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Insights from the Service Record of Capt. Adamson Tannehill**

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

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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 Mifflin on 26 September 1776, the historical trail of the regiment's "surviving" element has become complex. Modern and contemporaneous accounts of the 1776 New York City Campaign of the War of American Independence 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 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

On 14 June 1775 the Continental Congress directed the raising of ten independent companies of riflemen in the Middle Colonies<sup>1</sup> as part of the creation of the Continental Army as a national force for opposition to the actions of the British government. The use of these riflemen not only provided a symbolic gesture to indicate that 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.

Maryland raised two companies in Frederick County (then the entire western portion of the colony) under Capts. Michael Cresap and Thomas Price, mustering both

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<sup>1</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1905, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume II, Resolves of 14 June 1775*, Washington, D.C., p. 89-90.

into service on 21 June 1775 at the county seat of Frederick Town (now Frederick).<sup>2</sup> Twenty-five-year-old Adamson Tannehill<sup>3</sup> enlisted on 23 June and served as a sergeant in Thomas Price's Independent Rifle Company.<sup>4</sup> Virginia also raised two companies: Capt. Daniel Morgan's in Frederick County, which mustered into service at Winchester on 22 June,<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> Pennsylvania was to have formed six independent companies, but Congress quickly increased that colony's quota to nine companies, which were soon thereafter organized into the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment (informally known as Thompson's Rifle Regiment).<sup>7</sup>

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

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<sup>2</sup> Proceedings of the Frederick County (MD) Committee (21 June 1775), in Balch, Thomas, ed., 1857, Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution: Philadelphia, T. K. and P. G. Collins (printed for the Seventy-Six Society), p. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Adamson Tannehill was born on 23 May 1750 in Frederick County, Maryland (Coe, Letitia Tannehill, 1903, History of John and Rachel Tannehill and their descendants [unpublished manuscript]: Fort Wayne, Allen County Public Library, call number 929.2 T155F, 17 p. plus title page; Last will and testament of Adamson Tannehill [dated 25 April 1815], Will Book, Volume 2, p. 224, Office of the Register of Wills, County of Allegheny, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania [published in Chalfant, Ella, 1955, A goodly heritage: earliest wills on an American frontier: Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, p. 86-88]).

<sup>4</sup> Maryland Historical Society, General Otho Holland Williams Papers, MS 908: "A Muster Roll of Captain Thomas Price's Company of Rifle-Men in the Service of the United Colonies" (for July, August, and September 1775), "Pay Roll of a Company of Rifle Men in the Service of the United Colonies Commanded by Captain Thomas Price for the Months of September and October 1775," "A Muster Roll of Captain Thomas Price's Company of Rifle Men in the Service of the United Colonies" (for October, November, and December 1775). The rolls are published in Maryland Historical Society, 1927, A muster roll of Captain Thomas Price's Company of Rifle-Men in the service of the United Colonies: Maryland Historical Magazine, v. 22, p. 275-283. In July 1775 the company comprised a force present of one captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer, and seventy-one privates.

<sup>5</sup> Dandridge, Danske, 1910, Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company, p. 81 (undated letter from Maj. Henry Bedinger to a son of Gen. Samuel Finley); Proceedings of the Frederick County (VA) Committee (22 June 1775), in Graham, James, 1859, The life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the army of the United States: New York, Derby & Jackson, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Dandridge, Danske, 1910, Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company, p. 78-79 (undated letter from Maj. Henry Bedinger to a son of Gen. Samuel Finley), 283; Wright, R. K., Jr., 1983, The Continental Army: Washington, D.C., U.S. Army Center of Military History Publication 60-4-1, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 319.

<sup>7</sup> Congress initially authorized the addition of two new companies (Ford, W. C., ed., 1905, Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume II, Resolves of 22 June 1775, Washington, D.C., p. 104); however, Lancaster County raised one more company than was expected, which Congress subsequently approved (Ford, W. C., ed., 1905, Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume II, Resolves of 11 July 1775, Washington, D.C., p. 173; Smith, P. H., ed., 1976, Letters of delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 1: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, p. 621-622 [Pennsylvania delegates to the Lancaster County Committee, 11 July 1775]).

as independent forces directly under the command of George Washington's main headquarters. The two Maryland companies under Captains Cresap and Price departed from Frederick Town on 18 July 1775 and arrived at Cambridge on 9 August.<sup>8</sup> Stephenson's Virginia company left Morgan's Spring (near Mecklenburg) on 17 July and reached Cambridge on 11 August.<sup>9</sup> The three companies were posted at Roxbury.<sup>10</sup> Morgan's Virginia company crossed the Potomac River at Harpers Ferry on 15 July—probably having set out from Winchester the previous day—and arrived at Cambridge on 6 August.<sup>11</sup> However, the company left the siege in mid-September to join Col. Benedict Arnold's task force of the Canadian campaign,<sup>12</sup> during which Morgan and his company were captured at the battle of Quebec City on the last day of 1775. On 15 March 1776 the three companies that remained at Boston departed the siege<sup>13</sup> 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. The riflemen reached the northern end of Manhattan Island on 28 March.<sup>14</sup> The three companies served at New York in the forward-deployed elements

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<sup>8</sup> McCurtin, Daniel (of Price's company), 1775-1776, *Journal of the times at the siege of Boston since our arrival at Cambridge, near Boston*, in Balch, Thomas, ed., 1857, *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution: Philadelphia*, T. K. and P. G. Collins (printed for the Seventy-Six Society), p. 11-12.

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of Sgt. Henry Bedinger of Capt. Hugh Stephenson's Independent Rifle Company*, in Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 97-102.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of Sgt. Henry Bedinger of Capt. Hugh Stephenson's Independent Rifle Company*, in Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 105-131; McCurtin, Daniel (of Price's company), 1775-1776, *Journal of the times at the siege of Boston since our arrival at Cambridge, near Boston*, in Balch, Thomas, ed., 1857, *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution: Philadelphia*, T. K. and P. G. Collins (printed for the Seventy-Six Society), p. 11-41.

<sup>11</sup> Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 81 (undated letter from Maj. Henry Bedinger to a son of Gen. Samuel Finley); Higginbotham, Don, 1961, *Daniel Morgan, revolutionary rifleman: Chapel Hill*, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 23-24.

<sup>12</sup> Capt. Henry Dearborn's journal of the Quebec expedition, in Roberts, Kenneth, 1938, *March to Quebec, journals of the members of Arnold's expedition: New York*, Doubleday, Doran & Company, p. 129-130.

<sup>13</sup> On Washington's orders (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington [13 March 1776] General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 1), the riflemen left Roxbury for Cambridge on 14 March and departed for New York City the following day (*Journal of Sgt. Henry Bedinger of Capt. Hugh Stephenson's Independent Rifle Company*, in Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 131-132; McCurtin, Daniel [of Price's company], 1775-1776, *Journal of the times at the siege of Boston since our arrival at Cambridge, near Boston*, in Balch, Thomas, ed., 1857, *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution: Philadelphia*, T. K. and P. G. Collins [printed for the Seventy-Six Society], p. 35).

<sup>14</sup> *Journal of Sgt. Henry Bedinger of Capt. Hugh Stephenson's Independent Rifle Company*, in Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 133; McCurtin, Daniel (of Price's company), 1775-1776, *Journal of the times at the siege of Boston since our arrival at Cambridge, near Boston*, in Balch, Thomas, ed., 1857, *Papers relating chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution: Philadelphia*, T. K. and P. G. Collins (printed for the Seventy-Six Society), p. 36.

from positions on Staten Island, where in one recorded incident that occurred in early April the riflemen skirmished with the landing parties of two Royal Navy warships.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

A few key changes in the command structure of the three rifle companies occurred while they were still at Boston. On 18 October 1775 Captain Cresap died of illness,<sup>18</sup> and his first lieutenant, Moses Rawlings, became captain. Several months later, on 14 January 1776, Captain Price received a promotion to major and a transfer to the newly authorized Maryland Regiment under Col. William Smallwood.<sup>19</sup> As a result, his first lieutenant, Otho Holland Williams, succeeded to the command of the company with a promotion to the rank of captain. These changes left Captain Stephenson as the senior captain (by date of rank) of the three companies. The original one-year enlistments of all three companies expired in late June 1776.

### Formal Organization and Recruiting

Congress responded to Washington's warning 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.<sup>20</sup> Congress soon thereafter expanded its original vision.

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<sup>15</sup> Maryland Historical Society, General Otho Holland Williams Papers, MS 908: Otho Holland Williams to Elie Williams, 11 April 1776. In this letter written from Staten Island to his brother, Capt. Otho Holland Williams related that on 7 April his rifle company and that of Capt. Hugh Stephenson engaged twenty-five men from the British ships *Savage* and *James* ("a Pilate Boat to the Phoenix") who were sent ashore to procure water—capturing ten men and various matériel. Details of the skirmish are also described in a letter dated 8 April 1776 from Hugh Stephenson to Israel Putnam (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Series 4) and in the journal of Sgt. Henry Bedinger of Hugh Stephenson's Company (Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 135-136).

<sup>16</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington (29 April 1776) General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 1.

<sup>17</sup> Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 147 (undated letter from Maj. Henry Bedinger to a son of Gen. Samuel Finley).

<sup>18</sup> Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* (new, revised, and enlarged edition): Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 177.

<sup>19</sup> Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* (new, revised, and enlarged edition): Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 452.

<sup>20</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume IV, Resolves of 15 April 1776*, Washington, D.C., p. 284. Although Washington wrote to Congress requesting authorization for the reenlistment of the riflemen seven days after the representatives had

On 17 June 1776<sup>21</sup> (and clarified ten days later on 27 June<sup>22</sup>) 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 redesignated on 1 January 1776.<sup>23</sup> On 29 June Congress ordered the two colonial governments to raise their new companies and appoint the officers as rapidly as possible.<sup>24</sup> The new force would be called the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, with Hugh Stephenson becoming the colonel,<sup>25</sup> Moses Rawlings the lieutenant colonel, and Otho Holland Williams the major, preserving the three officers' relative seniority. However, unlike Pennsylvania's 1st Continental

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already granted it (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [22 April 1776], Series 3, Subseries A, Letterbook 1), it is unlikely that Congress acted on this military issue prior to receiving an earlier petition (written or verbal) from Washington.

<sup>21</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 17 June 1776, Washington, D.C., p. 452.

<sup>22</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 27 June 1776, Washington, D.C., p. 486.

<sup>23</sup> Wright, R. K., Jr., 1983, *The Continental Army*: Washington, D.C., U.S. Army Center of Military History Publication 60-4-1, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 259.

<sup>24</sup> Smith, P. H., ed., 1979, *Letters of delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, Volume 4: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, p. 334-335 [John Hancock to the Maryland Convention, 29 June 1776]. Smith noted that according to John Hancock's letterbook, he sent a corresponding letter to the Virginia state government on the same date. The letter itself has apparently not survived.

<sup>25</sup> Three months earlier, Washington had recommended to Congress that Captain Stephenson succeed Edward Hand as lieutenant colonel (jumping a rank) of Pennsylvania's 1st Continental Regiment of riflemen (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [13 March 1776], Series 3, Subseries A, Letterbook 1). There was temporarily no officer with the rank of major in the 1st Continental Regiment, as Washington points out in his letter. Washington nonetheless considered Stephenson to be the appropriate choice for the rank of lieutenant colonel presumably because (1) he was the senior captain by date of rank of the captains of the three independent Maryland and Virginia rifle companies still at liberty and of all nine captains of the 1st Continental Regiment (Pennsylvania Archives, Series 5, Volume II, p. 26, 31, 35, 37; Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* [new, revised, and enlarged edition]: Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 149, 161, 201, 474, 505-506) and (2) he had served in 1764 as a captain of volunteers during Pontiac's Rebellion (George Washington to Lord Dunmore [11 February 1774], in Bryan, J. S. and Swem, E. G., eds., 1940, *Letters of George Washington to Lord Dunmore*: William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, 2nd Ser., v. 20, no. 2, p. 165-166). However, Washington and Congress appear to have had differing opinions on the process of promotion for officers in the Continental Army. Washington believed that the senior officer within the original five rifle units (four Maryland and Virginia independent companies, the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment/1st Continental Regiment) should fill the vacancy. However, Congress had not yet worked out a formal national policy on promotions (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [5 October 1776], Series 3, Subseries A, Letterbook 2) and was apparently reluctant to set aside the interests of the individual states in this regard. As a result, it opted to ignore Washington's wishes and kept promotions within the 1st Continental Regiment restricted to Pennsylvanians.

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).<sup>26</sup> On 27 June Congress also specified the new regiment's reenlistment and recruitment procedures, and two days later requested 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.<sup>27</sup> 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, which he temporarily grouped into a single composite company at New York.<sup>28</sup>

Congress acted in accordance with Washington's wishes and appointed those officers. 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.<sup>29</sup> (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.<sup>30</sup> 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. As Washington specified, all but Rezin Davis were original members of the company. Thomas Price's old company (later under Otho Holland Williams) went to Philemon Griffith, with Thomas Hussey Lockett, 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.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The two-state composition of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment precluded it from being managed through a single state government.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, P. H., ed., 1979, *Letters of delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, Volume 4: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, p. 335-336 [John Hancock to George Washington, 29 June 1776].

<sup>28</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 166, Item 152, Volume 2, p. 152-157 (George Washington to Congress, 4 July 1776).

<sup>29</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 9 July 1776, Washington, D.C., p. 529.

<sup>30</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 11 July 1776, Washington, D.C., p. 540. The third lieutenant in Richard Davis' Company is incorrectly identified as Henry Hardman in this Congressional document—apparently due to a transcription duplication of the name of Philemon Griffith's third lieutenant. Rezin Davis was the officer originally recommended by Washington to fill that position in Davis' company.

<sup>31</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 17 September 1776, Washington, D.C., p. 764. Evans' date of rank was set retroactively at 8 August 1776 (twenty-eight days after those of the other officers in Griffith's company), as recorded on the 16 May 1777 muster roll of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company (U.S. National

Back in the two states, as they officially became with the Declaration of Independence, the other six companies had to be completely recruited. 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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 Langan, and Richard Dorsey.<sup>34</sup> 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,<sup>35</sup> and Capt. William Blackwell (with Lts. John Marshall [future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court], James Wright, and Thomas Ransdell) on 31 July.<sup>36</sup> Notably, several of the Virginia lieutenants had been members of Hugh Stephenson's original 1775 company.<sup>37</sup>

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Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 126, Frames 174-176 [at end of Roll 126]).

<sup>32</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1893, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, July 7–December 31, 1776* (Browne, W. H., ed.), Volume 12: Baltimore, Press of the Friedenwald Company, p. 27-28 (Committee of Harford County to Council of Safety, 11 July 1776).

<sup>33</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1893, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, July 7–December 31, 1776* (Browne, W. H., ed.), Volume 12: Baltimore, Press of the Friedenwald Company, p. 42 (Committee of Frederick County to Council of Safety, 13 July 1776).

<sup>34</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 17 September 1776*, Washington, D.C., p. 764.

<sup>35</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume V, Resolves of 7 September 1776*, Washington, D.C., p. 741. This Congressional document does not specify the third lieutenant in Brady's company, who was Battle Harrison (Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown: Charlottesville, The Michie Company*, p. 152; Lewis, V. A., 1967, *The soldiery of West Virginia: Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company*, p. 54-55 [reprint of the Third Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History, State of West Virginia, published in 1911]).

<sup>36</sup> The Journals of the Continental Congress do not contain the commission appointments for the officers of Alexander Lawson Smith's Maryland company and for those of the Virginia companies of Gabriel Long, William Blackwell, and Thomas West. As was the normal procedure, Congress most probably sent blank commissions (completely signed, with the name of the officers absent) to the two state governments (Maryland Council of Safety and Council of the State of Virginia). The state councils filled in the officers' names (based on the recommendations of their county officials) and then forwarded the commissions to the officers and sent the list of officers and their dates of rank to the Board of War. As recorded in three of the companies' muster rolls of 1777 and other primary sources, Congress clearly granted commissions to their officers (with the dates of rank listed) in the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (Smith's company: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 126, Frames 174-176 [at end of Roll 126]; Long's company: U.S. National Archives and Records



The new regiment's original three-company cadre evacuated its outposts on Staten Island by earliest July 1776<sup>38</sup> 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 due 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.<sup>39</sup> The historical record of the companies' activities during this period is sketchy. However, 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

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Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frames 492-493; Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume VI, Resolves of 21 November 1776*, Washington, D.C., p. 970; and Blackwell's company: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frames 234-235; Ford, W. C., ed., 1907, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume VII, Resolves of 21 January 1777*, Washington, D.C., p. 54). Primarily because the major elements of West's company were captured at the battle of Fort Washington in November 1776 (subsequently discussed), no muster rolls of that unit exist. However, other sources collectively establish the presence of West's company and its officers in the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment in 1776. In his memorial of August 1778, Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings identifies all three lieutenants in West's company who were captured with the bulk of the regiment at Fort Washington (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 51, Item 41, Volume 8, p. 365 (A and B sides). Moreover, the surviving remnants of West's company are specifically listed as such on the muster rolls of Capt. Gabriel Long's composite company of 1777 and early 1778, thereby establishing that they were part of the regiment (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frames 492-516). Lt. Col. Christian Febiger, an officer in the 11th Virginia Regiment (the unit to which West's remnants were attached in early 1777), also records West's company as one of the five Virginia companies in the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Christian Febiger to George Washington [6 March 1777], Series 4). The historical archives of West Virginia document the officers in West's company and that the unit was one of the Virginia companies in the regiment (Lewis, V. A., 1967, *The soldiery of West Virginia*: Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company, p. 54-55 [reprint of the Third Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History, State of West Virginia, published in 1911]). Capt. Thomas West's commission date of 21 July 1776 (Sanchez-Saavedra, E. M., compiler, 1978, *A guide to Virginia military organizations in the American Revolution, 1774-1787*: Richmond, Virginia State Library, p. 65, 87) is assumed to be the same as those of his lieutenants (as is the case with the original officers in all of the other companies).

<sup>37</sup> "Nearly complete muster roll of Captain Hugh Stephenson's Company of riflemen of 1775-6," in Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown*: Charlottesville, The Michie Company, p. 88-89. The roll is largely derived from an original document dated 1 January 1776 and lists ninety-five members of the company.

<sup>38</sup> Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown*: Charlottesville, The Michie Company, p. 147 (undated letter from Maj. Henry Bedinger to a son of Gen. Samuel Finley).

<sup>39</sup> Writing from New York City on 8 August, Washington ordered Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer, commander of the Flying Camp then in northern New Jersey, "to send over one of the Rifle Regiments, as we have not one Corps of that kind on this Island" in response to the recent arrival of enemy troops at Staten Island (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Hugh Mercer [8 August 1776], Series 3, Subseries B, Letterbook 2). Mercer sent Col. Samuel Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment (a state force of riflemen) on 10 August to help counter the impending British action to take New York City (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Hugh Mercer to George Washington [10 August 1776], Series 4).

Mercer's Flying Camp, headquartered primarily at 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.<sup>40</sup>

Because the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment had to be formed while the original companies remained in active service, the "paper trail" of the regiment's building phase tends to be confusing 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 allowed talented 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,<sup>41</sup> 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 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 original companies had reenlisted.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, as previously stated, Washington temporarily consolidated the three companies into a single provisional force at that time until their numbers were supplemented by new recruits.

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<sup>43</sup> and then moved them back to New York to join

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<sup>40</sup> For example, in early October Capt. Abraham Shepherd's Company (formerly commanded by Hugh Stephenson) was on duty at Bergen Point, New Jersey, just north of Staten Island (Aler, F. V., 1888, *Aler's history of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia*: Hagerstown, The Mail Publishing Company, p. 93). By no later than late October, the regiment had been posted at Fort Lee, New Jersey (Showman, R. K., Cobb, Margaret, and McCarthy, R. E., eds., 1976, *The papers of General Nathanael Greene, Volume I*: Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 328-329 (Nathanael Greene to George Washington, 31 October 1776).

<sup>41</sup> Tannehill, Adamson, 1776–1792, Adamson Tannehill papers: Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, MFF 2176, 10 p. This small collection contains Tannehill's original commission from the Continental Congress—the only document in the collection related to his service during the War of American Independence.

<sup>42</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 166, Item 152, Volume 2, p. 152-157 (George Washington to Congress, 4 July 1776).

<sup>43</sup> 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, Virginia, in mid-July to early August 1776 "to recruit, and re-fill the old Company" (Dandridge, Danske, 1910, *Historic Shepherdstown*: Charlottesville, The Michie Company, p. 78, 148 [undated letter from Maj. Henry

the regiment as rapidly as possible. 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 but then for each of 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. Depending on how fast the men were found, 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, the National Archives’ Papers of the Continental Congress contain substantial evidence (paperwork documenting a claim for back pay) to confirm that the usual procedures were in fact utilized in the recruitment of the new regiment.<sup>44</sup>

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. Tannehill was among the two or three appropriate choices in his company to carry out these duties. 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 pay roll after he returned (dated 1 May 1777, Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s composite company) shows that he drew such pay.<sup>45</sup> Direct notations to that effect in this pay roll’s “Time of

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Bedinger to a son of Gen. Samuel Finley]). Shepherd, his officers, and recruits then moved up from Virginia to the New York area, arriving by early October (Aler, F. V., 1888, *Aler’s history of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia*: Hagerstown, The Mail Publishing Company, p. 93).

<sup>44</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 71, Item 58, p. 487-496. The packet of papers submitted to the Continental Congress (date of submission not specified) includes 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); a copy made at the time of the Continental Congress’ resolution of 27 June 1776 authorizing the raising of the five [*sic*] new companies for the regiment; the certified roster, dated 7 November 1776, of the forty-nine men actually recruited by Smith and Bradford for their company, together with the list of how many days’ subsistence money each enlistee was due (based on the days from each man’s enlistment to the date of certification on 7 November) and how many the two officers were each due (four months and five days for both Smith and Bradford); and the remaining accounting records covering the expenses of recruiting their portion of Smith’s original 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. Adamson Tannehill would have been given a comparable certified roster and would have gone through the comparable validation process for official confirmation of promotion to second lieutenant. It is assumed that back-pay-claim documents for him do not exist because he was actually reimbursed for his expenses promptly and did not have to petition Congress, as did Smith and Bradford.

<sup>45</sup> The 1 May 1777 pay roll (footnote 69) represents the reporting period following that (ending 30 November 1776) during which Tannehill traveled (mid- to late 1776). The established procedure in the Continental Army was that subsistence-pay reimbursement occurred at the end of the reporting period

Subsistence” and “Whole Subsistence” columns indicate that Tannehill received subsistence pay for two months and one day. Only Lts. Adamson Tannehill and Elijah Evans of Philemon Griffith’s Company are listed as having been compensated with subsistence pay on the pay roll, indicating that Evans had assisted Tannehill in the recruiting for their company. Tannehill most likely had been given a cash advance, which was standard practice in the Continental Army for this and other assignments that involved extended time away from the regiment. Recruiting parties from the three original rifle companies (under Abraham Shepherd, Richard Davis, and Philemon Griffith) probably headed south from the New York City area nearly simultaneously and were probably 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 (and likely other duties). 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. The purpose of Evans’ subsistence pay is not specified on the pay roll; therefore, like Tannehill, he had been performing official army duties.<sup>45</sup> Because of Evans’ delayed inclusion into Griffith’s company resulting from his replacing the company’s original third lieutenant,<sup>31</sup> he was probably not present when the recruiting parties from the three rifle companies drew their cash advances, thus accounting for Evans’ longer subsistence-pay period relative to that of Tannehill. Tannehill and Evans would have been given a certified roster 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.<sup>44</sup>

### Battle of Fort Washington

The Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment fed recruits 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, advance trail detachments of officers and recruits had moved

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following that in which the expenditures were incurred. Also as standard practice in the army, the purpose of subsistence pay was only specified on a pay roll if the recipient had been on furlough. If the purpose is unstated, as in the case of Tannehill’s pay notation, the recipient had been performing official army duties.

<sup>46</sup> Force, Peter, 1853, *American archives: a documentary history of the United States of America, from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783*: Washington, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Fifth Series, Volume III, p. 131-132 (Proceedings of the Maryland Convention, 28 October 1776).

<sup>47</sup> Aler, F. V., 1888, *Aler’s history of Martinsburg and Berkeley County, West Virginia*: Hagerstown, The Mail Publishing Company, p. 93.

north from Maryland and Virginia to join the Main Army ahead of their companies' main bodies. For example, evidence indicates that 1st Lt. Nathaniel Pendleton, one sergeant, and eleven privates from Capt. Gabriel Long's Virginia company formed one of these advance detachments, which reached the front about one month prior to the arrival of the bulk of their unit (footnote 70).

On 7 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 with a force present of one lieutenant colonel, one major, five captains, six first lieutenants, three second lieutenants, two ensigns (third lieutenants), eighteen sergeants, three drummers and fifers, and 210 rank and file (corporals and privates), about fifty of whom were sick.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup> As of 13 November, however, the regiment was again stationed at Fort Lee on the west side of the Hudson River opposite Fort Washington. On that day, the regiment had a force present of one lieutenant colonel, one major, five captains, seven first lieutenants, six second lieutenants, five ensigns (third lieutenants), twenty sergeants, seven drummers and fifers, and 293 rank and file, forty-eight of whom were sick.<sup>50</sup> The arrival of recruiting parties from Maryland and Virginia almost certainly contributed to the growth of the regiment after 7 November. On 14 November, Greene redeployed the regiment to Fort Washington<sup>51</sup> 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 Hessian troops. 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 August or September and had not been replaced. The colonel's position was being held vacant to allow Capt. Daniel Morgan of the other 1775

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<sup>48</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 2, Volume X, p. 106 ("Return of the Troops on York Island in the Service of the United States, Commanded by Col. Magaw, November 7, 1776").

<sup>49</sup> Showman, R. K., Cobb, Margaret, and McCarthy, R. E., eds., 1976, *The papers of General Nathanael Greene, Volume I*: Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 328-329 (Nathanael Greene to George Washington, 31 October 1776).

<sup>50</sup> "Return of the Forces encamped on the Jersey Shore, commanded by Major-General Greene, November 13, 1776," in Force, Peter, 1853, *American archives: a documentary history of the United States of America, from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783*: Washington, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Fifth Series, Volume III, p. 663-664.

<sup>51</sup> "Return of Detachments and Out Guards, furnished from Fort Lee, November 14th, 1776," in Force, Peter, 1853, *American archives: a documentary history of the United States of America, from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783*: Washington, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Fifth Series, Volume III, p. 663.

Virginia rifle company to be restored to relative seniority once he was released from British captivity.<sup>52</sup>

A memorial written in August 1778 by Moses Rawlings to George Washington<sup>53</sup> 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<sup>54</sup> when he was assembling his regiment's scattered remnants for duty at Fort Frederick, Maryland (subsequently discussed). Washington forwarded the document to Congress on 21 August 1778,<sup>55</sup> and it was formally presented before the body of representatives four days later.<sup>56</sup> The roster includes two field officers, two staff officers, and nineteen company officers and an accounting of their then-current technical status.<sup>57</sup> It also specifies that 214 privates in the regiment were taken prisoner. In

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<sup>52</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress (28 September 1776), Series 3, Subseries A, Letterbook 2; Smith, P. H., ed., 1979, Letters of delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 5: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, p. 304 (John Hancock to George Washington, 4 October 1776).

<sup>53</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 51, Item 41, Volume 8, p. 365 (A and B sides). A memorial is a formal memorandum that was presented to an entity of authority, such as Congress or Washington, to establish a certain set of facts and/or to address significant grievances. Rawlings' memorial discusses a grievance. While Rawlings and his officers were confined as prisoners of war, Congress approved a major reorganization of the 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 officer received his freedom. However, during their incarceration, the Maryland officers of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle 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.

<sup>54</sup> Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings and Maj. Otho Holland Williams were exchanged on 16 January 1778, whereas exchanges of the regiment's company-grade officers occurred from mid-1778 through late 1780 ("Return of Maryland Officers exchanged from the 24th March, 1777," in Maryland Historical Society, 1900, Archives of Maryland: muster rolls and other records of service of Maryland troops in the American Revolution [1775-1783], Volume 18: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 616; Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress War Board (4 November 1780), Series 4; Heitman, F. B., 1914, Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783 [new, revised, and enlarged edition]: Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 96, 245, 263, 352, 359-360, 493, 596).

<sup>55</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress (21 August 1778), Series 4.

<sup>56</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1908, Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume XI, Resolves of 25 August 1778, Washington, D.C., p. 836.

<sup>57</sup> Officers are in the order in which they are presented in the memorial. Maryland officers: Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings (wounded and exchanged); Maj. Otho Holland Williams (wounded and exchanged); Capt. Philemon Griffith (exchanged); Lts. Thomas Hussey Luckett (prisoner) and Elijah Evans (wounded and escaped capture); Capt. Richard Davis (exchanged and resigned); Lts. Daniel Cresap (exchanged), Nieman

marked 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 two captains, two second lieutenants, two third lieutenants, four sergeants, two drummers and fifers, and sixty-nine privates.<sup>58</sup> By 22 December, however, the number of enlisted men present increased to at least 102<sup>59</sup> 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 who were present in the regiment on 13 November and who fought at Fort Washington.

### 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.<sup>60</sup> Pay and muster rolls in the National Archives, supported by other primary records (including Rawlings' memorial of August 1778), document that three of the nine companies of the regiment remained intact in early 1777

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Tannehill (killed in action), and Rezin Davis (prisoner); Capt. Thomas Beall (exchanged); Lts. Peter Contee Hanson (killed in action) and James McCubbin Lingan (prisoner); Adj. Josiah Tannehill (exchanged); Quartermaster John Reid (exchanged). Virginia officers: Capt. Abraham Shepherd (on parole); Lts. Samuel Finley (prisoner), Henry Bedinger (wounded and prisoner), William Pyle (exchanged and resigned), William George (prisoner), Thomas Warman (prisoner), Edward Smith (prisoner), Battle Harrison (killed in action), and Nathaniel Pendleton (prisoner).

<sup>58</sup> "A Return of Col. Moses Rawling's [*sic*] Batt.<sup>n</sup> of Rifle Men" of 21 November 1776: Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Series 4.

<sup>59</sup> "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, Peter, 1853, *American archives: a documentary history of the United States of America, from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783*: Washington, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Fifth Series, Volume III, p. 1401-1402.

<sup>60</sup> A few enlisted men in the regiment escaped soon after being taken prisoner at Fort Washington and were able to rejoin the Main Army. For example, Pvt. Adam Rider of Abraham Shepherd's Company detailed in his pension testimony that about eleven days after his capture at Fort Washington he escaped confinement "in an old Sugar house" and crossed the Hudson River in a canoe, landing near Fort Lee. Avoiding British troops in pursuit of Washington's army, he then made his way to Tappan where Maj. John Clark, Jr., of the Pennsylvania regiment of the Flying Camp transcribed all intelligence gathered by the illiterate Private Rider in a letter to Washington dated 29 November 1776 (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 167, Item 152, Volume 3, p. 315). Rider delivered Clark's letter to Washington on 3 December at Trenton where the main elements of the American army were encamped (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 186, Item 169, Volume 2, p. 379-381 [George Washington to Congress, 4 December 1776]; Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [4 December 1776], Series 4). Rider joined his fellow remnants of Rawlings' regiment, subsequently participating in the capture of the Hessian garrison at Trenton on 26 December (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 2045, Frames 001-010, Claim Number S 40341).

and therefore 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<sup>61</sup> 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<sup>62</sup> of Long's company specified that his unit marched north from Virginia in November 1776 and joined the Main Army "near Elizabeth Town" as it was retreating through northern New Jersey soon after the battle of Fort Washington.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> (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<sup>65</sup> did not join the Main Army until early April 1777, arriving at the winter

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<sup>61</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 1567, Frames 879-891, Claim Number S 34962. Thomas Lingan was not originally a member of the regiment, having been appointed in the summer of 1776 as the ensign of Captain McCubbin's Company in Col. Josiah Carvill Hall's Regiment of the Maryland contingent to the Flying Camp. This force operated in northern New Jersey and provided a rich source for officers and recruits in the expanded Maryland Line of 1777. Lingan himself secured an appointment in December 1776 to Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's Company in the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment.

<sup>62</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 1581, Frames 504-519, Claim Number S 46457; BL Wt 480-200. The pension claim was filed in the Sumter District Court, South Carolina, on 25 July 1828 by Reuben Long himself and is certified to be accurate by two distinguished surviving South Carolina veterans: Thomas Sumter, Jr., and William J. Theus. In the fall of 1776 Reuben Long transferred into the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment from the Virginia Light Dragoons when Capt. Gabriel Long was recruiting for his company. Reuben Long confirms that the regiment was "greatly reduced" by the loss of Fort Washington, and as a result Gabriel Long's Company was attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment. He received a promotion to lieutenant in June 1777 and soon thereafter was moved with several other members of Long's company to Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps. He documents that they served in the Saratoga campaign, joined Washington at Whitmarsh, and were present at Monmouth under Morgan. He further indicates that soon after Monmouth the Rifle Corps was reduced in size and its command went to Capt. Thomas Posey, that it was attached to the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment under Lt. Col. William Butler, and that he and the Rifle Corps then went to New York State "to guard its frontier." Reuben Long and the Rifle Corps also participated in the Sullivan campaign in 1779. He then served in the Virginia Line until 1782 when he mustered out of the service.

<sup>63</sup> According to dates and camp locations recorded in the headings of Washington's letters written during his army's retreat through New Jersey (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Series 4), the Main Army passed near Elizabethtown on 27-28 November 1776.

<sup>64</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Christian Febiger to George Washington (6 March 1777), Series 4.

<sup>65</sup> The first muster roll of Capt. William Blackwell's Company taken after the battle of Fort Washington (for the period 1 March to 1 May 1777) indicates that all of its original 1776 officers were present for duty (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frames 215-216). Therefore, the primary elements of the company had not participated in the battle of Fort Washington.



encampment at Morristown with Col. Daniel Morgan and part of<sup>66</sup> his recently organized 11th Virginia Regiment.<sup>67</sup> Although in line for command of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, Morgan accepted the colonelcy of the 11th Virginia Regiment after his prisoner-of-war exchange in January 1777.<sup>68</sup>

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 unit's 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, Maryland, company.<sup>69</sup> Capt. Gabriel

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<sup>66</sup> As of 26 April 1777, elements of the 11th Virginia Regiment (en route to Morristown) were in Philadelphia (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 145, Item 136, Volume 1, p. 137 [Board of Treasury report on payments to Daniel Morgan, 26 April 1777]).

<sup>67</sup> Russell, T. T., and Gott, J. K., 1977, *Fauquier County in the Revolution*: Warrenton, Warrenton Printing & Publishing Company, p. 170-171; Graham, James, 1859, *The life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the army of the United States*: New York, Derby & Jackson, p. 120-121. 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 as a prisoner of war, he had been promoted to colonel, and he 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 in early February 1777 (McIlwaine, H. R., ed., 1931, *Journals of the Council of the State of Virginia*, Volume 1: Richmond, The Virginia State Library, p. 320-324 [Council meeting of 3 February 1777]), 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 (for example, that of Pvt. Samuel Elliott [U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 914, Frames 151-159, Claim Number W 19225]). 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 Rawling's command.

<sup>68</sup> Graham, James, 1859, *The life of General Daniel Morgan of the Virginia Line of the army of the United States*: New York, Derby & Jackson, p. 118. Graham provides a facsimile of Morgan's commission as colonel of the 11th Virginia Regiment, dated 12 November 1776.

<sup>69</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 126, Frames 174-200 (at end of Roll 126): pay rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company (1 May 1777, June 1777, July 1777, August 1777, September 1777, and October 1777), muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company (16 May 1777, 1 May – July 1777, July 1777, August 1777, September 1777, and October 1777). Except for one undated muster roll taken after late 1777 when the company was attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment, these are the only surviving rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company in the National Archives. The company's muster rolls for

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.<sup>70</sup> 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 pay and muster rolls since the battle of Fort Washington, the pay rolls representing the period through 1 May 1777 and the muster rolls dated 16 May 1777.

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 pay roll 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 pay roll for Smith's composite company, carrying all relevant data for the period 1 December to 30 April. Adamson Tannehill and all other members

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1778 are housed at the Maryland Historical Society (Maryland Historical Society, Revolutionary War Collection, MS 1814: Muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company for the months of January through December 1778), and all data from these rolls are compiled in a composite muster roll of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company for 1777 and 1778 (Maryland Historical Society, 1900, Archives of Maryland: muster rolls and other records of service of Maryland troops in the American Revolution [1775-1783], Volume 18: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 300-303). Alexander Lawson Smith and Adamson Tannehill both certified the 16 May 1777 muster roll with their signatures. Adamson Tannehill's name appears only on the 1 May, June, and July 1777 pay rolls, and the 16 May (listed as "At Morris Town"), 1 May – July (listed as "On Command"), and July 1777 (listed as "On Command") muster rolls. The "On Command" (i.e., absent on other duties) notations record Tannehill's attachment to Col. Daniel Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps in June and July 1777 (subsequently discussed).

<sup>70</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frames 492-527. A small contingent of Gabriel Long's original 1776 company comprising one officer (1st Lt. Nathaniel Pendleton), one sergeant, and eleven privates was evidently captured at Fort Washington. The first muster roll of Long's composite company taken after the battle (dated 16 May 1777) specifically notes Pendleton as being a "Prisoner taken at Fort Washington Nov<sup>r</sup> 76," whereas it lists the others as simply "Prisoner" (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frame 492). This group was probably an advance trail detachment of Long's company that had moved up from Virginia ahead of the company's main body and had joined the regiment in time to participate in the engagement. Pendleton, presumably with the twelve recruits, joined the Main Army on or before 29 October 1776 (Showman, R. K., Cobb, Margaret, and McCarthy, R. E., eds., 1976, The papers of General Nathanael Greene, Volume I: Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 325-326 [Nathanael Greene to George Washington, 29 October 1776]), about one month prior to the arrival of the bulk of Gabriel Long's Company (footnote 63).

(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 included (present for duty) from 1 December 1776. Evans' addition (and presence) is shown to be effective 8 December,<sup>71</sup> confirming that the army staff was precise in recording such information. 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 date of rank being set retroactively at 15 November 1776.<sup>72</sup>

Moses Rawlings' memorial of August 1778,<sup>53</sup> which is a transcription of his words,<sup>73</sup> provides corroborating documentation that Adamson Tannehill had not participated in the battle of Fort Washington. The included roster, which specifies all the regiment's field, staff, and company officers who participated in the battle and gives an

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<sup>71</sup> Unlike Tannehill, Elijah Evans returned to New York, almost certainly with recruits, in time to participate in the battle of Fort Washington on 16 November 1776. However, he was not captured at the battle. In Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings' memorial of August 1778, the regimental commander documented that Evans was "wounded but made his retreat good over the north [Hudson] River" (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 51, Item 41, Volume 8, p. 365 [A and B sides]). Evans was present for duty in December 1776, early 1777, and thereafter (as documented in pay and muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company, Capt. Gabriel Long's Company of Daniel Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps, and the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment), but his official technical status after Fort Washington is unclear and remained a subject of debate between the State of Maryland and the Board of War during his remaining period of service (Maryland Historical Society, 1927, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1780-1781* [Steiner, B. C., ed.], Volume 45: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 283-284 [Council to President of the Board of War, 20 January 1781]). In contrast, all administrative aspects of Adamson Tannehill's service record follow a clear and logical progression of promotions and assignments, indicating an uninterrupted service history. The time Evans needed to recover from his wound(s) probably accounts for his later date of integration into Smith's composite company.

<sup>72</sup> Virginia Historical Society, *Orderly book of Major William Heth*, call number Mss12:1777 May 15:1: Daniel Morgan General Orders (18 May 1777). Morgan's order states "Mr. Tauny Hill [*sic*] to rank as First Lieutenant in consequence of a Vacancy that happened the 15<sup>th</sup> Nov'r." The order is published in "Orderly Book of Major William Heth of the Third Virginia Regiment, May 15-July 1, 1777," in Brock, R. A., ed., 1892, *Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society* (Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, New Series, Volume XI): Richmond, Virginia Historical Society, p. 332-333 (Daniel Morgan General Orders, 17 May 1777). However, the date of Morgan's order was erroneously transcribed in this publication as "17 May 1777." Moreover, the volume editor misidentified "Mr. Tauny Hill" in a footnote as Josiah Tannehill, who was the adjutant of Rawlings' regiment and had been captured at the battle of Fort Washington on 16 November 1776 (footnotes 57 and 125). The misspelling of Tannehill's name most likely occurred because each day's general orders were dictated to representatives from each echelon of the army in hierarchical order (brigade, regiment/battalion, company), a process that commonly resulted in spelling errors in the orderly books that survive. Contrary to the publication title, William Heth was the major of the 11th Virginia Regiment when he began compiling this orderly book. Although he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Virginia Regiment on 1 April 1777 (Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* [new, revised, and enlarged edition]: Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 287), precisely when he assumed his new post is uncertain.

<sup>73</sup> Rawlings most likely dictated the memorial to a professional clerk, the typical practice of the time when preparing a formal document.

accounting of their technical status as of mid-1778,<sup>74</sup> is precisely organized, grouping the company officers first by state (Maryland, Virginia) and then by company (with the exception of Lt. William Pyle), which are in turn presented in order of their seniority. The officers appear in order of rank within their companies. In addition to the ranks, names, and status of the nineteen company officers listed on the original transcription, the roster includes secondary entries for Adamson Tannehill (“Lieut. Tannehill & [Elijah] Evangs [*sic*] d<sup>lac</sup> [i.e., detached] with Colo. Morgan”)<sup>74</sup> and Alexander Lawson Smith (“Capt.<sup>n</sup> Alex.<sup>r</sup> Smith”). Both entries are in Rawlings’ handwriting, which is markedly different from that of the rest of the document—they are unequivocally later additions to the original transcription. The Tannehill notation is an insertion to the original listing of Philemon Griffith’s Company, intentionally placed below Elijah Evans’ original entry (in out-of-rank order) because of the two notations’ association. Smith’s entry (only his rank and name) is written on the side of the roster, and its insertion location in the list (below Griffith) is marked with an asterisk. Because the two notations are addenda to the original transcription and are inconsistent with the original entries by not specifying a technical status related to the battle (and by conveying deployment information in the case of Tannehill’s notation), they indicate that Rawlings had considered Tannehill’s and Smith’s service history to have varied from that of the officers on the original roster—specifically, that they had not been at Fort Washington. Rawlings’ desire to add these two officers to the roster is made clear within the broader historical context. At the time of the writing of the memorial, the Virginia elements of Rawlings’ fragmented regiment had been absorbed by the Virginia Line, whereas the Maryland state government had not incorporated the Maryland members of the regiment into its line units (including those few officers who had not been at Fort Washington), a situation that caused much discontent among the regiment’s Maryland officers for the remainder of the war. Rawlings’ intention in appending Tannehill’s and Smith’s names to his formal declaration of grievance was to officially document them as the two *only* other fellow Maryland officers from 1776 remaining in his regiment in mid-1778,<sup>75</sup> thereby ensuring that they would not be inadvertently overlooked if Congress granted his memorial.

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<sup>74</sup> The Tannehill notation served to indicate Rawlings’ knowledge of Tannehill’s and Evans’ deployment in 1778—both officers served on detached duty in Col. Daniel Morgan’s Provisional Rifle Corps in 1777 and 1778 (subsequently discussed). However, because Morgan was not in command of the Provisional Rifle Corps after mid-July 1778, the phrasing of the notation suggests that Rawlings’ knowledge of Tannehill’s and Evans’ deployment was not precisely current.

<sup>75</sup> Of the regiment’s sixteen company officers from Maryland who were commissioned in 1776, the following six men are not listed in Rawlings’ original roster transcription of August 1778: Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith, 1st Lt. James White Hall (Smith’s company), 2d Lts. Adamson Tannehill (Griffith’s company) and William Bradford (Smith’s company), and 3d Lts. Richard Dorsey (Beall’s company) and Josias Hall (Smith’s company). James White Hall and William Bradford resigned prior to 28 November 1776 and on 3 April 1778, respectively (Ford, W. C., ed., 1906, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume VI, Resolves of 28 November 1776, Washington, D.C., p. 987; Maryland Historical Society, Revolutionary War Collection, MS 1814: Muster roll of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s composite company for March 1778 [dated 5 April 1778]). By virtue of not appearing on the rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s composite company, Richard Dorsey and Josias Hall had transferred or resigned from Rawlings’ regiment before May 1777. A Lt. Richard Dorsey (not confirmed that this is the officer from Beall’s company) transferred to Col. Stephen Moylan’s 4th Continental Light Dragoon Regiment sometime prior to August 1777 (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Richard Dorsey to George Washington [14 August 1777], Series 4). Of the six 1776 officers from

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,<sup>76</sup> in the ensuing counterattacks at Trenton and Princeton<sup>77</sup> (serving in Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer's Brigade), and in the early 1777 skirmishing in northern New Jersey. Early family records document Adamson Tannehill's own participation at Trenton and Princeton.<sup>78</sup> While in winter quarters at

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Maryland who are not listed on Rawlings' original 1778 roster transcription, *only* Alexander Lawson Smith and Adamson Tannehill were still members of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment when Rawlings compiled the roster. Smith resigned from the regiment on 6 September 1780 (Hunt, Gaillard, ed., 1910, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume XVII, Resolves of 6 September 1780*, Washington, D.C., p. 807), and Tannehill remained in the unit until 1 January 1781 (subsequently discussed).

<sup>76</sup> "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, Peter, 1853, *American archives: a documentary history of the United States of America, from the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, to the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783: Washington, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Fifth Series, Volume III*, p. 1035-1036, 1401-1402. The 1 December return shows that Rawlings' regiment comprised forty-four men (five officers, three sergeants, and thirty-six rank and file), whereas the return of 22 December records 105 men present in the regiment (three officers, seven sergeants, two drummers and fifers, and ninety-three rank and file). The difference in the tallies taken on the two dates (sixty-one men) probably in part reflects the temporary absence of most of one of the composite companies when the 1 December return was prepared.

<sup>77</sup> In their pension testimonies, Lt. Thomas Lingan (footnote 61) and Pvt. Adrian Davenport (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 744, Frames 038-059, Claim Number S 35874), both members of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company in December 1776, attested to their unit's participation in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Moreover, Alexander Lawson Smith himself documented the participation of Rawlings' regiment at the "Engagement [*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 (Maryland Historical Society, 1910, *Alex. Lawson Smith to Lieut. Michael Gilbert: Maryland Historical Magazine*, v. 5, p. 131-134). Smith 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]." He also mentioned a previous letter he wrote to Gilbert the day after the Trenton battle in which he gave him details of the engagement. The pension testimonies of Pvts. James Harris (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 1199, Frames 493-499, Claim Number S 31726) and Jacob Smith (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 2216, Frames 514-531, Claim Number W 19052) of Capt. Gabriel Long's composite company document that their unit was also present at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Jacob Smith's pension claim (submitted by his widow in 1839) includes Gabriel Long's sworn statement to Philip Slaughter (then a justice of the peace of Culpeper County, Virginia, and a former lieutenant in Long's company) dated 24 April 1819 that attests to Smith's presence in Long's company and to the participation of that unit at Trenton and Princeton. 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" (Library of Congress, *George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [24 December 1776]*, Series 4).

<sup>78</sup> Coe, Letitia Tannehill, 1903, *History of John and Rachel Tannehill and their descendants* (unpublished manuscript): Fort Wayne, Allen County Public Library, call number 929.2 T155F, 17 p. plus title page; summarized in an unpublished, untitled 25-page manuscript by Letitia Tannehill Coe and Mary O. Eddy,

Morristown during the winter and spring of 1777, the Main Army still 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. The few experienced regiments that were with Washington during this period (those whose enlistment periods had not ended on 31 December 1776) were deployed as detachments, not as full regiments, in scattered locales across northern New Jersey.<sup>79</sup> Rawlings' two-company force supported detached elements of the 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th Virginia Regiments, for example, in a front-line position southeast of Morristown in mid-April (footnote 82). Because the units under Captains Smith and Long provided an experienced, if small, force in being, Washington also used them to bolster Col. Daniel Morgan's new 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<sup>80</sup>), requiring that they trade in their rifles and draw muskets as replacements. However, Washington postponed implementation of this regiment's arms exchange, almost certainly because he needed experienced skirmishers to patrol and especially to keep Howe's aggressive foraging activities in check during the winter and spring of 1777.<sup>81</sup> In fact, several units that performed specific skirmishing duties in the first half of 1777 served continuously as riflemen. Specifically, Alexander Lawson Smith's and Gabriel Long's composite companies served alongside these Pennsylvanian and other

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ca. 1960, on file at the Library of Congress (call number CS71.T1667 1960z). The 1903 document contains Adamson Tannehill's 1820 obituary from his brother's personal papers, which 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. In the year 1777 at the particular request of General Daniel Morgan, he joined the celebrated Partisan's rifle corps of that officer, and acted as his Adjutant on the day on which Burgoyne surrendered to him at Saratoga." Adamson Tannehill's bounty-land warrant (for 300 acres, issued on 9 June 1789) exists in the National Archives (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 2339, Frames 989-1000, Claim Number BL Wt 2209-300) but provides no information on his service record, a typical feature of such claims.

<sup>79</sup> For example, Lt. Col. James Hendricks of the 6th Virginia Regiment related that elements of his unit were simultaneously posted at "Whippany, Chatham, New Ark, Elizabeth Town, Pesaick," and "Near Bonam Town" in mid-April 1777 (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, James Hendricks to George Washington [12 April 1777], Series 4).

<sup>80</sup> Wright, R. K., Jr., 1983, *The Continental Army: Washington, D.C.*, U.S. Army Center of Military History Publication 60-4-1, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 259.

<sup>81</sup> Historians term this period of continued fighting in New Jersey after the battle of Princeton the "Forage War" (for example, see Fischer, D. H., 2004, *Washington's crossing: New York*, Oxford University Press, p. 346-362).

Virginian riflemen to maintain patrols in northern New Jersey during this period.<sup>82</sup> (In late January or early February, the effective force of the two 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.<sup>83</sup>) 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. They therefore continued in their roles as rifle units during this chaotic period after the battle of Fort Washington.

#### 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, he created additional provisional rifle companies and placed them under the command of Col. Daniel Morgan in early June

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<sup>82</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1910, Alex. Lawson Smith to Lieut. Michael Gilbert: Maryland Historical Magazine, v. 5, p. 131-134. In his letter of 17 February 1777 to Lieutenant Gilbert, Captain Smith described several skirmishes and scouting and escort missions in which his company and Rawling's regiment were involved in January and February 1777. (He also recorded that the remnants of Rawlings' regiment had not yet been attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment.) Most of the Pennsylvanian riflemen were from the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, which was armed with rifles during the Trenton-Princeton campaign (Wilkinson, James, 1816, *Memoirs of my own times*, Volume 1: Philadelphia, Abraham Small, p. 135-137; Stryker, W. S., 1898, *The battles of Trenton and Princeton*: Cambridge, The Riverside Press, p. 258-259) and was not ordered to replace its rifles with muskets (in accordance with its reorganization to an infantry unit on 1 January 1777) until late May to earliest June 1777 (Anthony Wayne to Board of War [3 June 1777], in Stillé, C. J., 1893, *Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army*: Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, p. 64-65). Washington ordered the exchange to be made soon after Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne assumed command of the newly formed 1st Pennsylvania Brigade, which included the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington [22 May 1777] General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 2). The exchanged rifles were then most likely used to help arm Daniel Morgan's recently organized Provisional Rifle Corps (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington [13 June 1777] General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 2). Among the other Virginian riflemen present were representatives of the three-company rifle elements from each of the few Virginia Line regiments that were with the Main Army during most of the winter and spring of 1777 (Wright, R. K., Jr., 1983, *The Continental Army*: Washington, D.C., U.S. Army Center of Military History Publication 60-4-1, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 68-70, 108, 283, 285-287). In mid-April 1777 Lt. Col. James Hendricks of the 6th Virginia Regiment reported from the "Lines (Near Bonam Town)" that he had been "order'd on detachment [*sic*], with part of 1<sup>st</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> Virg.<sup>a</sup> and Col.<sup>o</sup> Rallings's [*sic*] Regiment (with which I am now Station'd on the lines)" (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, James Hendricks to George Washington [12 April 1777], Series 4). Although not explicitly stated, Hendricks' detached force in this forward position twenty miles southeast of Morristown almost certainly comprised at least some of the rifle elements of these Virginia Line regiments.

<sup>83</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1910, Alex. Lawson Smith to Lieut. Michael Gilbert: Maryland Historical Magazine, v. 5, p. 132.

1777,<sup>84</sup> calling it the Provisional Rifle Corps. Some of the riflemen of Smith's, Long's, and Blackwell's units, as well as others detached from their regular (musket) regiments, were selected to join this regiment-sized force.

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 in mid-June 1777.<sup>85</sup> For much of July, Morgan continued to report from forward positions on British activity in and around New York City,<sup>86</sup> and when the British army put out to sea in late July, Washington ordered the entire Rifle Corps to points south to scout the enemy's possible drive toward Philadelphia.<sup>87</sup> In mid-August Washington then sent the Rifle Corps north to help in blocking Maj. Gen. John Burgoyne's invasion of New York State from Canada (the Saratoga campaign).<sup>88</sup> In the meantime, the assignment of men from the 11th Virginia

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<sup>84</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington (1 June and 13 June 1777) General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 2; George Washington to Daniel Morgan (13 June 1777), Series 4.

<sup>85</sup> When the bulk of the British army advanced toward Brunswick (just south of Washington's Main Army at Middlebrook), Washington ordered Morgan to observe the enemy's approach and to "Instantly...fall upon their Flanks and gall them as much as possible" (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Morgan [13 June 1777], Series 4). Morgan's rifleman constantly harassed the British prior to the Americans' main attack on the enemy forces at Brunswick on 22 June (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Israel Putnam [17 June 1777], Series 4). Holding most of the Main Army on the high ground at Middlebrook, Washington dispatched troops under Morgan, Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, and Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne to fall on the British rear guard (the enemy's main body having already started moving eastward toward Amboy). After overwhelming a Hessian picket, Morgan's men joined the other Continental troops, and the combined force dislodged the British rear guard and additional enemy troops (estimated to have been between 4,000 and 5,000 men) from their redoubts, forcing them to withdraw. Washington's account of this action to Congress states that in the subsequent pursuit "Col.<sup>o</sup> Morgan's Rifle Men exchanged several sharp Fires with the Enemy which it is imagined did considerable execution." Washington also included praise for the "Conduct & Bravery of Gen.<sup>l</sup> Wayne & Col.<sup>o</sup> Morgan and of their Officers and Men upon this occasion, as they constantly advanced upon an Enemy far superior to them in Numbers and well secured behind strong Redoubts" (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [22 June 1777], Series 4).

<sup>86</sup> For example, Morgan reported from Hackensack that he was continuing to send out scouting parties and to gather intelligence (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Morgan to George Washington [24 July 1777], Series 4).

<sup>87</sup> Initially ordered to proceed directly to Philadelphia, Morgan was subsequently instructed to halt at Trenton (or Bristol if he had already crossed the Delaware River) until further orders (unless he had learned of the enemy's impending approach to Philadelphia, in which case he was to hasten there); six days later he was then ordered to proceed to Germantown and within eight days to Maidenhead—all reflecting Washington's uncertainty of the enemy's plan to either take Philadelphia or to slip back to New York and then up the Hudson River to assist Burgoyne's push from northern New York State (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Morgan [24 July, 26 July, and 9 August 1777], Tench Tilghman to Daniel Morgan [1 August 1777], Series 4).

<sup>88</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Morgan (16 August 1777), Series 4; Ford, W. C., ed., 1907, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume VIII, Resolves of 16 August 1777, Washington, D.C., p. 649.



Regiment to the Rifle Corps left the Virginia unit short of its authorized number of companies. Therefore, attaching the remnants of Rawlings' unit who did not accompany Morgan 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<sup>89</sup> after they were administratively attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment at the end of the 1777 campaign season.<sup>90</sup> 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,<sup>91</sup> 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.<sup>92</sup>

Adamson Tannehill was one of the riflemen in Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company who was attached to Col. Daniel Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps when it was organized in the late spring of 1777. Tannehill's presence in the Rifle Corps during its initial actions as an organization in New Jersey and the Philadelphia area, during the Saratoga campaign, and afterward at Valley Forge is documented in pay rolls of that period for Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company,<sup>93</sup> one of the original

<sup>89</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804: Roll 744, Frames 038-059, Claim Number S 35874 (Adrian Davenport); Roll 452, Frames 006-015, Claim Number S 40792 (John Callender); Roll 782, Frames 729-744, Claim Number S 35890 (John Debruler).

<sup>90</sup> Maryland Historical Society, Revolutionary War Collection, MS 1814: Muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company for the months of January through December 1778. The muster roll of Smith's composite company for October 1777, the company's latest surviving muster roll from that year, and all those for 1777 (footnote 69) document that the unit was attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment. However, the company's muster rolls for 1778 (starting with the roll for January) show that it was attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment.

<sup>91</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 1029, Frames 580-596, Claim Number S 42732 (Valentine Fritts).

<sup>92</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 109, Frames 495-527; Heitman, F. B., 1914, Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783 (new, revised, and enlarged edition): Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 499.

<sup>93</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 133, Frames 414-450. Pay rolls for Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company include those of July 1777; August, September, and October 1777 (pay records for these three months of the Saratoga campaign were compiled in one roll probably due to the company's presence at a remote location); November 1777; December 1777; January 1778; February 1778; March 1778; April 1778; May 1778; and April through September 1779. One other roll, for the "extra month's pay" voted by the Continental Congress at the end of 1777, exists as well. These are the only surviving rolls of Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company in the National Archives. Only the 1777 and 1778 rolls bear Adamson Tannehill's name. Adamson Tannehill certified the "extra month's pay" roll for 1777 as well as the November 1777 and February 1778 rolls, indicating that on the day of the rolls' submissions Gabriel Long was physically absent and Tannehill was acting for the day as the commander. Although no pay roll for the month of June 1777 exists for Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company, Tannehill's "On Command" status recorded on

eight companies that composed the Rifle Corps.<sup>94</sup> There are no surviving muster rolls relating to the Rifle Corps for 1777, 1778, and 1779 in the National Archives. A letter to Deputy Paymaster General John Pierce from Tench Tilghman, Washington's aide de camp, dated at "Head Quarters" on 11 November 1779 is filed with the pay rolls for the Rifle Corps and explains that the provisional and dispersed nature of the corps prevented it from being given a formal muster.<sup>95</sup>

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.<sup>96</sup> The earliest pay roll for Long's provisional rifle 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") and Ens. (3d Lt.) Reuben Long (both from Long's composite company). What is particularly significant about this roll is that it is marked to show that Long's provisional rifle company comprised enlisted men from eight different permanent companies and that it identified each contingent forming the company as a separate entity (all but one of the other rolls of Long's provisional rifle company also specify the parent companies furnishing the men, and the one roll [April 1778] that does not show that breakdown nonetheless confirms the parent companies because the men's names are retained in exactly the same order). Captain Long's own

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the 1 May – July and July 1777 muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company documents his attachment to Morgan's Rifle Corps during that first month of the unit's existence (footnote 69). In a letter written to the governor of Maryland in March 1781, Van Swearingen, a captain in the Rifle Corps during the Saratoga campaign, provided firsthand testimony of Tannehill's participation at Saratoga (footnote 162).

<sup>94</sup> Surviving company pay rolls (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy 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.]) supported by period correspondence in the case of incomplete pay roll records of James Parr's and Van Swearingen's companies (for example: Pennsylvania Archives, Series 2, Volume X, p. 312-313 [James Chambers to Edward Hand, 18 June 1777]; Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Van Swearingen [18 August 1777], Series 4) indicate that during the Saratoga campaign Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps comprised eight companies commanded by Capt. Hawkins Boone (12th Pennsylvania Regiment), Samuel Jordan Cabell (6th Virginia Regiment), William Henderson (9th Virginia Regiment), James Knox (8th Virginia Regiment), Gabriel Long (Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment), James Parr (1st Pennsylvania Regiment), Thomas Posey (7th Virginia Regiment), and Van Swearingen (8th Pennsylvania Regiment). Benjamin Taliaferro, Samuel Jordan Cabell's first lieutenant during Saratoga, took command of Cabell's company in December 1777.

<sup>95</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 133, Frame 349. Tilghman wrote, "The Rifle Corps under the command of Major Parr has been so detached that they have never been regularly mustered. But as they are about to be dissolved His Excellency desires that you will grant Warrants for their pay up to the 1st of October upon the Abstracts certified by Major Parr."

<sup>96</sup> 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.

company of Rawlings' regiment contributed Sgt. Maj. John Coleman (the senior enlisted man on the Rifle Corps' staff), Sgt. Nicholas Long, two corporals, and sixteen privates. Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's Company of Rawlings' regiment contributed Sgt. John Thompson, one corporal, and five privates; Capt. John Thornton's ("Captain Thorn's") Company of the 3rd Virginia Regiment contributed a lone corporal; Capt. William Blackwell's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment contributed Sgt. John Morgan, one corporal, and six privates; Capt. Abraham Shepherd's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment (listed on the roll as part of the 11th Virginia, but its permanent unit was Rawlings' regiment) contributed four 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 two corporals and ten privates; and Capt. Charles Porterfield's Company of the 11th Virginia Regiment contributed Sgts. Elias Toland and Solomon Veale, one corporal, and fifteen privates. With the exception of a single man, all members of the composite 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.

Although family-history documentation records Adamson Tannehill's service with Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps during the Saratoga campaign, it also states that Tannehill acted as adjutant "on the day on which Burgoyne surrendered" at Saratoga.<sup>78</sup> The two staff officers in each regiment of the Continental Army that are duty officers with actual combat missions—the adjutant and quartermaster—are *specifically identified as such and listed only* on the Field and Staff Pay Rolls (summary pay rolls listing the field-grade officers, the staff officers, and the names of the companies) and less commonly on the pay rolls of the regiment's "senior" company. The Rifle Corps' Field and Staff Pay Rolls for the period of the Saratoga campaign are absent in the National Archives, and none of the corps' company pay rolls of the same period list the staff officers. However, because Adamson Tannehill is identified *only* as the senior lieutenant on Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company pay rolls of July 1777 through May 1778,<sup>93</sup> he could not have been the adjutant of the regiment during the Saratoga campaign. Although the possibility that Tannehill acted temporarily in that capacity during Burgoyne's actual surrender ceremony cannot be excluded, the "adjutant" attribution is most probably a family misunderstanding of military technical terms. The Field and Staff Pay Rolls of the Rifle Corps for January through May 1778<sup>97</sup> show the corps' adjutant to have been John Coleman, who had officially served through December 1777 as the sergeant major in Long's company—and is specifically identified as such on the company's July through December 1777 pay rolls. Starting in January 1778, however, only the regiment's Field and Staff Pay Rolls bear his name.

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<sup>97</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 133, Frames 324-333.

After Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps rejoined the Main Army at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, in mid-November 1777.<sup>98</sup> Washington promptly dispatched the riflemen to reinforce other Continental units in what was a futile effort to prevent the British capture of Fort Mercer located just south of enemy-controlled Philadelphia.<sup>99</sup> The British command then turned its attention to the American forces at Whitemarsh, and when the enemy approached the encampment on 7 December Washington used the Rifle Corps to effectively help check their advance.<sup>100</sup> 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<sup>101</sup> and was deployed in forward positions primarily southeast of the encampment. Field and Staff Pay Rolls for Morgan's Rifle Corps—for the months of January through May 1778<sup>97</sup>—show that while the unit was with the Main

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<sup>98</sup> The Virginia Gazette, 28 November 1777, no. 1391: Williamsburg, Dixon & Hunter, p. 2, column 1. In an extract of a letter dated 17 November 1777, a Virginia delegate to Congress confirmed that Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps entered Washington's camp on, or just prior to, 17 November.

<sup>99</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress (23 November 1777), Series 4. Soon after the evacuation of Fort Mercer by the American garrison on 20 November, Lafayette led about 400 militia and Morgan's Rifle Corps in an attack on a 300-man picket of the main British encampment at Gloucester Point. Although the picket was reinforced during the skirmish, Lafayette's force pushed the enemy back about half a mile and kept the ground until nightfall, killing about twenty and taking about twenty prisoners (Showman, R. K., McCarthy, R. E., and Cobb, Margaret, eds., 1980, The papers of General Nathanael Greene, Volume II: Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, p. 218-219 [Nathanael Greene to George Washington, 26 November 1777]).

<sup>100</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress (10 December 1777), Series 4. On 5 December the bulk of the British army marched from Philadelphia to within one mile of Washington's lines at Whitemarsh. Two days later when a British assault appeared imminent, Morgan's Rifle Corps and a contingent of the Maryland militia under Col. Mordecai Gist attacked the enemy's advance and flanking parties, maintaining the assault for much of the day. On 8 December the British withdrew after suffering significant casualties and marched back to Philadelphia to enter winter quarters. The Rifle Corps lost twenty-seven men in killed and wounded in the engagement. Washington's general orders of 8 December record that "the Commander in Chief returns his warmest thanks to Col. Morgan, and the officers and men of his intrepid corps, for their gallant behaviour [*sic*] in the several skirmishes with the enemy yesterday. He hopes the most spirited conduct will distinguish the whole army, and gain them a just title to the praises of their country, and the glory due to brave men" (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington [8 December 1777] General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 2).

<sup>101</sup> For example, a few days after the Main Army entered the winter encampment, elements of Morgan's Rifle Corps and a contingent of Pennsylvania militia under Col. James Potter—both already stationed in forward positions southeast of the encampment—and a detachment of troops from Valley Forge clashed with mounted British foraging parties sent out from enemy-occupied Philadelphia (Letter dated 28 December 1777 from Col. James Potter to Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume VI, p. 141-142). In mid-March 1778 members of Morgan's Rifle Corps attacked loyalists who were transporting a large supply of flour and forage to Philadelphia, capturing their four wagons within a mile of the enemy lines (Letter dated 17 March 1778 from Adj. Gen. Alexander Scammell to Timothy Pickering of the Board of War: Chase, P. D., Grizzard, F. E., Jr., Lengel, E. G., and Runge, B. H., eds., 2004, The papers of George Washington, Volume 14: Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, p. 237).

Army at Valley Forge, it contained six provisional companies in January and February, and seven companies in March, April, and May. Capt. Gabriel Long's Company (with Adamson Tannehill) was present during all five months. The other companies (three variously present or absent) were under Capt. James Knox, Van Swearingen, James Parr, Hawkins Boone, William Henderson, Thomas Posey, and Benjamin Taliaferro. The Rifle Corps, like many of the formations at Valley Forge, probably grew during the course of the spring of 1778 as a result of successful recruiting and of sick and wounded personnel returning to full duty.

Adamson Tannehill also most probably served with Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps at the battle of Monmouth on 28 June 1778. Although Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company of the Rifle Corps was certainly present at Monmouth, as confirmed in correspondence from Daniel Morgan to George Washington<sup>102</sup> and corroborated by the pension testimonies of Ens. (3d Lt.) Reuben Long<sup>62</sup> and Pvts. Adam Rider and James Harris,<sup>103</sup> the company's pay and muster rolls for June 1778 (and for the subsequent months of 1778) are absent in the National Archives to confirm Tannehill's actual presence in the company at that time. The latest surviving roll for Long's company in 1778, that of May,<sup>93</sup> records Tannehill as present. Morgan's Rifle Corps retained its regiment-sized status throughout winter quarters at Valley Forge and immediately after vacating the encampment when the Main Army was monitoring the march of the British army to New York City after its evacuation of Philadelphia on 18 June. During the battle of Monmouth, the Rifle Corps comprised about 600 men,<sup>104</sup> of which about 500 were its cadre of riflemen (the others being detached parts of units added by Washington)—the same estimated number of riflemen in the Rifle Corps during the Saratoga campaign.<sup>105</sup> Therefore, it is unlikely that any members of Long's company, especially a senior company officer like Tannehill, were returned to their permanent units during this active period just prior to Monmouth.

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<sup>102</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Morgan to George Washington (27 June 1778), Series 4. Morgan describes how a small party under "Cap<sup>t</sup> Long fell in with fifteen Grenadiers and made them prisoners" on 26 or 27 June 1778 as part of Morgan's overall mission to locate and harass the enemy's right (east) flank immediately prior to the battle of Monmouth.

<sup>103</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804: Roll 2045, Frames 001-010, Claim Number S 40341 (Adam Rider); Roll 1199, Frames 493-499, Claim Number S 31726 (James Harris). Adam Rider, originally a member of Abraham Shepherd's Company, was incorporated into Long's composite company after the battle of Fort Washington, whereas James Harris was an original member of Long's 1776 company. Both men served in Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company.

<sup>104</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress (1 July 1778), Series 4.

<sup>105</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to George Clinton (16 August 1777), Series 4.

## 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 (initiation of their “southern strategy,” which focused on engaging American forces in the southern states), Morgan’s Provisional Rifle Corps was severely reduced in size to two companies<sup>106</sup> in July 1778 after Monmouth and was placed under the command of Capt. Thomas Posey.<sup>107</sup> All members of the Rifle Corps not retained in these two companies returned to their permanent units. At this time, Lt. Adamson Tannehill was almost certainly detached from the Rifle Corps<sup>108</sup> and rejoined

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<sup>106</sup> A field return of the Rifle Corps dated 28 July 1778 shows it as being divided into two companies (109 total rank and file) commanded by Capt. Gabriel Long and James Parr (State of New York, 1900, Public papers of George Clinton, first governor of New York, Volume 3: Albany, James B. Lyon, State Printer, p. 588).

<sup>107</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Tench Tilghman to Thomas Posey (18 July 1778), Tench Tilghman to William Butler (18 July 1778), and George Washington to Philip J. Schuyler (22 July 1778), Series 4. Capt. Thomas Posey (promoted to major in late 1778) remained in command of Morgan’s Provisional Rifle Corps through early 1779. Washington sent the reduced Rifle Corps and the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment to New York State in July 1778, where they were under the overall command of Lt. Col. William Butler, to help counter depredations to settlements by loyalist units and tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy. Maj. James Parr took over command of the two-company Rifle Corps in the spring of 1779 in time for the Sullivan campaign.

<sup>108</sup> Although the tantalizing possibility is raised by Rawlings’ memorial notation of August 1778 (footnote 74), it is unlikely that Tannehill continued on detached duty in Capt. Gabriel Long’s Company of Morgan’s Provisional Rifle Corps during the Butler campaign in the last half of 1778. Two field returns of the Rifle Corps, those of 28 July 1778 (State of New York, 1900, Public papers of George Clinton, first governor of New York, Volume 3: Albany, James B. Lyon, State Printer, p. 588) and 23 August 1778 (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, William Butler [23 August 1778] Report on Troop Strength, Series 4), document that the two-company corps contained a total of five lieutenants and one ensign. The return of 28 July further specifies that Long’s company contained two of those lieutenants and the one ensign. Reuben Long was the ensign (third lieutenant) in the company (Reuben Long’s pension testimony [footnote 62]; Butler, William, 1778, Extracts from Lieutenant Colonel Butler’s journal, in State of New York, 1900, Public papers of George Clinton, first governor of New York, Volume 4: Albany, James B. Lyon, State Printer, p. 223-228). Benjamin Ashby was one of the company’s lieutenants and the Rifle Corps’ paymaster (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington Warrant Book 3 [8 August and 13 August 1778], Series 5; U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 133, Frames 324-347). Elijah Evans was most probably the other lieutenant in the company, although rolls for the last half of 1778 do not exist to confirm his presence. However, Evans and Ashby are the only lieutenants in Long’s provisional rifle company who appear on the surviving company pay rolls covering both the period immediately before the start of the 1778 Butler campaign and April through September 1779, the period of the Sullivan campaign (footnote 93). Logic and military efficiency dictate that both Evans and Ashby would have retained their detached-duty status through the intervening period of the Butler campaign. Moreover, close comparison of these rolls shows that Long’s company comprised largely the same personnel (including Ens. Reuben Long) during these periods and that it contained virtually the same number of rank and file during the 1778 Butler campaign as during the 1779 Sullivan campaign. Therefore, the 1779 rolls probably closely reflect the company’s members during the 1778 Butler campaign, and Elijah Evans and Benjamin Ashby were most likely the only lieutenants who served with Long’s company during this period.

the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment<sup>109</sup> when Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings, exchanged with Maj. Otho Holland Williams<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> Rawlings' 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*]."<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup> Implementation of this unusual ruling added few, if any, men to the regiment. Rawlings' force consisted of almost all

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<sup>109</sup> Tannehill is not listed on the muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company for the last half of 1778, at which time the unit was attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment of the Main Army (Maryland Historical Society, Revolutionary War Collection, MS 1814: Muster rolls of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company for the months of January through December 1778). Therefore, Tannehill did not return to Smith's composite company in July 1778 after the reduction of Morgan's Rifle Corps and would have reported to Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings at Fort Frederick.

<sup>110</sup> Otho Holland Williams was promoted to colonel of the 6th Maryland Regiment on 10 December 1776 while a prisoner of war, and he took command of the unit upon his exchange (Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* [new, revised, and enlarged edition]: Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 596).

<sup>111</sup> In response to a Congressional resolve of 18 February 1778 requesting that Maryland "embody a sufficient number of militia for the guarding the prisoners to be stationed at Fort Frederick" (Ford, W. C., ed., 1908, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume X, Resolves of 18 February 1778*, Washington, D.C., p. 180), the Council of Maryland recommended to the Board of War on 27 March 1778 that Rawlings take command of a guard of Maryland militia at Fort Frederick (Maryland Historical Society, 1897, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Safety, January 1-March 20, 1777; Journal and correspondence of the State Council, March 20, 1777-March 28, 1778* [Browne, W. H., ed.], Volume 16: Baltimore, The Friedenwald Co., p. 555-556 [Council to Horatio Gates, 27 March 1778]). However, maintaining a sufficient and reliable force of state militia quickly proved impractical. Therefore, starting in the late spring to early summer of 1778 Rawlings gradually replaced the militia guard with Continental Army recruits and a few recently exchanged prisoners of war who were members of his regiment (Maryland Historical Society, 1901, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778-October 26, 1779* [Browne, W. H., ed.], Volume 21: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 147-148 [Council correspondence, 24 June 1778], 148 [Council to Daniel Hughes, 24 June 1778], 198-199 [Council correspondence, 11 September 1778], 200 [Council to William Beatty, 11 September 1778]; U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 157, Item 147, Volume 2, p. 379 [Thomas Beall to Board of War, 20 November 1778]).

<sup>112</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1897, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Safety, January 1-March 20, 1777; Journal and correspondence of the State Council, March 20, 1777-March 28, 1778* (Browne, W. H., ed.), Volume 16: Baltimore, The Friedenwald Co., p. 448-450 (George Washington to Thomas Johnson, 29 December 1777).

<sup>113</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1908, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume XII, Resolves of 9 October 1778*, Washington, D.C., p. 993.

Marylanders<sup>114</sup> because by this time the Virginia elements of the unit (composing Capt. Gabriel Long's composite company) had been all but officially absorbed by the 11th Virginia Regiment.<sup>67, 115</sup> Rawlings' regiment was used by Washington to guard prisoners at Fort Frederick from mid-1778 until late May 1779.

Washington initiated more definitive measures to strengthen the regiment in early 1779. At his request,<sup>116</sup> Congress authorized on 23 January<sup>117</sup> the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment to be reorganized into three companies,<sup>118</sup> 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,<sup>119</sup> served to supplement forces engaged in the defense of frontier settlements

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<sup>114</sup> Pvt. George Helm was one of the few original 1776 members of Rawlings' regiment who was not a Marylander and yet continued to serve in the unit in 1779 (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 1248, Frames 267-299, Claim Number S 38824). In his pension testimony, he related that he enlisted in Capt. Abraham Shepherd's Virginia company with the formation of the regiment in 1776. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Fort Washington and exchanged about fourteen months later while on parole at his home in Frederick County, Virginia. He was not "called upon to join the regiment again at [nearby] Fort Frederick" until about early 1779, almost certainly because of the unit's reorganization and associated buildup at that time. He further testified that he marched with the unit to Fort Pitt and served with it in present-day western Pennsylvania and vicinity until his discharge in mid-1779.

<sup>115</sup> The process was probably not formalized by Congress until the reorganization and redesignation of the 11th Virginia Regiment as the 7th Virginia Regiment on 12 May 1779 (Wright, R. K., Jr., 1983, *The Continental Army: Washington, D.C.*, U.S. Army Center of Military History Publication 60-4-1, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 290). Because the Maryland state government had not incorporated the Maryland members of the regiment into its line units, much discontent existed among the regiment's Maryland officers. These circumstances induced at least one Maryland officer, Capt. Philemon Griffith, to resign from the service soon after his exchange as a prisoner of war captured at Fort Washington (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 1134, Frames 214-240, Claim Number S 8617 [Philemon Griffith]).

<sup>116</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress (21 January 1779), Series 4.

<sup>117</sup> Ford, W. C., ed., 1909, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume XIII, Resolves of 23 January 1779, Washington, D.C., p. 104.

<sup>118</sup> By way of comparison, Rawlings' reorganized unit now officially contained far fewer companies than, for example, the prescribed nine companies of a Continental infantry regiment in 1779 (Ford, W. C., ed., 1908, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume XI, Resolves of 27 May 1778, Washington, D.C., p. 538-539). The unit also now comprised almost all Marylanders, and during its service on the western frontier it was typically identified as the "Maryland Corps" (for example: Order for a court of inquiry [3 September 1780], in Kellogg, L. P., 1917, *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781*: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 454; footnote 161). However, no unit-redesignation orders from Washington or Congress accompanied the reorganization orders. Therefore in spite of these significant variations from the unit's original 1776 configuration, its formal name remained the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment.

<sup>119</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Moses Rawlings (21 March 1779), Series 4.



of present-day western Pennsylvania and vicinity from Indian raids. In addition to new recruits, a few men who had recently rejoined the regiment following prisoner-of-war exchanges increased the ranks of the new companies.<sup>120</sup> 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 Regim.<sup>1</sup> now doing duty in the line are to be delivered up to Lieutenant Tanneyhill [*sic*] of said regiment upon his demanding them.”<sup>121</sup> As a result, at this time the enlisted men in Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s composite company who were attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment rejoined Rawlings’ regiment.<sup>122</sup> However, the enlisted members of Smith’s composite company who were attached to Capt. Gabriel Long’s Provisional Rifle Company of Morgan’s Rifle Corps did not rejoin Rawlings’ regiment pursuant to Washington’s general order, which applied only to the Main Army then at winter quarters in Middlebrook, New Jersey, because the Rifle Corps was still on detached duty in New York State in early 1779.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> For example, Pvt. Thomas Craig of Richard Davis’ Company described in his pension testimony that he had been taken prisoner at the battle of Fort Washington and that upon his exchange he was “called into the service again under...Col.<sup>o</sup> Rawlings...guarding the British prisoners at Fort Frederick.” (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 677, Frames 419-474, Claim Number W 5255). Fellow prisoner of war Pvt. George Helm also rejoined the regiment at Fort Frederick about the same time (footnote 114).

<sup>121</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington (16 February 1779) General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 4. Tannehill later documented receipt of this order (footnote 124).

<sup>122</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804: Roll 452, Frames 006-015, Claim Number S 40792 (John Callender); Roll 782, Frames 729-744, Claim Number S 35890 (John Debruler). In his pension testimony, Pvt. John Debruler, a member of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s original 1776 company, documented that after the battle of Fort Washington “he was then attached to the eleventh regt Virginia line...[and] that he served in said Regt about fifteen months, when he was attached [*sic*] to the 4 Regt Maryland line...and in march, 1779 he was put under the command of Capt A. Tannehill and sent to Fort Lawrence [Laurens].” Fort Laurens was an outpost in the vicinity of Fort Pitt.

<sup>123</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 133, Frames 433-448; Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to James Clinton (25 January 1779), Series 4. Of the seven enlisted men from Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s composite company who were attached to Capt. Gabriel Long’s Provisional Rifle Company in July 1777, five remained in the Rifle Corps in April 1779. However, by August, all five men had left the service because their three-year enlistment periods had expired. Similarly, of the twenty-four enlisted men from Capt. Gabriel Long’s composite company who were attached to Long’s provisional rifle company in July 1777, fourteen remained in the Rifle Corps in April 1779, and by September all but one man had left the service because of the termination of their three-year enlistment periods.

<sup>124</sup> Tannehill provided supporting testimony for the pension claim of Pvt. John Callender (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 452, Frames 006-015, Claim Number S 40792), who had served with Tannehill in Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith’s composite

Although the pay and muster rolls of Rawlings' regiment for the last half of 1778 and all of 1779 do not exist in the National Archives—and presumably have not survived—other primary documentation from early 1779 (including Washington's general order of 16 February 1779) shows that Tannehill served with the regiment at Fort Frederick at least during part of its time there. In early May 1779 after Captain Beall's return to Fort Frederick and assumption of day-to-day command from Lieutenant Tannehill, he wrote a letter to Washington in which he presented a complete roster of the regiment's commissioned and staff officers: Capt. Thomas Beall, 1st Lt. Adamson Tannehill, 3d Lts. Elijah Evans and Nathaniel Magruder, Adj. Josiah Tannehill,<sup>125</sup> Quartermaster John Reid, and three officers who were still prisoners of war (1st Lt.

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company and in Rawlings' regiment at Fort Pitt. Both men had settled in Pittsburgh after the war. Tannehill's statement, written in his own hand and dated 24 April 1818, detailed "that in spring of the year 1779 Gen.<sup>l</sup> Washington ordered me to collect the scattered fragments of the Regt. & march them to Fort Pitt – that before I marched Capt. Tho.<sup>s</sup> Beall of said Regt. was exchanged & took the command & marched the remains of the Regt. to Fort Pitt aforesaid." However, Rawlings recorded in his memorial of August 1778 that Beall had already been exchanged (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 51, Item 41, Volume 8, p. 365 [A and B sides]). Beall's mid-1778 date of exchange is corroborated by pay records of the Council of Maryland for mid-September 1778, which ordered that various supplies, including those to make ammunition (cartridge paper and lead), be delivered to Beall "for the use of Col.<sup>o</sup> Rawlings's Reg<sup>t</sup>" (Maryland Historical Society, 1901, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Maryland*, April 1, 1778–October 26, 1779 [Browne, W. H., ed.], Volume 21: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 198-199 [Council correspondence, 11 September 1778]). Therefore, Tannehill was mistaken in believing that Beall had been exchanged in the spring of 1779. Furthermore, this documentation indicates that Tannehill was probably not present at Fort Frederick in mid- to late 1778—otherwise he would have known of Beall's correct technical status and of his presence in the regiment at that time. The following scenario may explain the conflicting evidence: Beall had been exchanged in about mid-1778 and returned to the regiment when Tannehill was elsewhere (most likely on an extended furlough after the reduction of Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps in July 1778). Tannehill returned to Rawlings' regiment no later than early 1779 (no later than the start of the regiment's reorganization) when Beall, himself, was engaged in official duties elsewhere. For example, we know that Beall was at Washington's headquarters at Middlebrook, New Jersey, in early March 1779 to receive funds for the reenlisting of the regiment's veterans and the recruiting of new members (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Moses Rawlings [7 March 1779], Series 4). When Captain Beall returned to Fort Frederick, he assumed de facto command of the regiment from Lieutenant Tannehill prior to their leaving for Fort Pitt.

<sup>125</sup> The Tannehill family history (footnote 78) documents that Adamson had a younger brother named Josiah. Adj. Josiah Tannehill is almost certainly Adamson's brother, although primary records cannot confirm this. Josiah Tannehill enlisted on 16 July 1775 as a private in Capt. Thomas Price's Independent Rifle Company, appearing with Adamson on the company rolls (footnote 4). Josiah was appointed adjutant of Rawlings' regiment in 1776 and was taken prisoner at the fall of Fort Washington (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 51, Item 41, Volume 8, p. 365 [A and B sides]). He was exchanged sometime prior to August 1778 and resumed his role as the regiment's adjutant. Josiah transferred to the 9th Virginia Regiment, which was then stationed at Fort Pitt, in August 1779, becoming paymaster and a commissioned officer with the rank of ensign; he also served in the 7th Virginia Regiment, and by 1783 when the army disbanded he had attained the rank of lieutenant (Library of Virginia, Proof of service of Lt. Josiah Tannehill in the Virginia Continental Line, Revolutionary War Bounty Warrants, Reel 24, File of Capt. Uriah Springer, p. 3; Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, April, 1775, to December, 1783 [new, revised, and enlarged edition]: Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 532).

Thomas H. Lockett, 2d Lt. James McCubbin Ligan, and 3d Lt. Rezin Davis).<sup>126</sup> Pay records of the Council of Maryland (formal authorizations to the state treasurer for payments to Marylanders in the Continental Army made *after* the actual claims for payment were submitted) dated 16 April 1779 and 16 August 1779 document disbursements to Adamson Tannehill and corroborate the accuracy of this roster regarding his presence in Rawlings' regiment in early and mid-1779.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, the state pay records of the same period corroborate the presence of Thomas Beall (16 August 1779), Josiah Tannehill (2 October 1778, 19 February 1779, 16 August 1779), and John Reid (16 April 1779) in the regiment and the status of Josiah Tannehill and John Reid as adjutant and quartermaster, respectively.<sup>128</sup> Nathaniel Beall Magruder had rejoined the regiment (and was commissioned a third lieutenant) in 1778 at Fort Frederick after his exchange as a prisoner of war captured at Fort Washington.<sup>129</sup> Adamson Tannehill's absence from the state pay records for the last half of 1778, the probability of him being detached from Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps after its reduction in July 1778,<sup>108</sup> his absence from Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company during the last half of 1778,<sup>109</sup> and other evidence,<sup>124</sup> all suggest that he took an extended furlough starting in the summer of 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 state pay records until December 1779, and more significantly he is shown as present on the April through September 1779

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<sup>126</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 34, Frames 375-376 (Thomas Beall to George Washington, 7 May 1779). Beall's main intent in writing to Washington was to declare that he would resign if the regiment was not assigned to the Maryland Line, highlighting a 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. Beall documented the regiment's officer corps to at least in part ensure that none of its members would be overlooked if the regiment were brought into the state line organization.

<sup>127</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1901, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778–October 26, 1779* (Browne, W. H., ed.), Volume 21: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 349-350 (Council correspondence, 16 April 1779), 494 (Council correspondence, 16 August 1779). The pertinent portion of the 16 April 1779 pay authorization states: "Ordered that the western shore Treasurer [of western Maryland] pay to Col<sup>o</sup> Moses Rawlings, one hundred and fifty Pounds for the Use of Lieut Adamson Tannehill of the Rifle Regim<sup>t</sup> and also the further Sum of One hundred and fifty Pounds for the Use of John Reid Quart. Mast. to said Reg<sup>t</sup> due them by a Resolve of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly." The 16 August 1779 record authorizes "That the said Treasurer pay to Capt Thomas Beall six thousand Dollars for the use of himself Capt Adamson Tannehill & Adjut. Josiah Tannehill Officers of that part of the late Rawlings Regim<sup>t</sup> raised and recruited in this State..."

<sup>128</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1901, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778–October 26, 1779* (Browne, W. H., ed.), Volume 21: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 213 (Council correspondence, 2 October 1778), p. 304 (Council correspondence, 19 February 1779), p. 349-350 (Council correspondence, 16 April 1779), p. 494 (Council correspondence, 16 August 1779).

<sup>129</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 157, Item 147, Volume 2, p. 379 (Thomas Beall to Board of War, 20 November 1778); Maryland Historical Society, 1924, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1779–1780* (Steiner, B. C., ed.), Volume 43: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 424 (Thomas Beall to Council, 10 February 1780).

pay rolls of Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company,<sup>93</sup> one of the two companies of Morgan's Rifle Corps then serving in the Sullivan campaign against the Iroquois Confederacy in New York.<sup>130</sup> This seemingly conflicting information on Elijah Evans' whereabouts in the late spring of 1779 can be explained by the fact that the 7 May 1779 letter is a documentation of those officers Beall 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, Beall 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, detailing what he knew about all the officers' ranks (and dates of rank).

### Fort Pitt and the Western Department

After the recruitment of the three companies had been no more than partially completed<sup>131</sup> and the regiment's replacements from the Maryland militia for duty at Fort Frederick<sup>132</sup> had been assembled, Rawlings' men set off for Fort Pitt, arriving there on 28 May 1779.<sup>133</sup> On 2 June 1779 Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings resigned his command of the

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<sup>130</sup> While participating in the campaign conducted by Maj. Gen. John Sullivan against the Iroquois Confederacy in the Mohawk Valley of New York in the late spring through mid-fall of 1779, Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps consisted of two companies—Capts. Michael Simpson's and Gabriel Long's—with Maj. James Parr as the corps' commanding officer. Gabriel Long resigned on 13 May 1779 (Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775, to December, 1783* [new, revised, and enlarged edition]: Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 356), and his company was commanded by its senior officer, Lt. Elijah Evans, throughout the Sullivan campaign. Adamson Tannehill is not listed on the April through September 1779 pay rolls of Michael Simpson's and Gabriel Long's companies—the only surviving rolls of these two companies for 1779 (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 93, Microcopy M246, Roll 133, Frames 335-347, 433-448, 465, and 476-484).

<sup>131</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings had great difficulty recruiting for his regiment in Maryland in the late winter and spring of 1779. 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” (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Congress [15 March 1779], Series 4). 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. About one month later Maryland governor Thomas Johnson reported to Washington that Rawlings had expanded his three-company regiment to about 100 men (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Thomas Johnson to George Washington [23 April 1779], Series 4). However, a muster roll of Rawlings' regiment at Fort Pitt records that within one year the three-company force consisted of only sixty enlisted men (footnote 150). The unit had lost about half of its troop strength (with a force of about fifty men remaining) in mid-1779 (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Brodhead to George Washington [29 May 1779], Series 4; Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 146-148 [Daniel Brodhead to George Washington, 31 July 1779]) because the three-year enlistment periods of those men who had joined the regiment during its organization in mid-1776 had terminated.

<sup>132</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Moses Rawlings (21 March 1779), George Washington to Board of War (8 April 1779), Series 4.

<sup>133</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Brodhead to George Washington (29 May 1779), Series 4. On 6 June Adamson Tannehill served as a member of a general court-martial held at Fort

regiment,<sup>134</sup> and Capt. Thomas Beall, as senior officer, assumed formal control, with Adamson Tannehill becoming second in charge. The regiment, now most commonly identified as the “Maryland Corps” in period documents,<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>135</sup> 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.<sup>136</sup> 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. Since early April 1779 Brodhead had been the commandant of Fort Pitt and in command of the Western

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Pitt (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Proceedings of Continental Army Court-Martial [6 June 1779], Series 4), thus documenting his arrival there with his regiment only nine days earlier.

<sup>134</sup> Heitman, F. B., 1914, *Historical register of officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, April, 1775, to December, 1783 (new, revised, and enlarged edition): Washington, D.C., The Rare Book Shop Publishing Co., p. 459. In Rawlings’ second memorial to Congress, dated 28 November 1785, the regimental commander 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” (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 51, Item 41, Volume 8, p. 361). Rawlings’ frustration over his inability to rebuild the regiment to his satisfaction was probably exacerbated by Washington’s refusal to permit the Maryland contingent of the German Battalion (an Extra Continental regiment then with the Main Army that had been recruited in Pennsylvania and Maryland) to accompany his regiment to Fort Pitt (Steuart, Rieman, 1969, *A history of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783*: Towson, Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, p. 122), in spite of a 25 March 1779 resolve of the Maryland State House of Delegates (exceeding its authority) to combine the two forces into a single regiment (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Council of Maryland to George Washington [26 March 1779], Series 4). Governor Thomas Johnson of Maryland included a copy of the resolve in a letter to Washington dated 26 March 1779. Washington detailed his reasons for not accepting the resolve in a response to Johnson on 8 April 1779 (Maryland Historical Society, 1901, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778–October 26, 1779* [Browne, W. H., ed.], Volume 21: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 339-340). Rawlings continued in the war effort by serving as the commandant of prisoners of war at Fort Frederick, appointed by the Board of War in late September 1779 (Maryland Historical Society, 1901, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the Council of Maryland, April 1, 1778–October 26, 1779* [Browne, W. H., ed.], Volume 21: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 546 [Council to James Wiley, 4 October 1779]), and as Deputy Commissary of Prisoners for Maryland (for example, Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Moses Rawlings to George Washington [2 December 1781], George Washington to Moses Rawlings [12 December 1781], Series 4), apparently until late in the war when enemy prisoners were no longer retained in Maryland.

<sup>135</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Brodhead to George Washington—Return of troops in the Western Department (17 April 1779), Series 4.

<sup>136</sup> Wright, R. K., Jr., 1983, *The Continental Army*: Washington, D.C., U.S. Army Center of Military History Publication 60-4-1, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 265, 291.

Department,<sup>137</sup> where his primary task was to neutralize aggression by Indian tribes against surrounding frontier settlements. 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.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> The pension testimony of Pvt. James Dowden records that enlisted men of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment took part in the campaign.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, Capt. Van Swearingen of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment documented Capt. Adamson Tannehill’s participation in the expedition (footnote 162), confirming that the regiment (or at least a contingent of it) composed part of Brodhead’s force. Tannehill 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.<sup>141</sup>

Primary records documenting further details of the deployment and activities of Rawlings’ regiment and its officers during their tenure in the Western Department are considerably sparser than those of the 8th Pennsylvania and 9th Virginia Regiments, probably reflecting the unit’s much smaller size.<sup>131</sup> However, the spotty information that does exist indicates that the regiment was quite active, serving in detachments at several of the frontier posts in the vicinity of Fort Pitt, the department headquarters. Within about two weeks of the unit’s arrival at Fort Pitt in late May 1779, Colonel Brodhead ordered part of Rawlings’ regiment and other troops, all under the command of Lt. Col. Richard Campbell of the 9th Virginia Regiment, to escort provisions to Fort Laurens (located in what is now eastern Ohio).<sup>142</sup> Campbell relieved the existing garrison,

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<sup>137</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Brodhead to George Washington (3 April 1779), Series 4.

<sup>138</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 155-158 (Daniel Brodhead to George Washington, 16 September 1779); Ford, W. C., ed., 1909, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume XV, Resolves of 27 October 1779*, Washington, D.C., p. 1212-1213.

<sup>139</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 106-108 (Daniel Brodhead to Joseph Reed, 15 April 1779).

<sup>140</sup> Pvt. James Dowden, who enlisted in the regiment in early 1779, attested to his participation in the destruction of “the Munsee [*sic*] and Mingo Towns” (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 844, Frames 145-161, Claim Number S 30996).

<sup>141</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 360, Microcopy M247, Roll 158, Item 147, Volume 3, p. 389-390 (Board of War to Congress, 5 June 1779); Ford, W. C., ed., 1909, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789: Library of Congress, Volume XIV, Resolves of 29 July 1779*, Washington, D.C., p. 896.

<sup>142</sup> Daniel Brodhead’s orders (14 June 1779), in Kellogg, L. P., 1916, *Frontier advance on the upper Ohio, 1778-1779: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, p. 364. The pension testimonies of enlisted men in Rawlings’ regiment record their presence at Fort Laurens at this time (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804: Roll 782, Frames 729-744, Claim Number S 35890 [John Debruler]; Roll 844, Frames 145-161, Claim Number S 30996 [James Dowden]; Roll 1248, Frames 267-299, Claim Number S 38824 [George Helm]).

replacing it with the seventy-five enlisted men who accompanied him, and took command of the post. At the same time, some or all of the remainder of Rawlings' unit may have composed part of Lt. Col. Stephen Bayard's (8th Pennsylvania Regiment) force of 120 men who were charged with erecting and manning a stockade fort at Kittanning (Fort Armstrong) along the Allegheny River northeast of Fort Pitt.<sup>143</sup> In late July Brodhead requested that Campbell, Bayard, and their troops return to Fort Pitt as part of the department commander's efforts to gather his forces for the assault against the Mingo and Muncy Indian villages on the Allegheny River.<sup>144</sup> The Fort Laurens garrison arrived at headquarters in early August<sup>145</sup> in time for most or all of Rawlings' regiment to participate in the Brodhead campaign of mid-August to mid-September. However, the regiment had been reduced by about half just before the departure of Brodhead's force due to the expiration of the three-year enlistments of many of the men.<sup>131</sup> With the completion of the campaign (or perhaps before the expedition), detachments of Rawlings' regiment were posted at Holliday's Cove and Wheeling,<sup>146</sup> subsidiary forts located along the Ohio River west and southwest of Fort Pitt, respectively, in present-day northernmost

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<sup>143</sup> Daniel Brodhead's orders (17 June 1779), in Kellogg, L. P., 1916, *Frontier advance on the upper Ohio, 1778-1779*: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 364; Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume VII, p. 505-506 (Daniel Brodhead to Joseph Reed, 24 June 1779). Washington's early orders to Brodhead regarding the initial deployment of Rawlings' regiment stated that "upon [Rawlings'] arrival [at Fort Pitt] you are to detach him with his own Corps...to take post at Kittanning and immediately throw up a stockade Fort for the security of Convoys. When this is accomplished, a small Garrison is to be left there, and the remainder are to proceed to Venango and establish another post of the same kind, for the same purpose" (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Brodhead [22 March 1779], Series 4). Venango was located along the Allegheny River north of Fort Pitt. Brodhead acknowledged receipt of the orders, stating that "as soon as [Rawlings] arrives & his Men are refreshed I will give him instructions for building a Fort at Kittanning & another at Venango" (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, Daniel Brodhead to George Washington [17 April 1779], Series 4). In early May Washington reiterated to Brodhead his desire to have the two posts established (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Brodhead [3 May 1779], Series 4). When Rawlings' regiment's arrived at Fort Pitt on 28 May, Brodhead presumably complied with Washington's original orders, although only part of the regiment would have been used. However, no direct evidence could be found to confirm that elements of Rawlings' regiment were deployed to either post in mid-1779.

<sup>144</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 141 (Daniel Brodhead to Richard Campbell, 30 July 1779), p. 139 (Daniel Brodhead to Stephen Bayard, 20 July 1779). While Campbell's and Bayard's forces were at Forts Laurens and Armstrong, respectively, Brodhead received permission from Washington to proceed against the towns of hostile Indians along the Allegheny River (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Brodhead [23 June 1779], Series 4).

<sup>145</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 154-155 (Daniel Brodhead to John Sullivan, 6 August 1779). At least one enlisted man in Rawlings' regiment who had been posted at Fort Laurens in mid-1779 attested in his pension testimony to his subsequent participation in the Brodhead campaign (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 844, Frames 145-161, Claim Number S 30996 [James Dowden]).

<sup>146</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 194-195 (Joseph Finley to Richard Taylor, 28 November 1779), p. 195-196 (Daniel Brodhead to Jacob Springer, 5 December 1779); Daniel Brodhead to Jacob Springer (5 December 1779), in Kellogg, L. P., 1917, *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781*: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 119.

West Virginia, before the entire unit spent the historically severe winter of 1779-1780 at Fort Pitt.<sup>147</sup> With the coming of the spring of 1780, Brodhead sent Capt. Thomas Beall with “party & provisions” (presumably including troops of Rawlings’ regiment) to garrison Forts Crawford and Armstrong (both located along the Allegheny River northeast of Fort Pitt).<sup>148</sup> In late April he also dispatched Capt. Adamson Tannehill to Philadelphia to call on Richard Peters, the Secretary of the Board of War, to procure desperately needed clothing for the troops of the Western Department.<sup>149</sup> During the campaign season of 1780, detachments of Rawlings’ regiment almost certainly continued to occupy the department’s frontier forts. However, the historical record of their specific deployments during this period is even more sketchy than that during 1779.

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.<sup>150</sup> The roll also records that the three companies composing the much-

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<sup>147</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume VIII, p. 21 (Daniel Brodhead to Archibald Steel, 22 November 1779; Orders of Joseph Finley, 24 November 1779), p. 119-120 (Daniel Brodhead to Richard Peters, 27 February 1780). In his pension testimony, Pvt. James Dowden recorded that he was stationed at Fort Pitt during the winter of 1779-1780 (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 844, Frames 145-161, Claim Number S 30996).

<sup>148</sup> Orders for Capt. Thomas Beall (23 April 1780), in Kellogg, L. P., 1917, *Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781*: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 174; Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 225-226 (Daniel Brodhead to Archibald Lochry, 25 April 1780), p. 230 (Daniel Brodhead to Thomas Beall, 6 May 1780).

<sup>149</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 224-225 (Daniel Brodhead to Richard Peters, 25 April 1780). Brodhead had initially requested new stocks of clothing in the fall of 1779 (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Brodhead [18 October 1779], Series 4), and Clothier General James Wilkinson forwarded them on in mid-November (Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 199 [Daniel Brodhead to James Wilkinson, 13 December 1779]). However, “the great depth of snow upon the mountains” and generally severe winter conditions prevented their delivery to Fort Pitt (Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 209 [Daniel Brodhead to James Wilkinson, 27 February 1780]). Brodhead was not able to further address the critical problem until early spring when he again wrote to Wilkinson, stating rather forcefully that “Capt’n Tannehill, at the request and expense of the Officers of this Department, proceeds to Philad’a in full expectation of receiving the Clothing allowed them by an act of the Hon’ble Congress bearing date the 25th day of last November” (Pennsylvania Archives, Series 1, Volume XII, p. 226 [Daniel Brodhead to James Wilkinson, 27 April 1780]; Ford, W. C., ed., 1909, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*: Library of Congress, Volume XV, Resolves of 25 November 1779, Washington, D.C., p. 1304-1306).

<sup>150</sup> “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,” in Maryland Historical Society, 1900, *Archives of Maryland: muster rolls and other records of service of Maryland troops in the American Revolution (1775-1783)*, Volume 18: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 350-351. Elijah Evans’ detached duty in Capt. Gabriel Long’s Provisional Rifle Company of Morgan’s Rifle Corps ended in early November 1779 with the formal disbanding of the unit (Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington [7 November 1779] General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 4). 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 (Maryland Historical Society, 1924, *Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1779-*



reduced regiment consisted of only six sergeants, four corporals, four drummers and fifers, and forty-six privates during the 1780 composite period. 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.<sup>151</sup> On 14 August 1780 at Fort Pitt, Captain 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.<sup>152</sup> Adamson Tannehill therefore succeeded Beall as commander of the regiment. Shortly thereafter on 1 November, Captain Tannehill received orders to proceed to Fort McIntosh (located along the Ohio River northwest of Fort Pitt) to relieve the post commander.<sup>153</sup> He arrived there by 6 November,<sup>154</sup> although his regiment remained deployed elsewhere. On 16 December, Tannehill was in turn relieved as commander of the fort, and his regiment was ordered to replace the existing garrison.<sup>155</sup>

### Disbanding of the Regiment

Captain Tannehill’s command of Fort McIntosh and the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment was 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.<sup>156</sup> All Additional and Extra Continental regiments, such as the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, that had not been annexed

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1780 [Steiner, B. C., ed.], Volume 43: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 68-69 [Council correspondence, 26 January 1780]).

<sup>151</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1927, Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1780–1781 (Steiner, B. C., ed.), Volume 45: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 69-70 (Thomas Beall to Governor Thomas Sim Lee and Council, 30 August 1780).

<sup>152</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington (13 October 1780) General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 5.

<sup>153</sup> John Gibson to Benjamin Biggs (1 November 1780), in Kellogg, L. P., 1917, Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 289.

<sup>154</sup> Receipt of Adamson Tannehill to Benjamin Biggs (6 November 1780), in Kellogg, L. P., 1917, Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 289.

<sup>155</sup> Daniel Brodhead to John Clark (16 December 1780), in Kellogg, L. P., 1917, Frontier retreat on the upper Ohio, 1779-1781: Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, p. 309. In his pension testimony, Pvt. James Dowden of Rawlings’ regiment recorded that he was stationed at Fort McIntosh during the winter of 1780-1781 (U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, Record Group 15, Microcopy M804, Roll 844, Frames 145-161, Claim Number S 30996).

<sup>156</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington (1 November 1780) General Orders, Series 3, Subseries G, Letterbook 5.

to a state line organization were to be disbanded by that date. Many of Rawlings' men, including Tannehill, received discharges on 1 January 1781,<sup>157</sup> and those members of the unit who had enlisted for the duration of the war were transferred to the Maryland Line.<sup>158</sup> The last of these men marched from Fort Pitt to their new assignments in mid-November.<sup>159</sup>

### Afterword

In a letter to Maj. Gen. William Smallwood penned on Christmas day of 1780,<sup>160</sup> 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 with the letter—one listing the regiment's officers and another showing a tally of the enlisted men<sup>161</sup> to highlight the point. Tannehill's objective was to gain General 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."<sup>162</sup> The request could not be granted, but

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<sup>157</sup> "Officers in the Maryland part of the Rifle Regiment Supernumerary Jany., 1st, 1781," in Maryland Historical Society, 1900, Archives of Maryland: muster rolls and other records of service of Maryland troops in the American Revolution (1775-1783), Volume 18: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 365.

<sup>158</sup> Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, George Washington to Daniel Brodhead (10 January 1781), Series 4.

<sup>159</sup> Maryland Historical Society, 1930, Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1781 [Pleasants, J. H., ed.], Volume 47: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 547 (John Gibson to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, 12 November 1781).

<sup>160</sup> Maryland State Archives, Maryland State Papers (Series A), Box 21, Item 120, MSA No. S 1004-27, 2 p. (Adamson Tannehill to William Smallwood, 25 December 1780). The letter is published in Maryland Historical Society, 1927, Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1780-1781 (Steiner, B. C., ed.), Volume 45: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 209-210 (Adamson Tannehill to William Smallwood, 25 December 1780).

<sup>161</sup> Maryland State Archives, Maryland State Papers (Series A), Box 21, Items 119A and 119B, MSA No. S 1004-27, 4 p: "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. Col.<sup>o</sup> Moses Rawlings) of Foot in the Army of the United States, under the Command of His Excellency Gen.<sup>l</sup> Washington, Specifying the expiration of Inlistments [*sic*], Monthly from the 10th. of October 1780 to July next inclusively, together with the number engaged to Serve during the War" (both returns are dated 25 December 1780). The first return lists Capt. Adamson Tannehill and Lt. Elijah Evans as the commissioned officers; the second return records five sergeants, three drummers and fifers, and forty-three rank and file.

<sup>162</sup> In his efforts to remain in the service, Tannehill also apparently solicited the aid of at least one officer with whom he had served to provide firsthand testimony of his service history. In a letter dated 16 March

Adamson Tannehill's surviving words are testimony to his dedicated five and a half years of armed service toward the establishment of his new country.

## Summary

### The Regiment

The Continental Congress directed the organization of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment in resolves dated 17 and 27 June 1776. The unit comprised three of the four independent Continental rifle companies that had formed in Maryland and Virginia in mid-1775, and six new companies—two from Maryland and four from Virginia. The two-state composition of the new regiment precluded it from being managed through a single state government and was, therefore, directly responsible to national authority (as an Extra Continental regiment). The regiment's field officers were drawn from the original three 1775 companies based on their seniority—Hugh Stephenson became the colonel, Moses Rawlings the lieutenant colonel, and Otho Holland Williams the major. All company officers were appointed in the summer of 1776, and subsequent recruiting for the unit in the two states extended to the end of the year.

By early November 1776 most of the regiment's officers and enlisted men had joined Washington's Main Army while it was engaged in the battle for New York City. They were initially stationed at Fort Washington on Manhattan Island and nearby Fort Lee on the opposite side of the Hudson River. On 16 November most of the regiment was captured or killed during the battle of Fort Washington. Lieutenant Colonel Rawlings was commanding the regiment at that time because Colonel Stephenson had earlier died of illness and had not been replaced. However, many members of the regiment (about one-third the number in the engagement) were not present at the battle because they were still completing organization and recruiting, and they continued to serve actively with the Main Army. In early December Washington provisionally grouped the remnants of the diminished regiment into two composite rifle companies commanded by the unit's highest ranking officers still free—Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith and Gabriel Long. Smith's company comprised all the remaining Marylanders in the regiment, whereas the Virginians of the unit were placed under Long's command.

The regiment's two composite companies served with the Main Army during its retreat across New Jersey in late 1776, in the ensuing battles of Trenton and Princeton,

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1781 to Maryland governor Thomas Sim Lee, Van Swearingen (former captain in Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps and veteran of the Saratoga campaign) testified on behalf of both Capt. Adamson Tannehill and Lt. Elijah Evans, concluding that "my Country... would be much benefited by the [continued] Service of those Gentlemen in the field" (Maryland Historical Society, 1930, Archives of Maryland: journal and correspondence of the State Council of Maryland, 1781 [Pleasants, J. H., ed.], Volume 47: Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, p. 129-130). Swearingen also affirmed Tannehill's service in Morgan's Rifle Corps "at the seige [*sic*] and Capture of Burgoyne"—the Saratoga campaign—and his participation in the expedition "with the Commanding Officer of the western departm<sup>t</sup> against the Mingo"—the Brodhead expedition against the Mingo and Muncy Indians of present-day western Pennsylvania conducted from 11 August to 14 September 1779.

and in the early 1777 skirmishing in northern New Jersey. While in winter quarters at Morristown, the two-company force supported detached elements in front-line positions and conducted patrols in northern New Jersey, primarily to keep the enemy's aggressive foraging activities in check. Because the two units under Captains Smith and Long provided an experienced, if small, force in being, Washington also used them to bolster the new 11th Virginia Regiment commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan after its arrival at Morristown in early April by formally attaching them to this Virginia regiment. Their permanent unit, however, remained the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment.

In early June 1777 Washington created additional provisional rifle companies to form the Provisional Rifle Corps and placed it under the command of Daniel Morgan. Morgan then simultaneously led the 11th Virginia Regiment, his permanent unit, and this provisional unit. Some of the officers and enlisted men in Smith's and Long's composite companies, as well as others detached from infantry regiments, were selected to join this regiment-sized force. The men from the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment all served in Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company, one of the Rifle Corps' eight companies. Like Morgan, Long was now technically in command of two Continental Army units, one permanent and one provisional. Long served in the Rifle Corps until his resignation in May 1779.

Most members of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, however, were not chosen for the Rifle Corps and remained with the Main Army. The Marylanders in Smith's composite company served with the 11th Virginia Regiment 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 Long's composite company remained attached to the 11th Virginia Regiment and fought at the same engagements in 1777 and 1778. Lt. (later Capt.) Philip Slaughter was the acting commander of the company during Long's two-year attachment to the Rifle Corps and its permanent commander after Long's resignation. Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's term of service with the Main Army ended in September 1780 when Congress approved his resignation from the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment.

When Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings was exchanged from British captivity in early 1778, he assumed command of the prisoner-of-war camp at Fort Frederick, Maryland, while the elements of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment were in winter quarters. Maj. Otho Holland Williams had been promoted to colonel of the 6th Maryland Regiment in December 1776 while a prisoner of war, and he took command of this unit upon his exchange with Rawlings. The position of major in the reduced Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment was never refilled. In the late spring of 1778, Rawlings began marshalling his regiment (mostly returning prisoners of war) and recruiting new members, although with limited success. Washington initiated definitive measures to strengthen the regiment in early 1779. At his request, Congress authorized on 23 January the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment to be reorganized into three companies and reassigned from Fort Frederick to Fort Pitt, headquarters of the Continental Army's Western Department. On 16 February Washington also ordered that all the regiment's

detached members in the Main Army be reincorporated into the unit. The reorganization served to supplement forces engaged in the defense of frontier settlements of present-day western Pennsylvania and vicinity from Indian raids. Pursuant to Washington's order, the enlisted men in Smith's composite company who were attached to the 4th Maryland Regiment rejoined Rawlings' command. In contrast, the Virginians of Long's composite company already had been all but formally incorporated into the 11th Virginia Regiment by order of the Virginia state government in February 1777. (The state had exceeded its authority in this action, which was technically only within the purview of Congress. Washington tacitly accepted the arrangement, but the process was probably not formalized by Congress until the reorganization and redesignation of the 11th Virginia Regiment as the 7th Virginia Regiment on 12 May 1779.) Moreover, the enlisted men of Smith's and Long's companies who were still attached to the Provisional Rifle Corps (not part of the Main Army) remained in that unit until mid-1779, at which time they left the service because their three-year enlistment periods had expired. Therefore, Rawlings' force now consisted of almost all Marylanders and was typically identified as the "Maryland Corps" during its service on the western frontier. Because no unit-redesignation orders accompanied the reorganization orders, the unit's formal name remained the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment despite significant variations from the unit's original 1776 configuration.

After recruitment of the three companies, Rawlings' men set off for Fort Pitt, arriving there in late May 1779. However, on 2 June Rawlings resigned his command of the regiment and remained the commandant of Fort Frederick and subsequently served as Deputy Commissary of Prisoners for Maryland. The regiment, now commanded by the senior captain (Thomas Beall and later Adamson Tannehill), complemented the existing garrison at Fort Pitt: the 8th Pennsylvania and 9th Virginia Regiments. In his most notable tactical achievement, Western Department commander Col. Daniel Brodhead led the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment and the bulk of his other Continental regulars to the upper waters of the Allegheny River in August and September 1779, where they destroyed the villages and crops of hostile Indians. However, from mid-1779 until late 1780 the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment was primarily deployed in detachments at several of the frontier outposts in the general vicinity of Fort Pitt.

The Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment was disbanded on 1 January 1781. Many of the regiment's men received discharges on that date, and those members of the unit who had enlisted for the duration of the war were transferred to the Maryland Line.

#### Adamson Tannehill

Surviving rolls and other primary records of Capt. Thomas Price's Independent Rifle Company, Capt. Otho Holland Williams' Independent Rifle Company, the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (Capt. Philemon Griffith's Company, Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company), the 11th Virginia Regiment (Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's composite company, as an attached unit), Col. Daniel Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps (Capt. Gabriel Long's Provisional Rifle Company),

and again the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (mid-1778 until disbanding) document that Adamson Tannehill served in all five of these organizations during his service in the War of American Independence.

While in Price's and Williams' companies (as a sergeant and third lieutenant), Tannehill saw action at the Siege of Boston from the summer of 1775 until the late winter of 1776 and moved to New York and participated in the early skirmishes around Staten Island in the spring and early summer of 1776. After the organization of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment, he traveled back to Maryland in the midsummer of 1776 to recruit badly needed replacements for the rifleman ranks as a member of Griffith's company (as a second lieutenant), not returning to the Main Army until late November 1776 after the fall of Fort Washington. He participated in the Trenton-Princeton campaign and the skirmishing in northern New Jersey during the winter and spring of 1777 with Smith's composite company.

Tannehill then served with Long's company of Morgan's Provisional Rifle Corps (as a first lieutenant) in the summer and fall of 1777 through the first and second battles of Freeman's Farm (Saratoga) and the surrender of Burgoyne, moving south again with the Provisional Rifle Corps to rejoin the Main Army at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, in mid-November 1777 and soon thereafter to enter winter quarters at Valley Forge. He most probably also served with Long's company at the battle of Monmouth in June 1778.

Tannehill then traveled to Maryland in the summer of 1778, most likely to begin an extended furlough lasting until no later than early February 1779—by which time he rejoined the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment at Fort Frederick, Maryland, where it was guarding prisoners of war. He and the regiment subsequently moved to Fort Pitt in present-day western Pennsylvania in the late spring of 1779 where the unit was largely involved in monitoring the activities of hostile Indian tribes. He (as a captain and later as the regimental commander) remained at this post until the regiment formally disbanded on 1 January 1781. Tannehill's period of service in the Continental Army extended from 23 June 1775 to 1 January 1781.

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