rawlings' imminent exchange) "that the most early and vigorous measures will be adopted, not only to make [Rawlings'] Regiment more respectable, but compleat [*sic*]." In early October 1778 Congress permitted Rawlings and his officers to recruit outside Maryland, with each new enlistee being officially entitled to the particular treatment (enlistment bonus, clothing allowances, etc.) of his own state's line organization. Implementation of this unusual ruling added few, if any, men to the regiment. Rawlings' force consisted of virtually all Marylanders because by this time the Virginia elements of the unit (composing Gabriel Long's composite company) had been all but officially absorbed by the 11th Virginia Regiment. The process was probably not formalized by Congress until the reorganization and redesignation of the 11th Virginia Regiment as the 7th Virginia Regiment in May 1779. In contrast, the Maryland state government had not incorporated the Maryland members of the regiment into its line units, a situation that caused much discontent among the regiment's Maryland officers for the remainder of the war. Because of these circumstances, at least one Maryland officer, Capt. Philemon Griffith, resigned from the service soon after his exchange as a prisoner of war captured at Fort Washington.[27]

Washington initiated more definitive measures to strengthen the regiment in early 1779. At his request, on 23 January Congress authorized the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment to be reorganized into three companies, recruited to full strength, and reassigned from Fort Frederick to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) of the Continental Army's Western Department. The reorganization, which was implemented 21 March, served to supplement forces engaged in the defense of frontier settlements of present-day western Pennsylvania and vicinity from Indian raids. In addition to new recruits, men who had recently rejoined the regiment following prisoner-of-war exchanges increased the ranks of the new companies. Moreover, Washington, in an effort to assemble all the detached members of the regiment for reincorporation into the unit, requested in his general orders of 16 February that "all the men belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings's Regimt. now doing duty in the line are to be delivered up to Lieutenant Tanneyhill [*sic*] of said regiment upon his demanding them." Washington specified that Adamson Tannehill supervise the assembly of the regiment because he was its de facto commanding officer until Capt. Thomas Beall, who had been exchanged in mid-1778, returned to Fort Frederick later that winter or spring after conducting official duties in the New Jersey/Philadelphia area. As a result of this directive, which applied only to the Main Army then at winter quarters in Middlebrook, New Jersey, the enlisted men in Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company who were attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment rejoined Rawlings' regiment. However, the enlisted members of Smith's composite company who were still on detached duty in New York State with Morgan's Rifle Corps did not return to Rawlings' unit pursuant to the general order. Their absence was of limited consequence because by August they had left the Rifle Corps and the armed service because their three-year enlistment periods had expired.[28]

In early May 1779 after Captain Beall's return and assumption of day-to-day command from Lieutenant Tannehill, he wrote a letter to Washington, declaring his intention to resign if the regiment was not assigned to the Maryland Line. Beall's threat highlighted this long-standing issue with the regiment's Maryland officers that was undoubtedly brought to a head by the unit's recent reorganization and assignment to Fort Pitt. Washington, of course, could not entertain such an ultimatum from one of his officers, but Beall remained on duty for another sixteen months. The letter is most significant in the context of this study, however, in that Beall included a complete roster of the regiment's commissioned and staff officers to at least partly ensure that none would be overlooked if the regiment were brought into the state line organization. The roster includes Capt. Thomas Beall, 1st Lt. Adamson Tannehill, 3d Lts. Elijah Evans and Nathaniel Magruder, Adj. Josiah Tannehill (Adamson's brother), QM John Reid, and three officers who were still prisoners of war (1st Lt. Thomas Hussey Luckett, 2d Lt. James McCubbin Lingan, and 3d Lt. Rezin Davis). Pay records of the Council of Maryland (formal authorizations to the state treasurer for payments to Marylanders in the Continental Army) document disbursements to Adamson Tannehill and John Reid in early and mid-1779 and corroborate the accuracy of this roster regarding their presence for duty in Rawlings' regiment during that period. These records also document that former prisoners of war Thomas Beall and Josiah Tannehill were back on duty in the regiment beginning about mid-1778. Other documentation indicates that during the last half of 1778 Nathaniel Magruder had also rejoined the unit (and was promoted to third lieutenant) at Fort Frederick after his exchange from British captivity. Adamson Tannehill's absence from the pay records for the last half of 1778, and other evidence, suggests that he took an extended furlough after the reduction of Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps in July 1778, a logical time for such leave. Tannehill returned to Rawlings' regiment no later than early 1779 for the unit's reorganization. Elijah Evans does not appear in the pay documents until December 1779. More significantly, he is shown as present on the April through September 1779 payrolls of Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company of Morgan's Rifle Corps then serving in Maj. Gen. John Sullivan's campaign against the Iroquois Confederacy in New York's Mohawk Valley. At that time, Capts. Michael Simpson's and Gabriel Long's companies constituted the Rifle Corps, with Maj. James Parr now as the corps' commanding officer. After Captain Long's resignation on 13 May 1779, Long's company was commanded by Lieutenant Evans, its senior officer throughout the Sullivan Campaign. Beall's letter is, therefore, a documentation of those officers that he knew were being carried on the books of the army as belonging to the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment. As the de facto commanding officer of the regiment, he listed the

officers present with him at Fort Frederick, the one officer in the regiment who was on detached duty (Elijah Evans), and those officers who were formally in the regiment by virtue of being prisoners of war.[29]

Fort Pitt

In preparation for the move to Fort Pitt, Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings continued to have great difficulty recruiting for his regiment in Maryland. In mid-March 1779, Washington reported to Congress that Rawlings had made no progress in this regard because "of the inferiority of the Continental bounty to that of the State of Virginia." At this time inducements to enter service in the form of higher bonuses (bounties) and shorter terms of duty offered by the Virginia state government adversely affected recruiting in nearby states. Therefore, recruitment of the three companies could be no more than partly completed. After the regiment's replacements from the Maryland militia for duty at Fort Frederick had been assembled, Rawlings' men set off for Fort Pitt, arriving there on 28 May. To further complicate matters, Rawlings resigned his command of the regiment on 2 June, and Capt. Thomas Beall, as senior officer, assumed formal control, with Adamson Tannehill becoming second in charge. In a second memorial to Congress, dated 28 November 1785, Rawlings summed up his grievance by stating that "on your memorialist's exchange [as a prisoner of war in January 1778] he found his efforts to collect his regiment ineffectual and that he was drawing pay without doing duty; he therefore determined to resign which he did in June 1779." Rawlings' frustration over his inability to fully rebuild his command was probably exacerbated by Washington's refusal to permit the Maryland contingent of the German Battalion (an Extra Continental regiment that had been recruited in Pennsylvania and Maryland) to accompany his regiment to Fort Pitt, in spite of a March 1779 resolve of the Maryland State House of Delegates (exceeding its authority) to combine the two forces into a single regiment.[30]

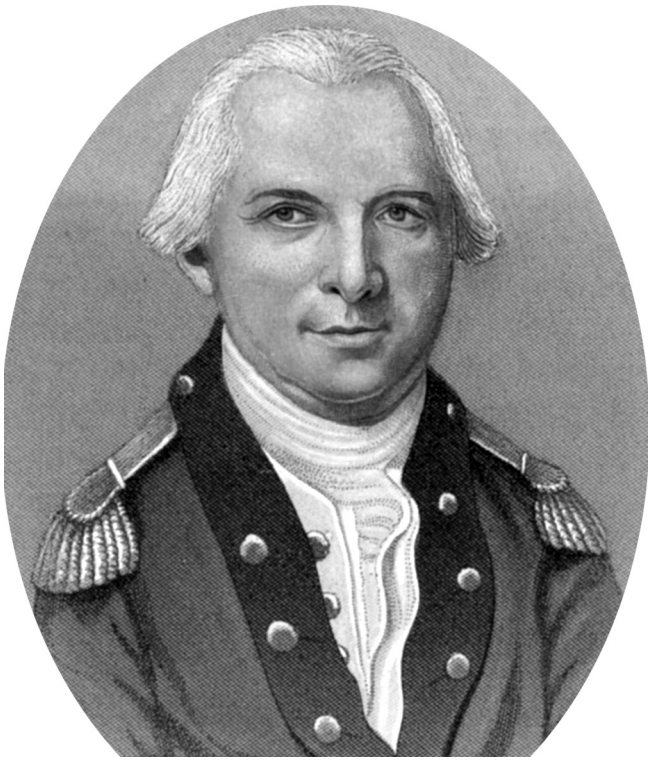


FIG 6. Engraving of Daniel Brodhead (1736–1809) from the original miniature by Charles Willson Peale or his brother James probably painted late in the American Revolution. Brodhead's Revolutionary War career started in early 1776 as the lieutenant colonel of Col. Samuel Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, a state force of riflemen. Courtesy of The New York Public Library, New York City.

Rawlings' regiment complemented the existing garrison at Fort Pitt, which comprised the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment commanded by Col. Daniel Brodhead and the 9th (formerly 13th) Virginia Regiment under Col. John Gibson. Brodhead's men, recruited from central and western frontier counties of Pennsylvania, and Gibson's force, which consisted of troops from the far-western Virginia counties (now parts of West Virginia and western Pennsylvania), were assigned to the army's Western Department while at Valley Forge, reflecting a clear logic on Washington's part. With the arrival of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment at Fort Pitt, department commander Brodhead now led a formidable force of largely frontier raised men who were experienced in Indian-style woodlands warfare.[31]

Since early April 1779, Daniel Brodhead had been the commandant of Fort Pitt and in command of the Western Department, where his primary task was to neutralize aggression by British-allied Indian tribes against surrounding frontier settlements (FIG 6). The high mark of this effort was the Brodhead Campaign of 11 August to 14 September 1779, in which the department commander headed a force of about 600 of his Continental regulars from Fort Pitt, local militia, and volunteers to the upper waters of the Allegheny River, where it destroyed the villages and crops of the Mingo and Muncy Indians. The Mingo, a group of independent Iroquois, were "the principal distressers of [the] settlements" at that time in the vicinity of present-day western Pennsylvania. In a March 1781 letter to Maryland governor Thomas Sim Lee, Capt. Van Swearingen of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment documented Adamson Tannehill's participation in the expedition, indicating that at least a contingent of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment almost certainly composed part of Brodhead's force.[32]

A composite muster roll of Rawlings' regiment at Fort Pitt for the ten months from January through October 1780 shows that only three commissioned officers served in the unit during this period: Capt. Thomas Beall, Capt. Adamson Tannehill, and Lt. Elijah Evans. Moreover, during the 1780 composite period, the three companies composing the much-reduced regiment consisted of only 6 sergeants, 4 corporals, 4 drummers and fifers, and 46 privates. Elijah Evans' detached duty in Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps ended in early November 1779 with the formal disbanding of the unit. At that time Washington ordered all members of the Rifle Corps to return to their permanent regiments.

Evans rejoined Rawlings' regiment at Fort Pitt no later than late January 1780, at which time the Council of Maryland ordered various supplies delivered to him.[33]

Under continual pressure to maintain sufficient troop strength in the regiment, Captain Beall ran afoul of army regulations and Commandant Brodhead by approving the enlistment of a British prisoner of war in February 1780. Beall tried to rectify his lapse in judgment by discharging the recruit, although after he had already been given his recruitment bounty and service clothes. On 14 August at Fort Pitt, Beall was tried by court-martial, found guilty of "discharging a Soldier after having been duly inlisted [*sic*] and receiving his regimental cloathing [*sic*] through private and interested views thereby defrauding the United States," and on 13 October was dismissed from the service. Adamson Tannehill, who had been promoted to the rank of captain on 29 July 1779 (with his date of rank and pay being set retroactively at 1 April 1778), therefore succeeded Beall as commander of the regiment at Fort Pitt.[34]

Disbanding of the Regiment

Captain Tannehill's command of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment was, however, short lived because on 1 November 1780 Washington issued orders approved by Congress specifying plans for the comprehensive reorganization of the Continental Army effective 1 January 1781. All Additional and Extra Continental regiments, such as the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, that had not been annexed to a state line organization were to be disbanded by that date. Many of Rawlings' men, including Tannehill, received discharges on 1 January 1781, and those members of the unit who had enlisted for the duration of the war were transferred to the Maryland Line. The last of these men marched from Fort Pitt to their new assignments in mid-November.[35]

Afterword

In a letter to Maj. Gen. William Smallwood penned on Christmas day of 1780, Adamson Tannehill made note of his regiment's formal disbanding and of the termination of his own period of service that were to occur seven days later. Smallwood commanded the Continental Army's Maryland Division and was the state's ranking military officer. Tannehill also expressed great disappointment that his unit had not already been incorporated into the Maryland Line (as had fellow officers before) to thus avoid the impending disbanding. Emphasizing that only two officers were serving in his skeletal regiment, he enclosed two returns (officers, enlisted men) to highlight the point. Tannehill's objective was to gain Smallwood's personal assistance in securing positions for himself and his men in the Maryland Line because of his "great desire of Continuing in the Service of [his] Country." The request could not be granted, but Adamson Tannehill's surviving words are testimony to the dedication with which he and the other members of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment served during four and a half years of armed service toward the establishment of their new country.[36]

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A longer, more detailed account of the regiment can be found in the Special Collections, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md., under the catalog citation: "Hentz, Tucker. Captain Adamson Tannehill and the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, 1775–1781, 2005, Vertical File."

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18. "A Muster Roll of Capt. Alexr. Lawson Smith's Company Including part of other Company's belonging to the same Regiment of Lieut. Colo. Rawling's Batn. of Foot now under the Commnd. of Colo. Daniel

Morgan of 11th Virg. Regnt." (16 May, 1 May–July, July, Aug., Sept., Oct. 1777), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 126, frames 174–189—at end of roll), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "Pay Roll of Capt. Alex. Lawson Smith's Comy. with part of Capts. Griffith's, Davis' & Beall's Comys. of Lieut. Colo. Moses Rawlings Batn. Riflemen, now under Command of Colo. Danl. Morgan of the 11th Virginia Regiment—from the last times of their receiving pay to the 1st Day of May 1777" (rolls for 1 May, June–Oct. 1777), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 126, frames 190–200—at end of roll), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Muster roll, Long's Co., 16 May 1777, M246, roll 109:492–494, NA; Muster rolls, Long's Co., May-Dec. 1777, Jan. 1778, M246, roll 109:495–516, NA; "A Muster Roll of a Detachment from Capt. Long's, Shepherd's, West's, and Brady's under the Command of Lt. Philip Slaughter in the 11th Virginia Regt. Commanded by Capt. Charles Porterfield" (rolls of Feb.–May 1778), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 109, frames 517–527), National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited Muster rolls, Long's Co., Feb.–May 1778, M246, roll 109:517–527, NA).

19. Payroll, Smith's Co., 1 May 1777, M246, roll 126:190–191, NA; Rawlings' memorial, Aug. 1778, M247, roll 51, item 41, 8:365, NA; Daniel Morgan General orders, (17 May 1777), "Orderly Book of Major William Heth of the Third Virginia Regiment, May 15–July 1, 1777," call number Mss12:1777 May 15:1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA.
20. "General Return of the Army. Trenton, December 1st, 1776" and "Return of the Forces in the service of the States of America, encamped and in quarters on the banks of Delaware, in the State of Pennsylvania, under the command of his Excellency George Washington, Esq., Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces of the United States in America. December 22d, 1776," in Force, 1035–1036, 1401–1402; Pension testimonies of Thomas Lingan (Smith's Co.), Adrian Davenport (Smith's Co.), James Harris (Long's Co.), Jacob Smith (Long's Co.), Military Bounty Land Warrants and Pensions (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M804, roll 1567, frames 879–891 [Lingan], roll 744, frames 038–059 [Davenport], roll 1199, frames 493–499 [Harris], roll 2216, frames 514–531 [Smith]), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Alexander Lawson Smith, "Alex. Lawson Smith to Lieut. Michael Gilbert," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 5 (1910): 131–134 (hereafter cited Smith Letter); George Washington to Congress, 24 Dec. 1776, Series 4, GW Papers; "History of John and Rachel Tannehill and Their Descendants" (unpublished manuscript by Letitia Tannehill Coe, 1903), call no. 929.2 T155F, 3–4, Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, IN.
21. Anthony Wayne to Board of War, 3 June 1877, in Charles J. Stillé, *Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental* Army (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1893), 64–65; Smith Letter, 132; Wright, 68–70, 108, 259, 285–287.
22. George Washington General Orders, 1 June, 13 June 1777, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 2, GW Papers; George Washington to Daniel Morgan, 13 June 1777, Series 4, GW Papers.
23. George Washington to Daniel Morgan, 13 June, 24 July, 26 July, 9 Aug., 16 Aug. 1777, George Washington to Israel Putnam, 17 June 1777, George Washington to Congress, 22 June 1777, Daniel Morgan to George Washington, 24 July 1777, Tench Tilghman to Daniel Morgan, 1 Aug. 1777, Series 4, GW Papers; Pension testimonies of Adrian Davenport (Smith's Co.), John Callender (Smith's Co.), John Debruler (Smith's Co.), Valentine Fritts (Long's Co.), Military Bounty Land Warrants and Pensions (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M804, roll 744, frames 038–059 [Davenport], roll 452, frames 006–015 [Callender], roll 782, frames 729–744 [Debruler], roll 1029, frames 580-596 [Fritts]), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Composite muster roll of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's Company for 1777 and 1778, MD Archives, 18:300–303; Muster rolls, Long's Co., May-Dec. 1777, Jan. 1778, M246, roll 109:495–516, NA; Muster rolls, Long's Co., Feb.–May 1778, M246, roll 109:517–527, NA; Heitman, 499, 356.
24. "Pay Roll of Capt. Gabl. Long's Detach'd Comy. of Riflemen Commd. by Colo. Danl. Morgan" (rolls of July–Dec., 1777, Jan.–May 1778), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frames 414–432), National Archives, Washington, D.C. The organization of Long's Provisional Rifle Company resulted in the concurrent existence of two Continental Army companies in different regiments (one permanent, one provisional) that were technically under the command of Gabriel Long, in the same fashion that Daniel Morgan simultaneously led both the 11th Virginia Regiment (his permanent unit) and the Provisional Rifle Corps. Because of the provisional and dispersed nature of the Rifle Corps, it was probably never regularly mustered (Tench Tilghman to John Pierce, 11 Nov. 1779, Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783, [National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frame 349], National Archives, Washington, D.C.), and no muster rolls for the regiment exist in the National Archives.
25. Williamsburg, VA, *Virginia Gazette*, 28 Nov. 1777; James Potter to Thomas Wharton, Jr., 28 Dec. 1777, PA Archives, Series 1, 6:141–142; Alexander Scammell to Timothy Pickering, 17 March 1778, *in* Philander D. Chase, ed., *The Papers of George Washington*, 14 (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2004), 237; Daniel Morgan to George Washington, 27 June 1778, George Washington to Congress, 1 July 1778, Series 4, GW Papers; Pension testimonies of Adam Rider (Long's Co.), James Harris (Long's Co.), Military Bounty Land Warrants and Pensions (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M804, roll 2045, frames 001–010 [Rider], roll 1199, frames 493–499 [Harris]), National Archives, Washington, D.C.
26. "Return of the Rifle Corps Under Captain Thomas Posey," *in* State of New York, *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York*, 3 (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1900), 588; Tench Tilghman to Thomas Posey, 18 July 1778, George Washington to Philip J. Schuyler, 22 July 1778, Series 4, GW Papers.
27. JCC, 10:180, 12:993; George Washington to Thomas Johnson, 29 Dec. 1777, MD Archives, 16:448–450; Council to Horatio Gates, 27 March 1778, MD Archives, 16:555–556; Council correspondence, 24 June 1778, MD Archives, 21:147–148; Council correspondence, 11 Sept. 1778, MD Archives, 21:198–199; Council to William Beatty, 11 Sept. 1778, MD Archives, 21:200; Rawlings' memorial, Aug. 1778, M247, roll 51, item 41, 8:365, NA; Wright, 290; Pension testimony of Philemon Griffith, Military Bounty Land Warrants and Pensions (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M804, roll 1134, frames 214–240), National Archives, Washington, D.C.
28. JCC, 13:104; George Washington to Congress, 21 Jan. 1779, George Washington to James Clinton, 25 Jan. 1779, George Washington to Moses Rawlings, 21 March 1779, Series 4, GW Papers; George Washington General Orders, 16 Feb. 1779, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 4, GW Papers; Pension testimonies of John Callender (Smith's Co.), John Debruler (Smith's Co.), Military Bounty Land Warrants and Pensions (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M804, roll 452, frames 006–015 [Callender], roll 782, frames 729–744 [Debruler]), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "Pay Roll of the late Capt. Gabriel Long's Company of Detached Rifle Men formerly Commanded by Colo. Daniel Morgan" (rolls of April–Sept. 1779), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frames 433–448), National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited Payrolls, Long's Co., April–Sept. 1779, M246, roll 133:433–448, NA). At least one of Captain Beall's official tasks requiring his absence from the regiment when Tannehill was supervising its assembly involved the procurement of funds at Main Army headquarters at Middlebrook in early March 1779. The funds were to be used for reenlisting the regiment's veterans and recruiting new members as part of the unit's reorganization (George Washington to Moses Rawlings, 7 March 1779, Series 4, GW Papers).
29. Thomas Beall to George Washington, 7 May 1779, Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 34, frames 375–376), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "An Abstract for Pay for the Rifle Detachment formerly Commanded by Colo. Daniel Morgan" (abstracts for April–Sept. 1779), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frames 335–347), National

Archives, Washington, D.C.; Payrolls, Long's Co., April–Sept. 1779, M246, roll 133:433–448, NA; "A Pay Roll of Maj. James Parr's Compy. of Detached Rifflemen for the Month of April 1779," Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frame 465), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; "A Pay Roll of Capt. Michael Simpson's Compy. of Detachd. Rifflemen" (rolls for May–Sept. 1779), Revolutionary War Rolls: 1775–1783 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M246, roll 133, frames 476–484), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Council correspondence, 11 Sept. 1778, MD Archives, 21:198–199; Council correspondence, 2 Oct. 1778, MD Archives, 21:213; Council correspondence, 19 Feb. 1779, MD Archives, 21:304; Council correspondence, 16 April 1779, MD Archives, 21:349–350; Council correspondence, 16 Aug. 1779, MD Archives, 21:494; Thomas Beall to Council, 10 Feb. 1780, MD Archives, 43:424; Thomas Beall to Board of War, 20 Nov. 1778, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M247, roll 157, item 147, 2:379), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Heitman, 356.

30. George Washington to Congress, 15 March 1779, George Washington to Board of War, 8 April 1779, Daniel Brodhead to George Washington, 29 May 1779, Series 4, GW Papers; Heitman, 459; Rieman Steuart, *A History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775–1783* (Towson, Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 1969), 122; George Washington to Thomas Johnson, 8 April 1779, MD Archives, 21:339–340; Memorial of Moses Rawlings, 28 Nov. 1785, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M247, roll 51, item 41, 8:361), National Archives, Washington, D.C. Rawlings continued in the war effort by serving as the commandant of prisoners at Fort Frederick (appointed by the Board of War) from late September 1779 to the close of the war (Council to James Wiley, 4 Oct. 1779, MD Archives, 21:546).
31. Wright, 265, 291.
32. Daniel Brodhead to George Washington, 3 April, 17 April 1779, Series 4, GW Papers; Daniel Brodhead to Joseph Reed, 15 April 1779, PA Archives, Series 1, 12:106–108; Daniel Brodhead to George Washington, 16 Sept. 1779, PA Archives, Series 1, 12:155–158; JCC, 15:1212–1213; Van Swearingen to Thomas Sim Lee, 16 March 1781, MD Archives, 47:129–130.
33. "Muster Roll of the Maryland Corps in the Service of the U. States, Commanded by Captain Thomas Beall for the Months of Jan., Feb., March, April, May, June, July, Aug., Sept. and Oct. 1780," MD Archives, 18:350–351; Council correspondence, 26 Jan. 1780, MD Archives, 43: 68–69; George Washington General Orders, 7 Nov. 1779, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 4, GW Papers.
34. Thomas Beall to Thomas Sim Lee and Council, 30 Aug. 1780, MD Archives, 45:69–70; George Washington General Orders, 13 Oct. 1780, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 5, GW Papers; Board of War to Congress, 5 June 1779, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789 (National Archives Microfilm Publication microcopy number M247, roll 158, item 147, 3:389–390), National Archives, Washington, D.C.; JCC, 14:896.
35. George Washington General Orders, 1 Nov. 1780, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 5, GW Papers; "Officers in the Maryland part of the Rifle Regiment Supernumerary Jany., 1st, 1781," MD Archives, 18:365; George Washington to Daniel Brodhead, 10 Jan 1781, Series 4, GW Papers; John Gibson to Thomas Sim Lee, 12 Nov. 1781, MD Archives, 47:547.
36. Adamson Tannehill to William Smallwood, 25 Dec. 1780, Maryland State Papers (Series A), Box 21, Item 120, MSA No. S 1004–27, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md.; "A Return of the Commissioned Officers of the Maryland Corps (Late Rawlings's) Specifying their Names, Rank, Claims to Promotion &c." and "Return of the Non-Commission'd officers & Rank and File of the Maryland Corps (formerly Commanded by Lieut. Colo. Moses Rawlings) of Foot in the Army of the United States, under the Command of His Excellency Genl. Washington, Specifying the expiration of Inlistments, Monthly from the 10th. of October 1780 to July next inclusively, together with the number engaged to Serve during the War," both dated 25 Dec. 1780, Maryland State Papers (Series A), Box 21, Items 119A and 119B, MSA No. S 1004–27, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md.

Why would the family want to come along?

(Within 25 miles)

For the fun …
Busch Gardens Europe, Wmbg
Go-Carts Plus, Wmbg
Virginia Living Museum (wildlife), NN

For the history …
Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, Wmbg
Colonial Williamsburg
DeWitt Wallace Gallery (decorative arts), Wmbg
Endview Plantation, NN
Casemate Museum at Ft. Monroe, NN
Historic Jamestowne (fort and archeology site)
Jamestown Settlement (state museum, park, reconstruction)
Lee Hall Plantation, NN
The Mariners' Museum (and USS *Monitor* Center), NN
Peninsula Campaign Civil War Driving Tour
U.S. Army Transportation Museum at Ft. Eustis, NN
Virginia War Museum, NN
The Waterman's Museum, Yktn
Yorktown Battlefield and Visitor Center, Yktn
Yorktown Victory Center, Yktn

Plan for the future …
College of William and Mary, Wmbg
Christopher Newport University, NN
Chesapeake Retirement Community, NN
Ford's Colony, Wmbg
Kingsmill on the James, Wmbg
Warwick Forest, NN
Williamsburg Landing, Wmbg

Go shopping …
Williamsburg Pottery, Wmbg
Merchants' Square, Wmbg
Prime and Vanity Fair Outlet Malls, Wmbg

Period Impressions, Yktn

Mark the Calendar Now!
And
Make it a
<u>Family</u> Vacation …

The
2007 Annual Meeting
Of the
Company of Military Historians
Will be held in
Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia
April 19-21, 2007

Experience the new Revolutionary City theme and programs at Colonial Williamsburg

and

Celebrate the 400th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown – America's first permanent English settlement

<u>Further away)</u>
For the fun …
Virginia Beach
For the history …
Virginia Air & Space Center, Hmptn
Battleship Wisconsin, Norflk
Bacon's Castle – a 17th house
Bermuda Hundred CW campaign Chesterfield County
Berkeley Plantation, Charles City
Boykin's Tavern, (home of Rev War soldier) Isle of Wight
Cape Henry Lighthouses, Va Bch
Chelsea Plantation, (LaFayette's HQ) West Pt
Chesapeake Planetarium, Chesapeake
Children's Museum of Virginia, P
Chrysler Museum of Art, Norflk
City Point and Grant's HQ Hopewell
Cousteau Society, Hampton
Ft. Norfolk, Norfolk
Hampton Roads Naval Museum, Norfolk
Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond
National Museum of Civil War Soldier (Pamplin Park)
Nauticus, National Maritime Center, Norfolk
Naval Museum, Norfolk
Pamplin Park, Petersburg
Petersburg National Battlefield Park, Petersburg
Shirley Plantation , Charles City
U.S. Army Quartermaster Museum Petersburg
U.S. Army Women's Museum Petersburg
Valentine Museum
Virginia Aquarium & Marine Science Center, Va. Bch
Virginia Children's Museum, P
Virginia Historical Society Museum, Richmond
Virginia Fine Arts Museum; Richmond
Westover Plantation, Charles City

Plan for the future …
Westminster Canterbury
Hampton University
Old Dominion University

<u>Key:</u>
Wmbg = Williamsburg
NN = Newport News
P = Portsmouth
Yktn = Yorktown

Don't miss this Historic event …

Mexican Border War and the Illinois National Guard

William F. McLaughlin

THE Great Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed most of that then-fledgling city, but the good citizens rebuilt it immediately, and the Chicago "Loop" continues to grow to this day. It was with this same spirit that Chicagoans created their first standing state militia in 1874 when a regiment of infantry was raised—the First Illinois Infantry Volunteers ("The Dandy First"), as a sort of local constabulary unit to help maintain order during emergencies. In 1875, the unit gained a reputation for being "strike breakers" when it quelled demonstrations against the Relief and Aid Society, and again in 1877 when it was called upon to break up a railroad strike. Next, a strike by coal miners was broken up. A few years later, it was called to service to quell a riot at the Union Stock Yards and, years later, to subdue coal miners again. In 1894, it was engaged in the famous Pullman Strike led by Eugene Debs. Then, in 1904, it helped put down a race riot at Springfield, Illinois.[1]

Unpopular, perhaps, among working men, the "Dandy First" still established a fine reputation for discipline and bearing, and was called upon for service in the Spanish-American War of 1898, where it was positioned on the right flank of Col. Theodore Roosevelt's "Rough Riders." They were the last unit of the V Army Corps to leave the island of Cuba.[2] This service brought them new honor and local pride, although militia and state guards everywhere remained unpopular when called upon to enforce state powers. Still, the unit was Chicago's pride and joy and when our nation felt insulted by Mexico, Chicagoans spoiled to send the Dandy First into action. Faced with a border incident and a boiling war in Europe, Congress impressed state units into federal service by creating the National Guards of the several states. When Congress failed to provide funding for training and equipment, these same Chicagoans (led by Col. Robert R. McCormick and the *Chicago Tribune*) filled the need so that the First Illinois Infantry, National Guard, would be the first guard mobilized to San Antonio, Texas, for service on the Mexican border. (Border state units were already serving under Gen. John J. "Black Jack" Pershing.)

Wars are best remembered for their acts of military brilliance, so it is not surprising that our "war" on the Mexican Border in 1916 is hardly remembered at all. When that little flare-up is remembered, it is usually for chaos, calamity, and the dismal first experiment with mechanized forces. Encouraged by trials held at Plattsburg, New York, in the summer of 1915, the U.S. Army decided that mechanization was the key to future military success. That trial had been limited to fifteen vehicles supplied by their manufacturers. When General Pershing was ordered by President Woodrow Wilson to chase down Pancho Villa in Mexico, the results were sadly different.

General Pershing mounted an expedition comprised of both Regular Army and National Guard troops called into federal service. To supply his force, Pershing called for five motorized supply trains of twenty-seven vehicles each. Since the entire army possessed less than a thousand motor vehicles of all types at that time, Pershing's demands were deemed outrageous. Nevertheless, he got what he asked for, and the expedition proceeded into Mexico. As the campaign moved along, the need for more motor transportation grew, until ultimately more than five hundred vehicles were assigned to

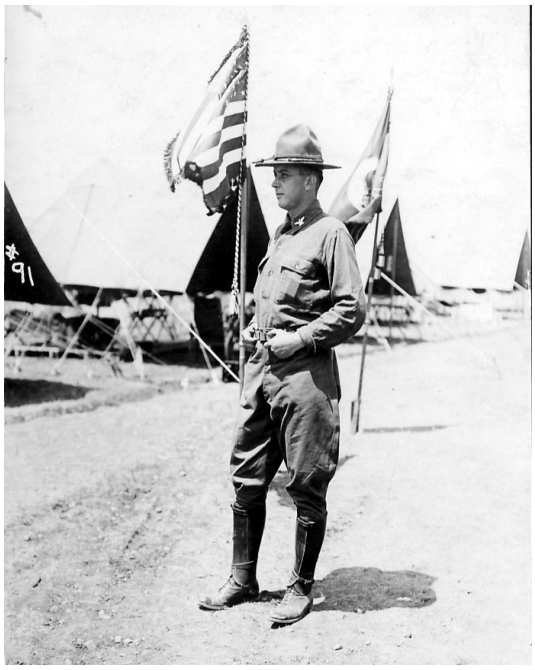

FIG 1. "The Old Man" poses before the regiment's colors in camp. His eagle rank insignia shows clearly on the shirt collar, so he is likely to be Charles M. Allen (USMA 1902) who was discharged from the Regular Army for disability. Author's Collection

WILLIAM F. McLAUGHLIN has been a member of the Company of Military Historians for some 50 years, thanks to an introduction by Charles West. His specialty is 1851 Navy Colts and the Civil War west of the Mississippi. Fellowship awarded, in part, for efforts to help Pea Ridge Battlefield (Arkansas) receive National Park status. Attended the then-only Company meeting west of the Mississippi in September, 1975. Published articles on Gen. Daniel Frost, of "Camp Jackson" infamy and John Charles Fremont's personal guard in St. Louis.

FIG 2. Their M1902 guns camouflaged with brush, these artillerymen await the section chief's hand to drop to signal the firing of the piece. Author's Collection

FIG 3. Lining up for chow was a more pleasant task, but made less pleasant by the blowing sands of Texas. These men are dressed for as much comfort as their woolen uniforms will allow. Author's Collection

FIG 4. The juicy watermelons these artillerymen enjoy were undoubtedly a treat. Notice the several goggles atop the 1910 campaign hats, undoubtedly protection from wind-blown sand. Author's Collection

the expedition.

Repair shops and a supply depot of spare parts were established at Columbus, New Mexico, which was the jumping-off point for the expedition. The troops penetrated four hundred miles into Mexico, supplied with trucks made by 128 different manufacturers. The parts supply was a nightmare. Maintenance and repair of the vehicles were beyond the capabilities of the Army at the time. Thus, it was a scramble to recruit soldiers with mechanical aptitude or experience.[3] "Such skills were sadly lacking in those days. The only success occurred when young Lt. George S. Patton took three Dodge touring cars and defeated an enemy force at San Miguelito."[4] Considering Patton's brilliant use of mobility during World War Two, his early education may well have been worth the entire price of the Border War.

But if the mobile invasion of Mexico was an error of commission, life of the soldiers remaining on the U.S. side of the border was proving an error of omission. The men were without training due to the haste of assembly and were woefully short of every necessity for lack of National Guard procurement. To appreciate the predicament in which all the National Guards found themselves, we have to review national foreign policy of the time. In April 1914, U.S. forces occupied Tampico, Mexico, in response to the arrest of a party of Marines from the gunboat *Dolphin*. Mexican President Gen. Victoriano Huerta refused to honor American claims, but resigned his office in July 1915, to be succeeded by Venustiano Carranza. This, in turn, caused "Pancho Villa" (Doroteo Arango) to stir up trouble between Mexico and the United States in hopes of gaining the presidency. In January 1916, Villa stopped a train at Santa Ysabel and executed seventeen American businessmen on board. Then, on the morning of 9 March, he and his band attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, and a force of 13th U.S. Cavalry at nearby Camp Furlong. President Wilson immediately ordered Pershing to lead a large force of infantry, cavalry, and air pilots on a punitive mission against Villa.

Meanwhile, in response to war in Europe and a conspiracy theory that suspected German influence in Mexico, Congress passed the National Defense Act of June 3, 1916. This called for all state guards and militia to become National Guard units of their respective states, and with federal control and direction. By the time of its passage, units from Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona had already been ordered to patrol the Mexican Border.[5] In Illinois, the "dander" was truly up. As early as December 1914, Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, had been appointed as an aide on the governor's staff with the rank of colonel, and he is listed, effective 23 August 1915, as a major of the 1st Cavalry Regiment, Illinois National Guard.[6] With the state unprepared for action and short of funds, Colonel McCormick personally helped equip the 1st Cavalry, including his purchase of five machine guns from the Colt Company.[7] Despite this generosity, the Illinois National Guard units were unprepared for combat.

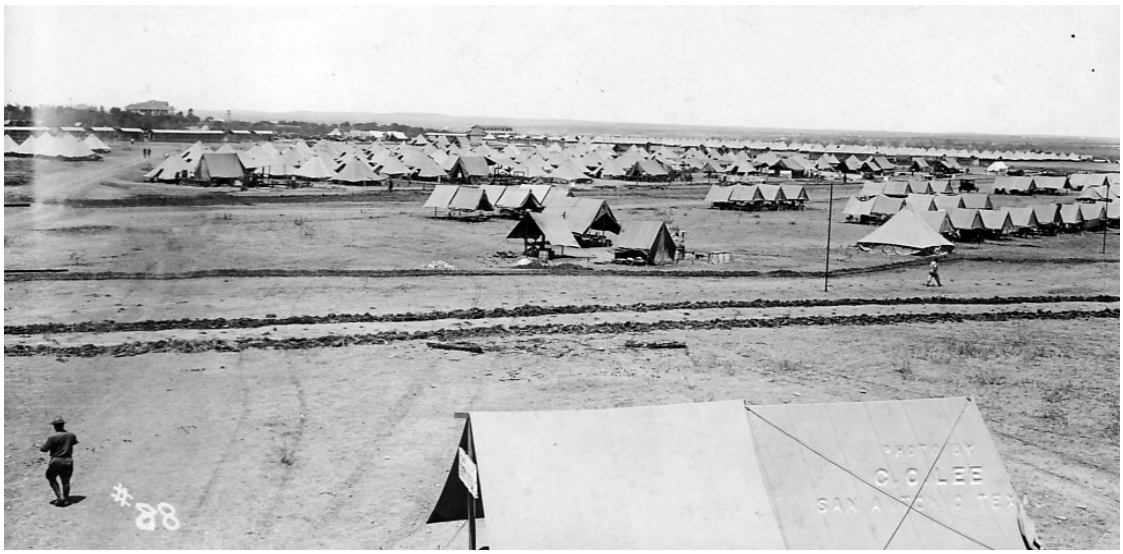

FIG 5. Although unidentified this view of a tented encampment probably shows "Camp Wilson" in all of its unadulterated glory. Author's Collection

The situation was typical of most the National Guard personnel sent to the Mexican Border—young, untrained, and ill-equipped. However, spirits were high and the men never faltered. Fortunately, their tour of duty was brief. Called to report for duty on 19 June 1916, most units were mustered out by the end of the year. Originally embarked at Springfield, Illinois, from Camps Dunne[8] and Lincoln, they traveled by rail to San Antonio, Texas, leaving Illinois no later than 4 July. They were commanded by Brig. Gen. D. Jack Foster; 9,737 enlisted men and 508 officers in all.[9]

If the army under General Pershing's command had problems, at least they had the adrenaline rush of pursuing Pancho Villa. The enemy for Foster's command was heat, insects, digging latrines, constant training, and ten-mile marches several times each week. The soldiers were in civilian condition and the horses were recent purchases ("fresh")

FIG 6. Crewmen pull rounds from the open limber of the M1902 gun as an officer in khaki breeches watches in the foreground. Author's Collection

FIG 7. "Meals on wheels," these field units heated water in the vehicle in the foreground, while the cooking stove was the rear unit. Author's Collection

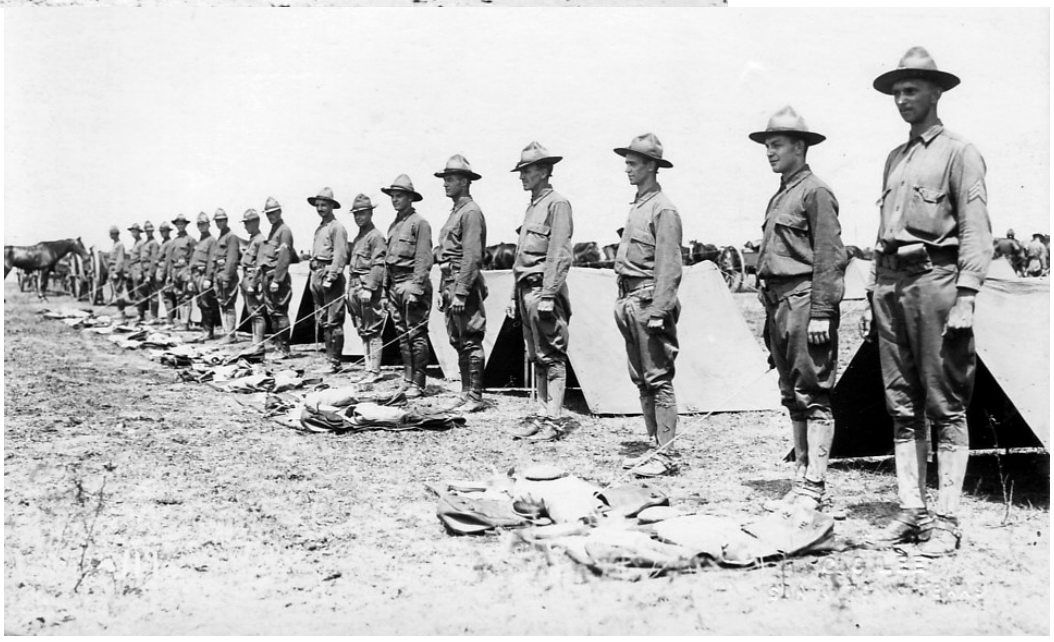

FIG 8. Inspection, the bane of a soldier in the field, as packs and equipment are laid out for examination. All these men wear the olive drab service uniform and "Montana Peak" campaign hats. Author's Collection

FIG 9. Cleaning and repairing the bits and pieces of tack and equipment needed to maintain the transportation of supplies was unending. Here a group of artillerymen have stripped their uniforms to bare essentials while performing fatigue work. Author's Collection

FIG 10. While some men air out the insides of their sleeping spaces with their tents folded around the center pole, others dig a trench along a line laid out to maintain the proper military order. Author's Collection

FIG 11. Rolling thunder—these artillerists carefully remove their M1902 guns from railroad flatcars, while limbers and caissons can be seen on the cars in the background. Author's Collection

with no idea of their new life. All had to be trained to the sound of the guns - from handguns to the M1902s. The horses suffered from fright, the men from boredom. With Perishing deep into Mexico, there was very little action on the border, and this limited to sporadic guerrilla warfare. This was a real problem in as much as one could not tell a "bandito" from a peaceful Mexican resident until he was shooting at you! The First Illinois Cavalry was stationed at Brownsville, Texas, the balance of the Illinois Guard was stationed at or about Camp Wilson near the Mexican Border below San Antonio.

FIG 12. Roll call—the long shadows would seem to indicate an early morning roll call before the beginning of the workday. Author's Collection

For most, the Border War was a six-month ordeal. And in most respects, it was doomed from the start by the restrictions placed on General Perishing by President Wilson, who, in turn, failed to fully understand Mexican political intrigue. Perishing was ordered not to disturb civilians, or to engage with any other than Villa's combatants. Thus, Villa's troops easily avoided contact by claiming neutrality and civilians provided misinformation as to troop locations and activities. It was a hopeless game of "Blind Man's Bluff" and it did not take long to recognize it as a hopeless situation.

The "Border War" was, however, an excellent training exercise. Within months of returning to Illinois, virtually all of the Guard units were reassembled and merged with regular army units for service in World War I. There the training and physical conditioning of the Illinois Guardsmen proved an invaluable advantage over the typical new recruit. It is understandable that many soldiers must have felt "duped" when they found that they could not voluntarily un-enlist as easily as they had originally enlisted for temporary service on the border. Such was the enthusiasm to capture Villa that many had been eager to service in any capacity just so long as they could participate in a patriotic butt-kicking. The pictures that accompany this article, for example, come from the author's father, who volunteered to serve as stable sergeant of Battery C, First Regiment, Field Artillery. And his qualifications for same? He was Captain of the American Polo Team that won the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915 and the Universal Polo Tournament at the same time and place. (He would go on to serve in the 83d (Black Hawk) Division from Illinois in World War I.) He had merely been caught up in the enthusiasm of his friend, Robert McCormick, who had promised him "a great, good adventure." Indeed, perhaps that is the best that can be said of the "Mexican Border War." For some it was a great, good adventure.

I could not have prepared this article without the generous help of Lt. Col. James McCabe, whom I wish to publicly thank. He dug deep into the archives for important details. I also thank CMH Fellow Michael J. McAfee for the captions to the photographs. I might add that if you search the net for "Mexican Border" today, you will get 10k hits about immigration!

Author's Note: At the time of the Mexican Border Expedition real photo postcards were in the height of their popularity, and as a result there are many thousands of these small records of the era still to be found. These photographs were taken at "Camp Wilson" near San Antonio, Texas, and show members of the First Regiment of Field Artillery, Illinois National Guard, as they served along the border. As is often the case, however, none seem to have been captioned or identified by the original owner. This is something for us all to remember so that we might insure that any of our own pictures are fully identified so that when we pass their significance is not left for future generations to speculate.

Notes

1. Capt. Irving Goff McCann (Chaplain of the First Infantry, Illinois National Guard), With the National Guard on the Border (St. Louis, Mo.: C.V. Mosby Co., 1917), 261, ff
2. Ibid., 269
3. William Schneck. "Doughboys with Trucks", in "World War I, The Wheels for the AEF," *Military History Magazine* (June, 1997): 3.
4. Ibid., 3 In this skirmish, Patton engaged in a pistol fight and subsequently returned to camp with the bodies of three dead Mexicans strapped on the hoods of the three Dodges.
5. LTC James B. McCabe, Command Historian, Illinois Army National Guard, Camp Lincoln - Springfield, Illinois, "Patriots of the Heartland," Unpublished Manuscript, 132.
6. Report of the Adjutant General, *Roster of the Illinois National Guard on the Mexican Border, 1916–1917* (Springfield, Ill.: State Archives, 1918), 577.
7. "Patriots," 135
8. The state fair grounds, renamed after the governor, and with men housed in the animal barns.
9. Illinois National Guard web site il.ngh.army.mil/museum/citizensoldier/mexicanborder.htm

Sharpshooters as Prisoners

Gary Yee[1]

"[Sharpshooters] are not likely often to be taken prisoners, as death is considered their just penalty; for as they very seldom are in a position to show mercy, so, in like manner, is mercy rarely shown to them."[2]

THE dislike of sharpshooters raises the issue of whether a sharpshooter's surrender would be accepted. This is largely dependent on several factors: bitterness of the victor (influencing factors include casualties, the loss of friends, desire for revenge and stress of combat), an officer's command presence and ability to control his men, and the need for prisoners.[3] Control by officers was almost lost at Battery Wagner (Morris Island, South Carolina) when black-Confederates captured there were suspected of being the dreaded sharpshooter who earned the enmity of their Federal captors. Luckily they survived.

If we are given to believe that all regular soldiers hated sharpshooters, then no sharpshooter would ever be given quarter. However, evidence supports that sharpshooters on both sides survived their initial capture long enough to be imprisoned or paroled.[4] Take for example the capture of the entire 12th Battalion of Arkansas Sharpshooters at Vicksburg[5] or most of the 1st New York Sharpshooter battalion at Weldon Railroad (19 August 1864).[6] On a more individual basis, perhaps the best example of two sharpshooters who were fortunate to be taken captive is that of Birge's Western Sharpshooters Sgt. Albert Thompson and John Randall. Armed with Henry rifles, they held off "a large force of rebels who were advancing upon them, and ordering them to surrender." They surrendered only after depleting their ammunition and destroying their guns. Gen. Patrick Cleburne "was very mad at them for not surrendering instead of holding out to the last against such odds."[7]

While these incidents may be dismissed as the general lack of any special identifying marks on their uniform, the same cannot be said of Berdan's Sharpshooters or of the Pennsylvania Bucktails whose uniforms distinguished them from the common infantryman. The argument that sharpshooters were not shown mercy ignores that both these regiments had men captured and imprisoned.[8] It may be that the threat of retaliation deterred the killing of prisoners and it worked for partisan cavalry commander Lt. Col. John Mosby who operated behind the Union lines in Virginia. In Mosby's letter to Maj. Gen. Phil Sheridan he promised "any prisoners falling into my hands will be treated with kindness due to their condition, unless some new act of barbarity shall compel me, reluctantly, to adopt a line of policy repugnant to humanity."[9] While the threat of retaliation didn't prevent the Fort Pillow Massacre or the killing of black-Yankee soldiers at the Battle of the Crater, it prevented the Confederates from carrying out their pledge of executing all white officers who led them.

Turning to the Confederate use of uniform markings or badges, no evidence has been found to date that supports that Confederate sharpshooters in the Midwest or Trans-Mississippi theatrer wore special badges. Col. Erasmus "Ras" Stirman described the uniforms of his regiment of sharpshooters in a July 1862 letter home to his sister, "I have them all uniformed in Gray with Caps and well armed and equipped in every respect...."[10] If his regiment did have emblems, Colonel Stirman is silent about it.

While Confederates serving in those theaters may not have worn badges, evidence is growing that their more famous counterparts in the Army of Northern Virginia did. Physical evidence survives in the form of a patch in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society. The woolen patch, a crude red trefoil against a dark blue background, was worn by sharpshooter Henry Wise, 2d Maryland Battalion.[11] It may be an attempt to replicate Maryland's Bottony Cross—a symbol worn by Marylanders on both sides which may be seen on the monument for the Confederate 2d Maryland Battalion as well as Union monuments at Gettysburg National Battlefield Park. Interestingly, Winslow Homer's painting, "*Prisoners From the Front,"* includes one young Confederate who has a cross too dark to be red on his right sleeve. Homer also illustrated Confederate Capt. John Esteen Cooke's post-war historical novel, "*Surry of Eagles Nest*." In it, Homer depicts the story's hero, a fictional aide to J. E. B. Stuart, with a cross on his right sleeve (FIG 1). In both illustrations the subject is wearing high boots which suggests that he is either cavalry trooper or a staff officer and not an infantryman. An x-ray of *Prisoners from the Front* shows that Homer had the soldier with the cross originally wearing a slouch hat.

More clues on the cross come from 3d North Carolina Ass't. Surg. Thomas Fanning Wood;

> When the campaign began in 1864, we were in General Ewell's Corps (Jackson's formerly), Ed Johnson's Div., Steuart's Brigade. Steuart had

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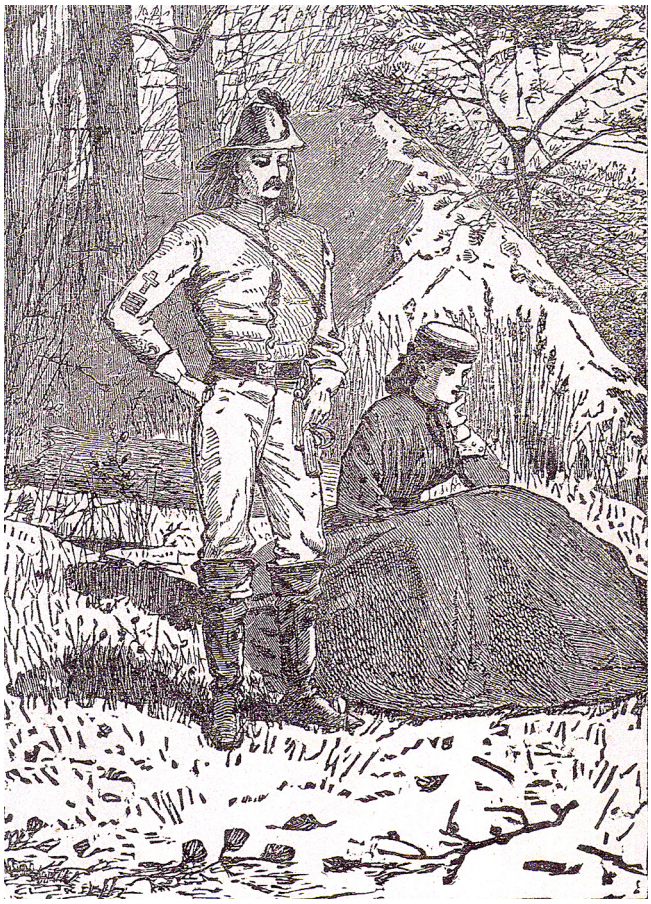


FIG 1. Virginia cavalryman with cross on right sleeve. "The Autumn Woods," by Homer, from John Esten Cooke, Surry of Eagle's Nest.

> devised some original badges for his men, of colored cloth, so that at a glance it could be told the Brigade, Regt., Co. of the man, the number of engagements he had been in, whether he was a Sharpshooter or an Ambulance Man, etc."[12]

However, the adoption of an badge by Steuart's brigade may have been very limited as staff officer McHenry Howard points out, "General Steuart also designed cloth badges (metal was not to be had), to distinguish the men of different regiments—a red cross on ground of different colors, or something that way. But the failure to get the scraps of cloth from the factories prevented his carrying out this project."[13] When cloth could not be supplied by the quartermaster to implement Steuart's plan, the men resorted to another means as described by the April 28, 1864 letter from 10th Virginia Sgt. George Miley to his sweatheart, Amelia Baker:

> Our Brig. Genl. has an idea that his troops should be marked that they may be distinguished from all others, and requires us to wear a badge on our right arm with a red bar for each battle in which each one has participated. Some or nearly all the boys are receiving theirs from sweethearts. I don't want to be behind and want to wear one made by you. If not asking too much I will transmit the bars when I hear from you and describe if I can, how they are made.[14]

The wearing of patches by the Confederate Army is not without precedent and 2d Marylander Henry Wise's was not the first. Patches were first worn in 1861 and is described by Gen. William L. Cabell:

> When the Confederate Army, commanded by General Beauregard, and the Federal Army confronted each other at Manassas, it was seen that the Confederate flag and the Stars and Stripes looked at a distance so much alike that it was hard to distinguish one from the other. General Beauregard, thinking that serious mistakes might be made in recognizing our troops, ordered, after the battle of July 18, at Blackburn Ford, that a small red badge should be worn on the left shoulder by our troops, and, as I was chief quartermaster, ordered me to purchase a large quantity of red flannel and distribute it to each regiment. I distributed the red flannel to several regiments, who placed badges on the left shoulders of the men.[15]

At the beginning of the campaign in 1864, McGowan's South Carolinian sharpshooters weren't wearing badges. McGowan's Battalion Sharpshooter Sgt. Berry Benson conducted a private reconnaissance and was attempting to return to Confederate lines when he became fearful of his fate if caught by his own side, "Having no pass, I would be arrested and taken to the camp and punished. Me, a non-commissioned officer, and a Sharpshooter!"[16] Benson and his fellow sharpshooters didn't wear badges at the Battle of the Wilderness in 1864 and resorted to "[b]reaking off twigs of pine, we set the green bunches in our hats to help us to hang together ... ."[17] Sometime during the course of the campaign McGowan's brigade adopted an emblem. In his sketch of Moses Allen Terrell of Orr's Rifle Regiment (1st South Carolina) of McGowan's brigade, Sgt. W. T. McGill recalled, "The Sharp Shooters were privileged characters. They were distinguished by a badge consisting of a red band running diagonally across the left elbow of the coat sleeve with a red star just above the band. This badge would pass the Sharp Shooter anywhere ..."[18]

At the Battle of Sutherland Station (near the end of the Siege of Petersburg), Union General Nelson Miles' 1st Division, John Ramsey's 4th Brigade penetrated the Confederate lines between Henry Heth's and Cadmus Wilcox's Divisions (both belonged to A. P. Hill's III Corps). They swung left and rolled up Wilcox's Division, capturing numerous Confederates. Among Miles' men was Private Daniel Chisholm of the 116th Pennsylvania Infantry whose observation on Confederate sharpshooters in Wilcox's Division is noteworthy. "Sunday, April 2nd - After Genl Lee ... . We took the road and lots of prisoners. The sharp shooters had a red cross on their arms ..."[19] Whether the captured sharpshooters were Lane's, Thomas' or Scales' is unknown.

When the various battalions in the Army of Northern Virginia adopted a badge, if at all, requires further investigation. The reader is cautioned that the extent that badges were worn by Confederate sharpshooters in the Army of Northern Virginia remains fertile ground for research and each brigade must be examined individually. MacRae's eighty-strong unit was identified by their gold cross sewn onto their left sleeve.[20]

We should not overlook the possibility that the diarist or letter writer may have intentionally omitted that they or their comrades slew hapless prisoners. After all, who wants to be remembered for "murdering" defenseless men? In the absence of admissions, evidence may be found from among surviving witnesses or bystanders. For instance, from eyewitnesses we

know that some Confederate sharpshooters captured around Spotsylvania never reached the Provost Marshal. When the soldier who was given custody of them was asked why he returned so soon, he admitted to killing them.[21] One surviving Union sharpshooter was 1st Andrew's Sharpshooter Asa Fletcher who was wounded at Antietam and pleaded not to be bayoneted (while he wasn't, he died of his wounds).[22] Similarly, one Union captain at Gettysburg describes how men hunted down Confederate sharpshooters who were perched in a tree and, refusing any offer to surrender, shot them down instead.[23]

At Devil's Den, Gettysburg, chivalry was evident when the men from the 3d Arkansas were captured after ferocious fighting. Thinking they would not be given quarter, they were elated to learn that their captors were Berdan's Sharpshooters who empathized with them.[24] In another incident at Gettysburg, when some Union soldiers believed that a Confederate sharpshooter was contemplating surrendering, they ceased firing and verbally encouraged him to desert.[25] At Spotsylvania, Seneca Indian Oliver Silverheels of the 14th New York Heavy Artillery lost an Indian comrade to a Rebel sharpshooter in a tree. Silverheels camouflaged himself from head to foot with foliage of a pine bough and taking his rifle, crept around and behind the Rebel sharpshooter. Instead of shooting him, he ordered the Rebel, "Me no shoot. You look back, me kill you. Drop gun, come down, or me shoot you dead. Me no tell again."[26] At the Siege of Petersburg, the Union gladly accepted the desertion of one of Mahone's sharpshooters. Stated Col. George Sharpe, "A deserter from the Sixty-first Virginia Regiment, Mahone's old brigade, Mahone's division, came into the lines of General Mott's brigade, of General Birney's division, about 5 o'clock this a.m. He states that he had just come out on his post as a sharpshooter and left his brigade in the breast-works ..."[27]

Perhaps crucial to understanding the prisoner issue is that fighting men developed a mutual respect and the victors could empathize with their prisoners. As observed by 1st Michigan Sharpshooters Adjutant Edward J. Buckbee, "the men who did the fighting in the front were not the men who used abusive language or made insulting speeches to their prisoners."[28] After all, everybody was aware that today's victors could be tomorrow's prisoners. Also recall the numerous incidents where pickets, including sharpshooters, would agree to a truce and begin exchanging newspapers or tobacco and coffee. More grimly though, some sharpshooters were not allowed to surrender or were killed after being captured. However, the frequency is difficult to determine from the evidence at hand. Clearly the absolute view that sharpshooters were "not likely to be taken prisoners" is as inaccurate as its opposing view and the truth lies somewhere in between.

Once imprisoned, sharpshooters lost their distinction. Some kept their fighting spirits and Confederate 30th Battalion Virginia Sharpshooters James Conrad Peters and Fargus Perdue were involved in the death of a Union camp guard. As it was common by 1864 for either side to give prisoners barely enough to subsist on, the quest for food was always on a prisoner's mind and so it came about that sharpshooter Peters decided to steal some. When Peters was bayoneted in the hindparts for stealing the guards' food, Perdue struck and killed the guard with a brick.[29] Similarly, Sergeant George W. Darby, 8th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers shares with us a story of a Bucktail imprisoned at Libby (Richmond): "One day a guard whose beat ran from the river to the camp on the outside of the fence along the lane, shot and killed a prisoner as he was returning with a bucket of water from the river. A Buck Tail, who had seen the killing, armed himself with a shin bone and slipped down along the fence. He reached over and struck the guard a fearful blow on the head, which killed him. Boissieux [author's note: camp commandant] shut off the rations of the camp and swore he would starve every 'damned Yankee' to death unless the man who killed the guard was found. The men became desperate and threatening by evening and Boissieux's cowardly heart failed him. Fearing a prison revolt he rushed the grub into camp."[30]

Notes

1. The article is an excerpt from Gary Yee's book, *Sharpshooters (1750–1900): The Men, Their Guns, Their Story,* which will be released in 2006.
2. Mark Simpson, *Winslow Homer: Paintings of the Civil War* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1988), 125.
3. Prisoners were valuable for information as well as for exchanging to retrieve one's own men—at least until the belligerents stopped exchanging prisoners in 1864.
4. Lorenzo Barker, *With the Western Sharpshooters* (Huntington, W. Va.: Blue Acorn, 1994). Barker lists numerous comrades who were captured: Mason Vermett at Corinth (page 79); Prosper Bowe (page 54); Alonzo Vincent (page 80) and Henry Phelps (page 90) while fighting guerillas on 21 Jan. 1863. Among the captured 1st Michigan Sharpshooters: Adjutant Buckbee and eighty sharpshooters at Petersburg (Raymond J. Herek, *These Men Have Seen Hard Service: The First Michigan Sharpshooters in the Civil War* (Detroit: Great Lake Books, 1998), 184–185); Pvt. John Kedgnot at Reams Station (page 246); eighteen sharpshooters at Peeble's Farm (page 259); Captains Conn and Randall at the Battle of the Crater (page 337), and Henry Stephens on 17 June 1864 (page 376). The roster for the Palmetto Sharpshooters shows numerous men captured and imprisoned (See James Baldwin, *The Struck Eagle* (Shippensburg, Pa.: Burd Street Press, 1996), 374–420). Confederate Louis Leon was captured with five other sharpshooters at the Wilderness (5 May 1863). See Louis Leon, *Diary of a Tar Heel Confederate Soldier* (Charlotte: Stone Publishing, 19130, 79. See William S. Dunlop, *Lee's Sharpshooters or The Forefront of Battle* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1999), 314 for his own capture and page 484 for the capture of all officers and non-commissioned officers of McRae's Battalion Sharpshooters. Three men from the 30th Virginia Battalion Sharpshooters were captured at Cold Harbor and another fifty-nine at Third Winchester. Jack Dickinson, ed., *Diary of a Confederate Sharpshooter* (Charleston, W. Va.: Pictorial History, 1997), 91, 100.
5. *Confederate Veteran,* Sept., 1904, 447.
6. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (*O. R.*), 128 vols. + atlas (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880–1901), Series I, Vol. XLII, pt. 1, 66.
7. Barker, 19.
8. See Charles Stevens, *Berdan's Sharp Shooters in the Army of the Potomac* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1984), 464 where 2nd U.S.S.S. Col. Homer Stoughton is quoted, "Five of our regiment were captured besides myself," and pages 521–525 for the wounding and capture of 1st U.S.S.S. James Winchell. See *Rauch* at page 114 capture of Captain

Niles' Bucktail company or at pages 156–157 for the capture of Company H's Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Colonel Kane. An examination of the muster roll (pages 335–437) shows numerous Bucktails were captured. How the bugler from the 5th Texas captured twenty Bucktails of Captain Niles Company (27 June 1862) is told in George Skoch and Mark W. Perkins, eds., *Lone Star Confederate* (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M Press, 2003), 36–37. For the story of a 150th Pennsylvania Bucktail deserter who was captured fighting for the Confederacy and shot by his own company see Harry Keiffer, *The Recollections of a Drummer Boy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 140–141.

9. John Mosby, *The Memoirs of Colonel John S. Mosby*, Charles Wells Russell, ed., (Boston: Little, Brown & Co, 1917), 302–303.
10. Richard Lowe, ed., *A Texas Cavalry Officer's Civil War: The Diary and Letters of James C. Bates* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999), 143.
11. Fred Ray, "Shock Troops of the South," *America's Civil War Magazine,* July, 2002.
12. Donald B. Koonce, ed., *Doctor to the Front: The Reflections of a Confederate Surgeon Thomas Fanning Wood* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 137.
13. McHenry Howard, *Recollections of a Maryland Confederate Soldier, 1861–1865* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Books), 251–252.
14. MSS of George Miley, 28 April 1864. Photocopy in possession of Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park.
15. R. A. Brock, ed., "How the Flag was Made," *Southern Historical Society Papers,* 31 (Jan–Dec. 1903): 68. One anonymous Confederate injured in the battle of Kennon's Landing (24 May 1864) mentioned being assisted by a Virginian, "...I attracted the attention of one of those Virginians, a giant of a fellow. I knew he was a Virginian by his regimental designation on his coat-sleeve."; R. A. Brock, ed., "Brook Church Fight, with notice of the 5th N. C. Cavalry and of the death of Colonel James B. Gordon," *Southern Historical Society Papers,* 29 (Jan–Dec. 1901): 143–144.
16. Susan Benson, ed. *The Civil War Memoirs of Berry Benson* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1962), 59. Hereafter cited as Benson.
17. Ibid, 62.
18. Letter of Sgt. W. T. McGill published in *Recollections and Reminiscences* (Columbia, S.C.: South Carolina United Daughters of the Confederacy, 3: 18.
19. W. S. Menge, and J. A. Shimrak, eds., *The Civil War Notebook of Daniel Chisholm* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989), 74.
20. Earl J. Hess, *"Lee's Tar Heels": The Pettigrew-Kirkland-MacRae Brigade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 237.
21. Gordon Rhea *To the North Anna River* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 148.
22. Robert Carter, *Four Brothers in Blue* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 114.
23. Evans M. Woodward, *Our Campaigns* (Shippensburg, Pa.: Burd Street Press, 1995), 214–215.
24. Stevens, *Berdan's Sharpshooters,* 340.
25. David & Audrey Ladd, eds., *The Bachelder Papers* (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Press, 1994), 872–874
26. Laurence Hauptman, *The Iroquois in the Civil War* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1993), 3. The story was reported in a newspaper and is likely embellished.
27. *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XL, pt. 2, 620. This happened on 4 July 1864. See also *O. R..*, Series I, Vol. XL, pt. 2, 235 and *O. R.*, Series I, Vol. XL, pt. 2, 244, which concern Cpl. Joseph Fridell, who deserted from the 3d Georgia Battalion Sharpshooters.
28. Herek, *The First Michigan Sharpshooters,* 185.
29. Dickinson, *Diary of a Confederate Sharpshooter,* 112–114.
30. George W. Darby, *The Civil War Memoirs of Sergeant George W. Darby, 1861–1865,* Rogan H. Moore, ed., (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1999), 127.

Portland Artillery Company Uniform, 1791–1792

René Chartrand

"At a meeting of the Artillery Company assembled at Mrs. Greely's tavern [at Portland, Maine, on] 23 November 1791. Voted—that the uniform dress of the company be as follows —viz—A dark blue coat of common length with white broadcloth or kersemere facings & double washed white metal buttons.—White waistcoat & breeches with white metal buttons.—A black cocked hat.—Black half gaiters & white stockings."

This uniform was reconsidered at another meeting of the company on 11 October 1792, and changed as follows:

buttons—Buff coloured waistcoat & breeches—Half gaiters—Black knee bands—A black cockade & a black plume tiped with red.[1]

On 3 April 1793, the company voted to add "a ruffled shirt & black necklace" this last item obviously being a stock.

Note

1. Notes of papers regarding this company between 1791 and 1797 in the Maine Historical Society in the F. P. Todd notebooks on US militias, Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, Providence.

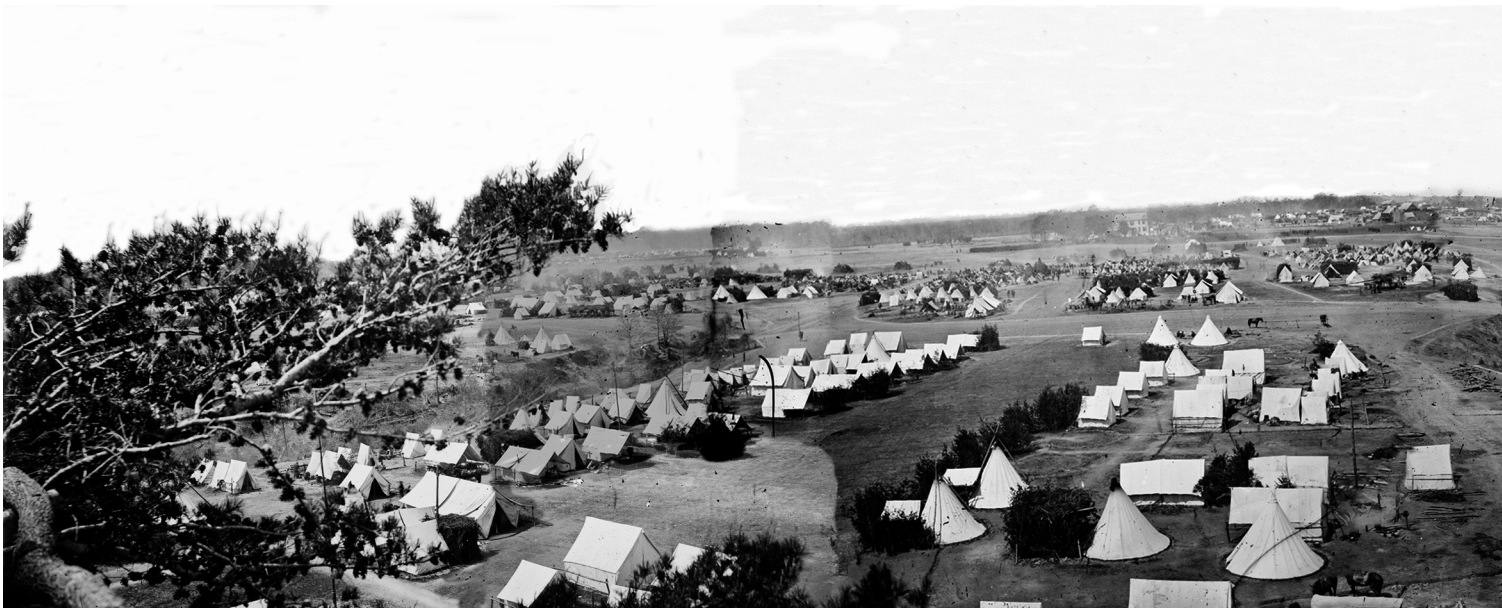
A 180-Degree Panoramic View of Cumberland Landing, May 1862.

Jason R. Wickersty

AS the Federal army began its pursuit of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's forces after the Confederate abandonment of Yorktown in 1862, it was the responsibility of Col. Henry F. Clarke, USA, Chief Commissary of Subsistence, to the keep the haversacks of Maj. Gen. George B. McClellan's columns full. The movement was slow, but by 10 May, the army had progressed far enough out of the bounds of easy re-supply from Yorktown that temporary depots were established along the shores of the James and Pamunkey Rivers. That same day, under the direction of Capt. A. P. Porter, Commissary of Subsistence, U.S. Army, a depot was established at Eltham, five miles above the mouth of the Pamunkey. In his report of operations from 1 August 1861, to 9 November 1862, Colonel Clarke, wrote:

> Leaving Capt. B. Granger, commissary of subsistence, volunteer service, in charge of sufficient stores to supply the rear divisions of the army yet to pass near Eltham, on the 13th of May Captain [George] Bell proceeded to Cumberland Landing. He arrived there with his party and a number of supply vessels, established a depot the same day, and was ready to meet any demands for rations. On the 14th stores were sent to the White House for the advance guard of the army, under General Stoneman, and to establish a depot there. The next day Captain Porter went up with a force and took charge. On the 19th, Captain Bell broke up the depot at Cumberland Landing, and taking with him all the barges and schooners he had the means of towing, proceeded to the White House.[1]

It was during the week between 13 May–19 May 1862 that photographer James Gibson arrived at Cumberland Landing and began to document the area with his stereo camera. He exposed about twenty stereo views of the camp itself; the



most interesting of these was a seven-plate series taken from a tree, possibly from a signal station or improvised platform to keep the tripod steady, which captured a sprawling180-degree vista.

The plates are available through the Library of Congress' online Civil War photograph collection. They also appeared individually in numerous books, as well as a two-image montage in *The Guns of '62*.[2] However, looking closely at the horizon and objects common in multiple plates,[3] it was clearly evident that all them were elements of one large panorama. They were assembled in Adobe Photoshop, with only minor editing to make the transition from one plate to the next as seamless as possible, and to create a uniform color for the sky.

Notes:

1. *The War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* 128 vols. + atlas (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1880–1901) ser. 1, vol. 11, pt. I, 168.
2. William C. Davis and Bell Wiley, *The Guns of '62: The Image of War, 1861–1865*, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1982), 126–127.
3. Using, from left to right, plates LC-DIG-cwpb-00555, LC-DIG-cwpb-00557, LC-DIG-cwpb-01409, LC-DIG-cwpb-01410, LC-DIG-cwpb-00554, LC-DIG-cwpb-00558, LC-DIG-cwpb-00553, and LC-DIG-cwpb-00556, from the Library of Congress' online Civil War Photographs collection, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pp/cwphtml/cwpabt.html

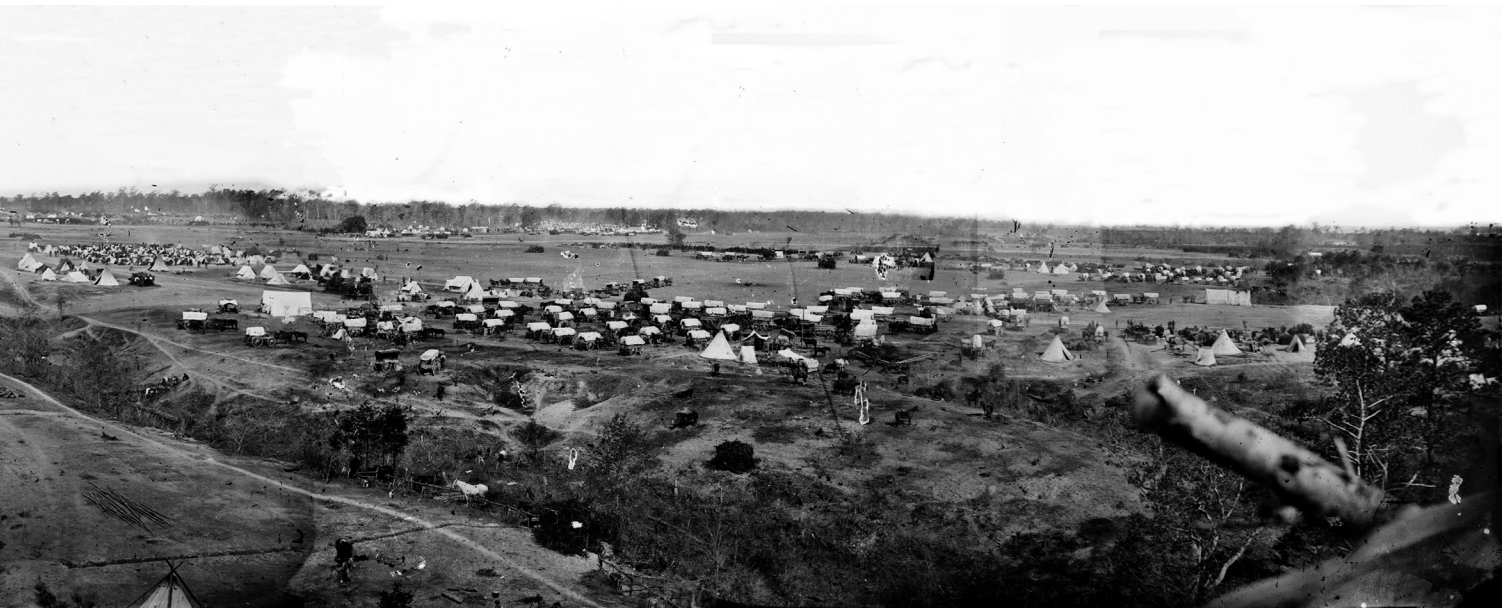


FIG 1. James Gibson's Panorama of Cumberland Landing. Library of Congress.

Was the "Rainbow" Tarnished by its Behavior on the Battlefield?

David C. Homsher

THERE are numerous references in the American literature of World War I which, when collectively added together, tend to indicate that the U.S. 42d ("Rainbow") Division of the National Guard may have been a bit more harsh with its German enemy on the battlefields of France than were the other American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) combat divisions.

World War I began in Europe in 1914, but the United States remained neutral until 6 April 1917 when President Woodrow Wilson received permission from the Senate and House of Representatives to go to war. Four months later, in August 1917, National Guard units from twenty-six states and the District of Columbia united to form the 42d Division of the United States Army. Douglas MacArthur, serving as chief of staff for the division, commented that it "would stretch over the whole country like a rainbow," so the 42d became known as the "Rainbow" Division. It comprised four infantry regiments from New York, Ohio, Alabama, and Iowa. Men from many other states, among them Illinois, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Nebraska, and Oregon, also joined the division and became machine gunners, ambulance drivers, worked in field hospitals, or served in the military police. The Rainbow Division became one of the first sent to Europe in 1917 to support French troops in battles at Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel, the Verdun front, and Argonne. On 15 July 1918 the division, acting as part of the Fourth French Army, assisted in containing the final German offensive at the Battle of Champagne.

Let us set the scenario for the matter of alleged American battlefield atrocities on the part of the "Rainbow" Division. On 15 July 1918, the Germans, in their final bid to end the war in their favor, launched a massive attack southward in the Champagne country of France. Although most of the defending troops were French, there were some units of the 42d Division also involved in the defense and in the counterattacks that ensued.

Concerning the battle participation of the 42d Division in the Champagne-Marne defensive battle of 15 July 1918, Richard Dunlop says in *Donovan, America's Master Spy*:

> The regimental commanders [of the U.S. 42d Division] were instructed to post only a few men in the first trench line, which would easily fall. Most were to be positioned in the second line, from which they were also expected to withdraw as the Germans swept ahead … .
>
> On July 15 at 12:04 a.m., the German artillery commenced one of the war's most tremendous barrages. When at 4:30 a.m. the artillery stopped firing as suddenly as it had started, the silence over no-man's-land was dreadful. The first Germans appeared wraithlike, running toward the American lines through the morning mist. Minenwerfers [large caliber German mortars] suddenly rained down on the defending Americans, and machine guns chattered death. The Americans who escaped the first charge scrambled back to the second line … .
>
> The Germans found themselves in full possession of the American first trenches; they thought they had won. They shouted, cheered and broke into song. Then the American barrage opened on the trenches. Since each piece of artillery had been carefully zeroed in on the trenches when they were still in American hands, the accuracy of the gunfire was uncanny. Some of the crack Prussian Guards still managed to reach the second line of trenches, but they too were repulsed, after bloody hand-to-hand encounters. The Germans broke off the attack … .
>
> To Donovan's [Col. William J. Donovan, commanding officer of the 165th Infantry Regiment, from New York] disgust, the Germans resorted to subterfuge. Four Germans, each with a Red Cross emblazoned on his arm, carried a stretcher up to the lines held by the 165th. When they were close, they yanked a blanket from the stretcher to reveal a machine gun, with which they opened fire. The Americans shot them dead. Still another group tried to infiltrate the American lines one night wearing French uniforms. They too were shot. All told, some breakthroughs were made, but the Germans had been halted by the Americans. The Americans had not been defeated as the French battle plans had expected they would be. After three days of battle, the Germans began to pull back.[1]

On 18 August 1918 the following cablegram was received at American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) headquarters, Chaumont, France:

> A.E.F., August 18, 1918.
> Commanding General, 42d Division, Bourmont.
> Following received from Washington:
> For Nolan. Condemned Associated Press Dispatch from London received by Cable Censor '0055 Monday Baumans Amsterdam accusation that soldier[s] of 42d American line Division enraged at losses suffered 15/7 near Rheims killed same evening 150 German prisoners is made by Wolff Bureau on "Creditable authority" and accordingly displayed in Saturday's German papers'. Dispatch held for assumed inaccuracy. Investigate and report." Make immediate investigation and report by wire this office. By direction.
>
> Nolan
>
> 4.55 P.M.[2]

A "Condemned Associated Press Dispatch … " is assumed to be an AP dispatch which was intercepted by the "Cable Censor" and deemed unfit for forwarding or transmission (if originating in London) and thus was condemned. This action would also presumably be taken if the origin of the telegram or cablegram was thought to be spurious or even sent under false pretenses. The original copy of this message was most probably burned with the "Confidential waste" at AEF HQ at Chaumont. Pershing and his staff at Chaumont did everything possible to control the press and would quickly "condemn" sources from reporters and reports that were not

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run through them.

The day the telegram was received by AEF HQ, 18 August 1918, was Sunday. "0055 Monday" in the telegram would refer to 12 August 1918. The telegram was received shortly after the Champagne-Marne Defensive Campaign, and while the 42d Division was fighting in the Marne Salient during July and August of 1918. The "Wolff Bureau" was the Wolff Telegraph Agency in Berlin, a semi-official German new agency in 1918.

The G-2 (Intelligence Officer) at AEF Headquarters, Brig. Gen. Denis E. Nolan, took prompt action to investigate the alleged murder of German prisoners of war on 15 July 1918. Nolan directed Maj. Gen. Charles T. Menoher, commander of the 42d Division, to undertake an immediate investigation of the charge. The investigation was made on 20 August 1918 at the station of the 42d Division, Bourmont, France.

The 42d Division's troops that had contact with the German Army on 15 July 1918 were: 2d Battalion, 165th Infantry Regiment (New York); 3d Battalion, 166th Infantry Regiment (Ohio); 2d Battalion, 167th Infantry Regiment (formerly 4th Alabama), and Companies E and F of the 168th Infantry Regiment (Iowa). The force of the investigation fell on the 2d Battalion, 165th Infantry, the 3d Battalion of the 168th, 2d Battalion, 167th, and Companies E and F of the 168th.

According to the "Report of investigation of reported killing of German prisoners of war" from the division inspector to the Commanding General, 42d Division, sworn testimony was taken from a total of thirty-eight officers of the 42d Division, and particularly from officers whose troops were so stationed as to come into contact with the Germans in the battle of 15 July 1918. Twenty-three officers gave sworn testimony and fifteen company-grade officers were required to give depositions. The testimony was uniformly a denial that any atrocities were committed during the fighting on 15 July 1918.

According to the same report, "All the officers state that no German prisoners were killed by American troops nor were any mistreated; nor did any officer hear anything to that effect. On the contrary the prisoners were treated well, the wounded cared for and carefully transported to the rear and the prisoners given food, drink and cigarettes. In at least one case a wounded prisoner was carried while one of our wounded officers walked."[3]

The "CONCLUSION" of the report states, "That the statements contained in the telegram set forth in Paragraph II of this report are false and without any foundation in fact. That all prisoners taken by troops of the 42d Division were turned over immediately to the French military authorities, and that, therefore, no troops of the 42d Division had access to them other than those whose statements are covered by this report."[4] The "RECOMMENDATION" of the report states, "That no further action be taken." The findings were forwarded to AEF Headquarters and there the matter was dropped.[5]

An unknown German newspaper purportedly published in Berlin, Germany, on 17 August 1918 allegedly printed an article reporting that 150 wounded and captured German soldiers were summarily killed by soldiers of the 42d Division on 15 July 1918. There were five newspapers published in Berlin on 17 August 1918: *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Deutsche Tageszeitung Germania, Neue Preussische Zeitung, Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* and *Vossiche Zeitung*. Searches of the mentioned German newspapers have been made by several historians. No atrocity articles have ever been located in these German papers.[6]

In James J. Cooke's book, *The Rainbow Division in the Great War*, we read:

> The Rainbows also had developed a very real hatred for the Germans. During the German bombardment on 15 July 1918, the doctors and nurses moved what wounded they could to a dugout, and the once callow Lieutenant van Dolsen recoiled in horror at what he saw.
>
> "Well we got down into the dug out and my dear mother such a shamble I never hope to see again. A long black tunnel lighted just a little by candles, our poor wounded shocked boys there on litters in the dark, eight of them half under ether just as they had come off the tables their legs only half amputated, surgeons trying to finish and check blood in the dark, the floor soaked with blood, the hospital above us a wreck, three patients killed and one blown out of bed with his head off. Believe me I will never forgive the bastards as long as I live."
>
> One Alabama private who was in the thickest of the fighting on 15 July wrote to his mother, "All of you can cheer up and wear a smile for I'm a little hero now. I got two of the rascals and finished killing a wounded with my bayonet that might have gotten well had I not finished him … I couldn't be satisfied at killing them, how could I have mercy on such low life rascals as they are … ?"
>
> A good bit of this hatred resulted from the Germans approaching American lines dressed in French uniforms taken from the dead in the first line sacrifice trench.
>
> The hand-to-hand fighting was especially severe for the Alabamians and New Yorkers, and many of their comrades were killed or wounded in the fighting for the second defense line and in the counterattacks that followed. Adding to the confusion was the occasional round of friendly artillery fire that fell short and hit the Americans as they repulsed the enemy … . The Alabama defense and decisive counterattacks on 15 July was praised by all, and established the 167th Regiment as the best fighting regiment within the division … .
>
> There had always been rumors of units of the 42d Division taking no prisoners. Major William J. Donovan, in May of 1918, described to his wife the possibility of the Alabamians' of the 167th Infantry Regiment capturing and killing two Germans, and he ended his letter stating, "They [the 167th] wander all over the landscape shooting at everything … ."
>
> Elmer Sherwood, the Hoosier gunner, reported the story that the Alabamians attacked a German trench with Bowie knives. "They cleaned up on the enemy," Sherwood recalled, "but it is no surprise to any of us, because they are a wild bunch, not knowing what fear is … ."
>
> While in Germany on occupation duty with the Rainbow, Lieutenant van Dolsen wrote to his aunt back in Washington, D.C., that the Alabamians "did not take many prisoners, but I do not blame them for that … ."
>
> The New York regiment was also known for fierce fighting and taking few prisoners on the battlefield. This issue of battlefield atrocities by the 42d Division would again surface after the severe fighting at Croix Rouge Farm, in the Marne Salient, where the soldiers from Alabama and Iowa were heavily engaged at close quarters with a determined enemy.[7]

J. Phelps Harding, a second lieutenant of the 165th Regiment, 42d Division, wrote a letter home to his parents on 22 September 1918. His letter states, in part:

> I'm glad I had a chance to join the 165th—it's a man's outfit, and it has done fine work over here. One of the German prisoners, who met us here and at Chateau-Thierry, but did not realize we were at both places, said that America had only two good divisions— the 42d and the Rainbow. He didn't know they were one and the same. I won't ask for any better men than the Irish in the 69th (165th). They are a hard hitting, dare devil

bunch, very religious, afraid of nothing, and sworn enemies of the Boche. The regiment lost heavily at Chateau-Thierry – my company alone had 110 wounded and 36 killed outright—and every man has a 'buddy' to avenge. Lord help the Boche who gets in the way of the "old 69th." We are told to treat prisoners as approved by the war-that-was, when soldiers were less barbarous than they are now. After every action we see or hear of mutilation of our men—and there's many a German who suffers for every one American so treated. I don't mean he is mutilated—no American stoops that low—but I do mean that he grows daisies where, if his colleagues had been a bit more human, he might have been getting a good rest in an American prison camp.

Now I'll really stop—perhaps I should have stopped before writing this last paragraph, but it's said, so it stands.[8]

In defense of the "Rainbow" Division's behavior on the battlefield, here is a letter I received in 1997 from Clark Jarrett, grandson of Paul Jarrett, a lieutenant in the 166th Infantry Regiment. Clark Jarrett telephoned his 101-year-old grandfather and transcribed the conversation:

I appreciated your letter very much. I did as you requested … I called my grandfather the night after I received your letter. We had a very good phone call. I read him your exact words and took notes during our conversation. Here is what he had to say, "I never saw or heard of anything about atrocities in the Rainbow. I can say that the 165th (New York) was not prepared to go to the front when the entire division was ready. I heard personally that the '165th was not fit for service.' They were considered playboys, not soldiers. My regiment, the 166th, served with the 165th as the 83d Brigade. At the Second Battle of the Marne (Battle of the Champagne) I was informed by messenger that I should be aware of my left flank, as the Germans had entered the trenches of the 165th. I put my binoculars to my eyes and I saw that there was trench fighting going on down to my left. Thank God that the Germans did not break through. But I was aware that they might at any moment. After that, the 165th performed as well as any other unit in the Rainbow.

As for the 167th Alabama … the only time I ever saw or heard of anything unusual was at Camp Mills, Long Island, New York, when we were in training to go to Europe. One night, we were called out to separate the 167th from a Negro unit. Apparently the white soldiers really got upset that black soldiers were in the division. Anyway, we had to part the two units … but I didn't see any specific violence. I heard that there was a pretty good fight going before we got there. It was the 167th I was going to help when I got my knee fractured during the fighting at the Ourcq River.

I hope this will give you another piece of the puzzle, David. I quizzed him really hard about the facts. He, as you know, has a wonderful memory, and will not [I repeat] not, go along with anything, nor any memory of someone else just to satisfy that person. He will tell it just exactly the way it was.[9]

Floyd Gibbons, a newspaper correspondent accredited to AEF HQ and who was badly wounded in combat, spoke at Carnegie Hall in New York City on 8 September 1919. He told his audience that the 69th New York and the Alabama regiment had refused to fall back to safety during the fighting, "Wave after wave of picked German shock troops stormed their positions, only to be sent scurrying back to their holes. Then the Germans sent low flying airplanes over their lines to rake them with machine-gun fire. On the fourth day, when the 69th and the Alabama unit continued to hold, the French general Gouraud said, "Well, I guess there is nothing for me to do but fight the war out where the New York Irish want to fight it."[10]

In *The Last Hero, Wild Bill Donovan*, author Anthony Cave Brown writes:

And, Donovan was to admit, the Micks took no prisoners. "The men," he wrote, "when they saw the Germans with red crosses on one sleeve and serving machine guns against us, firing until the last minute, then cowardly throwing up their hands and crying 'Kamerad,' became just lustful for German blood. I do not blame them." Later when WJD [William J. Donovan] was required to sit in judgment on the German officers' corps for its conduct in World War II, he recalled this incident, realized that if World War I had gone the wrong way, he might have been arrested for having committed war crimes, and he refused to prosecute.[11]

It is interesting to note that during the fighting along the Ourcq River and after the Champagne-Marne Defensive Campaign, the 42d Division evidently again became involved with the alleged battlefield atrocities. Author Brown reported further, "In the fighting the Micks again began to kill their prisoners, and Donovan recorded: 'Out of the 25 I was able to save only 2 prisoners, the men killed all the rest.'"[12]

Going back to the 167th Infantry Regiment (formerly 4th Alabama), Professor James J. Cooke, author of *The Rainbow Division in the Great War*, informs the author that

The matter of the atrocities concerned mainly the 167th Infantry I was very concerned with it because of the investigation conducted by the HQ, AEF. There had been problems with the 167th being very aggressive in combat. But, when I searched for references in German papers, like you, I found none. It appeared that HQ got their information from reporters who simply heard rumors, etc. I do believe, however, that HQ was well aware of the hard fighting tendencies of units like the 167th and wanted to investigate quickly. I included the investigation mainly because it was HQ that ordered it done rather than from any German or poor sources. That is as far as I got when doing the Rainbow book. I did indeed research AEF records in RG 120 at National Archives II, especially the JAG [Judge Advocate General] and G2 [Intelligence] records, but found, like you, a brick wall as far as the origins of the reported atrocities. By the way, when I ran across "condemned" sources it was usually for reporters and reports that were not run through Pershing's staff. As you know Pershing and his staff at Chaumont did everything possible to control the press.[13]

Alabama soldiers in the 167th Infantry seem to have been a rather different "breed of cat." Many of them were backwoodsmen, avid hunters, and crack rifle shots. It is said that many of them brought their personal Bowie knives over to France and that they used them in battle.[14] In a letter, Ambulance Corps driver George Ruckle wrote:

The Germans call us barbarians, they don't like the way we fight. When the boys go over the top or make raids they generally throw away their rifles and go to it with trench knives, sawed off shotguns, bare fists and hand grenades, and the Bosch doesn't like that kind of fighting. The boys from Alabama are particularly expert with knives and they usually go over hollering like fiends—so I don't blame the Germans for being afraid of them.[15]

In placing all of these pieces of evidence of alleged battlefield atrocities committed by the 42d Division on the scales of justice, how does it all weigh out? In the opinion of this historian, the "Rainbow" Division probably stands guilty of some extremely aggressive battlefield behavior during World War I. It is also my distinct impression that the investigation conducted by AEF HQ was a total whitewash. Americans are loath to accept the idea that their soldiery, in any war, either enjoy killing their enemies or are capable of committing war crimes of any sort and specifically battlefield atrocities against enemy soldiers or civilians. But, if one is to be true to historical fact, one must accept the idea that American soldiers have not

always behaved honorably on the battlefield. There is ample testimony to this effect from World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and from Iraq, where some of our fighting forces have been accused of having shot unarmed prisoners, or having tortured them in prison.

The murder of surrendering prisoners is not unique to World War I. That has been a barbarous practice in all wars. One aspect of World War I fighting has been perhaps neglected—perhaps the murder of surrendering prisoners was more common in that brutal war than we would like to believe.

While brave, kindly, and charitable acts also characterized World War I, we should not forget that it also produced its share of battlefield atrocities. A certain de-sensitization about the value of human life may be necessary to cope with the stress of performing a job that requires killing, a cold mentality that must be kept on the battlefield.

Perhaps the best tribute to fighting abilities of the Guardsmen of the Rainbow Division came from their enemies. In a postwar study, the German High Command considered eight American divisions especially effective, and six of those belonged to the much maligned "militia" or National Guard! When the German soldiers were asked which American combat division they most feared and respected, the reply was always, "the 42d", or "the Rainbow." For some reason the Germans never made the connection.

Notes

1. Richard Dunlop, *Donovan, America's Master Spy* (New York: Rand McNally Co., 1982), 80, 81.
2. U.S. 42d Division Headquarters, "Report of investigation of reported killing of German prisoners of War, 22 August 1918," carton 59, Records of the American Expeditionary Forces (World War I), 1917–1923, RG 120, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1.
3. Ibid., 3.
4. Ibid., 4.
5. Ibid.
6. This author and Professor James J. Cooke have both researched the newspapers of Berlin, Germany for the date of 12 August 1918. Cooke did his research at the Library of Congress and this author did his at Stanford University. Inquiries have been made by this author to the following bureaus and agencies regarding alleged American battlefield atrocities and any published allegations made in German newspapers of the time. There have been no results of this endeavor other than to have eliminated a number of possible research paths.

   Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv, Freiburg, Germany.

   Institut fur Zeitgeschichtsforschung, Wissstrasse 4, 44122 Dortmund, Germany. Archives Division, International Committee of the Red Cross, Av. De la Paix 19, 1202 Geneva, Switzerland.

   Swiss Federal Archives, Archivstrasse, CH-3000 Bern, Switzerland.

   Deutsche Bibliothek, Adickesallee 1, 60322 Frankfurt a.M., Germany.

   The Douglas MacArthur archives and papers, Norfolk, Virginia. Brig. Gen. Douglas MacArthur was the Chief of Staff of the 42d Division during World War I. The archivist states that there is no mention in the MacArthur papers of any charges of battlefield atrocities being levied against the Rainbow Division.

   Four of the five German newspapers published in Berlin, Germany, on the date of Saturday, 17 August 1918 were searched at the Hoover Institute for War and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

   Although I have not searched this document, there are supposed to be some World War I battlefield atrocity references in: A. M. de Zayas. *The Wehrmacht War Crimes Bureau 1939–1945* (University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

   State of Alabama, Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. The holdings of this repository do contain a great deal of material on the war and the 4th Alabama (167th Infantry Regiment), but it is far too much for their limited staff to research. This source might prove fruitful to some future historian.
7. James J. Cooke, *The Rainbow Division in the Great War 1917–1919* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1994), 111, 112. The Rainbow Division drew its four infantry regiments from New York, (165th Infantry), Ohio (166th Infantry), Alabama (167th Infantry), and Iowa (168th Infantry). About 5 percent of the 165th Infantry Regiments full complement of soldiers were non-Irish, but they were all New Yorkers.
8. George P. Clark, and Shirley E. Clark, "An Infantry Lieutenant Narrates the Victory at St. Mihiel," *Stand To!* The Journal of the Western Front Association (UK), No. 69 (January 2004): 37, 39. As an officer Phelps was privileged to censor his own writing. An enlisted man, however, concerned about censorship, might have hesitated to write that "after every action" soldiers found "mutilation of our men" or to suggest that American soldiers killed German prisoners in reprisal. *Boche* is the French derogatory slang term for German soldiers during World War I.
9. Letter dated 18 February 1997 from Clark Jarrett to the author. Paul Jarrett was a lieutenant in Company M, 166th Infantry, 42d Division and the last American World War I veteran and officer to return to France and visit his old trenches on the Western Front. As an officer with the "Rainbow" Division, he was trained by the British upon his arrival in France. Paul was an instructor in hand-to-hand combat as well as a platoon commander. He was also in charge of leading small raiding parties against the Germans at night to capture prisoners for interrogation. Wounded three times in combat, he also served as judge advocate reporting to Brig. Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Shortly before he died at the age of 102, Paul Jarrett told his grandson, Clark Jarrett, that he (Paul) had as much as ordered the summary execution of German prisoners of war during the Meuse-Argonne Campaign. Paul Jarrett's company had captured a number of German prisoners who could not be sent back to the rear because of the pressure of battle. Paul Jarrett stated that he ordered his sergeant to "take the prisoners to the rear and return in five minutes." Lieutenant Jarrett knew full well that a trip to the rear required at least a half an hour. The sergeant returned in five minutes, *and without the German prisoners*. Evidently this matter had weighed heavily on Paul Jarrett's conscience over these many years, and, having previously told no one about the matter, he finally confessed the matter to the grandson. Clark Jarrett says that his grandfather cried during his confession. Editor's comment: The interval between being a fighter and becoming a prisoner could be the most dangerous a soldier faced. Despite the fact that Hague Convention Regulation 23(c) forbade executing prisoners, shooting them, especially when they were few in numbers, had a brutal battlefield logic. Sending men to take a handful of prisoners to the rear in the heat of battle meant reducing one's own strength. Lugging wounded prisoners to aid stations drew off even more manpower. Shooting POW's, however, had its downside: the enemy forces would likely return the favor or, expecting to be killed, become less inclined to give up.

   An award-winning film, *The Return of Paul Jarrett*, details his return to those grisly memories of the First World War, when, at the age of 93, he returned to his personal battle sites after a seventy-year absence, and in the company of his grandson, Clark Jarrett. His story is now being written into a screenplay by producer/director Clark Jarrett. For more information go to: www.clarkjarrett.com. At the age of 101 years, Paul Jarrett was awarded France's highest military honor, the Legion of Honor, for the heroism he displayed on 3 May 1918 in the town of Neuviller-les-Badonviller, during the Rainbow's first all-American attack of the war upon the German trenches.

10. *New York Sun*, 9 September 1918.
11. Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero, Wild Bill Donovan* (New York: New York Times Books, 1982), 51.
12. Ibid., 52. "Micks" is an ethnic slang expression for the Irish-Americans. Once again we have the situation where an officer in the AEF is able to write just about any comment at all to the home folks. One speculates as to what the average enlisted soldier would have written, had he been permitted to do so. Maj. Gen. William J. Donovan, commander of the 165th [formerly 69th] Infantry Regiment during World War I, was later to become the founder of the Office of Strategic Services [OSS] and "father" of the Central Intelligence Agency [CIA].
13. Electronic communication (e-mail) dated Friday, 2 January 2004 from Prof. James J. Cooke to the author, and in reply to my inquiry dated 28 December 2003.
14. The comment about the Alabamians using trench knives is contained in Elmer W. Sherwood's, *Rainbow Hoosier* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Printing Arts Co., 1919 and 1922). Revised edition published as, *A Soldier in World War I*, Robert H. Ferrell, ed., (Indianapolis, Ind.: Indiana Historical Society, 2004).
15. Andrew Carroll, ed., *War Letters: Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars* (New York: Scribner, 2001), 134–135. Although his letter is not dated, Buckle describes the events of 15 July in the Champagne Sector. Buckle seems to have been a member of the 42d Division, although his exact association with this division, other than being an ambulance driver, is not spelled out in his letter.

A Brief View of Base Hospital No. 102, Medical Corps, United States Army, Italy, 1918

Anthony Gero

IN a 1980 *MC&H* article, the role and uniforms of the 332d Infantry Regiment in Italy and of the U.S. pilots assigned to the Royal Italian Air Force in late World War I was explored.[1] What was not known to us, at that time, was the assignment of U.S. Base Hospital No. 102 to the Italian front.

A brief reference, by Lt. Col. Frank W. Weed, in the official Medical Corps history of World War I states:

> August 4, Base Hospital Unit No. 102, known as the Italian unit, most of its personnel comprising Italian-Americans, embarked from the port of Baltimore for the Italian front. In this unit there were 35 officers and 198 enlisted men ...[2]

This statement by Colonel Weed is of interest but leaves certain questions unanswered. First, since he suggests that the unit was mostly Italian-Americans, hence his usage of the phrase "the Italian unit," one would assume the personnel were bilingual, but were they? Second, when the unit arrived in Italy, where was it stationed? Was it near the 332d's area? Did they treat U.S. and Italian wounded? Presently, I can not answer these questions. Third, what were the names of the personnel in the unit? A search of the two volumes I have of Weed's history did not reveal any specifically named hospital personnel, but since the other volumes might have such data, where can a complete set be found?[3] Finally, did the personnel of Base Hospital No. 102 wear any distinctive patches or insignia? From the practices of the 332d Regiment, U.S. pilots in Italy, and Army Ambulance Service personnel who served there, it is possible the 102d did have access to distinctive insignia or patches.[4] The quandary is did the 102d have any made up in Italy, or on the way back to the States, and did they wear them?

Notes

1. Anthony Gero and Orton Begner, "United States Combat Units in Italy, 1918 to 1919," *MC&H*, 32, no. 4 (Winter 1980): 149–151.
2. Lieutenant Colonel Frank W. Weed, MC, Editor-in-Chief, *The Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1923), 5:329.
3. If other volumes in this history are at any loaning libraries, I would appreciate knowing.
4. See Brig. Gen. Edward R. Burka, AUS (Ret), "The Army Ambulance Service in Italy, 1918," *MC&H*, 39, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 41–42. General Burka shows two patches of AAS personnel in Italy, a gold Lion of St. Mark patch, like the 332d's, but with AAS on the book held in the lion's paw. The background of the patch is red. One might assume that Base Hospital No. 102 could have purchased a similar patch, but that is just pure speculation, unless documentation can be located to prove this.

"Sufficient for the army for fifteen days …" Continental Army Frozen Rations

John U. Rees

ON 22 January 1778, the Continental Congress authorized an expedition into Canada led by Maj. Gen. the Marquis de Lafayette, and Brig. Gens. Thomas Conway and John Stark. The idea of such an undertaking began just after the capture of British Maj. Gen. John Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, New York, in October 1777, with proposals from Maj. Gens. Horatio Gates and Philip Schuyler.[1]

General Schuyler's proposal is particularly interesting, considering some of the arrangements he advised to provision the troops. First, let us look at the expedition planning. On 4 November 1777, less than a month after the Burgoyne's surrender, Schuyler wrote Congress:

> On the second instant, two British officers, on their return to Canada, took shelter in a violent storm of rain in my little hut, the only remains of all my buildings in this quarter. In the course of conversation … I had every reason to conclude that the number [of British troops] now in Canada, including the garrison of Ticonderoga, does not exceed two thousand … Whether it was possible to have sent a body of troops immediately after the [Saratoga surrender] Convention … to Ticonderoga I will not venture *now* to say, but if they had been sent I believe that we should have regained that post; for I learn from a tolerable intelligent countryman just arrived from thence, that the hurry which prevails in embarking their stores is such, that it strongly indicates they are apprehensive of a visit, and will probably abandon it. If so, it argues that they are too weak in Canada to support that garrison in case of an attack."[2]

Schuyler detailed clothing, equipment, and transportation needed by an invasion force, suggesting that troops and supplies would gather at Albany, and an advance force of:

> One thousand men should … be sent without delay to Skeensborough, by the way of Fort Ann, from whence they should take down in rafts the boards that remain at the saw-mill near that place, none of which have been destroyed by the enemy, and 16000 are left there, a number sufficient not only to cover the men comfortably, but also the provisions, of which a quantity, sufficient for 5000 men for three months, should be carried to Skeensborough in the course of the winter …"[3]

The general then made a remarkable suggestion concerning food. After first stipulating "biscuit [be] sent instead of flour," Schuyler proposed that: "Before the march of the troops [north] from [Skenesboro], the Commissary should pick of the best pork sufficient for the army for fifteen days, and have it well boiled, then laid out to freeze, and packed up again, that the men may not be under the necessity of cooking on their march."[4]

This is the first known instance of actual or suggested U.S. Army frozen rations. Meat may have been preserved by freezing in eighteenth-century households on a small scale in winter, but the large quantities needed for even a small mobile military force made such methods impractical for armies. Even with the advent of canned foods and refrigerated meat, the common durable campaign foods used up to the First World War were hard biscuit and salt meats.[5]

In any event, the 1778 Canadian expedition never got off the ground, and frozen meat for campaigning Continental troops was never put to the test.

Thanks to Fellow John K. Robertson for bringing this information to my attention.

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Notes

1. Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776–1790*, vol. I, December 7, 1776–March 30, 1778 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977), 242–245. Conway was promoted "Inspector General with rank of Major-General" 13 December 1777. It is likely he was intended to act as brigadier general during the proposed 1778 Canadian expedition, supposing the promotion to major general depended on his acting as inspector general. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution — April 1775 to December 1783* (Washington, D.C.: The Rare Book Publishing Shop, Inc., 1914), 168. For the planned Canada expedition, see also Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966), 179–180.
2. *Proceedings of a General Court Martial held at Major General Lincoln's Quarters, Quaker-Hill, in the State of New-York, By Order of General Washington, Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America, for the Trial of Major General Schuyler, October 1, 1778. Major General Lincoln, President* (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1778). Reprinted in Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1879 (New York: Printed for the Society, 1880). 191
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. For more on campaign rations see, John U. Rees, " 'Our pie-loving ... stomachs ... ache to even look.': Durable Foods for Armies, 1775–1865," *Food History News*, vol. IX, no. 4 (Spring 1998), 2, 7–8; Rees. "'The foundation of an army is the belly.' North American Soldiers' Food, 1756-1945," *ALHFAM: Proceedings of the 1998 Conference and Annual Meeting*, vol. XXI (The Assoc. for Living History, Farm and Agricultural Museums, Bloomfield, Ohio, 1999), 49–64. part I. "'I live on raw salt pork ... hard bread and sugar.': The Evolution of Soldiers' Rations"; part II. "Salt Beef to C Rations: A Compendium of North American Soldiers' Rations, 1756–1945" (World Wide Web, http://revwar75.com/library/rees/belly.htm). For the advent of U.S. Army canned and refrigerated foods see, Rees, "Historical Overview: The Civil War and Reconstruction," Andrew F. Smith, ed., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2: 631–633.

British Flying Training Schools, 1941–1945

British Flying Training Schools, 1941–1945

Plate No. 829

WORLD War I showed that Britain had crowded air space, bad weather and was subject to enemy attacks. The start of World War II, caused British planners to look for more hospitable training areas. This resulted in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, which began in 1939 with Canada as the coordinator for the program.[1]

World War I experience showed that Canadian winter weather was not conducive to flight training. America was the obvious option, but the U.S. was neutral. The Lend-Lease Act of 11 March 1941, however, opened the way for pilot training in the United States. Some British students went into U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) and U.S. Navy (USN) pilot training classes. Most went into the British Flying Training Schools (BFTS).[2] Each BFTS was an Royal Air Force (RAF) operation. It used U.S. facilities and aircraft. It had full USAAF support but an RAF officer commanded the unit and saw to the administration. All flying instruction was done by U.S. contract civilians. U.S. cadets were assigned to the BFTS and went thru the training alongside the British cadets.[3]

The plate shows a scene that probably happened often during the course of many training cycles as instructors imparted their knowledge to eager students. Civilian instructors could purchase U.S. uniforms and often looked like U.S. Army officers. We show an instructor in cotton khaki. His trousers could also have been dark green or the ever-popular "Pinks." He wears the standard green wool shirt with a tan tie. He has no collar rank insignia. Period photos indicate that contract pilots wore "hash marks" on shirt epaulettes as current airline personnel do. Company wings were worn above the left breast pocket. His cap is a standard officer item. It has company wings sewn in place of the normal Eagle and Glory. While most photos show the standard felt and khaki covers some "crusher" style caps may have been worn by instructors. He wears a standard russet brown A-2 leather flight jacket without patch. The use of patches on jackets is known from photos. He wears brown low-quarters. It was after all "the Brown Shoe Army."[4] The man behind the Instructor wears the British tan 1939/40 Sidcot flying suit. Buttons angle up the left side and a zipper angles up the right side. It was a full-length coverall with large pockets on the upper leg for maps and other gear. It had a brown detachable fleece collar and liner. He wears russet brown Type D gauntlets. The Type C leather helmet is brown. MK VII goggles and a white silk scarf complete his kit.[5]

The next figure is wearing U.S. gear, the khaki AN-S-31 flight suit and an A-9 khaki cloth helmet and goggles. He has an S-1 seat parachute. Shoes are brown.

We show three RAF students wearing a mix of RAF and U.S. gear. When available the RAF gear was to be used by the British students. Two students appear in the RAF standard blue-gray uniform. The first figure wears a blue war service dress, waist length jacket with two upper breast pockets. It is similar to the heavy-duty dress blouse. The matching wool trousers have a large pocket on the left thigh. The end man wears a four-pocket service dress tunic with an attached cloth belt. Trousers are of matching cloth. They wear blue shirts and black ties. The field service caps are standard. They wear black boots without toecaps. Officer boots had toecaps.[6]

All ranks below warrant officer wore a pale blue shoulder eagle on blue-black field on both shoulders. The Leading Aircraftsman wears the two-blade propeller on both arms.[7]

The inserts show insignia worn by BFTS 1, 3, and 6. BFTS 6 adopted a circular blue patch with white star and BFTS. A white 6 is on the red field in the white star. BFTS 3 has a brown eagle on a white crown and blue wings, all on khaki twill with a yellow embroidered border. BFTS 1 has white wings and lettering embroidered on a blue twill field. The wreath is gold with a white 1 on a red star. The brass RAF cap plate shown is for other ranks. Officers wore a bullion badge. The RAF wings have black lettering embroidered on white wings with a light brown wreath.

We wish to thank Company Member Sam Nesmith for his advice and assistance.

Art: Robert J. Marrion
Text: Michael T. Johnson
Edward S. Milligan

1. Warren Carroll, *Eagles Recalled: Air Force Wings of Canada, Great Britain and the British Commonwealth 1913–1945* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Military History, 1975), 139.
2. Tom Killebrew, *The Royal Air Force in Texas, Training British Pilots in Terrell during World War II* (Denton, Tex.: University of North Texas Press, 2003), 11. Schools were : #1 Terrell, Tex.; #2 Lancaster, Calif.; #3 Miami, Okla.; #4 Mesa Ariz.; #5 Clewiston, Fla.; #6 Ponca City, Okla.; #7 Sweetwater, Tex. operated only from June to August 1942.
3. The authors' source here are the many letters and phone conversations with Harold A. Jacobs, Col. USAF (Ret.). He was a graduate of BFTS #6. Col Jacobs provided copies of many photos taken while he was at BFTS #6 in Ponca City. They form a firm basis for what was worn at that BFTS. He took his check ride with an RAF pilot. In U.S. uniform his RAF wings were pinned on by the RAF BFTS commander. He was authorized both RAF and U.S. wings. When the author asked about wearing the RAF wings Col Jacobs said, "I did till I got tired of explaining that I was a multiengine pilot and NOT an Eagle Squadron vet."
4. Photos in the Michael T. Johnson collection.
5. Andrew Cormack and Ron Volstadt, Osprey Military Elite Series #225, *The Royal Air Force 1939–45* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1990), 23–33 (hereafter cited as Osprey).
6. Osprey, 5–9.
7. Ibid.

United States War Dogs and Their Handlers, 1944–1945

United States War Dogs and Their Handlers, 1944–1945

Plate 830

THE use of dogs in war can be traced back to antiquity, and even Shakespeare refers to them in *Julius Caesar* (Act 3, Scene 1), when Mark Anthony mumbles the threat "and let slip the dogs of war." World War I combatants used dogs for a variety of duties, and by the 1940s, dogs were a vital part of both the Axis and Allied war efforts. When the United States entered World War II, however, the only military working dogs were about fifty sled dogs used by the Army in Alaska. Forty dogs had also been purchased from the Byrd Antarctic Expedition, and the coast artillery was using a handful of dogs for a local sentry program at Camp Haan, near Riverside, California. No official dog program existed. The impetus to begin one would actually come from outside the military establishment.[1]

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, volunteers associated with the Professional Handlers Association and the American Kennel Club encouraged the use of dogs and the Dogs for Defense (DFD) program was established in January 1942. In March, the Plant Protection Branch of the Quartermaster Corps' (QMC) Inspectors Division notified DFD that it would be the sole agency for canine recruitment and training. From more than 400 kennel clubs, the DFD selected 200 dogs required by the QMC and the Army soon designated them as the "K-9 (Canine) Section." By the fall of 1942 they were unofficially called the "K-9 Corps."[2]

Military authorities estimated that 125,000 dogs would be required for all branches. So in August 1942 the QMC established war dog reception and training centers and the DFD program ended. The Army's first center was established at the Front Royal Quartermaster Depot, Virginia, and by year's end, centers had also been established at Camp Rimini, near Helena, Montana; Fort Robinson, Nebraska; and San Carlos, California.[3]

This plate is limited to the Army and Marine Corps. Divisional patches have been included for each handler. Photographs confirm their being worn in the field.[4]

The left figure depicts a military policeman (MP) of the Third Infantry Division, in the European Theater of Operations (ETO) during the last winter of the war. The divisional patch is clearly visible on the MP's knit collared jacket in a period photo, which shows an MP guarding German prisoners of war. He wears M1944 shoepacs. He carries a Winchester Model 12 shotgun, with its distinctive bayonet clip. Eighty thousand of these weapons were produced between 1941 and 1944.[5]

The dog and handler in the upper center of the plate belong to the 104th Infantry Division, also in the ETO. They are based on a photograph taken near Golzbeim, Germany, showing a German shepherd being used in a combat situation. The private, who is not an MP, wears a "Timberwolf" divisional patch on his M1942 field jacket. He carries an M-1 rifle, cartridge belt, and multi-purpose ammo bag slung over his shoulder.

In the lower center of the plate a 27th Infantry Division private kneels on Okinawa, with a black Doberman from the scout dog platoon of the 106th Infantry Regiment. He is wearing an M1943 fatigue jacket and trousers with canvas and rubber boots and is armed with a carbine, with a double magazine pouch on his belt.

The Marines also used dogs in the Pacific during World War II, and the figure on the right depicts a 4th Marine Division private and his Doberman on Iwo Jima. His uniform is stenciled with the USMC device, which is partially obscured by the strap of his ammo bag. He is wearing russet ankle boots and carries a carbine.[6]

Authors and veterans tell us that battle transforms any group experiencing it into a band of brothers. Combat also forged just as firm a bond between dogs and their human handlers. The loyalty and valor of war dogs has been overlooked far too often, and this plate honors their service.

Art: Ronald Spicer
Text: Anthony Gero
Edward Milligan

1. Michael G. Lemish, *War Dogs: A History of Loyalty and Heroism*: (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1996; reprint, 1999), 23–24 (hereafter cited as *War Dogs*). For the French Army's use of sentry dogs at the front during World War I, see Auburn, (N.Y.) *Advertiser*, 1 August 1917, 2
2. *War Dogs*, 35–38. Also see the Internet, http://www.uswardogs.org_
3. *War Dogs*, 41. In April 1943 another center opened on Cat Island, off the coast of Mississippi, and the Marines also established a center at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina. For Coast Guard centers, see Eleanor C. Bishop, *Prints in the Sand: The U.S. Coast Guard Beach Patrol During World War II* (Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publishing Co., 1989) (hereafter cited as *Prints*. Please see the Beach Patrol on the Internet, http://www.USCG.mil.
4. Jonathan Gawne, *Ghosts of the ETO, American Tactical Deception Units in the European Theater 1944–1945 (*Harrisburg, Pa,: Casemate, 2002). This book shows that divisional patches were commonly worn by units in contact with the enemy in ETO, pp. 87, 213, 214. The primary source for photographs is John M. Behan, *Dogs of War: Illustrated* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1946). Images can also be found in *War Dogs* and *Prints*.
5. Bruce N. Canfield, *A Collector's Guide to United States Combat Shotguns* (Lincoln, R.I.: Allen Mowbray Inc., 1992), 97–100. Also see Richard Windrow and Tim Hawkins, *The World War II GI: US Army Uniforms, 1941–1945, in Color Photographs* (Osceola, Wisc.: Motorbooks International, 1993) .
6. For other examples of Marine war dogs, see Chester G. Hearn, *An Illustrated History of the United States Marine Corps* (London: Salamander Books, 2002). By the time of the Iwo Jima landings, the preferred Marine war dog seemed to be the Doberman.

An Extremely Rare Solid Silver U.S. Infantry Officer's Button Made in Mexico City

Daniel J. Binder

At first glance, the button pictured here in FIG 1 appears to be nothing other than one of the myriad varieties of two-piece U.S. infantry buttons fabricated between about 1840 and 1850.[1] Mass-produced by the major American button enterprises for mid-nineteenth century infantry officers, such silver-finished "eagle I" buttons can be easily and inexpensively obtained by modern collectors in a broad spectrum of face dies and accompanied by a seemingly infinite number of manufacturer, dealer, and quality backmarks.[2]

Closer inspection of this particular specimen, however, indicates that it is not one of these commonly encountered Mexican War era infantry buttons. It is, in fact, considered one of the rarest and certainly most desirable of all period U.S. infantry buttons. While documented in the standard uniform button references, examples of this button almost never become available for either examination or purchase.[3]

This convex button measures 23mm in diameter, however its overall style of construction varies significantly from that of the standard two-piece American infantry buttons of the era. Rather than consisting of a die-struck and silver-plated, convex, sheet copper face affixed to a flat, circular brass back plate with a brazed copper wire shank, this button is fabricated of solid silver components in a hollow configuration. Its drawn silver wire shank is silver soldered to a raised circular "mound" on the reverse.

FIG 1. A: Obverse; B: Reverse. Author's collection.

Although crudely executed, the button's cast device is otherwise consistent with the more professionally—and artistically—executed ones found on factory-made U.S. infantry buttons. The amateurish rendering is comprised of a cartoonlike spread-wing eagle, portrayed in frontal view but facing to its right, with the raised block capital letter "I" within the confines of an intaglio shield on its breast. The awkward, disproportionate raptor grasps a single olive branch in its right talon and three points-up arrows in its left. The bird's tail is reminiscent of a modern whisk broom. The entire motif is presented on a plain, or bright, field.

As illustrated in FIG 1B, the button's "W**.** IUNG MEXICO**.** /1847**.**" backmark appears in raised type within the confines of a slightly depressed circular channel that encircles the mounded shank. It should be noted that the "O" of "MEXICO" encloses a one-millimeter diameter circular opening into the back of the button. The orifice was incorporated during the casting process in order to properly vent expanding gases, therefore preventing damage.

This particular backmark, found on no other style of button, has both fascinated and puzzled enthusiasts for as long as they have been aware of these few buttons' existence.[4] While certainly still fascinating, a good bit of the mystery surrounding the backmark and the origin of the button itself has been recently cleared up. This is partially the result of an article entitled *A Record of Clothing and Equipage Issued to Scott's Army in Mexico City, 1847–1848* that was published in the Fall 2000 issue of *MC&H*.[5] On the final page of the piece, author James S. Hutchins incorporates an illustration of an advertisement (FIG 2) that appeared in the 9 January 1848 issue of *The American Star*, a newspaper produced by men of General Winfield Scott's army during its 1847–1848

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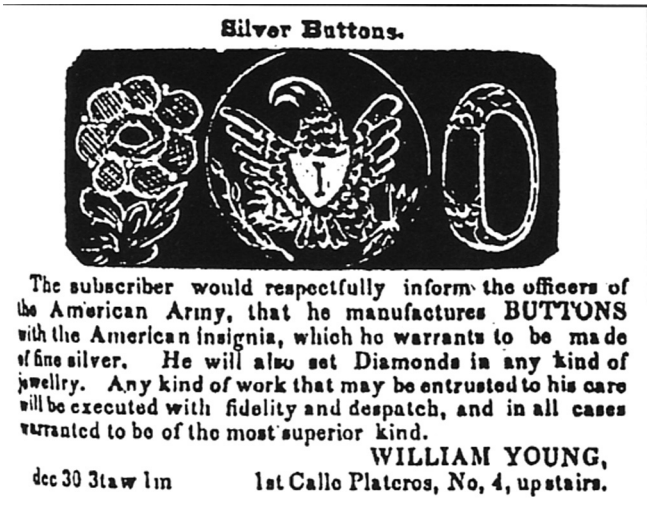

FIG 2. The advertisement published in the 9 January 1848 issue of The American Star. Courtesy Smithsonian Libraries, Washington, D.C.

occupation of Mexico City. The ad, entitled "SILVER BUTTONS," reads:

> The subscriber would respectfully inform the officers of the American Army, that he manufactures BUTTONS with the American insignia, which he warrants to be made of fine silver. He will also set Diamonds in any kind of jewellry [*sic*] . Any kind of work that may be entrusted to his care will be executed with fidelity and despatch [*sic*], and in all cases warranted to be of the most superior kind.
>
> WILLIAM YOUNG,
>
> 1st Calle Plateros, No, 4, upstairs

Included in the ad is a rendering of one of Young's U.S. infantry buttons straddled by two pieces of jewelry. It has also been reported that Young advertised his button making activities in other newspapers during the same period.[6]

It is not entirely clear as to why Young's name appears phonetically—IUNG instead of YOUNG—in the button backmark, however it is likely the result of a local Mexican artisan's unfamiliarity with the idiosyncrasies of the English language.

From the available evidence, it would appear that William Young followed the U.S. Army in Mexico plying his jewelry and button trade. The reason why he made so very few of these buttons is not obvious. It would seem reasonable to assume that the trade in replacement uniform buttons would have been quite brisk in light of the severity and frequency of combat, the extended duration of the campaign, and the remote location of the action. The paucity of existing specimens may be a testament to the efficiency of the army in re-supplying its men. Their excessive rarity may also be the result of a mold that became irreparably damaged after only a few buttons were cast.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that William Young was inadvertently several years ahead of the U.S. government in terms of the design and approximate size of these silver infantry buttons. During the Mexican War era, U.S. infantry, artillery, dragoon, and riflemen officers' "letter" buttons bore a device incorporating an asymmetrical spread wing eagle device, and were specified to be three-fourths of an inch (19 mm) in diameter.[7] It was not until 1851 that the regulations increased the buttons' size to seven-eighths of an inch, or somewhat less than 23 mm. At that time, a symmetrical style eagle replaced the existing bird.[8] William Young's few infantry buttons – made four years prior to the official change in regulations – measure 23 mm in diameter and boast a symmetrical eagle device.

Notes

1. To view many of the known varieties of *circa* 1840–1850 period U.S. infantry buttons, see Warren K. Tice, *Uniform Buttons of the United States, 1776–1865* (Gettysburg, Pa.: Thomas Publications, 1998), 109; Alphaeus H. Albert, *Record of American Uniform and Historical Buttons* (Boyertown, Pa.: Boyertown Publishing Company, 1977), 36–38; and David F. Johnson, *Uniform Buttons, American Armed Forces 1784–1948* (Watkins Glen, N.Y.: Century House, 1948) Vol. I, plates 11–13.
2. For complete definitions of manufacturer, dealer and quality backmarks, see Daniel J. Binder, "A Glossary of American Military Button Terminology," *MC&H*, 56 (Fall 2004): 150–153.
3. Examples of this button appear in both Tice, *Uniform Buttons* (110) and Albert, *Record of American Buttons* (491) where they are assigned the respective reference numbers of GI212A1 and GI 84A.
4. The author is aware of less than six examples of this button. It should be noted that at least one specimen with no backmark has also been reported.
5. The article appears on pp.120–128.
6. Tice, *Uniform Buttons* (108) reports that advertisements in an unspecified 1847 Mexican newspaper indicate that Young was making buttons for the U.S. Army "south of the Rio Grande." No further attribution is provided. This is reiterated in William F. McGuinn and Bruce S. Bazelon, *American Military Button Makers and Dealers; Their Backmarks & Dates* (Manassas, Va.: REF Typesetting & Publishing, Inc., 2001), 145. The authors also state that Young advertised in a 26 June 1848 U.S. occupation forces newspaper (probably *The American Star*), "Large assortment of buttons with the American insignia ... at 1 Calle Plateros No. 4."
7. The term *asymmetrical* has been adopted by collectors to describe the positioning of the eagle devices found on pre-1851 U.S. "letter" buttons used by artillery, dragoon, infantry, and riflemen officers. The bodies of these spread-wing eagles are quartered slightly to one side, resulting in figures that will not generate mirror images if bisected bilaterally: therefore the asymmetrical designation. In other words, they are bilaterally asymmetrical.
8. The term *symmetrical* has been adopted by collectors to describe the positioning of the eagle devices seen on post-1851 U.S. "letter" buttons specified for officers in the aforementioned branches of service. The bodies of these spread-wing birds appear straight-on and are not quartered in either direction. Therefore (with the exception of their profiled heads), the figures will generate mirror images if bisected bilaterally: they are bilaterally symmetrical.

Early Experiments on the Use of Rubber Clothing in the U.S. Navy

Harold D. Langley

SAILORS have been subjected to having their clothing wet since man first put to sea. There was little to be done about it. Eventually canvas hats were tarred to protect the head from moisture. Likewise, civilians who were caught in rainstorms had little to protect them except hats and umbrellas. However, there is evidence that as early as the tenth century A. D., the inhabitants of jungles near Brazil's Amazon River learned to cut the bark of the rubber tree and to use the milky sap to make coverings for the feet and to fashion bottles. During his second voyage to the new world in 1498, Christopher Columbus saw rubber and a member of his expedition wrote about it. Other writers who accompanied explorers described Indians playing with games with balls made of rubber that bounced. Later, writers noted that the Indians in the valley of Brazil's Amazon River made waterproof clothing, shoes, shields, and a bulb syringe of rubber. The substance was exported to Europe where it aroused curiosity and experiments. In the late eighteenth century, it was used on pencils as an eraser. The first rubber factory opened in Vienna in 1811, but not much is known about its products. On the continent and in England other men were studying rubber and its uses.[1] Soon, Americans were experimenting, too.

In 1821, a patent was issued to A. Dana of Boston for waterproofing boots and shoes. Arnold Buffum of Smithfield, Rhode Island, obtained a patent in 1822 for the manufacture of waterproof boots and shoes. His process involved making a sole of a shoe out of tanned pasteboard that was saturated with gum so that moisture could not penetrate the boot or shoe. By 1833 the company was selling India Rubber waterproofed cloth. This was used for the interlining of boots and shoes and for making rubbers. It was also used for making aprons for nurses, tablecloths, and covers for goods. As early as 1824, stores in Boston advertised gum elastic shoes and Indian Rubber overshoes. Meanwhile, a Boston merchant named Thomas C. Wales imported shoes made of rubber gum from Brazil and sold them for three to five dollars a pair. Building on this success, Wales sent American shoe lasts to the Amazon to mold rubber covers for American shoes. The profitability of this venture attracted others to the shoe business. One of these was Edwin M. Chaffee, a foreman in the Boston patent leather factory owned by John Haskin. Chaffee began to experiment with rubber in the hope of waterproofing leather and giving it a shiny surface. This work led to experiments in coating cloth with a rubber solution. In 1832 he invented a small machine that could coat ten yards of cloth at one time. His employer immediately became interested in the possibilities and convinced Luke Baldwin to join in launching the first rubber company in the United States. Incorporated in 1833, the Roxbury India Rubber Factory began using Chaffee's machine to produce India rubber cloth, leather and goods. Chaffee got patents for making mail bags, hose and for improving the manufacture of boots and shoes. The company established other plants in Massachusetts, and New York.[2]

A display of life preservers in the New York City salesroom of the Roxbury India Rubber Company caught the attention of Charles Goodyear in the summer of 1834. He was convinced he could make a better inflating valve, so he brought a life preserver and took it to his home in Philadelphia. Shortly thereafter he returned to the store to show the owner his improved valve. The owner recognized the value of the invention, but he told Goodyear that the company was nearly bankrupt and could not afford to buy and market the invention. The reason was that the public discovered that India rubber was sticky in the summer and hard and subject to cracking in the winter. They became disenchanted with the product and asked for the return of their money. Astonished at this news, Goodyear now decided that he would devote his talents to solving the problems with rubber and make it available for a variety of uses.[3]

Goodyear now began to experiment with rubber in his own cottage. For several years and despite many financial reverses, Goodyear pursued his dream. With no knowledge of chemistry or technology, he tried every chemical and process in the hope of finding the right combination. When imprisoned for debt, he pawned his furniture and virtually everything else to support his family. Because he had no money, he constantly

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had to try to induce men who were financially successful to support his efforts. When backers became discouraged by his lack of success, he had to get new ones. He moved to New York where, with the financial backing of two friends, he pressed on.

He did not remain long in New York but moved to New Haven where he continued his work. This led to his discovery of what he called the "acid gas" method of treating rubber which he patented in June 1837. While he was in Washington, applying for the patent, he sent samples of his work to President Andrew Jackson, and to Senators Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun. Jackson acknowledged the receipt of "pure gum designed for bandages and other useful purposes." Clay and Calhoun replied jointly with their thanks for "the prints upon gum elastic parchment, and your card upon a specimen of pure gum without cloth." Both men said that the public was indebted to Goodyear for his ingenuity. This might have led to some sort of government contract if it had not been for the financial depression known as the Panic of 1837. Subsequently Goodyear lost his backers and was forced to move his efforts to a small cottage on the grounds of the Staten Island factory of the rubber company. There he pawned what he could of his possessions and lived in a state of dependency upon the goodness of others.[4]

Meanwhile, Edwin M. Chaffee of Roxbury, Massachusetts, decided to address the problems that had led to the loss of public confidence in the reliability of rubber goods. He invented a machine that used great pressure to force rubber into cloth. Built in 1837 at a cost of $30,000 and weighing thirty tons, the huge machine made it possible to improve the quality of rubber goods.[5]

While in New York during the summer of 1837, Goodyear visited the sales room of the Roxbury company and met John Haskins, one of the company's principal share holders. Haskins had seen some of Goodyear's work and was much impressed by it. He urged Goodyear to move to Roxbury where he would find more encouragement. Goodyear took this advice and moved himself and his family to Roxbury. There he met Edwin Chaffee, the inventor of the machine that had kept the Roxbury Company in business when others had failed. Samuel Armstrong, the agent of the Roxbury Company, leased some space in the company to Goodyear where he continued his experiments. Then, in the spring of 1838, differences arose between Armstrong and Goodyear, and the latter was forced to relocate. Months later, he met Nathaniel Hayward, who had taken over the property of the recently failed Eagle India Rubber Company in Woburn, Massachusetts. Goodyear leased the property and hired Hayward to work for him. From his new colleague Goodyear learned that Hayward had been filtering turpentine through sulfur to make some of his rubber products look whiter. At Goodyear's urging, Hayward decided to patent the process. Hayward appointed Goodyear as his agent, and the patent was granted in February 1839. Using both Hayward's sulfur treatment and Goodyear's acid gas process, the two men now produced a variety of goods including life preservers, maps, beds, carriage cloths, coats and capes, a few shoes, and mail bags that won public favor. This led to a contract with the postmaster general to make mailbags. Unfortunately, the mail bags sagged and did not support their own weight. Problems developed with other objects and resulted in widespread returns by purchasers. The company was ruined and Goodyear was again reduced to poverty. He made and sold a few small objects and pawned what he could to support his family while he continued to experiment.

While handling the same compound that had been used for the mail bags, Goodyear dropped some on a hot stove and observed that it did not melt but charred like leather. Goodyear had discovered the process that would later become known as vulcanization whereby as the result of heating, the rubber did not decompose or lose its elasticity. Goodyear understood that in order to control this process he would have to determine the right point in the heating when the rubber lost its adhesive quality. More experiments and more money were needed. To take advantage of the steam and heat at a factory, he moved his family to Lynn, Massachusetts. Later, he moved to Woburn where he had a special furnace built to heat his specimens. It was not until 1843 that he was satisfied with his fireproof fabrics. Goodyear applied for a patent for his vulcanization process and on July 15, 1844 he received a patent for "Improvement in India-Rubber Fabrics."[6]

Meanwhile, John Haskins had bought Edwin Chaffee's coating machine. He sold the patent for the machine to Goodyear in July 1844. Goodyear moved the machine to an old building in Naugatuck, Connecticut, that had previously been used as a button factory. This was where Goodyear had spent this youth and where his father had a factory. The town was also located on the Naugatuck River which would supply power to the new Naugatuck India-Rubber Company. An idea of Seth P. Staples, this was a joint stock operation that was designed to protect Goodyear and his invention from being seized by creditors. Thomas Lewis was president of the company and Henry Bateman Goodyear, the brother of the inventor, was the superintendent of the plant. For $50,000, Charles Goodyear sold his patent rights to this corporation. The firm began to produce shoes, suspenders, elastics, and rubberized clothing. Goodyear continued to do research and carry out experiments at the factory. To provide funds for this research, licenses were sold to other firms who wished to produce goods under the Goodyear patent.[7]

While all this was evolving, the possibility of using rubber boots and clothing, as well as other items, in the Navy had occurred to Capt. Thomas Ap Catesby Jones. He was then involved in preparing a naval expedition to explore the South Pacific and Antarctica, and he urged the Navy Department to purchase clothing that would enable his men to function while exposed to extremes of heat and cold. Protecting them as far as possible from wet weather was also desirable. He sent a list of items made of India rubber fabrics and other articles to Capt. Joseph Smith, the commandant of the Bos-

ton Navy Yard, and asked him about the quality and prices of the items. Smith reported that, as far as he could learn, only the Roxbury factory was in operation in his area. In Smith's opinion, "no other Factory can manufacture the articles you require with any degree of perfection; as that is the only one which possesses the art of applying the 'Gum Elastic' to other cloth without the use of a solvent." As for prices, the cost depended on the sizes, quantity, and the number of coats of rubber that were applied. The estimates that Smith sent were based on heavy coating to make the items air and water tight. In the case of clothing, Smith recommended "the close cape with sleeves, rather than the Coat in most cases because, if used in a warm climate, it allows the moisture from the body to escape, whereas the Coat, buttoned alone, confines it and renders the person liable to cold." Based on the best information he had, Smith prepared an estimate of the prices of the items listed by Jones. With them he noted his belief that the prices were as low as they could be and still show some profit. The total was $6,497. This included 260 pairs of short leggings or boots at a cost of $800; 650 caps with capes for $950; 30 coats or capes with trousers for $400; and 50 officer's caps with capes for $150. Jones forwarded Smith's letter to Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson with a request that the items and quantities indicated be purchased. This request was referred to the Board of Navy Commissioners, a group of three senior captains who advised the secretary of the Navy on technical matters. Dickerson subsequently informed Jones that the Navy Commissioners doubted "the usefulness of articles of clothing made of India rubber, or of their ability to withstand the friction and other injuries to which they must of necessity be exposed when in use on board ships of war." Still, if Jones was assured that the articles were useful, he was authorized to spent all of the $6,497 mentioned in the estimate.[8]

The secretary's letter was a vote of confidence in the commodore's judgment. To make sure he was on the right track, Jones wrote to Walter R. Johnson, in Philadelphia. Johnson had resigned his position as professor at the Franklin Institute in order to take charge of expedition matters relating to the physical sciences. Jones asked Johnson for answers to some questions relating to the use of gun elastic fabrics on sea and land. Johnson turned the matter over to Joseph P. Couthouy, a ship captain and merchant from Boston who had a great knowledge of sea shells. He joined the exploring expedition as a conchologist. Couthouy asked a three-man committee that he chaired to respond to the questions that the commodore raised. The first of these was how could fabrics made of gum elastic be used in scientific pursuits on land and on shipboard. They said that it had numerous uses including covers for books, drawings and instruments, as a lining for charts and as covers for guns, as well as protecting fire arms and other items in landings. Using the material on the exteriors of boats made them safer. Boats framed and covered with this cloth were so light that they could easily be carried and used over fields of ice or to explore inland lakes. Gum cloth spread on the floor of a tent in wet areas helped to keep men healthy. Tents made of this material were waterproof light and portable. As for articles of clothing for use in wet and cold weather, the qualities of gum elastic cloth "are too well known to require any comment."

Jones had also inquired about the effect of extreme heat or cold on the gum elastic cloth prepared by Goodyear in New York and the rubber manufacturing plant in Boston. The committee said that it had examined a tent that was ten years old and which had been exposed to a temperature of 143 degrees Fahrenheit as well as to being covered with ice in a weather that was 12 degrees above zero. The tent was still soft and flexible and as good as new. The committee said that it believed that improvements in the manufacture whereby the rubber was applied to the cloth by pressure had eliminated the earlier complaints about the material cracking in cold weather and liquifying in hot.

A third query of Jones was whether there was any preparation in the country that was better than that produced in New York and Roxbury? The committee said that it was not aware of any. To this Couthouy added that he had an opportunity to test the qualities of each and that the products of those plans were better than anything manufactured in England or France.

The last question that Jones raised was whether it was desirable for him to acquire a quantity of this gum elastic cloth for the security and comfort of the members of the expedition? The committee thought so if it was within his authority as the commander.[9]

Jones acted on these recommendations and presumably the Navy bought its first rubber foul weather gear. However, before all the supplies, instruments and equipment were ready and on hand, and all the members of the expedition had been chosen, Jones had to endure months of frustrating delays and controversy. His health was undermined. In mid-November 1837 Jones resigned his command, but in the ensuing months he would often be called upon to supply information on various matters. The secretary of the Navy offered the command to various senior naval officers, who refused it. Continued problems in relation to the expedition led President Martin Van Buren to transfer the responsibility to Secretary of War Joel T. Poinsett. When the expedition finally sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia on 18 August 1838, it was under the command of Lt. Charles Wilkes.[10]

During the course of their work and travels between 1838–1842, members if the expedition kept journals and wrote letters, but there were few specific references to the use of rubber clothing or equipment. A private journal, kept by a lieutenant, mentions an India rubber mattress, a frock of the same material, and waterproof boots. Presumably the items that were acquired proved satisfactory.[11]

While the Wilkles Expedition was involved in its research, and later when its leader was preparing the history of the enterprise, the work of improving the production of rubber

goods went on. The circumstances surrounding the next use rubber for foul weather clothing in the Navy are not known to the writer. It is possible that the contact was made through David L. Suydam who, in 1844, had purchased the right to make and sell goods under Goodyear's patents. He was just getting started when a New Jersey manufacturer named Horace H. Day began to make the same goods without a license. Suydam's business was damaged and in 1845 he sold his rights back to Goodyear. For a number of years Goodyear had to fight Day over a patent infringement. In 1851 a group of shoe producers known as The Shoe Association filed a suit against Day in Goodyear's name. The case was heard in the United States Circuit Court for New Jersey and it ruled against Day.[12]

At some point, an approach was made to Capt. William B. Shubrick, the head of the Navy's Bureau of Provisions and Clothing. In 1844 he decided to make some tests of the items to determine the propriety of using them in the Navy. He ordered the commandant of the Navy yard at Brooklyn, New York to place a few "Goodyear's Metallic Rubber" suits on board the sloop-of-war *Preble,* which was then preparing for sea. Similar orders went to the commandant of the Navy yard at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in regard to the sloop *Portsmouth*. At the New York Navy Yard, a small quantity of Goodyear's rubber clothing was put on board the sloop-of-war *Yorktown*. The captains of these ships were instructed to have the suits worn by the petty officers and seamen who were most exposed to the extremes of weather.

Since it was also important to know what effect the rubber clothing had on the men who wore it, the ranking medical officers of the ships were ordered to pay attention to any effects on the health of the men who wore the rubber clothing and to report any suggestions for any modifications of it, or limitations on the wearing of it.[13] As things turned out, the rubber clothing was never issued to the men of the ship *Preble* during its cruise and this was duly reported by the surgeon of the ship.[14]

In the course of a voyage from Norfolk to the port of Callao in Chile, eight officers and twenty-one petty officers of the *Portsmouth* wore the Goodyear rubber clothing. All expressed favorable opinions on the gear. Nearly all of them said that it was that it was the best clothing they had ever tried for use in wet and rough weather. There were no unhealthful effects from its use. Surgeon Charles Chase felt that the clothing was "a very valuable preservative of the health of our men; in rain and stormy weather." He also felt that the clothing should be tested further for its durability and usefulness.[15]

Another assessment of the test on the *Portsmouth* came from an assistant surgeon. He reported to the fleet surgeon about the use of rubber clothing in that ship. He thought that the results of the trial were unfavorable. The clothing was glued together at the seams, and these areas softened and separated when men wore the clothing aloft. The clothing also required much care and spoiled when it was put away wet. After a few months wear the rubber was apt to wear off. He was unable to make any connection between the health of those who wore the rubber clothing and those who did not. Enclosed with his report was a listing of the twenty-two men who wore the rubber garments and whose comments were noted.[16]

More testing was needed and in April 1845 Captain Shubrick approached Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft about it. Bancroft authorized him "to procure a few items of wearing apparel, such as you think are best calculated for the purpose." These were to be placed on a warship at a near station with directions to the captain to report the results of the trial to Shubrick.[17] Subsequently, forty-four men on the *Yorktown* drew and wore various pieces of the Goodyear clothing during a voyage. The aggregate number of sick days for those who did not wear the clothing was 477. For those who wore the clothing, the number of sick days was 405. This looked promising but the surgeon concluded that other causes might account for the discrepancy in sick days.[18]

Meanwhile, the manufacturing improved. Steam vulcanization was adopted in October 1846. Rubber cement containing sulfur was first used to cement the sleeves to garments, but this made a white mark. The problem was solved when sulfur was omitted from the cement. These improvements were doubtless made known to Navy representatives who complained about the earlier use of the rubber garments. We do know that in late 1846 or early in 1847, a representative of the firm of Brown and Brooks approached Gideon Wells, the chief of the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing, with an offer to supply India rubber clothing: Wells referred the proposal to Secretary of the Navy John Y. Mason for a decision. Mason authorized Wells to receive a limited number of articles of rubber clothing. These would be issued to men who chose to wear them. Any items not taken by the men would be returned to Brown and Brooks at cost. Whether the firm accepted these terms and supplied the items is not known.[19]

While the Navy was involved in the Mexican War (1846–1848), the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing had the responsibility of seeing that the needs of ships in the war zone and those on other assignments were met. Gideon Wells, the chief of that bureau, recommended that the secretary of the navy appoint three experienced officers as members of a board that would be ordered to New York to assemble and evaluate samples of uniform items from contractors. Welles thought this board might also be instructed to make a careful examination of "the India Rubber clothing" being offered by a Mr. G. Gay, an agent. The Secretary approved this suggestion and the board reported favorably on the rubber items. Welles received the verbal approval of Welles for the purchase of designated items of "insoluble rubber clothing." These consisted of 100 pea jackets at $6.50 each; 100 "Monkey Jackets" at $4.50 each; 100 "Sou'wester" hats for $.75 cents each; and 100 pairs of trousers at $3.00 each. These items were to be delivered to the Navy yard at Gosport, Virginia, and placed on board the frigate *Ohio* to be issued to the crew. Welles went on to explain that these small purchases were

intended to enable the Bureau of Provisions and Clothing to thoroughly evaluate this clothing material so that future action could be taken "to its introduction into general use in our Service by the Department, as the reports received concerning its qualities would seem to justify and warrant." Secretary Mason agreed. He had heard good reports about the army's experience with rubber garments. Therefore, Welles was authorized to purchase "several articles" of the special clothing for all the squadrons so that they could be fairly tested in all climates. "The favorable results already ascertained justify the Department in allowing the sailors the opportunity of supplying themselves with these improved articles if they find them more useful." Since the rubber clothing was patented, it was not necessary to advertise for bids, but the prices must be reasonable in the judgment of Welles.[20]

One officer who had a favorable opinion of India rubber goods for a long time was Commo. Thomas ap Catesby Jones. He was then awaiting orders to take command of the Pacific Squadron, and he wanted to supply it with rubber clothing, tarpaulins, bags and other items of the same material. Jones wrote to Commo. Charles Skinner, the chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, about his wishes with particular regard to the brigantine *Porpoise*, which was then being readied for sea duty. Skinner sent Jones's letter to Secretary Mason along with one of his own. Skinner said that he had compared the prices for rubber tarpaulins, bags, and other items at navy yards with those for items from Goodyear and that the difference in wear more than compensated for the small difference in first costs. Skinner had no doubt that the adoption of India rubber goods by the Navy would be conducive to economy as well as to the health and comfort of the officers and men in a ship. Secretary Mason authorized Skinner to acquire a sufficient quantity of India rubber material to give it a fair trial.[21]

Subsequently Mason authorized Welles to purchase 600 suits of rubber clothing for distribution to the squadrons. This was done, Welles reported that he understood that Jones had requested an additional 250 suits for the Pacific Squadron. Other officers had verbally indicated to Welles their desire for India rubber clothing for their ships. To meet this demand, he forwarded an offer from a Mr. Gay, an agent for the sale of India rubber goods. Mason replied that: "the purchases heretofore authorized, to test the value and the acceptability of the India Rubber clothing, to the sailors, whose pay is applied to the purchase on the recommendation of experienced officers for their commands." If the chief of the bureau had no reason to believe that the seamen would reject such clothing, he could increase his purchases.[22]

With interest at highest level in the Navy Department and among several officers, one might expect that the various experiments would lead to the adoption of rubber clothing, but such was not the case. The ending of the Mexican War brought new problems as well as a change in administrations. Secretary Mason and Gideon Welles both left their offices in March and June of 1849. From that time until the spring of 1853, three men served as heads of the Navy Department. The new leadership had different challenges and priorities. As for Commodore Jones, he became the subject of complaints and charges from officers and others for actions taken while he was in command of the squadron. Tried by a court martial, he was convicted. and suspended for five years. Half of that time he was without pay. In 1853 President Millard Fillmore remitted the remainder of his sentence. But two years later a naval review board placed him on the reserve list. He died in 1858. Amid all the time involved in defending himself, there was apparently no opportunity or interest in a review of data on rubber clothing.[23] Of those involved in the earlier tests, only Shubrick and Joseph Smith remained, but now they had other responsibilities. So ended years of experiments and tests on the use of rubber clothing. With additional improvements in the product and new leadership the Navy would revisit the question at a later time.

Notes

1. P. W. Barker, *Charles Goodyear: Connecticut Yankee and Rubber Pioneer* (Boston: Godfrey L. Cabhot, Inc., 1940), 13–17
2. Ibid..
3. Ralph F. Wolf, *India Rubber Man* (Caldwell, Id.: The Caxton Printers, Ltd.,, 1939), 49, 56–61.
4. Ibid., 68–73.
5. Barker, *Goodyear,* 42, 46.
6. Wolf, *India Rubber Man,* 75–78, 80, 85N98,147; Barker, *Goodyear,* 42, 46, 49.
7. Barker, *Goodyear,* 50N51,108N129, 216.
8. Smith to Jones, 28 March 1837; Commodore Isaac Chauncey to Dickerson, 27 April 1837; Dickerson to Jones, 1 July 1837 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M 75, roll 2) Records of the United States Exploring Expedition ... 1838–1842, Records of the Hydrographic Office, Record Group (RG) 37, National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C. Some of this correspondence is published in Records of the United States Documents, House Executive Document 147, 25th Congress, 2d sess. (Serial 327).
9. Couthony to Jones, 22 August 1837, Records of the United States Exploring Expedition, M 75, roll 3.
10. David B. Tyler, *The Wilkes Expedition* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), 13–28; William Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). 56, 60, 69–72;
11. For a reference to the use of a jacket and a rubber mattress see Nathaniel Philbrick and Thomas Philbrick, eds., *William Reynolds: The Private Journal of William Reynolds, United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 35.
12. Barker, *Goodyear,* 154–158, 160–164, 167–212, 259.
13. Shubrick to Harris, 13, 15 July, 13 August 1844, Letters Received by the Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery from the Secretary of the Navy and Chiefs of Bureaus, 1844, 51, 52, RG 52; Assistant Surgeon Charles Guillou for Dr. Thomas Harris, to Surgeon William T. Van Horne, 5 September 1844, Letter Book no 3, Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, 485, RG 52, NAB.
14. Passed Assistant Surgeon S. Wilson Kellogg to Harris, 30 September 1845, Letters from Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons to the Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, 1845, no. 3, 184, RG 52.
15. Chase to Harris, May 1, 1845, Letters from Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons to the Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery, 1845, no. 2, 127. RG 52.
16. Assistant Surgeon A. A. Henderson, to Fleet Surgeon Charles Biddle, 27 November 1846, Letters of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons to the Chief

of the Medical Bureau, 1846, no. 4, 128, RG 52. The enclosure noted is not with the letter.

17. Bancroft to Shubrick, 30 April 1845, Letters of the Secretary of the Navy to the Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, 261, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M 480, roll 1) Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, RG 45, NAB.
18. Surgeon W. L. Van Horn to Harris, 19 August 1845, Letters of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons, 1845, no. 3, 131.
19. Barker, *Goodyear,* 51; Mason to Welles, 14 January 1847, Letters of the Secretary of the Navy to Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, M 480, roll 1, 381.
20. Welles to Mason 20 April 1847, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Chiefs of Bureaus, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M 518, roll 5), 105, RG 45. A Southwester is a waterproof hat with a broad brim at the back to protect the neck.
21. Skinner to Mason, 1 September 1847, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Chiefs of Bureaus, M 518, roll 5, 140; Mason to Skinner, 18 September 1847, Letters of the Secretary of the Navy to Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, M 480, roll 1, 445.
22. Welles to Mason, 17 September 1847; Mason to Welles, 18 September 1847, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Chiefs of Bureaus, M 518, roll 5, 179; Mason to Welles, 18 September 1847, Letters of the Secretary of the Navy to Chiefs of Navy Bureaus, M 480, roll 1, 448.
23. For a recent study of Jones's career see Gene A. Smith, *Thomas ap Catesby Jones, Commodore of Manifest Destiny* (Annapolis. Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2000.

Our Readers Write

To the Editor:

I was at first a bit perplexed by Colonel Robertson's article, "Has *MUIA* Outlived its Purpose?" (MC&H, 58, no. 1 (Spring 2006) but then I realized how few of the current membership are truly following in the path laid down by the founders of our organization. With that realization the point of the article became more profound. As one who has been a member since 1961, and who knew Fred Todd and Hugh McBarron and many others who have left this sphere, I must say that the *MUIA* series has not and probably never will reach conclusion.

It is amusing that some seem to believe there was Master Plan for that series—they are either dyed-in-the-wool bureaucrats who figure there HAS to have been an overall plan, complete with lists of units that should be depicted and how the plates would be allotted between chronology and geography, or basically ignorant of the complexities and scope of military uniforms in the Americas. Either way, I hope these people do not try to structure what has always been a free range, grass roots effort to find and eventually illustrate the history of military uniforms in our hemisphere.

My first *MUIA* plate was done around 1964, when Fred Todd put me in touch with Jim Spears and we worked together on some Indiana uniforms in the Civil War. After that it was whatever came along. Occasionally there was to be an issue or an article on a specific subject for which a plate was generated, but for the most part the plate series came directly from the contributors who had something they wanted to do.

The only plate editor I know who tried to get some specific plates was John Elting, otherwise editors have been grateful for whatever they receive. Some plates we probably never should have accepted, but that is part of the free-wheeling nature of this beast. Others have never been done and should have – most notably I think of the 5th New York or *Duryee Zouaves*. Therein lies a hidden tale that older members may remember. Several should be redone in light of additional research, including that excellent drawing done by John Severin of the *Hawkins' Zouaves*, and my own crudely-done plates of the *National Zouaves*.

Between what is still not depicted and what we should redo, the *MUIA* series can theoretically —so long as we have artists and finances—continue long after the demise of the current membership.

Michael J. McAfee

To the Editor:

This past annual meeting was such a wonderful and inspiring four days. I was privileged to meet many kind people whose printed works have long helped guide and shape my understanding of military history. The many conversations, interests and knowledge shared would not have happened but for the meeting. A more enlightening and pleasant event would be difficult to imagine and I remain flattered that my little display was noticed and liked by the Company. My hat is off to you, all the officers and members and especially to Mark Kasal whose boundless enthusiasm and work helped fuel this meeting.

But all is better said by my eleven year old daughter Melissa, who asked: When will the next meeting be held?

James Kanne

THE MESSAGE CENTER
CMH HEADQUARTERS

OFFICERS ELECTED

At the Spring meeting, the Board elected new officers for a three year term:

President: Les Jensen
VP-Admin: Alex de Quesada
VP-Pubs: René Chartrand
VP-Membership: Mark Kasal
Treasurer: Drew Fonoroff
Secretary: Myers Brown

Outgoing President, Bill Emerson, places the President's Badge on Les Jensen.

2006 CMH AWARDS

The Company of Military Historians recognizes the achievements of its members via a multi-level awards system:

- The newly established *Commendation Award* recognizes outstanding service to the Company. A Commendation may be awarded for any outstanding service that brings distinction to the Company or a chapter or improves services to members. The member's work may have been a one-time contribution or continuing service over a period of time in one or more areas.
- A member may be elected a Fellow of the Company for a combination of scholarship and service in multiple areas, both within the Company and in the field of military history in general.
- The *Distinguished Service Award* recognizes continuing exceptional service after being named a Fellow.

Distinguished Service Award Class of 2006

René Chartrand

The Company of Military Historians recognizes René Chartrand with its Distinguished Service Award with star.

For his long and continued service to the Company of Military Historians including his services as the Vice President for Administration, during which time his diligence and acumen was of great value to the Company;

For his past service as a Governor;

For his many contributions to *Military Collector & Historian* including 19 major articles, 43 short articles, and 122 reviews spanning 35 years;

For his many contributions to *Military Uniforms in America* including authoring 40 plate texts;

For his service at annual meetings including presentations;

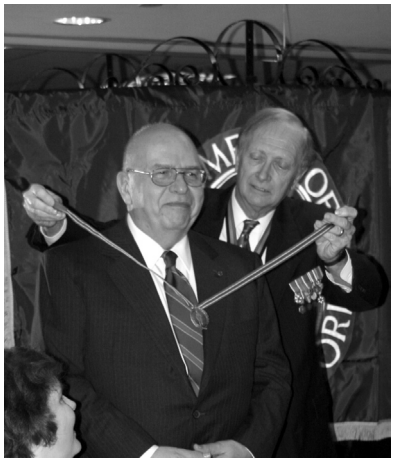
For his active recruiting of many members to the Company of Military Historians and his tireless promotion of the Company;

And for his work outside the Company of Military Historians to further the field of Military History. He has willingly shared his extensive knowledge on the Napoleonic Wars. He has authored many publications on military uniforms published through several companies. He served as military curator for Parks Canada. He has served as a consultant for films.

Having joined the Company of Military Historians in 1965 and having been a Fellow since 1971, his many and varied activities reflect great credit upon himself and the Company of Military Historians.

Marko Zlatich

The Company of Military Historians recognizes Marko Zlatich with its Distinguished Service Award.



For his long and continued service to the Company of Military Historians. Such service includes becoming an assistant editor for *Military Uniforms in America*, starting in 1960, and serving as *Military Uniforms in America* Editor in 1972 and 1973;

For providing material for thirty plates to the *Military Uniforms in America* series including the writing of accompanying text;

For reviewing several publications sponsored by the Company;

For writing many articles for *Military Collector & Historian;*

For serving as a Governor of the

Company both in the 1970s and in the 21st Century;

For serving on the Museum Committee;

For serving at annual meetings including co-chair of the St. Louis meeting and being a speaker at other meetings;

In recognition of his outstanding research and expertise on uniforms;

And for his work outside the Company of Military Historians to further the field of Military History. Such service includes consulting on films, publishing books, submitting many magazine history articles, and working with the Smithsonian Institution and the Society of Cincinnati.

Having joined the Company of Military Historians in 1959 and having been a Fellow since 1963, his many and varied activities reflect great credit upon himself and the Company of Military Historians.

Col. F. Brooke Nihart,
U.S. Marines Corps (Ret.)

Although awarded a Distinguished Service Award in 1982, he Board of Governors desires to further recognize his achievements since that time;

For his continued contributions to the Company of Military Historians as the author of a number of articles detailing the work of several outstanding military artists;

For his contributions to *Military Uniforms in America* as the author of several plate texts;

For the many reviews contributed to *Military Collector & Historian*;

For his active participation in annual and Fellows meetings;

And for his significant work outside the Company of Military Historians dealing with the history of the United States Marine Corps.

In summary, Colonel F. Brooke Nihart joined the Company of Military Historians as a Charter Member in 1950 and was elected a Fellow in 1958. His long and dedicated service to the Company of Military Historians includes his term as President 1965-1969, his service as Governor for four terms, his tour as Editor-in-Chief of Company Publications 1971-1973, and his many and significant contributions to *Military Collector & Historian* and *Military Uniforms in* America. His fifty-six years of outstanding service reflects great credit upon himself and the Company of Military Historians.

Be it therefore known that the Governors of the Company of Military Historians at Los Angeles, California, this 22d day of April 2006, present Colonel F. Brooke Nihart with the Star to the Distinguished Service Award.

Fellows Class of 2006

At its fall 2005 meeting, the Board of Governors elected members James B. Ronan II and Leonard Traynor to be Fellows of the Company of Military Historians. The awards were announced at the Los Angeles Annual Meeting the following April.

FELLOWS CITATION

Major James B. Ronan II (U.S. Army Reserve, Retired)

For his outstanding and enthusiastic service as editor of *The Dispatch*, the Company's online magazine;

For his frequent participation in the Company's online Forum and his efforts to recruit other participants into the Company;

For his contributions to *Military Collector and Historian;*

For his knowledge of the U.S. Army of the 19th century;

James B. Ronan is a credit to himself, to military history and to the Company of Military Historians.

FELLOWS CITATION

Leonard Traynor

For his many contributions to American Civil War research and education in both the U.S.A. and Australia;

For founding the American Civil War Research Group of Australia;

For his contributions to *Military Collector and Historian;*

For his outstanding attendance at National Company Meetings;

For his exceptional enthusiasm for promoting the goals of the Company and recruiting members among fellow Australians;

Leonard Traynor is a credit to himself, to Military history and to the Company of Military Historians.

THE LAST POST

❖

Lt. Col. Francis A. Lord,
USA (Ret.)
West Columbia, South Carolina
Fellow

❖

MILLER AWARD

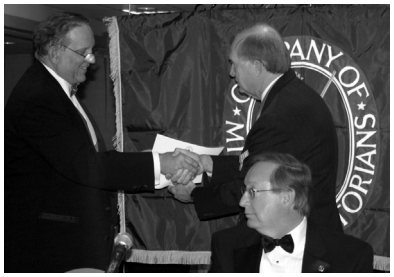
The best display at the Annual Meeting is recognized by the Robert Loren Miller Memorial Award. James Kanne and his daughter Melissa won with a display entitled: *One Step at a Time: Early U.S. Army Leggings*.

Commendation Award Recipients

The first recipients of the Company's new *Commendation Award* were announced in April 2006 at the Los Angeles National Meeting. For their service to the Company of Military Historians, we salute them.

- *Frank Arey III* was recognized for his outstanding service to the Company as assistant editor for *Military Collector and Historian* since 2000. He demonstrates "unsurpassed attention to editing detail," and was willing to edit six issues in a single year to help get the journal back on schedule.
- *William S. and Lois Eagan* were recognized for their exceptional commitment to recruiting new members for the Company. The two of them sponsored at least 31 new members during 2004 and 2005 alone.

- *James J. Hennessey* was recognized for his outstanding service as an artist for the Company's *Military Uniforms in America* plate series. He has not only produced nine quality plates, but has also written the text for eight of them.
- *Col. John K. Robertson, USA (Ret.)* was recognized for continued outstanding service to the Company after having been named a Fellow in 2005. In addition to serving as layout editor for *Military Collector and Historian*, he has also improved communication by sending mass e-mails to the membership, establishing the Governors' Forum, and enhancing the web site.



- *Timothy Terrell* was recognized for his outstanding service to the Company as assistant editor for *Military Collector and Historian* since 2001. He can be relied upon to faithfully complete his editing duties on schedule, no matter what the circumstances — including the water main break that forced him to move temporarily out of his home.

On Our Cover

Captain Philemon Griffith [left] and Lieutenant Colonel Moses Rawlings [right], wearing uniforms fashioned from cloth they were entitled to receive from the State of Maryland, as members of "late Rawling's [sic.] *regmt" 1780.* Art by Peter F. Copeland. Private collection.

The purpose of this illustration is to reconstruct a regimental uniform dress possibly made from cloth supplied in 1780 to Maryland officers who served in the Continental Regiment of Maryland and Virginia Riflemen, commanded by Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings. By the provisions of Chapter IV, of *An Act Relating to the Officers and Soldiers of this State in the American Army* (*Laws of Maryland made and Passed at a Session of Assembly Begun and held at the City of Annapolis on Thursday the twenty second of July in Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine*, Annapolis, Printed by Frederick Green, Printer to the State, no date), the General Assembly of Maryland allowed each officer of the Maryland Continental Line and the parts of the German Regiment and "late Rawlings regiment, raised and recruited in this state," to be furnished, at 1776 prices, "with linen of good quality sufficient for four shirts and also a complete suit of regimental uniform suitable to the station of such officers, every year during the continuance of such officer in the said service,". In January 1780, the officers of Rawlings's Regiment each received three yards of linen @2/6 per yard for overalls, two pair yarn hose, and three yards linen @2/6 for lining. (Maryland Hall of Records [hereafter cited as MdHR] *Army Journal No. 1, Journal of John Randall, Clothier*, folio 47-52). On 5 February, Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings drew from the Maryland Public Store 3½ yards "Orange Colour Brod. Cloth & 3 Yards shalloon. (MdHR 19970-5/7/13, Series D-Rev. Papers, Maryland State Papers). On 10 February 1780, the Maryland Council ordered "that Captain George Keeports, deliver to Thomas Beale Capt Commadt. Of the Maryland Part of the regimt late Rawlings's 3¼ yds Cloth & 3 yds shalloon for himself & the same Quantitys to each for Capt Adamson Tannehill, Ensign Nathl Beall Magruder and Adjutant Josiah Tannehill to be charged as before Direct P Order T Johnson Junr.". This order is endorsed as follows: "Baltimore February 12th 1780, recvd of Wm Banks 13 Yards of Orange Colour Broad Cloth and 12 Yards of Shallon for Self [signed] Capt Tanehill, Nathl Beal Magruder & Josiah Tanehill [signed] Tos Beall Capt." (MdHR 19970-5/7/18, Series D-Rev. Papers, Maryland State Papers.) The only officer not to receive orange cloth was Captain Philemon Griffith, "of the late Rawling's regmt" who, on 2 March 1780, drew 3¼ yards brown broad cloth, three yards brown shalloon, one piece of britannia, 33 coat buttons and 30 vest buttons. (MdHR 19970-5/7/22, Series E-Rev. Papers, Maryland State Papers.). The issuance of orange-colored broad cloth to the former officers of Rawlings' Regiment does not necessarily indicate that this was an authorized color for the uniforms of that regiment when it was on active service. An earlier issue to another officer was for blue cloth, which means that what cloth that was available on the day the officers were to draw their bargain-priced cloth was done so to fulfill the provisions of the clothing allowed under the act of July 1779, and not necessarily to comprise a regimental uniform specific to the former Regiment of Maryland and Virginia Riflemen.

Marko Zlatich

On Our Back Cover

Garde Lafayette, 12th Regiment, New York State Militia, 1850

The print illustrating the uniform of this American unit could easily be mistaken for a French publication showing the dress of that nation's line infantry. The blue tunic with its distinctive skirt was adopted in 1845 by the French line infantry, the red trousers were already a hallmark of France's military, the shako was of the

French model complete with France's red, white, and blue cockade, as was the short sword worn by the noncommissioned officer holding France's tricolor flag as the unit's color.

The American features to this uniform were more discreet but clearly seen — the United States eagle on the shako being the most in evidence. The crimson sash of American commissioned officers was worn, whereas French officers did not have sashes since the end of the seventeenth century. American eagles dominated the poles for both colors and the national color was, of course, the Stars and Stripes.

This plate was drawn by one Otto Boetticher and published by Nagel and Weingaertner in New York City during 1850. It shows nine figures including two officers, a drummer, two color bearers, and a lad wearing a cocked hat. The Library of Congress has an uncolored version of this print. The plate reproduced here appears to be the only colored example presently known. It is preserved in the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island.

The *Garde Lafayette* was originally an independent volunteer company raised in New York City, very likely with emigrants from France considering its uniform and tricolor unit colors. Its name honored the famous French hero that had served in the American War of Independence. On 21 June 1847, the *Garde Lafayette* and nine other independent volunteer companies were consolidated into a regimental organization and mustered into the state service as Company E of the 11th Regiment, renumbered 12th a few weeks later on 12 July.

In 1852, the regiment adopted a white tunic, but changed to blue three years later. However, the *Garde Lafayette* seems to have kept its handsome French infantry uniform well into the 1850s. In the 4th of July parade of 1855, a newspaper reported that the *Garde Lafayette* had taken spectators aback "by the appearance of a young girl marching with the *Garde Lafayette*, at the side of one of the officers. Her dress corresponded in color with that worn by the French soldiers. She reminded one of Jenny Lind in the 'Child of the Regiment.' All eyes were fixed upon her, and she was the subject of much comment. It is said the father of this girl was a soldier, and the *Garde* have adopted her."[1]

In time, the French character of Company E faded away and it was renamed the Webster Guard.[2] However, tradition was tenacious so that the *Garde Lafayette* was not the only or the last unit to have French Army uniforms in New York City. During the 1880s, the *Grenadiers Rochambeau* could be seen parading in Union Square wearing the dress of the French line infantry carrying the Stars and Stripes and France's tricolor.

René Chartrand

Notes

1. *The Daily Picayune* [New Orleans], 13 July 1855, from a story in the *New York Express*.
2. All data on the organization and uniforms of the 12th NY State Militia Regiment is from the F. P. Todd notebooks on U.S. Militia in the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island.

PUBLICATIONS

The Guards Museum … A Private Viewing. This museum documentary is available in both video and DVD formats and in NTSC (suitable for playing in North America) and priced at £15.95 + £2.55 postage and packing or US$ 28.95 + US$5 from Henlow Marketing Ltd., 1, Jordan Close, Henlow, Bedfordshire, England, SG16 6PH. www-henlowmarketinq.com

As an old soldier, deeply interested in and involved in military history and with close associations with one of the regiments, I have most of the written histories of Her Majesty's Guards regiments and, I believe that I have read all, or at least most of those I don't; great regiments, great histories, great records. It's all great stuff.

But now something has come along to top all that. The Guards, ever to the front, ever colorful, ever conscious of tradition and heritage, have come up with a multi-media presentation of their records through the development of a cracking-good museum. You can see, hear, almost touch and virtually smell and taste life in the Guards in this wonderful telling of the exploits of the Foot Guards at peace and at war. One can, of course, and certainly should visit the museum when in London, but for the majority who can't, Andrew Wallis and Henlow Marketing have created a documentary that takes the viewer on a personal tour conducted by the Curator, Capt. David Horn.

Horn, himself a former Guardsman, typifies the elegant, polished soldiers, past and present, whose exploits are recounted for their 350 years of history. As he guides one through the museum, Horn recounts a wealth of colorful anecdotes that vividly illustrate life in the Guards through the ages.

This beats history by book. It is an historical presentation where you are there, right there in the presence of the Guardsmen who made it all happen — who made the history of their respective regiments. As you advance, Curator Horn is your splendid point-man guide.

The Guards are, of course, the troops who guard the Sovereign and the Royal Family, and many members of that family have been proud to serve in their ranks. As a result, the museum has many rare items that would interest anyone who is fascinated by the Royal Family. The promise of that alone should make it easy to drag along even one's wife. The children of course will need no dragging.

Not only does the tour span a colorful history, but it is interspersed with live footage of haw the Foot Guards look and act today as they prepare for their widely varying activities: training and preparation for ceremonial soldiering and for waging war , at both of which they excel. In this video Curator Horn makes the spirit of the Guards palpable.

This is the first of a number of videos in the "Private Viewing" series to be produced by Henlow Marketing.

Charles West

Original McBarron Oil Painting Unveiled at Chicago's Pritzker Military Library

On 19 May 2006, CMH Fellows Sheperd Paine and Linnea Bass were privileged to attend the unveiling of a newly restored oil painting by Company Founder H. Charles McBarron, Jr. at the Pritzker Military Library. "The Doughboy" showcases the full range of McBarron's artistic talent. As expected, he captured the physical reality of WWI, but the work is also evocative of the intense emotional impact of that conflict.

The unveiling was part of the opening of the Pritzker's gallery space, which is currently showing "The Art of Persuasion" featuring military posters by James Montgomery Flagg and Howard Chandler Christy. The exhibit will be on display through August.

Guests in attendance included Illinois State Treasurer and gubernatorial candidate Judy Barr Topinka, the library's founder Col. James N. Pritzker, IL ARNG (Ret.), and Chicago television personality John Callaway, along with representatives of the United States Armed Forces and ROTC programs.

The main feature of the day was a luncheon presentation by noted British historian Neil Hanson, timed to coincide with the American debut of his latest book. *UNKNOWN SOLDIERS: The Story of the Missing of the First World War* gives an unflinching account of the reality of the battle on the front lines of World War I. A webcast of his fascinating presentation can be downloaded from the Pritzker's web site.

Linnea M. Bass

Pritzker Military Library
610 North Fairbanks Court, 2nd Floor
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Fax: 312-587-7311
www.pritzkermilitarylibrary.org

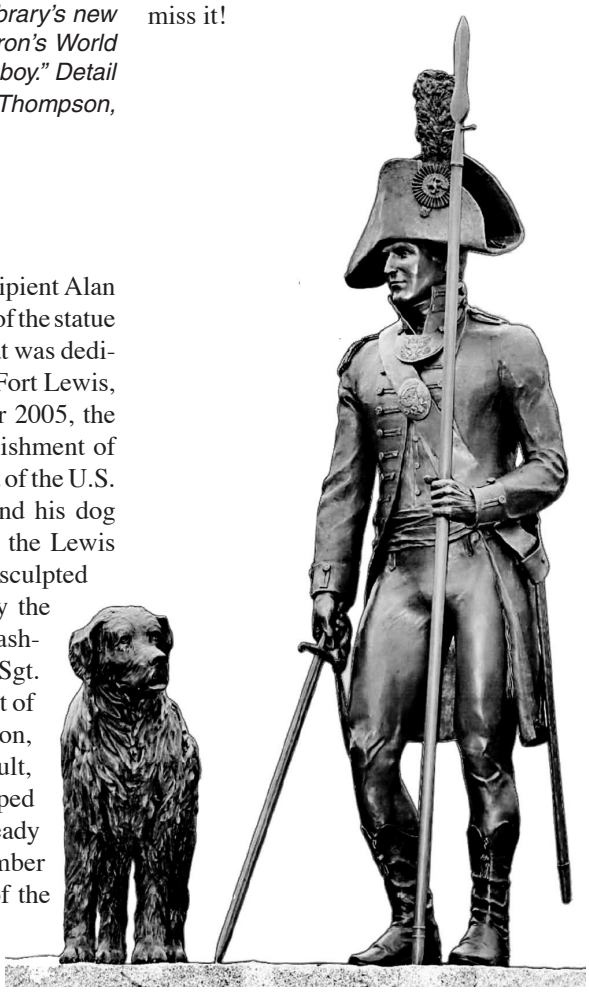
Theresa Embrey, Catalog Librarian at the Pritzker Military Library (Chicago), with CMH Fellows Sheperd Paine and Linnea Bass at the unveiling of the library's new acquistion, H. Charles McBarron's World War I oil painting "The Doughboy." Detail at left. Photo Credits: Daniel J. Thompson, Pritzker Military Library

New Statue at Fort Lewis

Company Fellow and DSA recipient Alan Archambault was the designer of the statue of Capt. Meriwether Lewis that was dedicated at the memorial park at Fort Lewis, Washington, on 30 September 2005, the 78th anniversary of the establishment of Fort Lewis as a permanent post of the U.S. Army. The statue of Lewis and his dog "Seaman," who accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was sculpted by John P. Jewell and cast by the Bronze Works of Tacoma, Washington. Another statue, that of Sgt. John Ordway, the first sergeant of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, also designed by Archambault, is nearing completion. It is hoped that the Ordway statue will be ready for dedication on 23 September 2006, the 200th anniversary of the arrival of the expedition back to St. Louis.

2007 Annual Meeting of the Company of Military Historians

Next year, 2007, marks a very important anniversary in the history of the United States of America—the 400th anniversary of the founding of English-speaking America and the genesis of the form of government enjoyed by all Americans today. To mark this special anniversary and to take advantage of special programs that will be occurring in historic Jamestown, Virginia, to celebrate this milestone, the Company will hold its 2007 annual meeting in nearby Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, April 19–22 at the Woodland Conference Center. This will be a unique opportunity to not only be a part of this historic event commemorating the founding of America, but to enjoy many special events planned for Company members both at Jamestown and at Williamsburg. So, mark your calendars now and plan on being a part of this page in America's history. This will be a meeting that will be long remembered, so don't miss it!



Reuben Delavan Mussey: Unheralded Architect of the Civil War's U.S. Colored Troops

Paul D. Renard

SOLDIERS in uniform—187,000; 138 infantry regiments; 15 percent of the Union Army at the end of the Civil War.[1] The U.S. Colored Troops (USCT) came into being through the passionate efforts of a small group of men associated with the Union Army and the Bureau for Colored Troops. Dedicated officers and civilian abolitionists such as Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Maj. Charles W. Foster, Maj. George L. Stearns, Thomas Webster, and Capt. Reuben D. Mussey (FIG 1) were the driving forces behind the black units that had an important impact on the war's outcome.[2] Of these, Mussey is perhaps the least known but may be the man who had the greatest impact on the formation of the USCT. He served throughout the war as an advocate for and organizer of African-American units, and was a key intellectual force behind the federalization of the USCT.

Reuben Delavan Mussey was born at Hanover, New Hampshire in 1833, the son of the best known medical educator in the United States at that time, and was an 1854 graduate of Dartmouth College. He became a schoolteacher and newspaper correspondent in Boston and Cincinnati, working for the Cincinnati Gazette before the war. The presidential contest of 1860 brought him into the Republican Party, and he served the Lincoln campaign as Captain General of the Cincinnati Wide-Awakes and as an active public speaker. Mussey was in Washington when the South rebelled, and helped to form a company of home guards to protect the city after Fort Sumter fell and before Union regiments could enter the capital. These efforts led to a Regular Army commission and a series of recruiting assignments in Ohio for the Union Army's XXI Corps which he served as Commissary of Musters.[3]

A captain in the 19th U.S. Infantry, he was "the first officer of the regular army to volunteer to raise colored troops," became the assistant of Maj. George L. Stearns, Commissioner for Organization of U.S. Colored Troops. Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas credits Mussey with being the creator of the concept of the U.S. Colored Troops in 1862, suggesting that black regiments be sponsored by the Federal Government rather than by the states.[4] He took over the position of Commissioner when Stearns resigned in February 1864.

FIG 1. Reuben Delavan Mussey. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-DIG-cwpbh-00293]

Mussey was promoted to colonel in June 1864 and served as commander of the 100th U.S. Colored Infantry—although most of the day-to-day management of the regiment was left to his deputies, Lt. Col. Henry Stone and Maj. Collin Ford.[5] His unit, the first black regiment recruited in Kentucky, began organization in May 1864 and was ready for service in June. It saw little large scale combat except during Confederate General John Hood's invasion of Tennessee when Sherman's march to the sea opened the upper South to incursion, and that under the leadership of Ford. Most of its service was spent on guard duty for the Nashville & Northwestern Railroad, with several small skirmishes at the end of 1864. Its security activities continued until December 1865 when the regiment

PAUL D. RENARD became an independent management consultant focusing on DOD acquisition and logistics systems in 2004, after 30 years in the corporate world managing large programs for the Department of Defense. He is currently a PhD candidate at Virginia Tech. He lives in northern Virginia and is planning a research series on education in the 19th and early 20th century military for a post-doctoral hobby, focusing on Upton's reforms at the USMA, the creation of OCS, and WWII-era correspondence

was mustered out.[6] Throughout, Mussey continued to support the creation of black units from his Nashville office.

Mussey was protective of the honor and prerogatives of his troops. When invited to attend a formal Nashville Independence Day party at which other colonels would parade their white regiments, but at which the 100th was not welcome to march, he made his feelings clear to the parade's chairman:

> Your committee has seen fit to omit them [the 100th USCI] from its invitation to parade … As these troops are orderly, present a good appearance, and are, considering their opportunities, well drilled, your conduct in omitting them and inviting me, who am nothing but by virtue of my connection with them, either is studiedly insulting or betrays a lamentably limited experience of honorable sensibilities. I cannot, sir, accept … The Declaration of Independence, whose formal adoption makes the Fourth of July sacred affirms *all men are created equal*, and until you, sir, and your committee learn this fundamental truth … your "celebrations of our National anniversary are mocking farces, insults to the illustrious dead, and blasphemy.[7]

Mussey's main focus during the War was recruitment of soldiers for the USCT, coordination of the Nashville examination board for prospective white officers of black regiments, and preparation of officers for command. He provided a sense of his purpose and proposed practices for the examination board in an October 1864 letter:

> Persons before passing this Board will be examined as to their practical ability to command by having an opportunity to drill men at Camp Foster, or at Maj. Grosskopff's Camp and their physical qualifications for their position will be investigated by the Surgeon, who will also see what knowledge they have of Camp Hygiene … I have for some time thought of establishing a School here for Officers of Colored Troops somewhat similar to that at Philadelphia – though differing in this, that that applied to Candidates and this should apply to Commissioned Officers. I have at last resolved to make a beginning. I have secured the cooperation of two or three gentlemen of ability in their branch of service, and propose to have given at my Office once or twice a week lectures on military matters of importance. The first lecture will be given this week, and will be open to such as choose to attend. I have also recommended to the Officers of organization here the formation of "quizzes" of five or six officers on the plan of the "quizzes" in medical classes where the topic designated is discussed by questions upon it and about it, asked by the various members of each other. My suggestion has met with approval.[8]

As the son of a prominent physician and medical educator, Mussey was able to envision a fusion of medical school techniques with army training practices, but did not have the opportunity to put these ideas into practice.

At the end of the War, Mussey was promoted to brevet brigadier general of Volunteers and brevet colonel of the U.S. Army.[9] He remained in the army for a year after the collapse of the Confederacy. Since he was in Washington at the time of Lincoln's assassination and because of his past association with then-Vice Pres. Johnson, he was asked to become the new president's military secretary.[10]

The correspondence between Mussey and Johnson shows a close, friendly, and trusting relationship that arose during their mutual wartime labors in Tennessee and were continued when both came to Washington. After his resignation from the Army in December 1865, Mussey built a thriving law practice in Washington, D.C. where he died in 1892.[11]

Mussey's communications, by modern standards, may have been formal and florid, but he had an intense sense of the importance of his mission, and was unflinchingly committed to the protection of former slaves and the decent treatment and use of black soldiers:

> I regard and have regarded the organization of colored troops as a very important social, humanitarian, as well as military measure, and as a providential means of fitting the race freed by this war for their liberty. I have endeavored to impress this view upon the officers appointed to these organizations and upon the men themselves, showing them that their recognition as men would follow the soldier, and I have now, after a year's labor in this department, more hope and more faith, than ever in the capability of the negro to make a good soldier and a good citizen.[12]

Given his religious and social background, it is not surprising that he was a fervent abolitionist, and frequently corresponded with others who were equally dedicated to the advancement of African-Americans.[13] He often received exhortations and complaints from other abolition-minded officers of the department that supported his dedication to the African-Americans' cause:

> I am pleased to learn that Colored Troops are to be used as indicated in your letter & to know that the Governor will furnish every facility for the mental and moral development of these hitherto despised & oppressed men. It has been my fear that there would not be proper care in the selection of officers over them [the USCT], but am gratified to feel assured that the work is in good and true hands. I have been grieved to see men who have ever been the enemies of these unfortunate people making application to command them … With the muscular power of the full grown man they come to us with feeble mental power & the great work of preparing them for the discharge of their new duties and levitating them above the prejudices of class, will require great firmness—patience—and moral courage. The men who aid in doing this will become benefactors, good, noble, & true.[14]

A sense of Mussey's private character peeks through his official communications. He was both intensely patriotic and religious. Writing to the men of his command in Nashville, he celebrated the first official Thanksgiving holiday by noting:

> Tomorrow the 24th day of November having been designated by the President of the United States as a day of national Thanksgiving and Prayer will be observed as a holiday by the Officers and Enlisted men reporting to these Head Quarters who are earnestly requested both publicly and privately to give thanks to the Giver of all victory for the signal success with which during the past year He has crowned our Efforts to suppress the Rebellion and for the unanimity with which the people of the United States have declared their determination to sustain the principles of Nationality and Freedom for which we contend. And while we join in this ascription of praise let us who are engaged in the works of Arming and Educating the Blacks, specially thank God for the success attending our efforts; let us remember with devout gratitude the gallant behavior in the field and the soldierly bearing in Camp of the Colored Troops. Let us be thankful that during the past year Equal Justice has been awarded to Colored Soldiers and let us hope that the unchristian prejudice against colored men and soldiers that has so long existed and is now so fast dying may before another National Thanksgiving wholly cease.[15]

Mussey was not exempt from the conflict that swirled around his superior, Maj. George L. Stearns, who had extremely difficult relations with both the War Department and Gov. Andrew Johnson. A man of little tolerance for slights to his honor or impediments to his mission, Mussey would privately show his impatience with those who stood in his way—a characteristic that he shared with Stearns—but generally kept his frustrations in check. In an unusual turnabout of their relationship,

Stearns, writing to Mussey in 1864, counsels:

> Your report of Dec. 24th is at hand. I understand the animus of the endorsements. Somebody at Headquarters is jealous of our work and wants to block it. It will answer my purpose at Washington which is to put all the Commands of Colored Troops on a firm basis. I can do this if it will not cause too much jealousy in the Department Commanders. At any rate I shall try and you shall know the result. Therefore Possess your soul in Patience … .[16]

In the long run, Mussey was able to navigate the political environment of the wartime West better than Stearns, and survived the War Department infighting to become an effective Commissioner.

As he was preparing to leave Federal service, Mussey discovered that there was an unaccounted-for deficiency of nearly $30,000 in the funds that he dispensed in his roles as Stearns' assistant and as Commissioner for the Organization of Colored Troops during the War. A review of the chaotic flood of wartime disbursement requests he received shows how easily valid expenditures could be unreported.[17] Mussey was deeply worried about the charges against him, and approached President Johnson for help:

> May I crave your indulgence for a few moments to read to you this which I could hardly trust myself to speak? … You know very well dear Sir how I did my work at Nashville; you know very well my way of life and I believe, I may say, you know me well enough to know that I am not dishonest … I have felt for you so keenly when others whom you loved and trusted abused that love and trust; your honor has been dearer to me than my own. Pardon me this confession. I have loved you with an affection which few men ever feel for each other … .[18]

Johnson's response is unrecorded and the Treasury Department initiated an investigation of Mussey in early 1866, but there is no indication of any resolution or punitive action.[19]

Like many in the abolitionist community during the war, Mussey was well connected to several of the significant political figures of the day. He felt comfortable writing directly to Abraham Lincoln to congratulate him on his reelection in 1864, and sent a note to radical abolitionist Salmon P. Chase when he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court near the end of that year:

> It is equal to a military victory, your appointment to the Supreme Bench. For it means that the legal battle against Treason and Slavery is ended – the case is closed, and there are to be no further arguments. It shows too that Mr. Lincoln is in sympathy with the spirit of those who supported him at the last election and your appointment, coupled with his message, sets the Nation right as an opponent forever of Human Bondage … All of the friends of Liberty and Nationality here rejoice with me.[20]

In contrast, Mussey had serious differences of opinion with Johnson's weak reconstruction policies and his treatment of former slaves.[21] Writing to a friend and Ohio newspaper editor, he described the rift that was growing between him and the president:

I feel that Johnson and I must differ on points where there should be unison between a President and his confidential secretary. And I think furthermore that the President wants me to leave…Things don't look right to me at the South. What I would do is not what is being done by or towards the Southern leaders … .[22]

These objections to Johnson's policies did not keep him from flattery. In requesting separation from the Army, he writes to President Johnson that:

> In your recent message you have achieved a great triumph. May I now ask you to crown this success with an act of kindness to one, who, whatever your decision will not cease to pray for your personal and political welfare and success?[23]

Nor was he beneath engaging in political infighting when he felt the cause was just. Mussey conducted a vendetta, justifiably to the modern eye, against Brig. Gen. Lovell H. Rousseau who had allowed slave owners in the Nashville area to retrieve escaped slaves and set aside sentences given under martial law to whites who abused African-Americans. Mussey maneuvered with then-Gov. Johnson to have himself sent to Washington to give testimony against Rousseau:

> Would it be proper do you think and Expedient for you to send a Despatch to the Secretary of War—like this—I wish very much to Send Col Mussey to Washington on important business. Please telegraph permission for him to go … .[24]

As late as 1883, Mussey was still advocating for his black troops. Invited to speak at a reunion of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland in Cincinnati, Mussey wrote to his friend Henry Cist, "At present, it runs in my mind that it would not be inappropriate to say something about the 'Colored Troops' of the Army of the Cumberland who, proverbially fought nobly … ."[25] Cist, who would publish a history of the Army of the Cumberland a few years later, continued to ignore the U.S.C.T.'s contributions—they were unmentioned in his book.

Mussey was married twice. His first wife, Lucinda Sparo Barrett, died in 1870. In 1871, he married Ellen Spencer who became his business partner and inherited his law practice upon his death.[26] His two marriages produced two daughters and two sons. A man of strong Christian conviction and deep love for his family, he may also have "had an eye for the ladies," in the polite term of his era, or at least a strong appreciation for female company. After soliciting a position at the Treasury Department for a young woman of his acquaintance, Mussey received a negative response from Secretary of the Treasury McCullough:

> Besides, my dear General, it would not be safe for you to have her come to Washington. You have, I am aware, a weakness for interesting women. It is neither a virtue nor a fault with you; it came to you in the course of nature; but it must not be unnecessarily tried. As one of the Constitutional advisors of the President, I feel a deep interest in the reputation and welfare of his Military Secretary, and I do not intent to put irresistible temptations before him if I can help it! … Pardon me, General, if in this instance I do not oblige you.[27]

Regardless, his relationship with his second wife was reported to be close, both within their family and in their business dealings. Mussey was an admirable example of an educated man of his era, and turned his considerable talents to effective public service and the preeminent social cause of his day—the care and advancement of the former slaves. Periodic and prolonged episodes of ill health did not prevent him from establishing a prominent Washington, D.C. law practice, including service as the first legal counsel for Clara Barton's National Society of the Red Cross.[28] Upon his death

in 1892, his wife described his Renaissance qualities:

> General Mussey was a rare scholar; he loved not only the highways but the by-ways of knowledge … he seems more and more as a rare example of a man noble and generous in all his impulses; of a transparent honesty of purpose, of rare intellectual attainments … .[29]

Notes

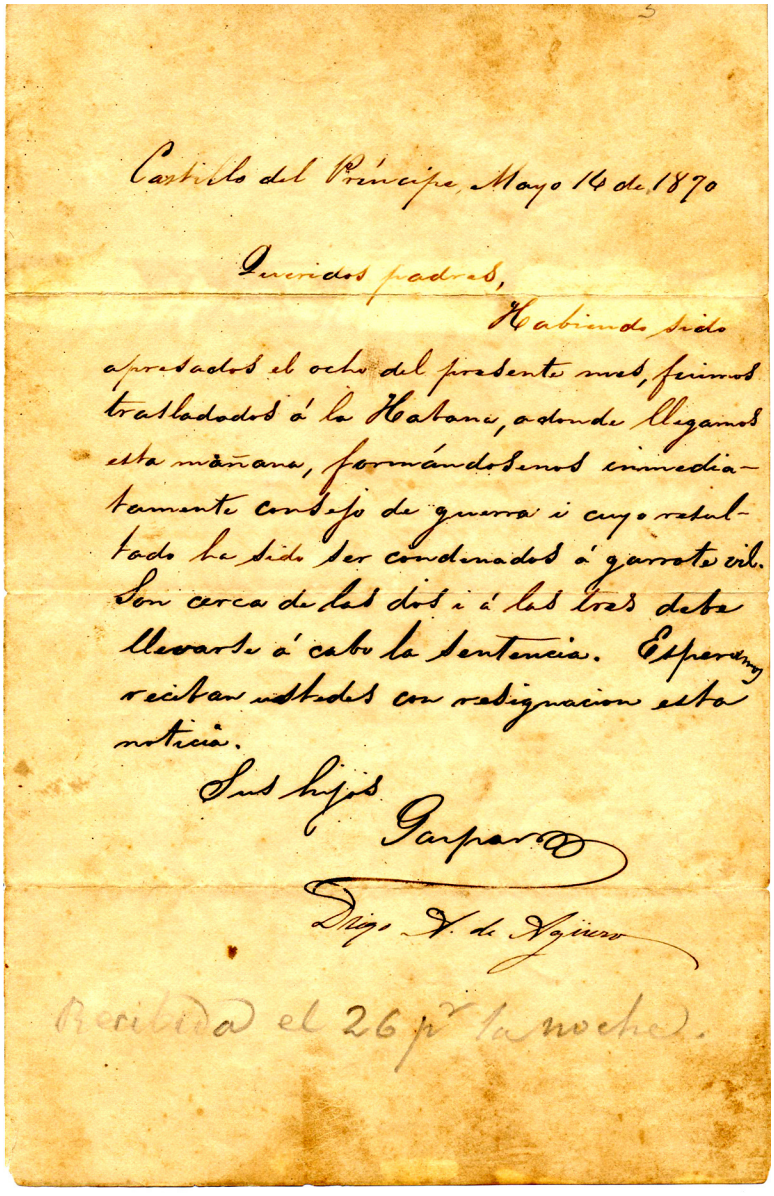
1. A count of USCT infantry regiments is complicated by the creation, dissolution, merger, and failure to complete organization of some regiments. The number of infantry units that had independent existences during the course of the war was 138. The count of infantry regiments is also stated as 141 and 145 in various sources.
2. Thomas was the Army Adjutant General assigned to recruiting black troops. Foster was the director of the Bureau for Colored Troops. Stearns was appointed by Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts to recruit black soldiers, and was recruited by the War Department for the same task. Webster was a member of the Philadelphia Supervisory Committee for organizing black units and a founder of the Free Military School for Applicants for Commands of Colored Troops.
3. Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Her Generals, and Soldiers*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1868), 975.
4. Ibid.
5. War Department Adjutant General's Office, "Regimental Books, 100th U.S. Colored Infantry," in Record Group 94-E.112-115 (1863–66), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. During 1864, virtually every General Order of the 100th USCI was signed by Lt. Col. Stone or Maj. Ford who were in camp with the regiment while Mussey, pursuing his duties in Nashville, was a commander-in-absentia.
6. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* (Dayton, Ohio: The National Historical Society, 1979), 1737–38.
7. R. D. Mussey to W. S. Cheatham, Nashville, 3 July 1864, Whitelaw Reid, *Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Generals, and Soldiers*, 2 vols., (Cincinnati: Moore, Wilstach & Baldwin, 1868), `1: 976–77.
8. R. D. Mussey to Capt. C. P. Brown, Assistant Adjutant General, Gen. A. Chetlain's staff, Memphis, 24 October 1864, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, "Letters Sent by the Commissioner, Department of the Cumberland, Mar. 1864–Feb. 1865," in Record Group 393-E.1141 (1821–1920), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
9. Union Army officers during the Civil War could hold multiple ranks simultaneously. For example, Mussey's permanent rank in the Regular Army was captain, while his brevet rank was colonel. When he took a commission with a Volunteer unit, his permanent Volunteer rank was colonel and he was promoted to brevet brigadier general. Thus, upon cessation of hostilities and with a decrease in the size of the Army, officers would revert to their permanent rank, with volunteer officers being terminated and Regular officers returning to a lower rank. This led to situations such as Maj. Gen. George A. Custer reverting to lieutenant colonel of the 7th Cavalry from his wartime rank.
10. Reid, Ohio in the War: Her Statesmen, Generals, and Soldiers; Hans L. Trefousse, Andrew Johnson: A Biography (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), 976.
11. Roger D. Hunt and Jack R. Brown, *Brevet Brigadier Generals in Blue* (Gaithersburg, Md.: Olde Soldier Books, Inc., 1990), 440.
12. Capt. R. D. Mussey to Maj. C. W. Foster, Fred C. Ainsworth, ed., *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies: Series 3, Union Correspondence* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 4: 762–63.
13. Given the intense abolitionist sentiment of Maj. George L. Stearns, his immediate superior, it is difficult to imagine Mussey's ability to do his job without similar convictions. Stearns was part of the Massachusetts abolitionist group that had financially backed John Brown's abortive rebellion.
14. Lt. Col. B. F. Sheets to Capt. R. D. Mussey, 20 February 1864, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, "Records of Capt. R. D. Mussey, 19th U.S. Infantry, Mustering Officer, Nashville, Relating to the Organization of Colored Troops, and of Maj. George L. Stearns, Committee on the Organization of Colored Troops, Dept. Of the Cumberland, 1863–64," in Record Group 393-E.1149 (1821–1920), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
15. R. D. Mussey, Nashville, 23 November 1864, Special Order No. 175, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, "Letters Received by the Commissioner, Department of the Cumberland," in Record Group 393-E.1143 (1821–1920), National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
16. Maj. George L. Stearns to Capt. R. D. Mussey, 1 January 1864, Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, "Letters from the Commissioner."
17. Ibid.
18. Paul H. Bergeron et al., eds., *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, 11 vols., (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 9: 253.
19. Ibid.
20. Records of the United States Army Continental Commands, "Letters from the Commissioner."
21. Donald G. Nieman, "Andrew Johnson, the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Problem of Equal Rights, 1865–1866," *Journal of Southern History*, 44, no. 3, (August 1978): 399.
22. Brig. Gen. R. D. Mussey to William Henry Smith, 15 October 1865, Smith Papers, Ohio Historical Society.
23. Bergeron et al., eds., *The Papers of Andrew Johnson*, 493.
24. Ibid.
25. R. D. Mussey to Henry M. Cist, 5 January 1883, Collection of the Cincinnati Historical Society. Cist had recently published works that would lead to his history of the Army of the Cumberland and had left out any mention of the USCT. See Henry Martyn Cist, *History of the Army of the Cumberland* (Harrisburg: The Archive Society, 1886).
26. Britannica, Women in American History: Ellen Spencer Mussey (Britannica Online, 1999 [cited 3/9/2005); available from http://www.britannica.com/women/articles/Mussey_Ellen_Spencer.html; Mary L. Clark, "The Founding of the Washington College of Law: The First Law School Established by Women for Women," American University Law Review 47, no. 3 (1998); Catherine M. Rottier, "Ellen Spencer Mussey and the Washington College of Law," Maryland Historical Magazine, 69, no. 4 (1974): 367. Ellen Mussey was the first female attorney to be admitted to the District of Columbia bar and had a highly successful career both as a lawyer and as founder and dean of the Washington College of Law—now part of American University in Washington, D.C.
27. Hugh McCullough to R. D. Mussey, 14 September 1865, Dartmouth College Library, Mussey Collection.
28. Rottier, "Ellen Spencer Mussey and the Washington College of Law," 368.
29. Henry A. Hazen and S. Lewis B. Speare, eds., *A History of the Class of 1854 in Dartmouth College* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1898), 51.

"We hope with resignation that you receive this news": A Letter From Two Brothers During the Ten Years War in Cuba

Alejandro M. de Quesada

ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc., recently received a document of historical importance pertaining to a significant event in Cuba during the Ten Years War (1868–1878). The Ten Years War was the first of three wars for Cuban independence from Spain. On 10 October 1868, a former slave owner "raised the five-barred and single-starred flag of Cuba at Yara in the District of Bayamo and, with his associates, made public a declaration of independence."[1] His name was Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y Castillo, soon to be the first president of the Cuban Republic in Arms and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Plans for a revolutionary army were implemented and Gen. Manuel de Quesada y Loinaz was appointed General-in-Chief of the Cuban Army of Liberation by the provisional government.

During this period, many Cuban expatriates and intellectuals rallied around the revolutionary banner. Among them were Diego and Gaspar de Agüero. Born in Puerto Príncipe, Cuba, the brothers had been studying overseas when war broke out.[2] Both abandoned their future careers for the revolution and



Castillo del Príncipe, Mayo 14 de 1870

Queridos padres,

Habiendo sido aprehendidos el ocho del presente mes, fuimos trasladados á la Habana, adonde llegamos esta mañana, formándosenos inmediatamente consejo de guerra i cuyo resultado ha sido ser condenados á garrote vil. Son cerca de las dos i á las tres debe llevarse á cabo la sentencia. Esperamos reciban ustedes con resignacion esta noticia.

Sus hijos

Gaspar

Diego N. de Agüero

Recibida el 26 p.r la noche.

FIG 1. The letter written by Gaspar and Diego de Agüero notifying their parents of their fate. The letter was delivered twelve days after their executions. ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc.

ALEJANDRO "ALEX" M. DE QUESADA *is a native Floridian of Cuban heritage. He received his B.A. in History (with minors in German, Spanish, and Art History) from Emory University and has taken graduate level training at the University of South Florida. He currently works as a museum consultant with ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc. and living history coordinator with various organizations. During the Balkans War in 1999, Alex served as a war correspondent for the Stars and Stripes and La Gaceta newspapers. He has written well over a hundred articles for numerous publications and has thirteen books published by various publishing houses. His area of expertise is diverse, but he most often deals with the Spanish-American War, Cuban military history, German colonial troops, and coastal defenses. He is currently serving with the U.S. Coast Guard Auxiliary and has been appointed Historian for the Seventh United States Coast Guard Auxiliary District. He is a member of numerous organizations such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans, Society for Army Historical Research (United Kingdom), Traditionsverband ehemaliger Schutz- und Uberseetruppen/Freunde der fruheren deutschen Schutzgebiete e.V. (Federal Republic of Germany), and the Florida Association of Museums. Alex de Quesada is a Fellow and Life Member of The Company of Military Historians. He is expecting two books to be released by the beginning of 2006: Uniforms of the German Soldier Since 1871 (Greenhill Books) and The Mexican Revolution,*

FIG 2. General Thomas Jordan. ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc.

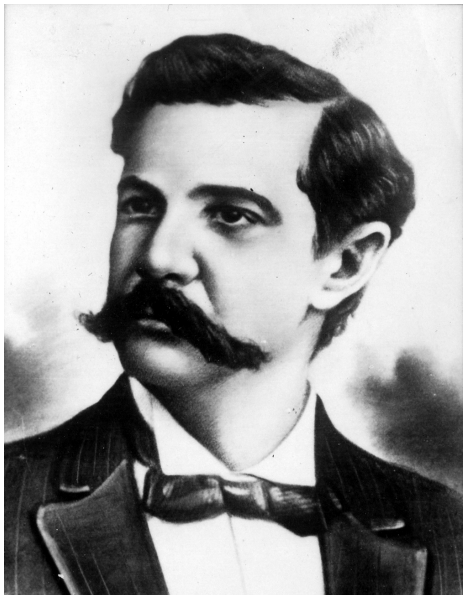


FIG 3. General Manuel de Quesada y Loinaz. ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc.

FIG 4. General Blas Villate y de la Hera, Conde de Valmaseda. ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc.

arrived to Cuba on an expedition.

Cuban Gen. Thomas Jordan[3] appointed Diego a captain in his General Staff. Gaspar, the oldest brother was captured by troops commanded by Gen. Blas Villate y de la Hera, Conde de Valmaseda, and condemned to death by a Spanish military tribunal. However, his sentence was commuted and he was exiled to Spain. Subsequently, he escaped to the United States. Gaspar later smuggled himself back to Cuba where he was reunited with his brother Diego. The Cuban Revolutionary Government ordered the two brothers to go abroad to recruit volunteers and secure much-needed supplies. The expedition proved disastrous when the brothers and their cohorts were captured by Spanish soldiers from the Fernando el Católico Regiment on 8 May 1870.[4] They were transported to Havana and initially interned at the Castillo de la Punta. A contingent from the 5th Cuban Volunteer Battalion (Spanish Militia) escorted the brothers to the Castillo del Príncipe by foot. There they faced a military tribunal presided by a Colonel Villar.[5] The following letter written by Gaspar de Agüero to his parents detailed the events at the tribunal.

> Castillo del Príncipe, May 14 1870
> Dear Parents,
> We had been apprehended on the 8th of the present month, been transferred to Havana, where a military tribunal was formed and resulted in our condemnation by garrote vil.[6] It is nearly 2 o'clock and at three is when the sentence is to be carried out. We hope with resignation that you receive this news.
> Your sons,
> Gaspar
> Diego A. de Agüero

At 1:30 PM, soldiers formed a square at the scene of the execution and drums were played as Diego climbed the steps of the scaffold. He met his end without emotion. The executioner then laid out the body, covered it with a blanket, and had it removed from the platform. According to a contemporary account, Gaspar kissed the head of his deceased brother and said, "I'll be with you soon my brother."[7] At five, Gaspar rose to the steps of the execution platform where a priest gave him his final blessings. The parents of Diego and Gaspar received their sons' last letter with an additional notation in pencil,

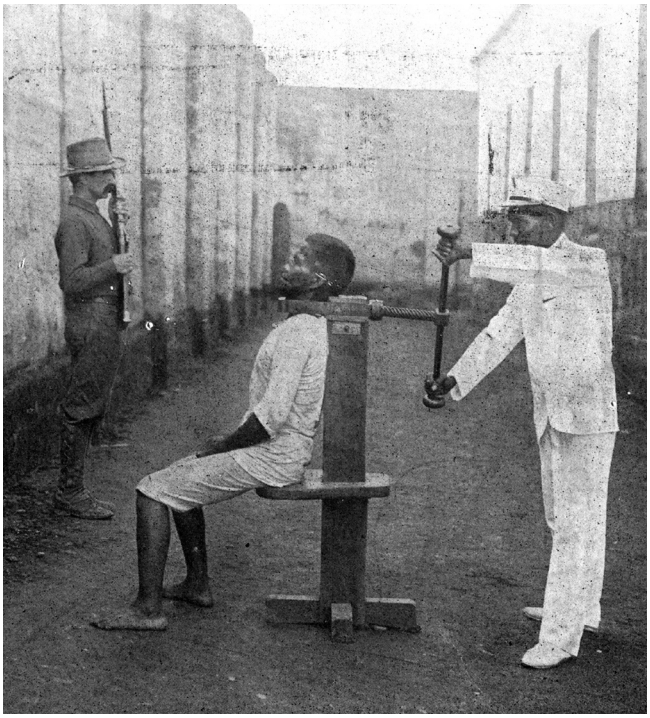


FIG 5. A period execution showing the garrote in use. The brothers would have been executed in a similar manner. ADEQ Historical Archives, Inc.

"Received on the 26th in the evening." To this day the brothers are highly regarded as "Heroes of the Revolution."

Notes

1. Henry H. Beck, *Cuba's Fight for Freedom and the War with Spain* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Globe Bible Publishing Co., 1898), 117. Author's Note: The flag actually used by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes on 10 October 1868 was of the type known as the "The Flag of Yara" or of "La Demajagua." The flag is generally in rectangular-shape represented, with two horizontal stripes of the same width, the lesser blue and the upper divided in two equal parts, red and white; the star is placed with a point up in the red part. Because of aesthetics, its length was increased to the dimensions of Narciso López' flag (the more familiar 5-barred flag currently flown

today as Cuba's national flag).
2. Gaspar had been studying engineering in Paris, and Diego was a student in the humanities in New York.
3. A Virginian, Thomas Jordan's military career began with his service in the Second and Third Seminole Wars and the Mexican War. During the War Between the States, Jordan served with the Confederate Army and, for his role at Shiloh, he was promoted brigadier general in September 1862. In 1869 Thomas Jordan became involved in the Cuban independence movement and in May landed on the shores of Cuba at Mayari with three thousand men and weapons and ammunition for six thousand. Successively becoming the chief of staff and later commander of forces in the rebellion against Spain, he met and defeated a numerically superior army at Guaimaro in 1870. However, with a price of $100,000 on his head, supplies nearly exhausted and strict enforcement of the neutrality laws by President U. S. Grant, Jordan reluctantly resigned his commission and escaped prosecution for his violation of the neutrality laws.
4. Enrique Ubieta, *Efemerides de la Revolucion Cubana* (Havana, Cuba: Libreria e Imprenta La Moderna Poesia, 1920), 4:231.
5. Ibid., 231.
6. The Garrote was an appliance used in Spain and Portugal for the execution of criminals condemned to death. The criminal was conducted to the place of execution, usually on horseback or in a cart, wearing a black tunic and, in most cases, attended by a procession of priests, etc. He was seated on a scaffold and fastened to an upright post by an iron collar (the garrote), and a knob worked by a screw or lever dislocated his spinal column, or a small blade severs the spinal column at the base of the brain. Originally, a stout cord or bandage was tied round the neck of the criminal, who was seated in a chair fixed to a post. Between the cord and the neck a stick was inserted and twisted until strangulation ensued.
7. Ubieta, *Efemerides de la Revolucion Cubana*, 4:231–232.

The Sale of British Tower Muskets to New England Militiamen by the Boston Firm of Lane & Reed, 1833–1834

Anthony Gero

IN George D. Moller's *Massachusetts Military Shoulder Arms, 1784–1877*, militiamen of various New England states privately purchased muskets between 1789–1839, when the practice was stopped.[1] According to Moller:

> While many of these New England Militia muskets were assembled in America using imported sporting locks, apparently large numbers of complete muskets were also commercially imported from England for private sale to individual militia men in the several New England states.
>
> ... lockplate markings includes the name of the Birmingham firm of William Ketland & Co. This firm imported quantities of complete muskets, as well as locks and barrels, into New England through its New York agent, Richards, Upton & Company. Other New England militia muskets were probably imported by American merchants, such as Lane & Read of Boston.[2]

Helping to document Lane and Read sales is a series of advertisements in the *Salem Gazette*, of Salem Massachusetts, which I had uncovered many years ago, but which I had "buried" in my research files. On 23 July, 1833, this advertisement appeared:

> MUSKETS
> Entitled to Debenture
> 15 Cases Brass Mounted Muskets-Now landing per Ship Caravan, from Liverpool-at Boston.
> For sale by
> LANE & REED
> No 6 Market Square
> July 10 Boston[3]

On 18 July, 1834, the *Salem Gazette* ran this notice:

> MUSKETS
> 300 BRASS MOUNTED ENGLISH TOWER MUSKETS with strong double bridle locks, just landed, entitled to debenture, and will be sold at $3 each, on application to
> LANE & REED
> July 1 No 6, Market Square, Boston

From these ads, it appears that Lane and Reed were doing a brisk business, prior to 1839.[4]

Notes

1. George D. Moller's *Massachusetts Military Shoulder Arms, 1784–1877* (Lincoln, R.I.: Andrew Mowbray Inc., Publishers, 1988), 25. For data on Richards, Upton & Company see Bruce Bazelon and William F. McGuinn, *A Directory of American Military Goods Dealers & Makers, 1785–1915* (Manassas, Va.: REF Typesetting & Publishing, Inc., 1990).
2. Ibid., 27.
3. I assume "Ship Caravan" refers to the ship which transported the weapons to Boston.
4. Although I did Xerox these ads for my files, I failed to note for how long they ran in July/August. I made copies only to document Lane & Reed, since I was researching Massachusetts militia references. If the ads ran for 1835–1839, I can not say since my work only went to 1834.

The Marines Have Landed …1775 to 2005
A Review of Marine Corps Uniform Coverage in *MUIA* and *MC&H*

Col. John K. Robertson, USA (Ret.)

IN the introductory review to this series,[1] we established that there were 21 *MUIA* plates and 24 *MC&H* articles on Marine Corps uniform topics. In this review, we'll look at the coverage through the years and see what we can learn about the Marine Corps uniforms from our two sources.

The Continental Congress established two battalions of marines in November 1775 from which the modern Marine Corps traces its heritage.[2] These early Marines had two uniform versions according to McBarron, one of which is illustrated in Plate 2 of the *MUIA* series (FIG 1), the two uniforms differing only in the color of the facings.[3] An article in *MC&H*, by Marko Zlatich sheds more light on the "two" uniforms.[4] After the Revolution the marines were dissolved. Marines to serve aboard Navy ships were again authorized in 1797, and the Marine Corps formally reorganized in 1798. The first 1797 marines were issued in-stock army-issue rifle unforms; a similar uniform, which continued through 1804, is illustrated in Plate 113 (FIG 2).[5] An new interpretation of this uniform appears on the cover of the summer 2006 *MC&H* issue.

In 1804, the new Commandant established a new uniform, which began wear in 1805 and although modified slightly in 1810 was used into 1821. This uniform is shown in Plate 24 (FIG 3).[6] The regulations of August 1821 introduce the first undress uniform for the Marines, which began being worn in 1822. Further changes occurred in the period between 1821 and 1834, most notably the introduction of the mamaluke sword in 1826, which sets the date for Plate 130 (FIG 4).[7] In 1834, the Corps returned to a green uniform reflecting its Continental heritage (FIG 5 Plates 105, 546, & 547). The green uniform faded in the sun and was replaced

FIG 1. Enlisted Continental Marine, 1779, extracted from plate 2 by H. Charles McBarron, Jr.

FIG 2. U.S. Marines in the uniform of 1798–1804. Sergeant on the left, private on the right. Extracted from plate 113 by John H. Magruder III.

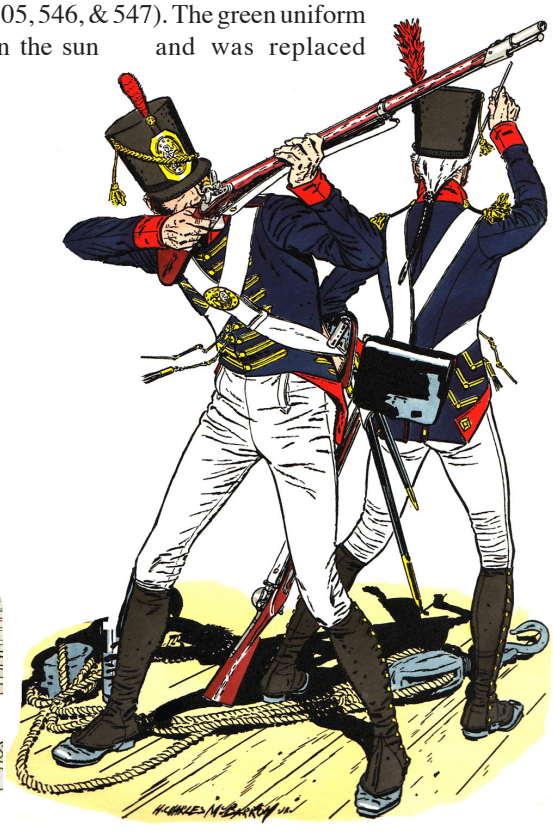


FIG 3. Enlsited U.S. Marines from the period 1805–1818, extracted from plate 24 by H. Charles McBarron, Jr.

in regulations in 1840 by a new blue uniform, but it wasn't worn until July 1841.[8] *MUIA* does not document this blue uniform. *MC&H* has a brief article on the boat cloak of the Marine Corps Commandant worn on a trip west in 1841 and some notes by a marine lieutenant on the enlisted clothing allowance of 1848–1850.[9]

In 1859, the uniform that would be utilized during the Civil War was established in regulations (FIG 6). Three plates cover this uniform: Plate 13, the dress uniform; Plate 71, the field service uniforms, and Plate 813 the undress and fatigue uniforms. In addition the plates from the 1859 uniform regulations, showing uniforms and uniform items were published (in B&W) in *MC&H*.[10] After the war, the Marine Corps uniform remained unchanged until 1875, when the next major uniform regulation was published. Plates 445 and 793 cover this uniform, which remained in service with slight modifications until 1892 (FIG 7).[11] An *MC&H* article documents the linen coats used by the Marines in the Spanish-American war and also shown in Plate 490 (FIG 8).[12]

Through its first century, the Marine Corps uniform is well documented in *MUIA*, except for the period 1841 to 1859. Some plates present summer and winter versions of uniforms, although few show cold weather gear like overcoats, gloves, etc. *MC&H* adds minor contributions on cap and belt plates, cockades, caps, the Marine Corps emblem adopted in 1868, and the spiked helmets of the 1880s.[13] A recent *MC&H* article on artist Don Dickson, presents B&W reproductions of uniform plates from

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Metcalf's *A History of the United States Marine Corps*, that cover both the first and second century of Marine uniforms. In addition, the article contains sketches of Marines in field uniforms from World War II to Vietnam.

The second century of the Marine Corps uniform lacks coverage in *MUIA* or *MC&H* until just before World War I when an article on the Mills Horizontal Pistol Belt appears with a photo of a Marine of 1916.[14] There is also photo documentation of a World War I uniform blouse.[15] Coverage jumps to just prior to World War II, with Plate 424 illustrating a single officer in 1937 in field uniform.[16] *MC&H* has photo coverage of the Marines guarding the U.S. embassies in North China from 1931 to 1941.[17] Five plates cover the World War II period: 492, 692, 716, 742, and 791, all but 692 showing field uniforms (FIG 9).[18] Two plates illustrate the 60 year post World War II period, one from 1955 (Plate 124) showing a Marine ceremonial detachment in Washington, D.C.(FIG 10) and the other (Plate 676) of a 1980s reconnaissance field force (FIG 11).[19] While the first hundred years of uniforms are

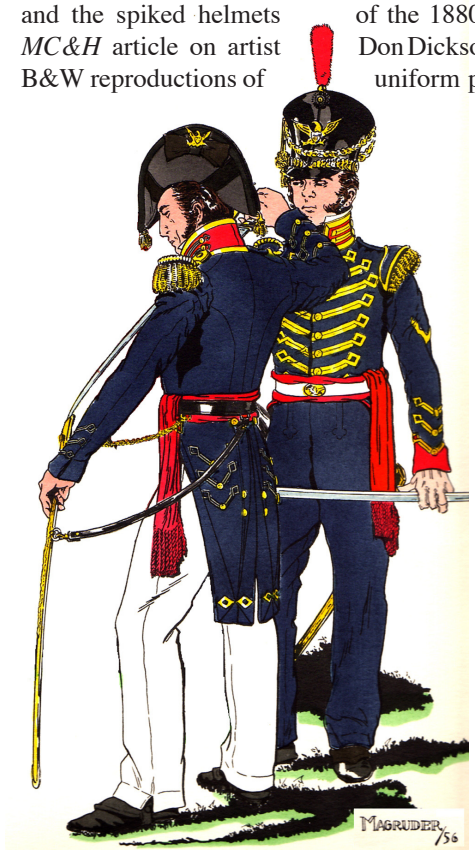

FIG 4. Two marine officers in the summer (left) and winter uniforms in force in 1826. Extracted from plate 130 by John H. Magruder III

FIG 5. A corporal (left) and private (right) in the Marine Corps uniform for the period 1834–1841. Extracted from plate 547 by Tom Jones.

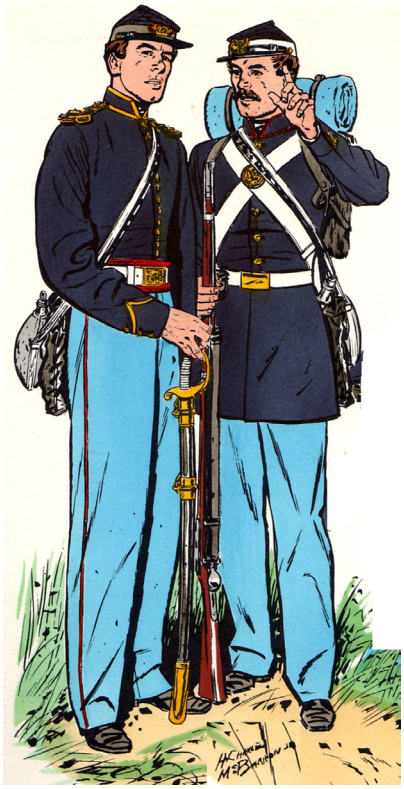

FIG 6. A Marine Corps captain (left) and private (right) in the field service uniforms for the period 1859–1868. Extracted from plate 71 by H. Charles McBarron, Jr.

tied to the progression of underlying regulations, it is hard to discern the progression of regulations in the articles and plates of the next hundred years, not that they aren't mentioned, but the gaps are great and the continuity broken.

Another source of information on uniforms is the uniforms themselves, preserved in collections like the Company's, and those of other museums. An article on the Company's uniform collection documents a Marine Corps general's Vietnam War-era Class A service uniform in the collection.[20] In addition there is a Mess Dress uniform, a service coat and trousers from World War II, a cotton, khaki coat from 1905, a field jacket from World War II, a poncho, and a field pack. While not rich in Marine Corps items, the Company collection, located at the Virginia War Museum, Newport, Virginia is an under-utilized research resource. The Company's website contains a complete listing of the items in the collection, the same listing appeared in the Winter 2005 issue, and will soon add photographs.[21]

In a period where photography was common, 1898 to present, we have one excellent photo essay in *MC&H* on the Marine Corps utility uniform,[22] nothing for the 100 year period on dress uniforms, and very little on field uniforms in World War I, Korea, Vietnam, the Gulf War, Afghanistan, or Iraq. This is a period when the U.S. Marines were stationed in many climates, demanding specialized uniforms and equipment, yet we have failed to document these uniforms. Nowhere in *MC&H* or *MUIA* are the Marine Corps social uniforms documented. Uniforms of female marines are likewise not covered. So in answer to the question in the title of the introductory review in this series, "Has *MUIA* outlived its purpose?," my answer would be NO!, as pertains to the Marine Corps. There is much that remains to be documented. Some items are in the pipeline as this is written: a photo essay on the World War II pack,[23] plates from the end of the first and beginning of the second century. Members with an interest in filling any of the gaps outlined above should coordinate with the *MUIA* and *MC&H* editors. *MUIA* rules allow reserving a topic. Do all uniforms need a plate? I'd say yes, if color were important in periods when color photography was unavailable, but no in the modern era when a good color photo essay would suffice.

Notes

1. John K. Robertson, "Has *MUIA* outlived its purpose?" *MC&H*, 58, no. 1 (Spring 2006):9–13.
2. "Brief History of the United States Marine Corps," United States Marine Corps, History and Museum Division website, accessed 4 April 2005 http://hqinet001.hqmc.usmc.mil/HD/Historical/Customes_Traditions/Brief_History_USMC.htm
3. H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "Captain Robert Mullan's Company, Continental Marines, 1779," MUIA pl. 2 (1949).
4. Marko Zlatich, "Clothing to be Imported for the Continental Navy and Marines, 1779," *MC&H*, 52, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 77.
5. James C. Tily, "Uniform for the Navy of the United States, 1797," *MC&H,* 35, no. 4 (Winter, 1963): 122. John H. Magruder, III, "U.S. Marine Corps, 1797–1804," MUIA pl. 113 (1956).
6. H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "U.S. Marine Corps, Circa 1805–1818," MUIA Pl. 24 (1950).
7. John H. Magruder, III, "U.S. Marine Corps, 1826," MUIA pl. 130 (1957).
8. John H. Magruder, III, "U.S. Marine Corps, 1834–1841," MUIA pl. 105 (1955). James T. Jones and David A. Long, "Officers, U.S.

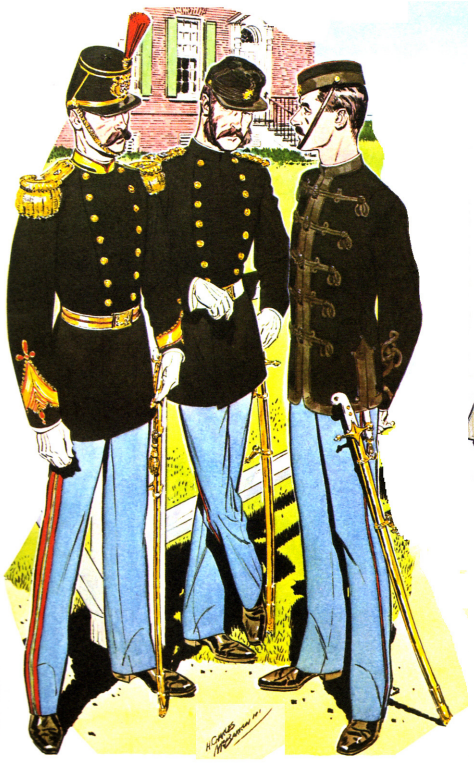

FIG 7. Three Marine Corps officers in the (l to r) dress, undress, and fatigue uniforms of 1875–1900. Extracted from plate 793 by H. Charles McBarron, Jr.

FIG 8. A Marine private (left) and his officer (right) at Guatanamo Bay, Cuba, 1898 in khaki linen battle dress. Extracted from plate 490 by Thomas Arliskas.

FIG 9. Two Marine Raider Battalion enlisted men 1942–44 wearing the "utility" uniform (l.) and camoflaged "utility" uniform (r.). Extracted from plate 716 by Loy Conley and Richard Ugino.

Marine Corps, 1835–1840," MUIA pl. 546 (1983). James T. Jones and David A. Long, "Enlisted Men, U.S. Marine Corps, 1835–1840," MUIA pl. 547 (1983).

9. John H. McGarry III, "A 19th Century Officer's Boat Cloak," *MC&H,* 41, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 39. Ralph W. Donnelly, "Notes of an Old-Time Marine Officer, Lt. A. J. Hays," *MC&H,* 42, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 96.
10. H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "U.S. Marine Corps, 1859–1875," MUIA pl. 13 (1949). H. Charles McBarron, Jr., "U.S. Marine Corps, Field Service, 1859–1868," MUIA pl. 71 (1953). Ron Field, Charles H. Cureton, and David M. Sullivan, "United States Marines, Undress and Fatigue Uniforms, 1861–1865," MUIA pl. 813 (2004). Charles West, "Regulations for the Uniform and Dress of the Marine Corps of the United States 1859." Part I, *MC&H,* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1965): 22. Part II, *MC&H,* 17, no. 2 (Summer 1965): 55.
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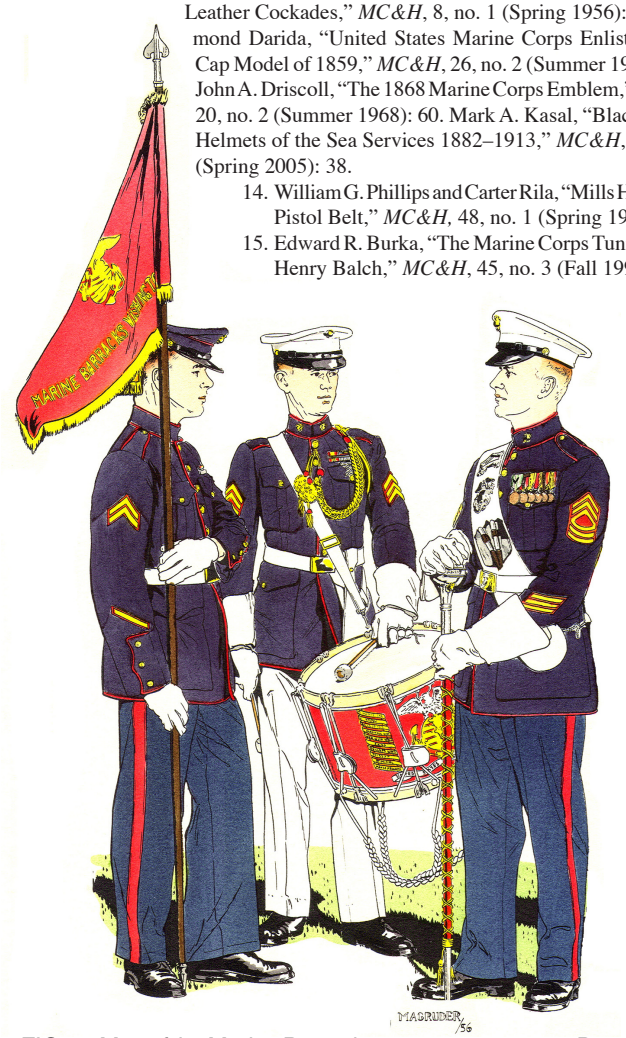

FIG 10. Men of the Marine Barracks Detachment, 8th and I Streets, Washington, D.C., 1955. Uniforms are (l. to r.) Blue Undress "A," Blue Undress "C," and Blue Dress "B." Extracted from plate 124 by John H. Magruder III.

FIG 11. Two Marines from 2nd Force Reconnaisance Company, in disrupted pattern utilitiy uniform. They represent the period 1980–1989. Extracted from plate 676 by Raymond Johnson and Rick Ugino.

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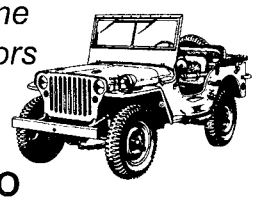

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