



**Historic Structures Report  
Logistical and Quartermaster Operations  
at  
Fortress West Point, 1778-1783**

**Prepared for West Point Museum**

*by*

**Douglas R. Cubbison  
Directorate of Public Works  
U.S. Military Academy  
West Point, New York**

**GIS Analysis by  
Kris Brown and Matthew Fletcher  
DPW, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, New York**

**22 February 2006**



**Historic Structures Report  
Logistical and Quartermaster Operations  
at  
Fortress West Point, 1778-1783  
Contents**

**Acknowledgements**

**1.0 Introduction and Study Objectives**

**2.0 Resource Types, Descriptions and Known Locations**

- 2.1 Hospitals and Burial Ground
- 2.2 Docks and Hudson River Operations
- 2.3 Bake Ovens
- 2.4 Artificers (Including Forges and Blacksmith Shops)
- 2.5 Wagon Yard, Forage Yard, Animal Pens and Storehouses
- 2.6 Wood Yard
- 2.7 Sutlers and Civilian Activities
- 2.8 Chapels and Religious Facilities
- 2.9 Encampments
- 2.10 Barracks
- 2.11 Revolutionary War Fire Station
- 2.12 Jail and Execution Hollow
- 2.13 Artillery Park
- 2.14 The Plain
- 2.15 Ammunition Magazines
- 2.16 Headquarters Buildings and Officers Housing

### 3.0 Analysis of 1801 Charles Wilson Peale Sketches

### 4.0 Conclusions

## Bibliography – West Point in the War for American Independence

### Primary Sources

### Archaeological Reports and Studies

### Secondary Sources

## Figures

Front Cover	“Visit to a Military Encampment, Seven Years War” [Detail from Miniature, c. 1756-1763] by Louis Nicolas Van Blarenberghe
One	Redoubt No. 3 Encampment Area
Two	Representative Continental Army Encampment, Portrait of Pennsylvania Colonel Walter Stewart, Spring 1781, by Charles Wilson Peale
Three	Execution Hollow during early construction of Mortar Battery Byrne
Four	“Colonnade Erected on The Plain to Celebrate Birth of Dauphin of France, May 31, 1782”
Five	“Old Gridley’s Tavern, West Point, 1871”
Six	“Thompson’s House or Washington’s Cottage, West Point, November 1870”
Seven	“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain” by Charles Wilson Peale, 1801
Eight	“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain” by Charles Wilson Peale, 1801
Nine	“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain” With Legend
Ten	“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain” With Legend

## Photographs

One	Graves of Ensign Dominick Trant, 9 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts and Presumed Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier, West Point Cemetery
Two	Tombstone of Unknown Soldier from West Point Library Vicinity. New Windsor State Historic Site, New Windsor, New York
Three	Commemorative Plaque to Moore House, Target Hill Field, West Point

## Maps

One	“Revolutionary War Hospital, West Point, 1780” by a French Officer.
Two	“Revolutionary War Burying Ground, West Point, 1820” by Cadet G. Bruffs
Three	“Row Galley (Gunboat) Guarding Chain across Hudson River, West Point, 1779” by Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment
Four	“Revolutionary War Dock, West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”\
Five	“Revolutionary War Blacksmith, West Point, 1780” by Engineer Villefranche
Six	“Sketch of Storehouses and Landing, Fortress West Point, August 11, 1779” by Cornelius Ten Broeck
Seven	“Revolutionary War Wagon Yard, Forage Yard and Commissary, West Point, 1780”by Engineer Villefranche
Eight	“Revolutionary War Logistical and Supply Buildings, West Point, 1779” by Captain Moses Greenleaf
Nine	“Redoubt No. 4 Encampment, West Point, 1779”by Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment

Ten	“Detail- Redoubt No. 4 and Encampment, West Point, 1779” by Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment
Eleven	“Continental Army Barracks in Vicinity of Fort Clinton, West Point, 1779” by Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11 <sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment
Twelve	“Continental Army Barracks in Vicinity of Fort Clinton, West Point, 1780” by Engineer Villefranche
Thirteen	“Continental Army Barracks in Vicinity of Fort Clinton, West Point, 1820” by Cadet G. Bruffs
Fourteen	“Revolutionary War Jail and Execution Hollow, West Point, 1780” by a French Officer
Fifteen	“Execution Hollow, West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”
Sixteen	“Ammunition Magazine, Redoubt No. 7, Constitution Island, West Point 1780” by a French Officer
Seventeen	“Revolutionary War Officers Housing and Headquarters/Administrative Buildings, West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”
Eighteen	“West Point 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”

## Acknowledgements

I particularly wish to acknowledge the assistance of Ms. Deborah DeSilvo, Ms. Heather Bischoff, Ms. Sharon Gillespie, and the other members of the Inter-Library Loan Department of the U.S. Military Academy Library, who located numerous references and sources for me that would have otherwise been unobtainable. This study could not have been performed without their generous and always uncomplaining assistance. Mr. Alan Aimone, Research Librarian also with the USMA Library, provided considerable research assistance on numerous occasions.

Additional research assistance was provided by Ms. Katherine Ludwig, Associate Librarian and Mr. Greg Johnson, Research Assistant with the David Library of the American Revolution, Washington's Crossing, Pennsylvania who generously provided recurring access to that institution's superb microfilm collection.

Mr. Travis Beckwith, West Point Architectural Historian, provided frequent assistance, particularly with the graphics research and preparation for this study. Travis and Mr. Paul Ackerman, Conservator at the West Point Museum, both reviewed advanced drafts of this report and provided invaluable comments and recommendations to improve it.



## **Historic Structures Report Logistical and Quartermaster Operations at Fortress West Point, 1778-1783**

### **1.0 Introduction and Study Objectives**

This study was prepared at the request of Mr. Paul Ackermann, Conservator at the West Point Museum, to assist the West Point Museum with planned interpretation on the appearance of Revolutionary War West Point, to include the location of structures and activities other than the relatively well-documented redoubts and river batteries.

Considerable research has been performed on the military fortifications of Fortress West Point. However, West Point was much more than simply a fortified military position astride the Hudson River. It was also a major supply depot and logistical center for the main American army within the Hudson Highlands. The Continental Army is known to have operated a wide range of logistical and supply operations at West Point, which this report will attempt to document as comprehensively as possible:

- Hospitals and Burial Ground;
- Docks and Hudson River Operations, including ferries and boats;
- Bake Ovens;
- Artificers, including forges and blacksmith shops;
- Wagon Yard, Forage Yard, Animal Pens and Storehouses;
- Wood Yard (storage for both firewood and construction materials);
- Sutlers and Civilian Activities (Laundresses, Markets);
- Chapels and Religious Facilities;
- Encampments;
- Barracks;

- Fire Engine and Station;
- Jail and Military Discipline;
- Artillery Park;
- The Plain;
- Ammunition Magazines; and
- Officers Housing and Headquarters Buildings.

It should be noted that this study is intended to be a companion piece to the *Historic Structures Report on the Redoubts of West Point*, and the *Historic Structures Report on River Defenses at Fortress West Point, 1778-1783* previously prepared by the author.<sup>1</sup>

One of the objectives of this study was to locate as many primary sources as possible, particularly those accounts by private soldiers and officers who were stationed at West Point. Although a large number of primary sources were compiled for this study, which are fully documented in the bibliography, many of these were unfortunately found to be of limited utility. Typical of the less useful sources is that of Private Samuel Vaughan of the 5<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Line. Private Vaughan was engaged in the initial construction of Fort Putnam, and subsequently served as an artificer at West Point. Unfortunately, his succinct journal entries provided little information regarding the construction of Fortress West Point, or military activities there. One of Vaughan's typical, and highly picturesque, journal entries was recorded on April 7, 1778: "Tuesday Now in Camped tents pitched at West Pint one top of ae high hill [Tuesday Now encamped in tents pitched at West Point on top of a high hill]."<sup>2</sup> Since the Hudson Highlands consists of nothing but high hills rising from the Hudson River for nearly twenty miles to the west, the rather vague military encampment location "on top of a high hill" is of absolutely no value to historians. Similarly, although these primary sources provided considerable information on activities and events at West Point, detailed locations of structures or facilities, and precise information on their appearance and construction, were generally not described.

A focused effort was made to locate primary source maps of West Point that provided locations of logistical and support facilities. Numerous maps of Revolutionary War West Point were located, but the overwhelming majority was focused upon the military fortifications and fields of fire, rather than support or logistical facilities. However, three maps were located that do document such features. The first such map was prepared by Major Chevalier de Villefranche, a French Engineer who served with the Continental Army at West Point. Villefranche prepared this map in 1780, and it has been widely reproduced. A facsimile from an 1863 history of West Point was utilized for this study, because of a higher quality of reproduction.<sup>3</sup> Another valuable map was prepared by an anonymous French Officer, also in 1780. Again, a facsimile from the Centennial history of West Point was utilized for this study, because of a higher quality of reproduction.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the Massachusetts Historical Society has a copy of a colored map of West Point prepared by Captain Moses Greenleaf in 1778. Copies of all of these maps are provided.

---

<sup>1</sup> Douglas R. Cubbison, *Historic Structures Report, The Redoubts of West Point* (West Point, New York: Directorate of Housing and Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, January 2004); and *Historic Structures Report, River Defenses of Fortress West Point, 1778-1783* (West Point, New York: Directorate of Housing and Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, January 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Virginia Steele Wood, Editor, "The Journal of Private Zebulon Vaughan, Revolutionary Soldier, 1777-1780" *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 113 (February 1979), 107.

<sup>3</sup> Captain Edward C. Boynton, *History of West Point* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863), 86.

<sup>4</sup> Association of Graduates, U.S. Military Academy, *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, 1802-1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), I: 204.

## 2.0 Resource Types, Descriptions and Known Locations

### 2.1 Hospitals and Burial Ground

Careful attention to the health of the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army was a crucial factor in maintaining the readiness of the Continental Army and the West Point fortress to meet the enemy. In fact, throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, illness and disease killed and crippled far more soldiers than hostile fire.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, establishment of an effective hospital to serve the West Point garrison was considered a critical component of the West Point fortress.

The initial West Point hospital was established at the Robinson House, on the east side of the Hudson River. For at least the first several years of Fortress West Point, sick and injured soldiers were initially treated by the regimental surgeons assigned to their individual regiments at West Point, and those soldiers requiring more advanced treatment would then have been transported across the Hudson River to the Hospital at the Robinson House. An Orderly Book for a Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Line dated April 12, 1779 notes: "Doctor Bartlet, the surgeon of the field hospital, has removed to the quarters of the commanding officer, where the sick will be sent for examination."<sup>6</sup> Orderly Book entries from the summer of 1779 specifically addressed the transfer of sick and injured soldiers across the Hudson River to the Robinson House hospital: "Head Quarters West Point 9<sup>th</sup> July 79, As the sick are too much exposed in sending them to the Hospital in open boats, sloops will be provided on Monday and Thursday. The Surgeons will on these days apply to Captain Buckhanan for a proper vessel."<sup>7</sup>

Eventually, and certainly not later than the spring of 1781, actions were initiated to establish a permanent hospital at West Point proper. The first documented mention of a hospital being located at West Point was recorded by Dr. John Cochran, Surgeon General of the Continental Army, in a letter dated July 10, 1781:

*The Military Hospitals for the present are established at Robison's House, the Barracks at West Point and the Artillery Huts near this place.... It is impossible to ascertain the number of sick and wounded to be provided for but there is room at the above places for between 6 or 700.*<sup>8</sup>

Initially, it appeared that one of the existing barracks buildings at West Point were used as an informal West Point Garrison Hospital. Two Doctors are noted by name as being present at hospitals at West Point on July 23, 1781- "Dr. Samuel Edmiston at the Garrison- West Point Hospital, Dr. John Duffield at Small Pox Hospital Near West Point."<sup>9</sup>

In December 1781 construction of a permanent hospital was initiated at West Point, when Captain D. Niven of the Engineers submitted an estimate of construction materials:

*Boards 1 ½" thick 14' long – 1,845  
Boards 1" thick 14' long – 3,270  
10, 12 and 20 penny nails- 1,130 weight*

---

<sup>5</sup> James E. Gibson, "The Role of Disease in the 70,000 Casualties in the American Revolutionary Army." *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 17 (1949), 121.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel P. Fowler, Editor, "Journal of Captain Samuel Page in the Campaign of 1779, with Notes" *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* V, no. 6 (December 1862), 246.

<sup>7</sup> Adjutant Caleb Clap, "The Orderly Book of Adjutant Caleb Clap, 1778-1779, 9<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment" (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. Microfilm Copy at David Library of the American Revolution, Washington's Crossing, Pennsylvania).

<sup>8</sup> Dr. John Cochran to Udney Hay, New Windsor, July 10, 1781 In Morris H. Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington, Dr. John Cochran, 1730-1807* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 126-127.

<sup>9</sup> Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington*, 204.

8 penny nails- 1,000 weight  
Glass, 8x 10 – 1,345 pains.

*Timber, Shingles, Brick and Lime may be had...for little more expence than the price of the timber standing, and the cost of transporting same to the river. The timber for the fraim may be cut Back of Newburg within 4 miles from the river. 50,000 shingles shall be wanting.*<sup>10</sup>

Further descriptions of this proposed hospital were:

*The dimensions of the rooms in the hospital to be erected at West Point, January 13, 1782. The lower rooms to be 18' in length is in the longitudinal range of the building. Twenty feet will be a sufficient depth, it will be ample; but if there are any special reasons in the breast of the Engineers, 22 feet will not be objected to by the Surgeons. The lower rooms to have 12' altitude the second story nine. In the situation of the door the surgeons are not agreed.*<sup>11</sup>

It is interesting that these dimensions are smaller in length, but similar in width and height, to a British Army hospital erected at Fort Oswego in 1755. American Provincial soldiers were members of this garrison, and presumably were familiar with this hospital. Typically during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century hospitals were placed in existing buildings, and there are few accounts of constructed hospitals available. Accordingly, the Fort Oswego account is relevant:

*Two buildings for an hospital, each of the following dimensions, to be immediately erected of logs, in the front of where the artillery park now stands.*

*Breadth of the house.....18 feet*

*Length of the house.....40 feet*

*Height of Side Walls.....8 feet*

*A Chimney in Each End.*

*Door Fronting the Street*

*A Shed to Cover the Door.*

*To be under the care of Collo Peter Schuyler who is desired to take charge of it.*

*/signed/ W Shirley, Oswego, August 26: 1755.*

It is believed that these two hospitals were roofed with bark.<sup>12</sup>

The location of this hospital was in close proximity to the main encampment on the Plain, apparently northwest of the existing Ordnance Compound from the 1830s. The hospital was apparently completed not later than December 15, 1782 for on that date Surgeon James Thacher with the Continental Army recorded: "Dined with my friends Drs. Townsend, Eustis, and Adams, at the hospital, in company with Generals Gates and Howe, and their aids, Dr. Cochran our Surgeon General, and several other officers. An elegant meal."<sup>13</sup> The only history of hospitals at West Point notes: "The hospital itself was probably the yellow frame building mentioned in numerous reminiscences of later times."<sup>14</sup> A 1780 French Map for West Point provides a location

---

<sup>10</sup> Lt. Colonel Jane G. Brister, "Draft of History of Lt Army Medical Service at West Point" (Unpublished mss., Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York), 26-27.

<sup>11</sup> Brister, "Army Medical Services," 28.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. George A. Snook, "An Eighteenth Century Hospital at Oswego" *Military Collector & Historian, Journal of the Company of Military Historians* XXXVIII, no. 2 (Summer 1986), 73.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Hartford, Connecticut: Hurlbut, Williams & Company, 1862), 324.

<sup>14</sup> Brister, "Army Medical Services," 29. The yellow color of the hospital and presumably other buildings at West Point is documented in the Knox Papers, as a return of stores at West Point dated August 31, 1782 includes eighteen pounds of yellow ochre paint, dry (the dry ochre would be mixed with white lead to make

for the main garrison hospital, which is in proximity to the current Directorate of Public Works (Building 667). Although this area has been heavily disturbed by the construction of a large number of support buildings throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, culminating in the construction of Eisenhower Hall in the early 1970s, it is possible that some archaeological evidence of the hospital could still exist in the vicinity.

This hospital appeared to be a fairly substantial operation. Although hospital reports were supposed to be submitted on a monthly basis, only a few of such reports have been located for the West Point hospital, and unfortunately these not in a consistent format.

*Returns of the Military Hospitals & Sick in the Army for September 1781  
Garrison of West Point – 135 patients remaining in hospital.*

*Returns of the Military Hospitals & Sick in the Army January 1782  
West Point- 54 admitted, 16 discharged, 7 dead, 9 remaining in hospital.*

*Returns of the Military Hospitals & Sick in the Army February 1782  
Army at West Point – 1,143 admitted; 851 discharged, 39 dead, 245 remaining in hospital (1,002 smallpox)*

*Returns of the Military Hospitals & Sick in the Army March 1782  
Army at West Point – 8 dead, 345 total remaining in hospital.<sup>15</sup>*

Following the return of the Continental Army from the Yorktown Campaign, it was feared that a smallpox outbreak that had occurred in Virginia in 1781 may have infected the army with this extremely infectious and devastating disease. Accordingly, Washington ordered a program of inoculation at West Point.<sup>16</sup> This program of inoculation was previously documented in the relatively large number of sick with the hospital in February 1782. This was not the first such inoculation program performed at West Point, for Washington had ordered Major General Heath at West Point on March 26, 1781:

*In answer to your letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> respecting inoculation, you will be pleased to observe, it was under the idea of the New Hampshire Troops being continued at West Point, that I consented to have the Huts of that Line made use of as Hospitals; I was unwilling to have any other troops mix with those under inoculation....<sup>17</sup>*

Surgeon James Thacher also recorded the January 1782 program of smallpox inoculation:  
*January, 1782.- Orders having been received for all the troops that have not gone through the small-pox to be inoculated, I commenced this business a few weeks since, and inoculated about two hundred, including women and children. Their accommodations were not such as their circumstances required; we were unprovided with proper articles*

---

a wet paint). Major General Henry Knox, Papers, 1750-1786 (Boston, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Historical Society. Microfilm Copy at Moore Wing, USMA Library, West Point, New York), Reel 9: 112.

<sup>15</sup> Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington*, 186-192.

<sup>16</sup> Michelle P. Figliomeni, “*The Flickering Flame*,” *Treachery and Loyalty in the Mid-Hudson During the American Revolution* (Washingtonville, New York: Spear Printing, 1976), 84. An interesting but succinct account of a soldier inoculated for smallpox at West Point in March 1781 is provided by the Diary of Ebenezer Parkman, Private in Baldwin’s Regiment of Artillery Artificers (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society).

<sup>17</sup> General George Washington to Major General William Heath, March 26, 1781 In “George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799.” Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. Accessed on-line at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>.

*of diet; and a considerable number were seized with putrid fever, which proved fatal in several instances.*<sup>18</sup>

In all cases, Washington and Cochran wished to insure that the soldiers inoculated with small pox remained separate from the rest of the garrison. Accordingly, a separate smallpox hospital was established for this purpose, apparently a hut encampment that was relatively isolated from the main encampment. Presumably, common practices to prevent the spread of smallpox were followed, and at the conclusion of the inoculation period the huts used for that purpose were burned, and it is doubtful that any archaeological trace of the West Point smallpox hospital would survive today.

The soldiers who died of illness or wounds (such as from the Battle of Stony Point) were buried at West Point. Little documentary evidence of this burial ground is available. The Memoirs of West Point graduate Albert E. Church, written in 1878, made reference to the occasional discovery of human bones during the course of the work, at “the grove of trees on the southern part of the Plain” located in the vicinity of the modern Library. “Well do I remember the corps often rushing out,” he wrote, “when it was announced that the bones of some revolutionary soldier or some other relic, were thrown out by the planters of these trees, wondering and speculating as crowds of grown men will, on scenes like these, the frequency of which demonstrated that this ground had been a well-filled cemetery”<sup>19</sup> Captain Horace M. Reeve in *The West Point Centennial History* (1904) stated: “Excavations made near the academic building, gymnasium or mess hall not infrequently uncover the remains of Revolutionary soldiers.”<sup>20</sup> Although re-internments are not documented, a number of unknown soldiers are buried in Area “XXX” of the West Point Cemetery, along with one recorded burial. The one marked internment is that of Ensign Dominick Trant, 9<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Continental Regiment, who died on November 7, 1782 [Photograph One]. It is believed that these “unknown” soldiers are bodies recovered during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century from the Revolutionary War Cemetery and moved to the West Point Cemetery.

During the construction of the Modern West Point Library in the early 1960s, the remains of a Revolutionary War soldier were discovered. Although only a few bones and pewter buttons remained, the fact that this was a Revolutionary War soldier could be determined through the buttons. This soldier was subsequently re-buried with full military honors at New Windsor Cantonment [Photograph Two].<sup>21</sup> The skeleton of this soldier was utilized in a study of the stature of Americans by Anthropologist J. Lawrence Angel with the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>22</sup> An 1820 map of West Point by Cadet Joseph Bruffs clearly depicts a “burying ground” at this location [Map One], but subsequent maps fail to make this distinction.<sup>23</sup> Archaeological surveys for Jefferson Hall (New Cadet Library and Learning Center) performed in 2004 and 2005 failed

---

<sup>18</sup> Thacher, *Military Journal*, 307-308.

<sup>19</sup> Albert E. Church, *Personal Reminiscences of West Point from 1824 to 1831: A Paper Read to the U.S. Military Service Institute* (West Point, New York: USMA Press, 1879), 36.

<sup>20</sup> Captain Horace M. Reeve, “West Point in the Revolution” In *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), I: 199-200.

<sup>21</sup> The author has made extensive efforts to locate any further documentation regarding this exhumation, without success. West Point, New Windsor Cantonment, and the Smithsonian Institution have no additional records on these human remains; and Dr. Angel is now deceased.

<sup>22</sup> J. Lawrence Angel, “Colonial to Modern Skeletal Change in the U.S.A.” *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 45 (1976), 723.

<sup>23</sup> Map, “West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs,” (Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York).

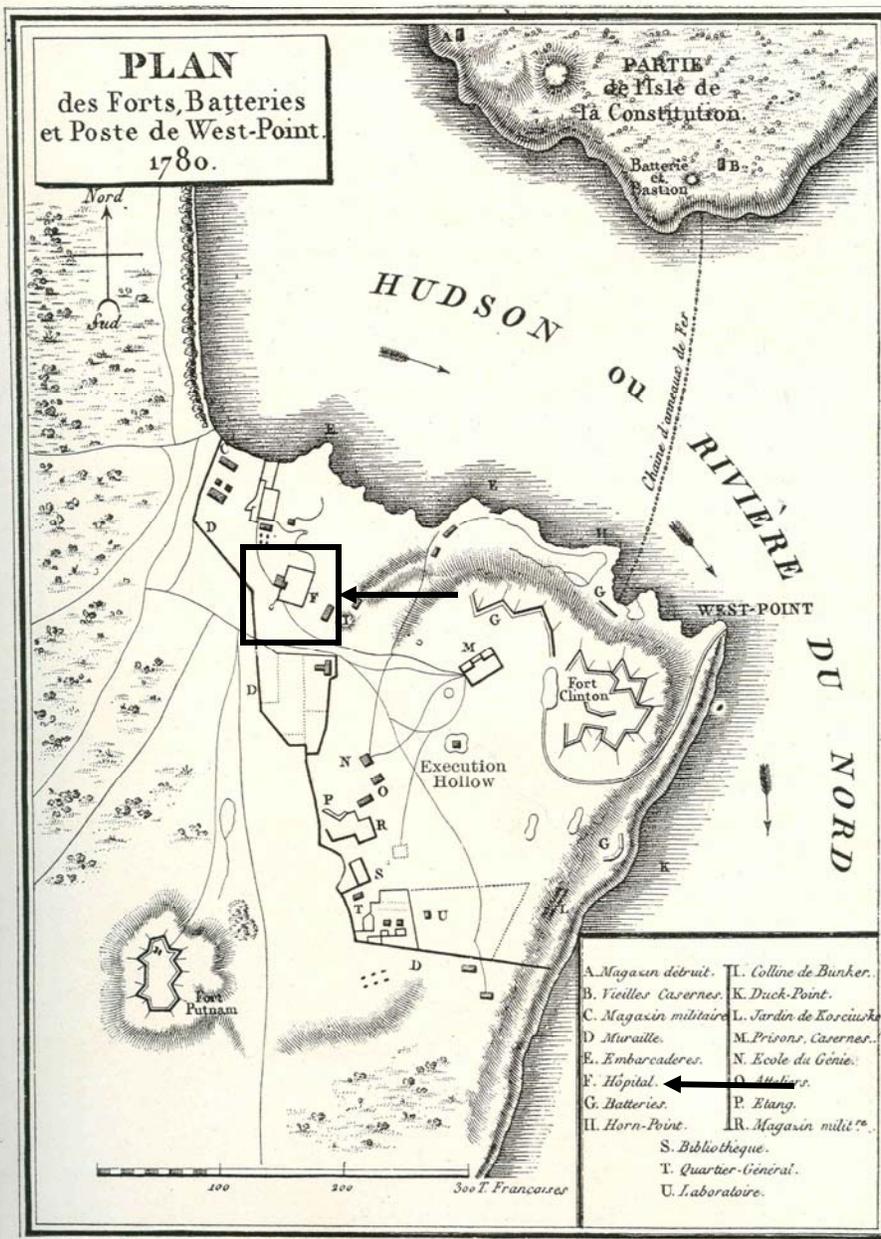
to locate any evidence of this burial ground.<sup>24</sup> It is believed to have been entirely destroyed by previous West Point construction including Thayer Hall, Cullum Road, and the 1960s West Point Library.



Photograph One  
**Graves of Ensign Dominick Trant, 9<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts  
and Presumed Unknown Revolutionary War Soldier, West Point Cemetery**  
(D. Cubbison, February 2006)

---

<sup>24</sup> PanAmerican Consultants, *Intensive Cultural Resources Investigations for Jefferson Hall (New Cadet Library and Learning Center), Jefferson Place, U.S. Military Academy, Orange County, West Point, New York* (West Point, New York: U.S. Military Academy, December 2005), 1-3, 1-4.



MAP OF WEST POINT IN 1780.

N, Engineer school; S, library; U, laboratory.  
(The words in English were added in 1904.)

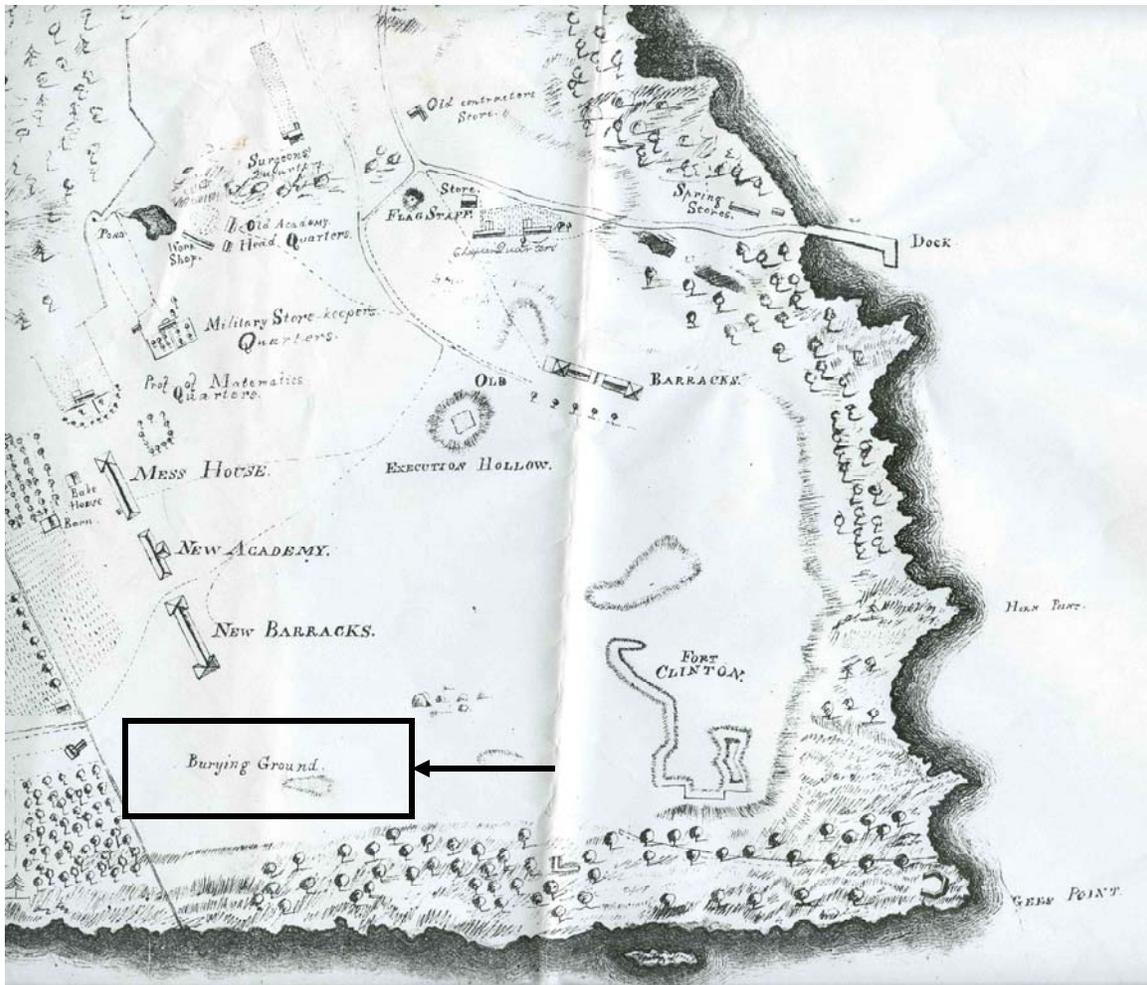
Map One  
**“Revolutionary War Hospital West Point, 1780”**  
 by a French Officer  
 (Centennial of the United States Military Academy, 204)



Photograph Two

**Tombstone of Unknown Soldier from West Point Library Vicinity  
New Windsor State Historic Site, New Windsor, New York**

(D. Cubbison, June 2004)



Map Two

**“Revolutionary War Burying Ground, West Point, 1820”  
by Cadet G. Bruffs**

(Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York)

2.2 Docks and Hudson River Operations

Although the Continental Army is usually considered to be an organization that operated exclusively on land, military transportation during the American Revolution was in large part dependent upon waterways and boats. Roads were few and far between. In fact, there was no road connecting West Point through the Hudson Highlands until the occupation by the Continental Army in 1778. Upon its arrival the Continental Army constructed a dirt road between the Hudson River batteries, and connecting the river batteries and Fort Clinton across Butter Mountain (now known as Storm King Mountain) to New Windsor. This road still survives in sections as “Flirtation Walk” at West Point, and as an unimproved road and hiking trail known as “Continental Road” through West Point and Black Rock Forest. Being constructed by soldiers, this road was probably relatively crude, and it can be surmised that fords across streams and boggy areas were preferred to bridges. No primary source descriptions of the “Continental Road” have been discovered to date.

However, these roads were apparently in notoriously poor condition, and the Hudson River was the only viable supply route for the Continental Army to utilize. The Continental Army utilized

boats to move supplies, men and equipment across the Hudson River between West Point and Constitution Island; from north to south on the Hudson River; and to emplace and maintain the iron chain and log boom that interdicted the Hudson River at West Point. The Continental Army also operated a ferry between West Point and Constitution Island/Beverly's Landing, and a dock at West Point. The Orderly Book of the 9<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment noted the following orders on 26<sup>th</sup> June 1779: "It has been made a practice of taking the boats, which is absolutely necessary for the transportation of troops, and provisions, at this point. In future, no person will presume on any pretence whatever, to take a boat from this side the river without an order from Head Quarters, or leave, from Capt Buckhannon."<sup>25</sup>

The Continental Army certainly used bateaux (flat bottomed boats) at West Point, as a General Order issued from Moore's House on August 15, 1779 documents:

*The Quarter Master General or his Deputy will appoint one flat Bottom Boat for the use of each Brigade, which is to be kept in constant redyness [readiness] for their use for Mr. Buchanan, and in futor [future] the Commanding officers of Brigades will give their orders for the use of the boat assigned them; and Mr. Buchanan is to deliver a bot [boat] to no other person's order in the Brigade; and that the whole business of the Brigade may be done at the same time, they are to be previously notified when and where the boat will go. Such boats as may be wanted for other Business besides those of Brigade or Garrison Duty...the number and uses they are wanted for, orders are to be obtained from the Quarter Master General office, as in former orders. Who ever gives a boat will be held responsible for her return.*<sup>26</sup>

Apparently, at least several skows were also operated. Similar to a bateau, a skow is a flat bottomed boat. However, while a bateau has a traditional pointed bow and stern, a skow has a flat bow and stern. General Orders issued November 1, 1780: "When the wood is within such distance of the garrison as will admit of it being safely brought in the larger scows- they are to be continually employed in good weather."<sup>27</sup> Additionally, a barge is recorded to have been operated for Major General Benedict Arnold during his tenure as Commander at West Point.<sup>28</sup> When Arnold defected to the British after the discovery of his treason, he surrendered this barge to the Royal Navy.

The Continental Army also operated gunboats from West Point, which were used to control river traffic, and protect the chain across the Hudson River. An Orderly Book entry for October 11, 1780 specifically addressed the operation of these boats:

*The Gun Boat is to be Posted arm'd with 1 Sub 1 Sargjeant 1 Corporal and 24 Privates in the River Opposite Fort Montgomery...this Guard is intended to examine all boats coming up or going down as well as such are a drift and upon discovering the enemy are*

---

<sup>25</sup> Orderly Book of Adjutant Caleb Clap.

<sup>26</sup> "The Orderly Book of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Chambers, May 23 1779 – August 25 1779" In *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XI (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896), 515; and Sergeant John O'Neill, "The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, August 1, 1779 to September 11 1779" In *Pennsylvania Archives* Second Series, Vol. XI (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896), 538.

<sup>27</sup> "Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore's Company, Continental Army, 1780" In Isaac W. Hammond, Editor, *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* (Concord, New Hampshire: Ira C. Evans, 1889), 9:237; and "Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel's Company, German Regiment, 1780" In *Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publishing Company, 1907) Six Series, XIV: 165.

<sup>28</sup> Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1941), 309-311; 313, 316-317, 327, 346.

*to give the alarm by firing the gun a Matross [artillerymen] is to be assigned the Boat for this Service.*<sup>29</sup>

This reference is important, for it provides a general size of the boat (sufficient to hold 28 officers and soldiers), and that it carried an artillery piece large enough in size to require the services of an artilleryman to fire it. Presumably, this was some type of substantial bateau or gondola that carried a single cannon in the bow, similar to other documented artillery gunboats from the Revolutionary War period. That at least one gunboat was regularly employed on the Hudson River is confirmed by a letter from Washington to Major General Heath at West Point, March 24, 1781: “I recollect that there was a Gun Boat employed on the River, which was withdrawn at the setting in of winter, and which is again necessary for the same service, I wish therefore you would have it refitted, and stationed as formerly for the same purposes.”<sup>30</sup> Interestingly enough, the 1779 Greenleaf Map also depicts what appears to be a row galley guarding the chain.

The presence of a dock is confirmed through the same Orderly Book, as it notes that sloops were being loaded with sick and injured from the hospital at West Point: “Head Quarters West Point 9<sup>th</sup> July 79, As the sick are too much exposed in sending them to the Hospital in open boats, sloops will be provided on Monday and Thursday. The Surgeons will on these days apply to Captain Buchanan for a proper vessel.”<sup>31</sup> Additionally, Orderly Book entries also referred to the West Point “harbor” as this entry for November 28, 1780 attests: “The baggage of the N. Jersey Brigade is to embarked [be embarked] on Board Vessels in the harbour this evening or early tomorrow morning and conveyed down the river to King’s Farry [Ferry].”<sup>32</sup> A more involved order dated July 28, 1779 also noted:

*General Orders, Moore’s House. The Quarter Master Gen<sup>l</sup> having accation [occasion] for the water men ingaged By him for the use of Ferreys, and who are now Employed at this Place, they are to be Relieved by a equall number....He will cause an axact Return to be rendered as soon as Possabel, of all the Boats at this Place and in the vicinity of it: will see that such and so many as are Indispenceable [indispensably] Necessary for Ordinary Purposes to be Alotted to them, and the rest, such as want repair, being got in order, left in the care of a proper person with competent guards, who is not to suffer any of them to be used without his order.*<sup>33</sup>

On October 26, 1780 General Orders were issued, “A Captain daily is to superintend the Fatigue men unloading Vassals at the Dock.”<sup>34</sup> A later General Order also recorded one of the most important military uses of the boats at West Point, “November 13, 1780.... It is probably that all or nearly all the boats will be wanted one or more days in taking up the chain.”<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment.” 145.

<sup>30</sup> Washington to Heath, March 26, 1781, George Washington Papers,.

<sup>31</sup> Orderly Book of Adjutant Caleb Clap.

<sup>32</sup> “The Orderly Book of the New Jersey Brigade (Maxwell’s), November 13, 1780 – December 9, 1780” In *Pennsylvania Archives Sixth Series* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: State Printer, 1906-1907). XIV: 204.

<sup>33</sup> “The Orderly Book of the Seventh Penn’a Regiment” 477.

<sup>34</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company,” 9:231.

<sup>35</sup> “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment.” 177.



Map Three:  
**“Row Galley (Gunboat) Guarding Chain across Hudson River,  
West Point, 1779”**  
by **Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment**  
(Massachusetts Historical Society)

The operation of a ferry is also noted. The West Point Garrison Orderly Book for July 26, 1779 ordered: “a [subaltern officer] to superintend the ferry from Bradforts Regt.”<sup>36</sup> Supporting that this was a rotated duty, another Orderly Book entry from the 3<sup>rd</sup> New Hampshire Regiment on October 12, 1780 ordered, “Officers to superintend the Ferry from Hazens [Brigade]-” and on November 3, 1780: “Detail- 1 Sub[altern] from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to relieve the sub now on fatigue at the ferry.”<sup>37</sup> A New Jersey Orderly Book dated November 17, 1780 similarly notes: “The Officers who superintend the Ferry are to allow no horses to be Ferry’d on the Point [West Point] except Express horses or those belonging to the officers there with a Special Permit from Head Quarters;”<sup>38</sup> and on November 23, 1780: “Some Vessels of late have presumed to pass down the River without written permission from the General. In future no Vessels is to pass the Fort downward without a written permission from the General. Which is to be shown to the Officer at the Ferry.”<sup>39</sup> Also, on October 7, 1780: “Lt. Col’o Huntington is to Superintend and facilitate the embarkation of the Baggage at the Ferry.”<sup>40</sup> That the Ferry Landing was considered an important function at West Point is verified by the assignment of a 6-pounder brass (actually bronze) cannon “with the Ferry Guard” as noted on a Report of Ordnance with the Park of Artillery at West Point, December 13, 1782.<sup>41</sup> This ferry operated between West Point and Constitution Island, and between West Point and Beverly’s Landing (modern day Garrison).

An inventory of boats present at West Point on August 31, 1782 included the following:

- 1 “bad” sloop;
- 2 “good” skows;
- 1 “bad” flat-bottomed boat;
- 8 “good” bateaux;
- 4 “good” framed boats;
- 0 barges; and
- 103 Oars.<sup>42</sup>

The 1820 map of West Point clearly depicts a large dock at the current location of North Dock. No construction projects are documented to have occurred at North Dock and vicinity between the end of the American Revolution and 1820, and it is believed that this is the Revolutionary War dock. Subsequently, construction of the Seacoast Battery in this vicinity in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century is believed to have removed all vestiges of the Revolutionary War dock.

---

<sup>36</sup> “West Point Garrison Orderly Book” (Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York), 31.

<sup>37</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company” 9:214, 238.

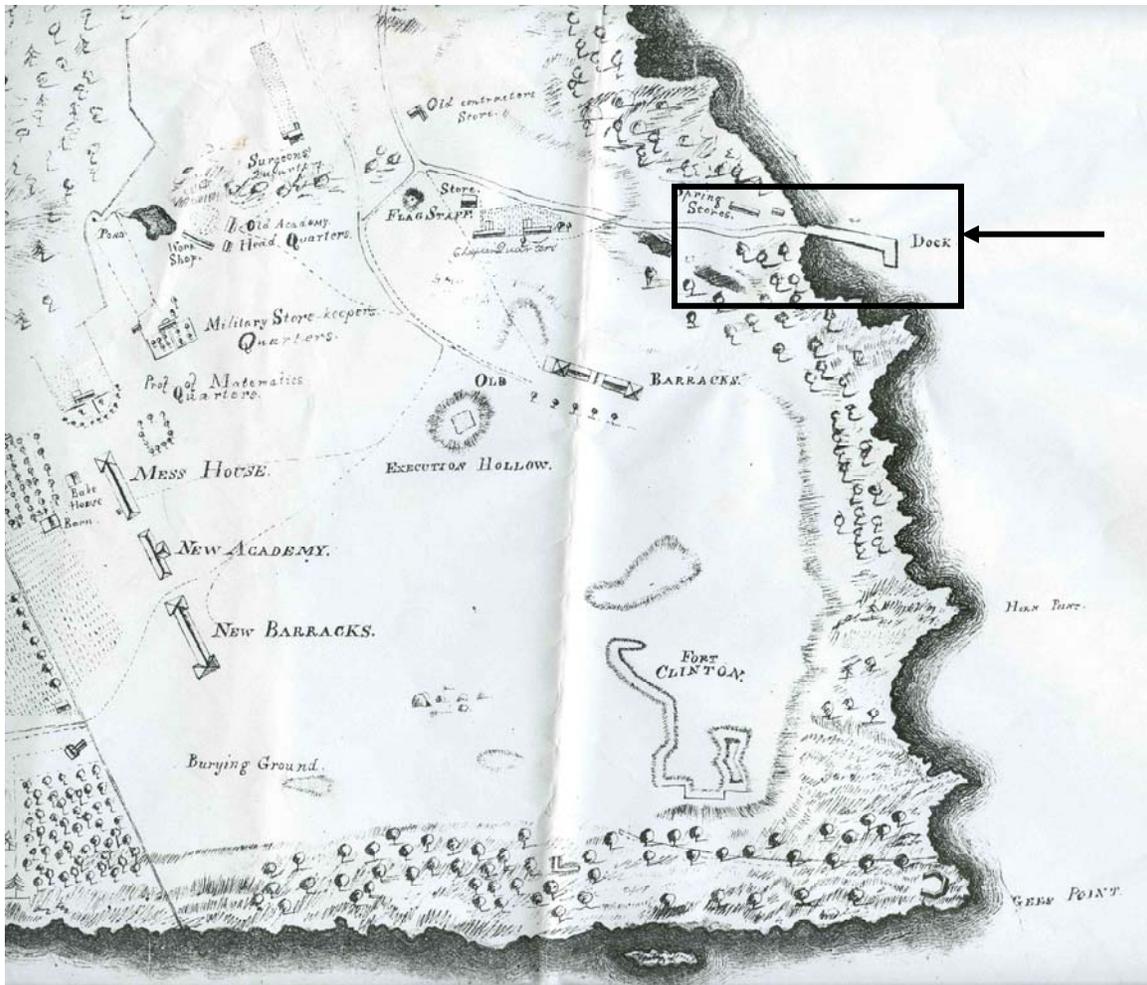
<sup>38</sup> “The Orderly Book of the New Jersey Brigade (Maxwell’s)” 195; and “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment.” 178.

<sup>39</sup> “The Orderly Book of the New Jersey Brigade (Maxwell’s)” 201; and “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment.” 135.

<sup>40</sup> “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment.” 144.

<sup>41</sup> Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm, Reel 10, 141.

<sup>42</sup> Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm, Reel 9, 112.



Map Four

**“Revolutionary War Dock, West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”**

(Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York)

2.3 Bake Ovens

Among the food rations issued to the Continental Army was either fresh bread for garrison duty, or hard bread (hard bread was also known as “ship’s bread” and was essentially a hard baked biscuit similar to the more familiar Civil War era hardtack) for field service, baked by the military from a daily allocation of flour. On December 22, 1781 the Continental Army ration for West Point was established as follows:

- 1 Pound of Bread*
- 1 Pound of Beef, or 3-4 Pound of Pork*
- 1 Gill of West India Rum for Commissioned Officers*
- 1 Gill of Country Rum, or Whiskey, for Non Commissioned Officers and Privates*
- 1 Quart of Salt, and a Quart Vinegar, to 100 Rations,*
- 8 Pounds of Hard Soap, and 3 Pounds of Candles, for 700 Rations.*<sup>43</sup>

This ration is typical of a Continental Army soldier’s daily allotment of provisions throughout the Revolutionary War history of West Point.

<sup>43</sup> Broadside, Comfort Sands and Company, Contract Regarding Continental Army Supplies and Stores, Fishkill, New York, December 22, 1781 at American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

In order to bake this flour, large “beehive” shaped ovens had to be constructed from masonry. General George Washington wrote Lieutenant Colonel Udny Hay with the Quartermaster’s Department at the Continental Army Depot at Fishkill on June 30, 1780 regarding such ovens:

*There is so great a saving by delivering out bread instead of flour, that I have sent up Mr. Ludwick to have ovens erected at West Point. You will be pleased therefore to furnish him with the necessary materials and proper workmen to build one or two as he may think proper.*<sup>44</sup>

“Mr. Ludwick” was Christopher Ludwick, who was the Baker General for the Continental Army. In this capacity Ludwick was both Superintendent of Bakers and Director of Baking for the Continental Army. A German immigrant who had established a thriving baking business in Philadelphia that he began by selling gingerbread baked in ornamental designs, Ludwick had been an ardent patriot who had initially worked to convince German soldiers with the British army to desert, but had resumed his former avocation for the Continental Army when he became appalled at improprieties in the Continental Army’s operation of their bakeries. Ludwick had served through the hard winter at Valley Forge, and would remain the Continental Army’s Baker General throughout the war.<sup>45</sup>

Ludwick may have constructed bake ovens at West Point as early as 1778.<sup>46</sup> General George Washington wrote then Quartermaster General Nathaniel Green on October 11, 1780 regarding the erection of bake ovens at West Point:

*This will be delivered to you by Mr. Ludwick Baker General, who is instructed by Colonel Stewart Commissary General of [illegible] to repair to West Point, and erect as many Ovens at that Post, as are equal to a daily supply of six or eight thousand pounds of Bread, exclusive of one to be appropriated solely to the purpose of baking Biscuit. ...I fully approved Colonel Stewart’s Instructions on this head; and earnestly entreat your attention to the immediate construction of them.*<sup>47</sup>

The location of these bake ovens has not been determined, and there is no direct information available on the size of the ovens. For the purpose of this study, it is assumed that a typical loaf of bread weighed six pounds apiece (a typical weight for British army bread loaves), thus the West Point ovens had to have been capable of baking 1,000 to 1,335 loaves of bread daily.

In 1999 the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation performed archaeological excavations at the ruins of 18<sup>th</sup> Century bake ovens at Fort St. Frederick, Crown Point, New York.<sup>48</sup> As a component of this study they performed extensive archival research on the design and construction of bake ovens. Although there has been other research done on bake ovens (also known as beehive ovens) of residential size, this is the most comprehensive research performed to date on military or commercial bake ovens.

---

<sup>44</sup> G. Washington to Udny Hay, June 30, 1780, George Washington Papers.

<sup>45</sup> For information on Ludwick refer to William W. Condit, “Christopher Ludwick: Patriotic Gingerbread Baker” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* LXXXI (October 1957), 365-390; Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick* (Philadelphia: Garden and Thompson, 1831); Edward Hocker, “Ludwick, Baker General of the Continental Army” *The Picket Post, Valley Forge Historical Society Newsletter* 14 (July 1946), 55-57; and Peggy Robbins, “Washington’s Baker General” *Early American Life* (October 1977).

<sup>46</sup> Condit, “Christopher Ludwick: Patriotic Gingerbread Baker” 382.

<sup>47</sup> G. Washington to Nathaniel Greene, October 11, 1780, George Washington Papers.

<sup>48</sup> Lois M. Feister, *Archaeological Excavations at the Oven Ruins in the French Fort at Crown Point State Historic Site, Essex County, New York* (Peebles Island, New York: New York Bureau of Historic Sites, December 1999).

An 18<sup>th</sup> century brick bake oven was found during the excavation of Fort Stanwix, New York. This bake oven was 12 feet long x 10 feet wide, constructed of brick, attached to a bake house approximately 20 feet x 18 ½ feet, and with a hard packed earth floor and brick foundation. The entrance to the oven was estimated at 2.3 feet wide, but was damaged and may have been narrower. Archaeologists recovered clapboards 1.1 feet wide and 1 inch thick which were believed to have been the siding of the bake house, which is interpreted as being constructed of heavy timber framing.<sup>49</sup> Archaeologists estimated the brick oven to be capable of baking twenty 6-pound loaves of bread at one time, or approximately 200 loaves of bread per day. West Point would have required five to seven ovens of this size to produce the specified amount of bread. It is not known if this bake oven was built by the British Army during the Seven Years War or by the American Army during the War for American Independence. Most likely, it was constructed by the Americans, and was certainly in use by 1777.

A stone bake house with two ovens constructed by the British Army in 1768 still survives at Fort Niagara. These bake ovens are 5 ½ feet and 7 ½ feet wide, and 12 ½ and 11 feet long, with a 21” wide opening, roughly similar in size to the Fort Stanwix bake oven. The bake house itself was 38 feet long by 28 feet wide. These bake ovens are still in use, and are capable of producing forty to fifty loaves 6-pound loaves at one time, and could produce 600 to 1,000 loaves daily. West Point would have required three ovens of this size.

The Crown Point archaeology determined that the actual ovens no longer remain, although the foundations of the actual bake house do remain. These were permanent brick ovens with stone foundations, and are believed to have been similar in design, size and scope to the British Army ovens at Fort Niagara. The Continental Army is known to have copied many elements from the British Army, and it is conceivable that the West Point bake ovens may have been based upon a standard British Army pattern.

However, it is more likely that West Point bake ovens would have resembled the wooden bake oven built at Fort Stanwix, as permanent masonry structures were not constructed at West Point during the War for American Independence (except for the fortifications themselves). The use of brick foundations with heavy timber construction would be more typical for West Point, and would resemble known construction techniques at Fort Montgomery and Constitution Island.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, what (if any) modifications or alterations Ludwick might have made to the ovens operated at West Point is unknown. Ludwick did not have previous experience with the British Army (although some of his bakers might conceivably have had such experience), but he did possess considerable experience as a commercial baker and was intimately familiar with the baking process. It is entirely possible that Ludwick constructed ovens to a commercial pattern that he was comfortable with, rather than the British Army pattern that was apparently constructed at Crown Point and Niagara.

No cartographic or archival evidence regarding the location of these bake ovens at West Point has been located to date.

---

<sup>49</sup> Lee Hanson and Dick Ping Hsu, *Casemates and Cannonballs, Archaeological Investigations at Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1975), 17-20.

<sup>50</sup> It should be noted that a bake oven was constructed at Fort Montgomery in 1776. Although the site of this oven has been confirmed through archaeological investigations, no substantive structural remains were ascertained, except that brick was confirmed in its construction. Charles L. Fisher, Editor, “*The Most Advantageous Situation in the Highlands*,” *An Archaeological Study of Fort Montgomery Historic Site* (Albany, New York: New York State Museum, 2004), 93-96.

## 2.4 Artificers (Including Forges and Blacksmith Shops)

Artificers referred to skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, coopers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, harness makers, masons, etc. who had been detailed from their regiments to practice their trades for the Continental Army. In some cases, entire companies of artificers had been raised. These artificers operated workshops that manufactured or repaired the full range of equipment that an Army would require. Orders were regularly issued to identify soldiers with these skills, and accordingly detailing them: “Head Quarters Moor’s House August 2d ’79 ...Each Massichusets Regiment is to make out a List of the men of the new Leveys, or nine month men, who are Carpenters, Black Smiths, Armiors [armorers], hous or whellwrights [house carpenters or wheelwrights], or sailors, and so fort: or of any other Trade and Deliver the List to Gen. McDougall.”<sup>51</sup> When detailed for this duty, they received extra pay: “Division Orders, August the 1<sup>st</sup> 1779 20 Masons and Carpenters [carpenters] are immediately wanting for the works from the Pennsylvania Line...They will receive half a Dollar Pr Day Additional Pay.”<sup>52</sup> Similar orders were issued on October 11, 1780, as the West Point garrison prepared to move into winter quarters:

*The quarter masters will immediately repair the barracks for reception of the troops. A return to be given in this afternoon of all the Carpenters Masons and Smiths and Miners in the Sevral Brigades they are to parade tomorrow morning, at the Quarter Masters Quarters they will have the addichonal allowance of pay and Rations heretofore given to the Artificers.*<sup>53</sup>

Orders regarding the activities of artificers were frequent and recurring. Some typical orders included:

*June 9, 1779. The Genl finding the necessity of the works requires it, therefore orders that all the Mechanics and other workmen that were formerly annexed to Capt. Clow should immediately join him again til further orders, also if there are any more masons they are ordered to be furnished to that Company for the present as the work greatly requires it.*

*July 1, 1779. All those Soldiers who are Masons by trade in the line are immediately to be drawn out and sent to the Fort[Arnold] for a special and temporary service; they are to take their orders from Colonel Kosciuzko.*<sup>54</sup>

*July 29, 1779. 25 fatigue men detailed to attend masons at Fort Putnam.*<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> “The Orderly Book of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Chambers,” 505; and Sergeant John O’Neill, “The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, August 1, 1779 to September 11 1779” In *Pennsylvania Archives* Second Series, Vol. XI (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896), 530.

<sup>52</sup> “The Orderly Book of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Chambers,” 504; and O’Neill, “The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment,” 530.

<sup>53</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company,” 9:212.

<sup>54</sup> Orderly Book of Adjutant Caleb Clap.

<sup>55</sup> “Orderly Book of 7<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment, Smith’s Clove, Orange County, New York, May- August 1779,” WPA Transcription, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York; and “Orderly Book, West Point Garrison, July- August 1779 and August-December 1779,” WPA Transcription, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York, 34.

*October 24, 1780. The provision and water cags [kegs] in the magazines requiring immediate attention and coopering all the coopers and such others as are ingenious in setting hoops and dressing cags are to be sent tomorrow morning to Mr. Commissary Martials from whom they will receive further directions.*

*October 29, 1780. In some of the works there is a deficiency of water casks especially in Fort Putnam, a proper number is to be sent all the casks whether of provisions or water be cooper'd without delay-*

*November 25, 1780. An attentive Serjeant and 10 men from Colonel Michael Jackson's Detachment of Massachusetts Troops are to be employed in making shingles in the rear of the garrison.<sup>56</sup>*

The Carpenters were also occupied on at least one occasion with building boats at the West Point harbor, Reverend Enos Hitchcock with the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts recorded on October 1, 1779 that: "The carpenters taken from the works to build boats."<sup>57</sup>

One particularly interesting request was made to the blacksmiths by Dr. John Cochran, who was Medical Director of the Continental Army:

*West Point October 15<sup>th</sup> 1782. I will consider it as a particular favour if you will order the Artifices [artificers] to make a small bedstead, such a one as was made for General Gates. I am obliged to lie very uncomfortable on three very small stools and in consequence of catching a cold have gotten a return of fever.<sup>58</sup>*

Cochran had served as a Surgeon with the Virginia Provincial forces in the Seven Years War, and was over fifty years old when he wrote this letter. One certainly hopes that the blacksmiths expeditiously manufactured his bed!

Each Brigade apparently maintained an Armorer, responsible for the maintenance of the brigade's weapons. The Armorer had to operate a forge. This was a critical role within the Continental Army, for standardized parts were not yet in operation. Even though military weapons were manufactured to common patterns and specifications, each weapon was still hand-made, and had to be individually repaired by a gunsmith.

*Brigade Orders, the first Aug'st '79. Morning Orders. Each Regt. Will furnish the Conductor with an Armor[er]. The Brigade Quarter Master will find Coles [coal] and so fort, and assist the forge to be kept in order and Condition for a Mediate Servis [immediate service]. He will, also, keep axzact [exact] accounts of the Number of Days each man works. Officer Commanding Regiments will see that their arms are Repaired with all Possible Expadition [Expedition].<sup>59</sup>*

Such forges were operated at various locations at West Point. The famous 1780 map of West Point prepared by French Engineer Villefranche serving with the Continental Army showed a

---

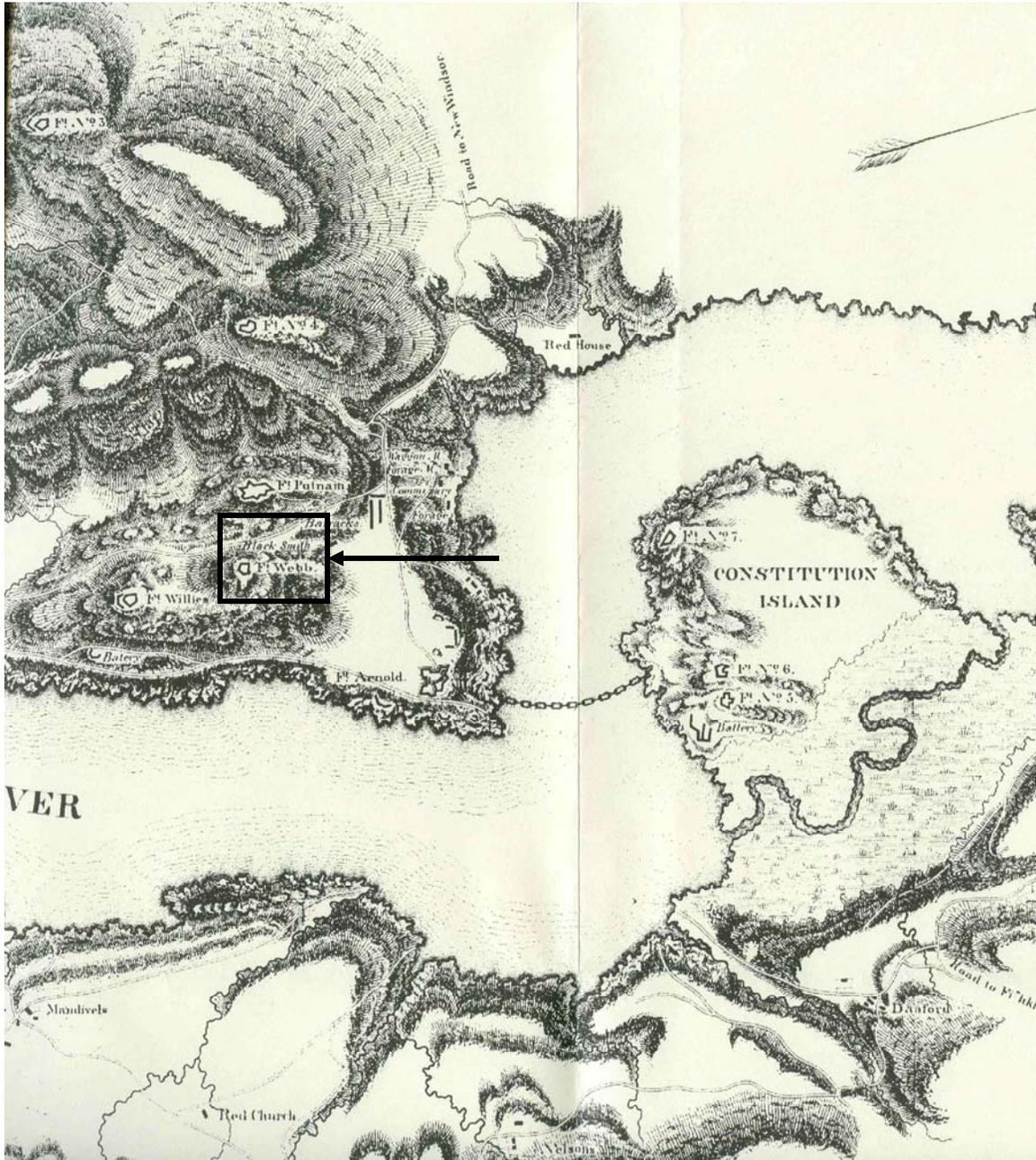
<sup>56</sup> "The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel's Company, German Regiment," 157, 162, 202.

<sup>57</sup> William B., Weeden, Editor, "Diary of the Reverend Enos Hitchcock, 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment." In *Rhode Island Historical Society Proceedings*. New Series, VII (1899), 213.

<sup>58</sup> Saffron, *Surgeon to Washington*, 241.

<sup>59</sup> "The Orderly Book of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Chambers, May 23 1779 – August 25 1779" In *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XI (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896), 503; and Sergeant John O'Neill, "The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, August 1, 1779 to September 11 1779" In *Pennsylvania Archives* Second Series, Vol. XI (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896), 529.

blacksmith shop located on the edge of the Plain, approximately where Professors Row is now located. Eighteenth century artifacts are intermittently exposed in this area due to erosion and heavy rainfall, and the forge is recorded and protected as a West Point archeological site. In addition to this single documented shop, the artificers would have operated a number of other forges, blacksmith shops, and workshops at West Point. The location of these other facilities are not documented.



Map Five  
**“Revolutionary War Blacksmith, West Point, 1780”**  
by Engineer Villefranche  
(Boynton, *History of West Point*, 86)

## 2.5 Wagon Yard, Forage Yard, Animal Pens and Storehouses

The operation of wheeled vehicles was every bit as important to an 18<sup>th</sup> century army as it is to a modern army, and the Continental Army was no exception. Ammunition, rations, clothing, equipment, and artillery could not be moved without a panalopy of wheeled conveyances of every different size and shape. The Continental Army’s General Orders of September 30, 1780 at Tappan, New York stipulated:

*As the Directions of the Waggon Department is of great Important in foreign Armys Generally Intrusted to a Field Officer in the Line and it is thought the Service will be benefited by a similar practice Major Coggswell of the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Brigade is appointed Waggon Master to the Main Army and to be obey’d as such.*<sup>60</sup>

Similar orders followed from Haverstraw on October 7, 1780: “The Cover’d Waggons with the Bagage are to go to West Point and as soon as they arrive there the whole of the Horses are to be sent to Fish Kill & Deliver’d also to Col’o Hughs.”<sup>61</sup> This order is interesting as it notes that the horses are to be sent to the Continental Army Depot at Fishkill, New York, but not the wagons. The inference is that the wagons remained at West Point, presumably in proximity to the military organizations that they supported.

A “Return of Quartermaster General’s Stores on Hand at West Point, 31 August 1782” reported the following wheeled vehicles at West Point:<sup>62</sup>

<i>[Vehicle]</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Bad</i>
<i>Covered Wagons</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Road Wagons</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Hand Carts</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Ox Carts</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>

Although orders were regularly issued restricting the number of horses at West Point, clearly some horses and other livestock had to be retained at the post. Horses were used by senior officers, cavalry scouts, and by express riders who carried official correspondence and orders. Some horses and oxen would have been necessary for wagons to move supplies, firewood, rations and ammunition; or to support construction projects by moving heavy timber and similar construction materials. A typical General Order regarding the use of teams for this type of purpose was issued on November 13, 1780: “...during which time if the Regts. Have not a sufficiency of fuel on hand it must be procured from the nearest wood in the rear of the Garrison. The A. Q. Mr. [Assistant Quartermaster] of the Garrison will lend such aid of Teams as he may be able to afford.”<sup>63</sup>

Other livestock would have been retained until it was ready to be butchered for food. An Orderly Book entry for July 18, 1780 noted: “One Serg<sup>l</sup> One Corp<sup>l</sup> and 12 Privates to be sent this afternoon to take charge of the Cattle and Drive them to Fort Montgomery where they will watch and secure them Day and Night. The Guard to be Relieved every four days and supplied with

<sup>60</sup> “Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment,” 138.

<sup>61</sup> “Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment,” 142.

<sup>62</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 9, 112.

<sup>63</sup> “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment, 1780,” 177.

salted provisions two tents and two camp kittles.”<sup>64</sup> General Orders issued November 4, 1780 noted: “The Garrison Q’r M’r will immediately order an exact return to be taken and sent to Head Quarters of all the Horses and Oxen kept in the garrison both public and private.”<sup>65</sup> As this order suggests, because of the shortage of fodder at West Point, General Orders consistently attempted to limit the number of horses at the garrison:

*March 29, 1779. A horse, in the care of Ensign Smith, will be sold at public vendue [sic.] tomorrow morning....*

*April 5, 1779. A return will be made tomorrow morning of all impressed and public horses now on service at the lines. The following number of horses will be allowed forage in the future: one to each Capt., one to the doctor, one to the commissary, and one to each horseman [i.e. cavalryman], and no other horse will be allowed forage, except it be by a special order from the commanding officer...The horse, in the possession of Lieut. Peterson, will be sold at public vendue this afternoon....*<sup>66</sup>

*Head Quarters 7<sup>th</sup> June ’79. The great scarcity of forage necessitates the General to request the gentlemen who have a right to keep horses at public expence, to remove them from the Point, and none are to be detained, excepting two for the commanding officers of Brigades, and Major of Brigades, two for the Engineers, and one of the commanding officer of Light Infantry, and the public horses necessary in the Quarter Master’s Department. Provision is made for keeping the horses sent out, at Mr. Nichol’s, near Murderer’s Creek. The General desires an immediate compliance of these orders.*<sup>67</sup>

And this in turn necessitated the establishment of a forage yard to store feed and forage for these horses and livestock. The earliest mention of this forage yard is contained in a letter from Washington to Quartermaster Nathaniel Greene on September 15, 1778: “I have directed General Putnam to have Magazines of forage for a winter stock laid up in the vicinity of West Point.”<sup>68</sup> This yard is also mentioned in various general orders, as on November 1, 1780:

*Great attention is to be paid to the preservation of the forage which at this time will be much exposed to waste, racks are to be immediately put up in the public yards. No forage or wood are to be issued to any person whatever but upon the order of the Deputy General [Quarter Master] in writing.*<sup>69</sup>

This order suggests that the forage yard and wood yard were located in close proximity to each other.

In addition to the bake ovens themselves, their operation required that a storehouse be established at West Point to store the flour. An August 27, 1780 circular letter from Washington to a number of states mentioned:

*We have not yet been absolutely without flour, but we have this day but one day’s supply in camp and I am not certain that there is a single barrel between this place and Trenton. I shall be obliged therefore to draw down one or two hundred barrels, from a small*

---

<sup>64</sup> Almon W., Lauber, Editor, *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780, The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, With Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany: University of the State of New York: 1932), 415.

<sup>65</sup> “Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment, 1780,” 170.

<sup>66</sup> Samuel P. Fowler, Editor, “Journal of Captain Samuel Page in the Campaign of 1779, with Notes” *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* IV, no. 6 (December 1862), 245.

<sup>67</sup> Samuel P. Fowler, Editor, “Journal of Captain Samuel Page in the Campaign of 1779, with Notes” *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* V, no. 1 (February 1863), 3.

<sup>68</sup> Washington Papers, Series 3b, Letterbook 6, Image 204.

<sup>69</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company,” 9:237.

*Magazine which I had endeavored to establish at West Point for the security of the garrison in case of sudden investiture.*<sup>70</sup>

Given their necessary relationship to each other, the flour storehouse and bake ovens would have been located in relatively close proximity to each other. Most likely the, flour storehouse would have been located near to the Dock and Hudson River in the current location of North Dock, to simplify unloading and reduce the transportation requirements for the bulky barrels of flour, and the necessary firewood.

West Point served as a major storehouse for the Continental Army, and was also intended to store enough provisions to enable it to survive a prolonged British siege. To hold these supplies, and protect them adverse weather, a number of storehouses or warehouses were constructed at West Point. Samuel DeWees, a young Pennsylvania Fifer, described several of these quartermaster buildings:

*The Quarter Master's Sergeant at a proper hour would take Sergeants and as many men as might be necessary, and repaired to the store-house and slaughter-house, which were built at the edge of the North River and extending some distance into the river. These buildings were very large. These men always took poles with them that were kept for the purpose- that of carrying meat upon them to camp. They took also camp kettles with them for to carry Vinegar, Whiskey, &c. in to the camp.*<sup>71</sup>

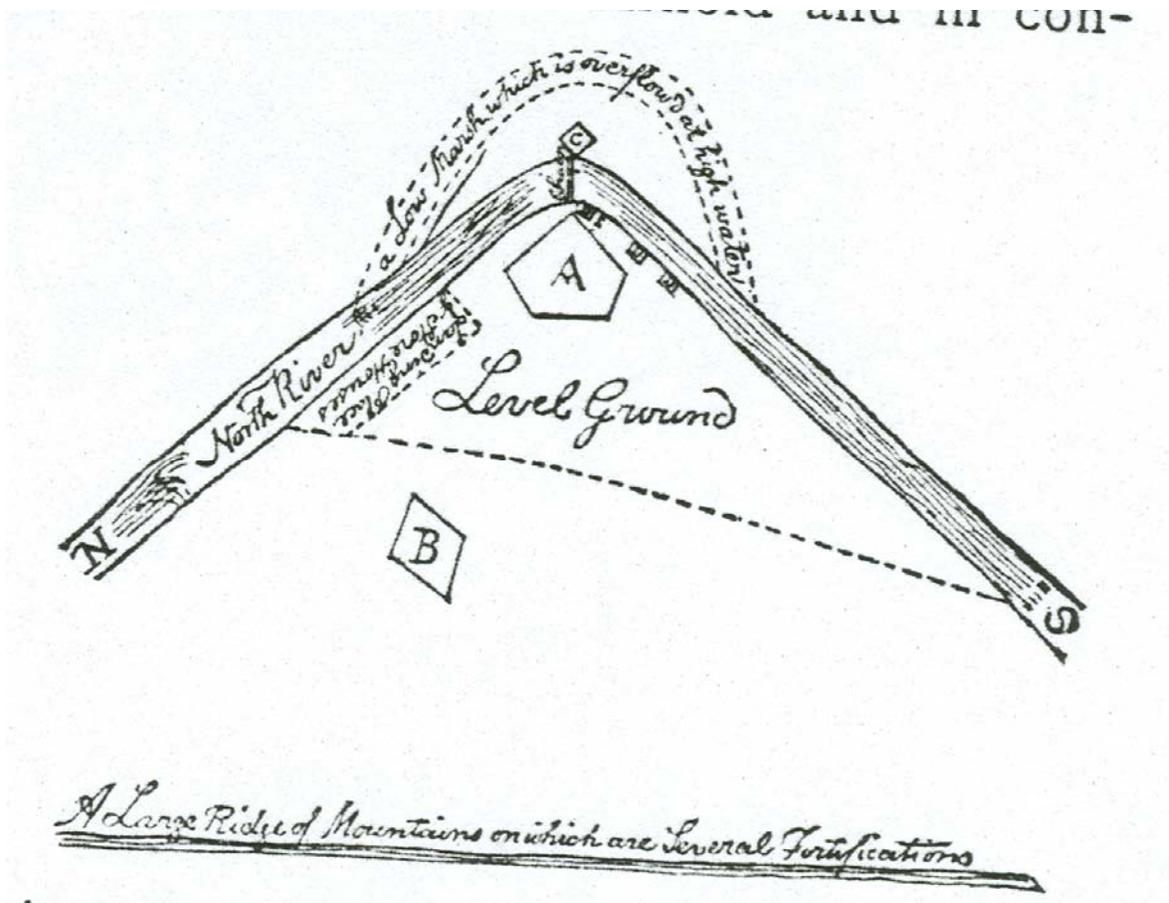
Another young soldier, Cornelius Ten Broeck serving with the New Jersey Line, visited West Point and prepared a simple sketch of the post for this father.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>70</sup> . Washington to Meshech Weare, et. al., August 27, 1780, George Washington Papers.

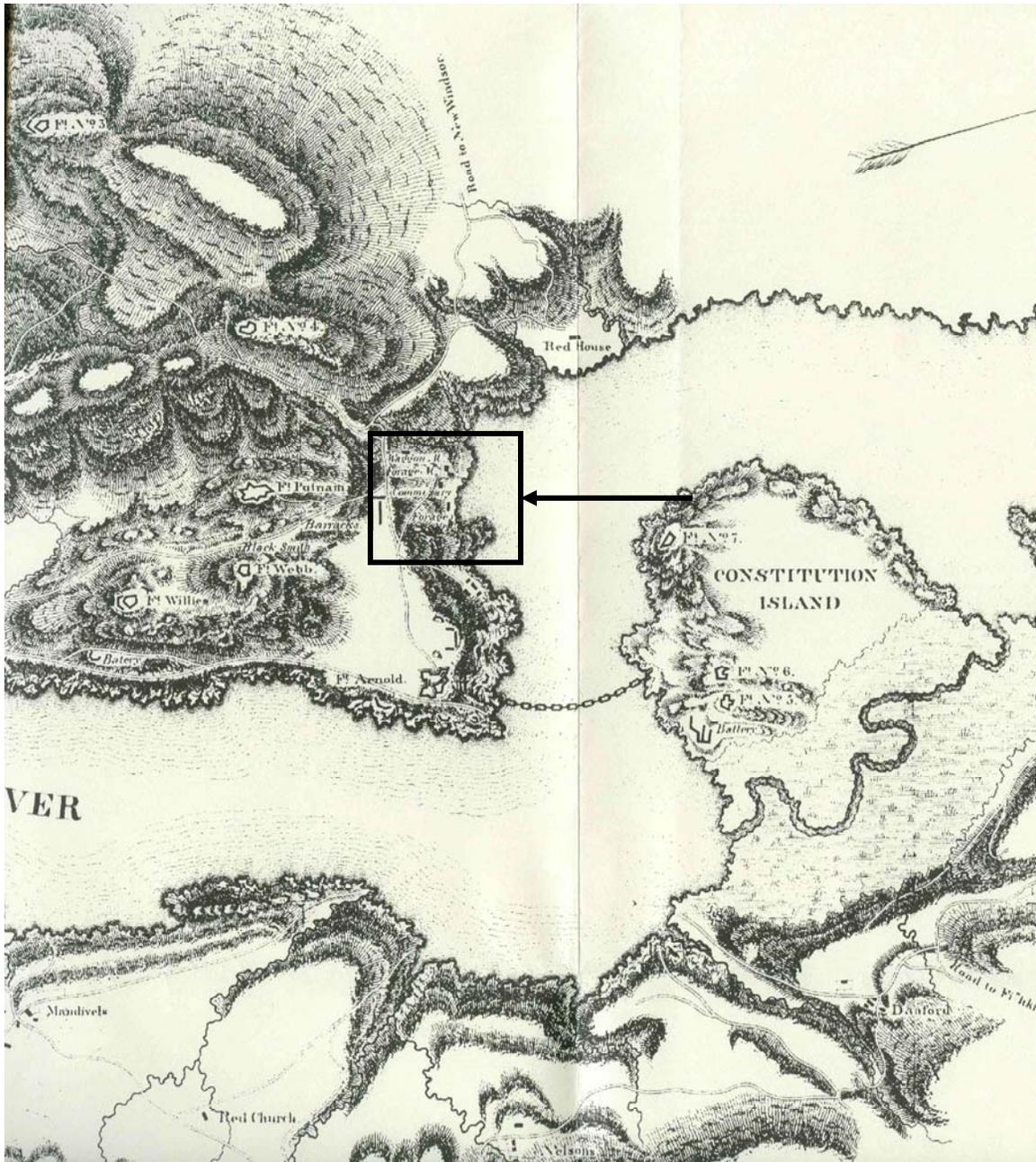
<sup>71</sup> John Smith, Hanna Editor, *A History of the Life and Services of Captain Samel DeWees, A Native of Pennsylvania and Soldier of the Revolutionary and Last Wars* (Baltimore: Robert Neilson, 1844), 163.

<sup>72</sup> George C. Beekman, Editor. "Letters Received by Cornelius Ten Broeck of Rocky Hill, New Jersey from his Sons Cornelius and Peter Serving in the Continental Army, 1779-1780" *Magazine of American History* II (1887), 171.



Map Six  
 “Sketch of Storehouses and Landing, Fortress West Point, August 11, 1779”  
 by Cornelius Ten Broeck

This sketch is interesting in that it depicts “store houses and landing” to the north of Fort Arnold, and across the North River [Hudson River] from the northern end of Constitution Island, in the present location of North Dock. Villefranche’s 1780 map confirms that from north to south the Wagon Yard, Commissary and Forage Yard were located immediately north of the modern North Dock, generally from North Dock to the vicinity of the modern Garrison Commander’s Building (Building 681). The Forage Yard is specifically indicated as being located in the vicinity of the modern Directorate of Public Works (DPW, Building 667), between DPW and the Eisenhower Hall/DPW Parking Lot. This small undisturbed area occasionally yields 18<sup>th</sup> century artifacts during periods of heavy rainfall or erosion. Finally, the 1779 Greenleaf map also depicts a number of buildings in the same general location, although they are not individually identified on the map. The location of another 18<sup>th</sup> century structure has been confirmed through pedestrian surveys and amateur archaeology, this being the presumed foundation of a small building located immediately west of modern Pitcher Road, topographically upslope from North Dock. This small disturbed area occasionally yields 18<sup>th</sup> century artifacts during periods of heavy rainfall or erosion. Both of these archaeological sites are recorded as West Point historic properties and are accordingly protected.



Map Seven  
**“Revolutionary War Wagon Yard, Forage Yard and Commissary, West Point,  
1780”**

**by Engineer Villefranche**  
(Boynton, *History of West Point*, 86)



Map Eight

**“Revolutionary War Logistical and Supply Buildings, West Point, 1779”  
by Captain Moses Greenleaf  
(Massachusetts Historical Society)**

2.6 Wood Yard

Firewood was absolutely critical to the survival of the Continental Army garrison at Fortress West Point. In addition to heating the soldiers’ huts and barracks, firewood was required for all laundry, washing and cooking. The operation of Baker General Ludwick’s Bake Ovens required a continuous source of fuel. To facilitate this, a dedicated wood lot was established at West Point.

This wood lot provided the Continental Army with a central location at which firewood would be stored and issued. Given the extensive occupation of West Point and the large number of fortifications and other buildings whose construction required a considerable quantity of lumber and other wood, firewood soon became a valuable and scarce commodity. In fact, during the fall of 1780 “it has been represented that the troops are burning the fascines and abattis about the fort area.”<sup>73</sup> Establishment of a wood lot provided a location where the firewood could be guarded from pilferage. By 1780, all of the firewood in the vicinity of the garrison had been expended, and new firewood had to be cut up and down the river and transported to West Point for use. Orders issued October 18, 1780 and November 1, 1780 addressed this operation:

*As it is of the greatest importance that a proper supply of fuel should be secured before the navigation of the river is obstructed and the severe season sets in, no wood is to be delivered from the yard until further orders Each Regiment must for the present collect their fuel- one Boat is to be assigned to each Regiment for that purpose.*

*A subaltern and twenty men acquainted with cutting wood to be appointed to attend at the wood yard to assist in unloading the vessels and cording the wood properly- The boats that are improved by the respective regiments for the purpose of bringing wood are either to be carefully secured at the place of landing or returned every night to Mr. Buckannon and the receipts taken up that the boat may not be damaged or lost. The severe storm admonishes to exaction for the procuring of fuel & preparation for winter the A.D. Q Master [General] of the garrison will employ as many vessels up and down the river as are necessary and apply for such partys are wanted to load them.*<sup>74</sup>

In addition to firewood, this wood lot also provided a location where lumber dedicated to construction of buildings and fortifications could be stockpiled, and similarly protected. Washington wrote Lieutenant Colonel Udney Hay, Deputy Quartermaster General, on May 17, 1780: “Be pleased to make immediate inquiry what number of the [artillery] platform Plank, which were cut last fall and brought down the River, still remain at Fish Kill or West Point, and give direction to Colonel Lewis to have the number made up to 1000 of the proper length and thickness.”<sup>75</sup> General Orders for October 24<sup>th</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup>, 1780 noted: “The great scarcity of Boards points out the most frugal use for them. The Brigades who Hutt are to be allowed no more than what is necessary for making Doors, windows & Bunks. No Boards to be issued from the Yard but by Express Orders from Head Quarters.”<sup>76</sup> Further orders on October 26, 1780 noted: “The D Q M Genl [Deputy Quartermaster General] will place to order all the Boards up and down the River Not wanted for immediate use to be collected and have them secured in some safe and proper place reported.”<sup>77</sup> This wooden yard was a relatively large operation, as the following return of “Planks & Boards on hand West Point 12 November 1782” indicates:

- Two Inch Plank – 42;
- Inch & Half Boards – 2, 557
- Inch Boards- 6,404.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> “Benjamin Peabody Orderly Book” WPA Transcription, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York, 75-76.

<sup>74</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company, Continental Army, 1780” In Isaac W. Hammond, Editor, *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* (Concord, New Hampshire: Ira C. Evans, 1889), 9:237; and “Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment,” 151, 165.

<sup>75</sup> Washington to Udney Hay, May 17, 1780 in Washington Papers.

<sup>76</sup> “German Regiment Orderly Book”, 158-159.

<sup>77</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company,” 9:230.

<sup>78</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 10, 93.

The location of the wood lot is not documented on any historic maps; however the use of boats to transport firewood strongly suggests that the wood lot was located near the docks, presumably in the North Dock vicinity.

## 2.7 Sutlers and Civilian Activities

There were relatively few civilians living within the immediate West Point vicinity when it was occupied by the Continental Army. The Charles Moore family had established a small farm complex at West Point, but this was occupied by the Continental Army upon its arrival, and Moore and his family would be forced to depart from his properties at West Point.<sup>79</sup>

One scarce mention of civilians living in proximity to the Continental Army is provided by Brigade Quartermaster Abraham Tuckerman of the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Brigade: “Gave the Indian woman to wash 1 plain shirt, 1 ruff shirt, 2 stocks, 1 pr breeches, September 20, 1781.”<sup>80</sup> His regiment was across the Hudson River from West Point in the vicinity of what is now Garrison during this timeframe.

But although civilians from the Hudson Highlands were relatively few, the Continental Army did bring its own contingent of women and children with it. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was common practice for women and children to receive rations and pay from the army. Women were expected to perform laundry, tailoring, cooking, and assist in the hospital. Each unit was permitted to be accompanied by a certain number of women. An Orderly Book entry for November 17, 1780 addressed women and children with the West Point garrison:

*A return of the number of women and children who draw rations in their respective Brigades is to be given in immediately and specifying whether the former are married or unmarried. The Barrack Master will furnish a list of the names of the men and women with the number of children residing within the limits of the garrison not belonging to the army what occupation or employment they follow and whether they have in possession any public tents or other property.*<sup>81</sup>

These women and children would have shared the barracks and encampments of the Continental Army, and designated family housing or women’s housing was not used at West Point during this timeframe. Attempting to discriminate between archaeological sites utilized by women and children, and traditional military use sites, is extremely difficult.<sup>82</sup> Sewing equipment such as pins and thimbles could just as easily have been used by male tailors as by women. Male hairstyles of the time used clay hair rollers and combs just as frequently as did women’s hairstyles. Toys such as marbles and lead “whizzers” could just as easily have been used by bored young soldiers as by children.<sup>83</sup> The chance archaeological discovery of purely female items such as bone stays would be necessary to definitively identify a distaff site from the Continental Army’s occupation of West Point.

---

<sup>79</sup> “Charles Moore Petitions Regarding His Property at West Point, March 22, 1782 and April 1, 1781,” New York Legislative Papers, Albany, New York.

<sup>80</sup> “Receipt Book of Brigade Quartermaster Abraham Tuckerman, 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Brigade, April 26-November 26, 1781.” American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

<sup>81</sup> “The Orderly Book of the New Jersey Brigade (Maxwell’s),” XIV: 195.

<sup>82</sup> David R. Starbuck, “The Identification of Gender at Northern Military Sites of the Late 18th Century” In Elizabeth Scott, Editor, *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race and Class in Historical Archaeology* (Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press: 1994), 115-128.

<sup>83</sup> William L. Calver and Reginald P. Bolton, *History Written With Pick and Shovel* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1950), 78-80; and Michael Cohn, “Evidence of Children at Revolutionary War Sites” *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 12 (1983), 40-42.

Selling alcoholic beverages to the soldiers was strictly forbidden, but apparently entrepreneurs routinely found ways around these prohibitions. Some enterprising individuals established taverns aboard boats in the Hudson River: “Head Quarters Moor’s House 12<sup>th</sup> August ’79. It has been reported to the Commander-in-Chief that persons not properly licensed are selling liquor in the garrison and in the beats [boats] on the River...”<sup>84</sup>

Sutlers, private businessmen who were properly licensed to sell food and supplies to the soldiers, and liquors to the officers, operated in large numbers around West Point. Sutlers accompanied the army, and made their profit by selling to the officers and soldiers. Their presence frequently appeared in General Orders:

*May 13, 1779. No sutler at or near this post, shall sell any liquor to any Non Commissioned Officers, or Soldier, without an order from his Officer in writing, on penalty of having their liquor taken from them, for the Publick Use.*

*July 7, 1779. No sutler in the garrison or it vicinity will presume to sell spirituuous liquor to Non Commissioned Officers or Soldier, without a written order from their Officers under pain of military punishment, also all Sutlers at or near to West Point report their names at Head Quarters immediately, and the prices they sell liquors at.*<sup>85</sup>

*October 29, 1780. It appears by the returns that great numbers of persons are suttling at this post, none are to presume to do after publication of this order but such as are licensed or those who former licenses are approv’d and confirmed at Head Quarters.*<sup>86</sup>

*November 23, 1782. It is observed that there are a number of huts erecting for sutlers in the vicinity of camp, some of whom by improper conduct have already been driven from the Post of West Point- The Gen<sup>l</sup> requests Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates will be pleased to call upon the Commanding Officers of Brigades who are previously to consult the Commanding Officers of Regiments and fix with them upon the number and names of those who are to be allowed [to] suttle, that they may be reported at the Q<sup>r</sup> Master Gen<sup>ls</sup> Office and regularly licensed – any person presuming to retail liquors to the soldiers without such license will have them seized and confiscated for public use, and their houses if they have any instantly pulled down.*<sup>87</sup>

Contained within the Knox Papers are two returns of civilians and sutlers recorded by the Continental Army to be living in proximity to either Butter Milk Falls (current Highland Falls) or West Point.

---

<sup>84</sup> “The Orderly Book of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Chambers,” 512; and O’Neill, “The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment,” 535.

<sup>85</sup> “Orderly Book of Adjutant Caleb Clap.”

<sup>86</sup> “The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment,” XIV: 162.

<sup>87</sup> Lauber, Editor, *Orderly Books of New York Regiments*, 707.

September 1, 1782<sup>88</sup>

<b><i>Names</i></b>	<b><i>By Whom Licensed</i></b>
<i>Simon Richards</i>	<i>Col<sup>o</sup> Crane</i>
<i>William Foot</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal</i>
<i>James McMasters</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal</i>
<i>Asa Spauldin</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Paterson</i>
<i>Samuel Warrin</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal</i>
<i>Roger Magrath</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal</i>
<i>[no first name] Galsey</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Paterson</i>
<i>Mrs. Current</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Paterson</i>
<i>John Andrews</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Paterson</i>
<i>William Adams</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath &amp; McDougal</i>
<i>Aaron Thompson</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Paterson</i>
<i>Able Boyington</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> McDougal</i>
<i>[no first name] Dunlap</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Heath &amp; McDougal</i>
<i>Ezra Eaton</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Glover</i>
<i>John Sullivan</i>	<i>Gen<sup>l</sup> Paterson</i>
<i>Mr. England</i>	<i>Col<sup>o</sup> Shephard, this person has been but three weeks on the Point</i>

---

<sup>88</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 9, 122.

January 15, 1782<sup>89</sup>

<i>Names of Persons</i>	<i>What Occupation</i>	<i>How Long the Present Hath Been Their Place of Abode</i>	<i>Remarks on the Distance from the Garrison</i>
<i>Gabriel Furman</i>	<i>None Particularly</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>At the Red House</i>
<i>Henry Cronk</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>At a Place by the Name of West Grove 4 Miles from Garrison</i>
<i>John Cronk</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>At the Same Place</i>
<i>Hugh McLairnan</i>	<i>[blank entry]</i>	<i>8 Years</i>	
<i>David Froat</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>Near the York Huts</i>
<i>William Cronk</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>4 years</i>	
<i>Michael O'Kelly</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>3 Years</i>	<i>At the Foot of the Mountains 1 ½ Mile from Garrison</i>
<i>Myal Fanet [Name Partially Illegible]</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>On the Road Towards the York Huts</i>
<i>Eroch Carter</i>	<i>Shoemaker</i>	<i>1 Year</i>	<i>On the Road Towards the York Huts</i>
<i>Mr. Eaton</i>	<i>Sutler to the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Brigade</i>		
<i>William Williams</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>At Butter Milk Falls</i>	
<i>James Duncan</i>	<i>Farmer</i>	<i>5 Years</i>	<i>Betwixt Butter Milk Falls &amp; the Garrison</i>
<i>Aaron Thompson</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Robert Dunlap</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Able Buyenton</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>6 Months</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Joel Abbot</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>6 Months</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Robert Brandon</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Samuel Warrin</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Joseph Mills</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>John Piercy</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>1 Year</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>James Watson</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>4 Months</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Roger McGroth</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>John Clyan</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>8 Months</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>James McMaster</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>John Millar</i>	<i>Baker</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Blandon Layness</i>	<i>Baker</i>	<i>3 years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Peter Futter</i>	<i>Baker</i>	<i>3 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Bates</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>William Adams</i>	<i>Formerly Barracks Master</i>	<i>1 ½ years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>John Elderken</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 Years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>John Bull</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>1 years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>
<i>Luther Bull</i>	<i>Sutler</i>	<i>2 years</i>	<i>In the Garrison</i>

<sup>89</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 8, 52.

John Williams	<i>A Young Man Who Lives with Mr. Dunkin</i>		
---------------	--	--	--

In addition to the established sutlers, the Continental Army also established a market at West Point for the few local residents to sell produce and other foodstuffs to the soldiers and officers of the garrison. Again, General Orders regulated the operation of the market:

*October 29, 1780. As the comfort and convenience of the garrison will be much promoted by a plentiful supply of provisions, poultry, cider, beer, &c. the neighboring inhabitants are invited to furnish this garrison with those articles they are to have free access to any of the landing or shores of the garrison (not interrupting the public business or going into any of the Forts) and will be protected from any insult or abuse- The interest of the garrison is so much involved in [this] matter that the Gen'l assures himself that every one will exert himself to give it every encouragement.<sup>90</sup>*

The location of this market is not further identified; presumably it would have been placed on The Plain near Fort Clinton, or near North Dock. Being a transitory operation, archaeological evidence of such a market would be extremely limited.

## 2.8 Chapels and Religious Facilities

It is not known that any chapels or religious facilities were constructed at West Point during the War for American Independence, although it is documented that religious services were regularly conducted by military chaplains with the Continental Army at the Fortress.<sup>91</sup> The Reverend Enos Hitchcock with the Rhode Island Line of the Continental Army performed weekly divine services at West Point throughout a good portion of 1779.<sup>92</sup> On May 1, 1781 Josiah Atkins of the 5<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Regiment recorded:

*May the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Fast. It was observed & I heard a sermon, preach'd by Mr Baldwin our chaplin, from 2 Chron 20<sup>th</sup>. Latter clause of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> verses. It appear'd the most excellen [excellent] sermon I ever heard on that subject.<sup>93</sup>*

Mr. Baldwin was probably Abraham Baldwin, Brigade Chaplain. On April 19, 1778 Benjamin Gilbert with a Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Line at West Point recorded, "In the after [noon] wee went Down the Hill to Exercise, and at four OClock we had a Sermon Preacht to us."<sup>94</sup> Gilbert's Regiment had been involved building Fort Putnam, and "down the hill" almost certainly refers to marching down from the Fort Putnam hill to a parade ground near Fort Clinton, now The Plain of West Point. On June 12, 1779 General Orders specified: "No fatigue tomorrow, and the troops will clean and rest themselves, until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when the whole, not on duty, will attend Divine Service, in the front of Fort Arnold."<sup>95</sup> An entry in another Orderly Book dated July 3, 1780 similarly instructed:

<sup>90</sup> "The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel's Company, German Regiment," XIV: 162.

<sup>91</sup> Private Zebulon Vaughan with the 5<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry recorded regular sermons at West Point. Virginia Steele Wood, Editor, "The Journal of Private Zebulon Vaughan, Revolutionary Soldier, 1777-1780" *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 113 (1979), 107, 107-108.

<sup>92</sup> Weeden, , "Diary of the Reverend Enos Hitchcock," 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 175, 182, 183, 193, 194, 207, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214.

<sup>93</sup> Steven E. Kagle, Editor, *The Diary of Josiah Atkins* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 19-20.

<sup>94</sup> Rebecca D. Symmes, Editor, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York* (Cooperstown, New York: The New York State Historical Association, 1980), 30.

<sup>95</sup> Fowler, Editor, "Journal of Captain Samuel Page in the Campaign of 1779," *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* V, no. 1 (February 1863), 5.

*Garrison Orders July 3<sup>rd</sup>. Tomorrow Field Officer Lt. Colonel Fernald [?] Adjutant Hawskell. Clinton's Brigade & the troops in the huts near that corps will attend prayer at retreating beating. General Clinton will appoint the place. General Poor's will do the like for that part of Brigade quartering in Fort Arnold & the train will attend [illegible] at same time. The Corps quartered in the Long Barracks & the old one opposite it will attend upon the parade between those buildings at the above hour. The commandant flatters himself that no arguments are necessary to induce the officers to duty so solitary in its consequence whether it be confided in a religious or political light & to show the troops by their example our adoration & gratitude to that God who has delivered the Army of American in various instances of impending ruin.<sup>96</sup>*

Most likely, as is documented to have occurred in June 1779 and July 1780, religious services were simply performed within the established Continental Army camps or parade grounds, as no references to the construction of chapels, churches, or any facility for religious worship at West Point has been located.

## 2.9 Encampments

Throughout the Revolution a large number of permanent barracks, hut encampments, and tent encampments were constructed at West Point. The location of most of these encampments is no longer extant, as 225 years of military occupation and construction at West Point has taken over their sites. Some details on camp sites at West Point are provided by Benjamin Gilbert, who served with the Continental Army at the fortress.

*Aprill the 6<sup>th</sup> [1778] We Landed and Pitched our Tents.*

*The 7<sup>th</sup>. We built a Chimney to our tent and raised it with Boards.*

*The 9<sup>th</sup>. I went over the River to Fort Constitution and got some Nails and made a Slow Bonk [probably meaning "a slab bunk"].*

*The 17<sup>th</sup>. A very windy Day. We puld Down the Chimney to our tent & built it a new.*

*June the 16<sup>th</sup>. I histed [hoisted or raised] our tent with Brush and Moved down into it.<sup>97</sup>*

A Company Orderly Book from the 3<sup>rd</sup> New Hampshire Regiment also mentioned on October 10, 1780: "Chimneys are not to be built to the officers and solders tents until an order from the Commanding officer of the Post may be obtained for that Purpose which was by Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen Verbally Communicated to the Brigade Major yesterday at the time the Troops Marched on the ground Such officers and solders of Col<sup>o</sup> Hazen and the 3 N: Hampshire Regiment as have built chimneys or prepared stones for that purpose are to remove them off the incamping ground without delay- Kitchens are to be made for the officers and men....<sup>98</sup> A similar, although later, also address the use of chimneys in tents: "October 29, 1782. The troops are allowed to put Chimneys to their tents and can make themselves comfortable in them until their huts can be built." And "November 2, 1782. The Commander in Chief requests the Officers to be very attentive in seeing that the tops of the Chimneys are carried above the tents to prevent their being scorched by the heat or fired by the sparks."<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> "Eleazor Everett Orderly Book, 1780," Orderly Book, 3d Massachusetts Brigade (Paterson), West Point, July 2 1780 – August 26 1780, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

<sup>97</sup> Rebecca D. Symmes, Editor, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York* (Cooperstown, New York: The New York State Historical Association, 1980), 29, 30, 52.

<sup>98</sup> "Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore's Company," 9:210.

<sup>99</sup> Lauber, Editor, *Orderly Books, New York Regiments*, 694, 697.

And on October 24, 1780 instructions were issued regarding the construction of winter huts: “The great scarcity of boards points out the most single use of them the Brigades who hut are to be allowed no more than are necessary for making doors windows and bonks [bunks].”<sup>100</sup> A previous Orderly Book entry also noted the use of boards for bunks:

*March 22, 1779...as the barracks Col. Wessons Regt. now occupiess are much out of repair they are to be excused from duty at present, for the purpose of repairing them. The chimney to be made immediately, and boards to make bunks will be had very soon.*<sup>101</sup>

Although shingles are not specified as a standard construction material for soldier’s huts, this apparently did not deter the soldiers, for on January 14, 1782 in the West Point Garrison Orderly Book it was noted that: “the shingles intended for hospital reported stolen by some soldiers of the 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade.”<sup>102</sup> These huts provided reasonably comfortable lodgings for the soldiers. Doctor James Thacher, a Regimental Surgeon with a Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Line, record: “January, 1782.- The huts which we now occupy were erected the last winter by some of the Massachusetts troops, a short distance from the banks of the Hudson, and called New Boston; they afforded us a very convenient and comfortable accommodation.”<sup>103</sup>

Fortunately, three campgrounds remain intact at West Point. The first of these actually contains two components and is located in proximity to Redoubt No. 4. A small hut encampment, most likely associated with the permanent garrison of Redoubt No. 4, is located immediately to the west of the redoubt. A small number of prominent hut sites are located in this vicinity. A larger regimental camp, probably occupied during construction of the redoubt in 1779, or possibly a summer encampment, is located to the southwest of the redoubt. This camp was marked on a 1779 West Point map by Captain Moses Greenleaf of the 11<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment [Maps Nine and Ten].

The location of this camp was confirmed by a limited archaeological investigation in 2004, which confirmed the presence of one hut site.<sup>104</sup> Additional archaeological investigations have been tentatively scheduled for this campground in 2006, to attempt to ascertain the precise encampment boundaries, and the locations of specific activities such as kitchens, parade fields, sinks (necessaries or latrines), etc.

The second encampment site is located immediately to the north of Redoubt No. 3. In August 2005 an archaeological survey that emphasized the use of metal detectors was performed by a volunteer organization, “Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization (BRAVO)” which has a well established record of performing similar archaeological investigations at Monmouth Battlefield, New Jersey; Cooch’s Bridge Battlefield, Delaware; and other battlefield locations from the American War for Independence. The results of this investigation revealed a nicely defined camp site, most certainly occupied by the New York Brigade during the winter of 1780-1781, as General Orders issued during that timeframe

---

<sup>100</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company,” 9:229.

<sup>101</sup> “Orderly Book, Continental Army, February 12, 1779 – July 8, 1779.” WPA Transcription, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York, 10; and “Orderly Book of Caleb Clap.”

<sup>102</sup> Brister, “Army Medical Services,” 28.

<sup>103</sup> Thacher, *Military Journal*, 307.

<sup>104</sup> Alexander Archaeological Consultants, *Cultural Resources Investigation of a Possible Tent Encampment Area Associated with Redoubt 4, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, Orange County, New York* (West Point, New York: Directorate of Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, December 2005).

instructed that: “the New York Brigade to Hut in the woods...as near Redoubt No. 3 as the ground will admit.”<sup>105</sup>

This survey revealed the boundaries of the camp and the presence of a parade ground/drill field to its rear. Based upon the presence of numerous nails and spikes, a rough approximation of the camp layout was ascertained by the West Point GIS Department. When combined with previous pedestrian surveys of the redoubt site, a well defined redoubt complex can be ascertained. This complex includes a camp site, parade ground, dedicated cooking/kitchen area, storehouse, guard house, powder magazine, unloading place for wagons and carriages, redoubt and detached battery, and access road [Figure One]. Similar activities would have been present at every redoubt at West Point.

In particular, the alignment of the encampment with the main regimental camp clustered in company alignments of huts, with individual officers’ huts on higher ground overlooking the camp, and the kitchen located off to the side and rear, is similar to the well documented Continental Army encampments at Valley Forge, Morristown and New Windsor. It is also in conformance with a painting of an American Continental Army encampment portrayed by American Artist Charles Wilson Peale in a portrait of Pennsylvania Colonel Walter Stewart [Figure Two]. Stewart’s painting is believed to have been sketched in the spring of 1781, which is consistent with the encampment of the New York Brigade at Redoubt No. 3.<sup>106</sup>

Finally, a third small encampment is located in the vicinity of Round Pond, guarding the Continental Army Road from West Point across Storm King Mountain. This encampment is a small collection of hut sites, confirmed through pedestrian surveys and amateur archaeology. This encampment site has never been the site of a professional archaeological investigation, but is believed to be nearly entirely intact. It is recorded as a West Point historic property, is protected by appropriate signage, and is regularly patrolled by Military Police Game Wardens to ensure that it is not disturbed by “relic hunters” or “pot hunters.”

---

<sup>105</sup> “Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore’s Company,” 9:220; and West Point Garrison Orderly Book, 20.

<sup>106</sup> John U. Rees, “As Many Fireplaces as you have tents...Earthen Camp Kitchens.” Accessed on-line at <http://www.revwar75.com/library/rees/kitchen.htm> on February 21, 2006; and Edward W. Richardson, *Standards and Colors of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 118-119.



Redoubt 4  
And  
Encampment

Map Nine  
**“Redoubt No. 4 Encampment, West Point, 1779”**  
by **Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment**  
(Massachusetts Historical Society)

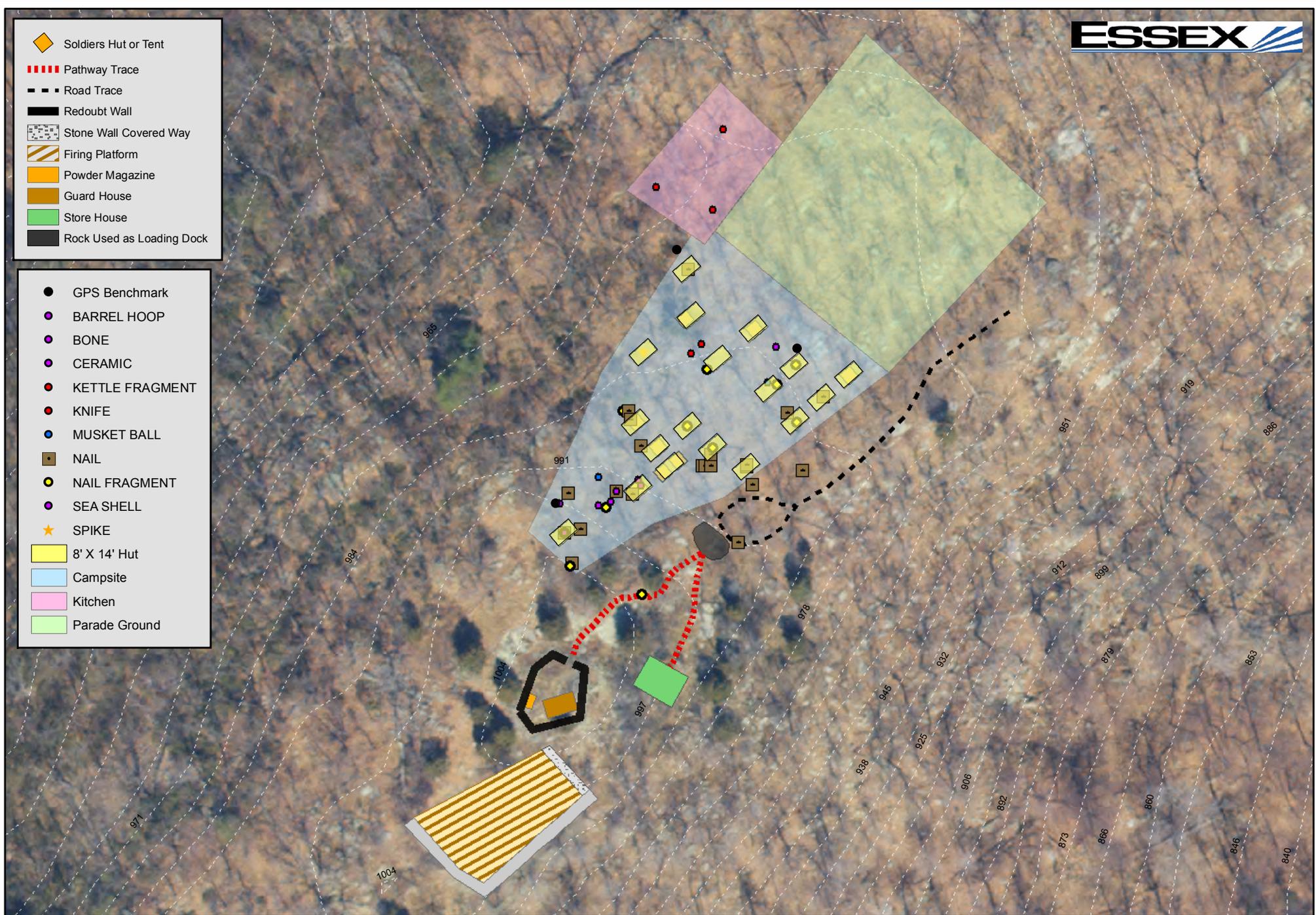


Map Ten

**“Detail- Redoubt No. 4 and Encampment, West Point, 1779”**  
**by Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment**  
(Massachusetts Historical Society)

-  Soldiers Hut or Tent
-  Pathway Trace
-  Road Trace
-  Redoubt Wall
-  Stone Wall Covered Way
-  Firing Platform
-  Powder Magazine
-  Guard House
-  Store House
-  Rock Used as Loading Dock

-  GPS Benchmark
-  BARREL HOOP
-  BONE
-  CERAMIC
-  KETTLE FRAGMENT
-  KNIFE
-  MUSKET BALL
-  NAIL
-  NAIL FRAGMENT
-  SEA SHELL
-  SPIKE
-  8' X 14' Hut
-  Campsite
-  Kitchen
-  Parade Ground



**GIS FIGURE 6 - REDOUBT 3 AND VICINITY**

0 35 70 140 Feet

1" = 70'



Figure Two  
**Representative Continental Army Encampment**  
**Portrait of Pennsylvania Colonel Walter Stewart, Spring 1781**  
 by Charles Wilson Peale  
 (Rees, “Earthen Camp Kitchens”)

2.10 Barracks

In addition to the encampment areas, formal barracks were also constructed at West Point to lodge the garrison. These formal barracks appear to have been located in the immediate vicinity of the Plain, generally to the west of Fort Clinton. The Marquis de Francois Jean Chastellux, a French Officer visiting America between 1780 and 1782, visited the Continental Army on his travels. He recorded the construction of Continental Army barracks at the Fishkill Depot, “...handsome large barracks.... These barracks are wooden houses, well built, and well covered,

having garrets, and even cellars.” When visiting West Point, Chastellux remarked, “Around [Fort Clinton]...farther to the north-west, barracks for three or four battalions; they are built of wood, and similar to those of Fishkill.”<sup>107</sup>

These barracks were apparently constructed in 1778, and used for the first time during the winter of 1778-1779. A Continental Army Orderly Book on March 22, 1779 noted regarding these barracks: “As the barracks Col Wessons Regt now occupys are much out of repair they are to be excused from duty at present, for the purpose of repairing them. The chimney to be made immediately, and boards to make bunks will be had very soon.”<sup>108</sup> The West Point Garrison Orderly Book on July 27, 1779 noted: “... any Soldier of the Garrison who shall be found Pulling off or Carrying away the Boards or shingles of any Barrack or house Belonging to the publick shall Receive twenty lashes...”<sup>109</sup> The barracks appear to have received regular use every winter. The West Point Garrison Orderly Book for October 17, 1780 instructed:

*The Cold and Blowing Season Renders it Necessary as well for the Comfort of the Troops as the Preservation of the Tents that they should be quartered in the Barracks which is to be done in the following manner[.] the Artillery in the Barracks which they were quartered in last year The Jersey Brigade in the Long Barracks... The Troops will move into the Barracks as soon as may be and assist in making the Necessary Repairs- The Officers will be Pleased to give Particular Orders to have the Chimneys Cleansed and take Every Necessary Precaution Against Accidents by fire[.] when the Troops go into Barracks the Tents are to be Carefully Packed up & Sent to Colonel Hughes.*<sup>110</sup>

These sources are important for they confirm Chastellux, that these barracks were relatively well constructed structures with wooden siding, masonry chimneys and wooden shingled roofs. Most likely, they were similar to the barracks that Archaeologist Jack Mead excavated at Fort Montgomery.<sup>111</sup> The locations of these barracks are documented on both the 1779 Greenleaf Map and 1780 Villefranche Map [Map Ten and Eleven]. That these barracks were relatively well constructed is documented by the 1801 Peale sketch and 1820 Cadet Map, both of which clearly show the Long Barracks remaining near Fort Clinton. These structures, given their sturdy construction, presence of basements, and their survival into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, probably have archaeological remnants surviving in the vicinity of Trophy Point, although the construction and demolition of the West Point Hotel may have removed or damaged some of their foundations.

---

<sup>107</sup> Marquis de Francois Jean Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780-1781-1782* (New York: White, Gallaher & White, 1827), 42, 43, 47.

<sup>108</sup> “Orderly Book, Continental Army, February 12, 1779 – July 8, 1779” (WPA Transcript, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York), 10.

<sup>109</sup> “Orderly Book, West Point Garrison, July- August 1779” (WPA Transcript, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York), 31.

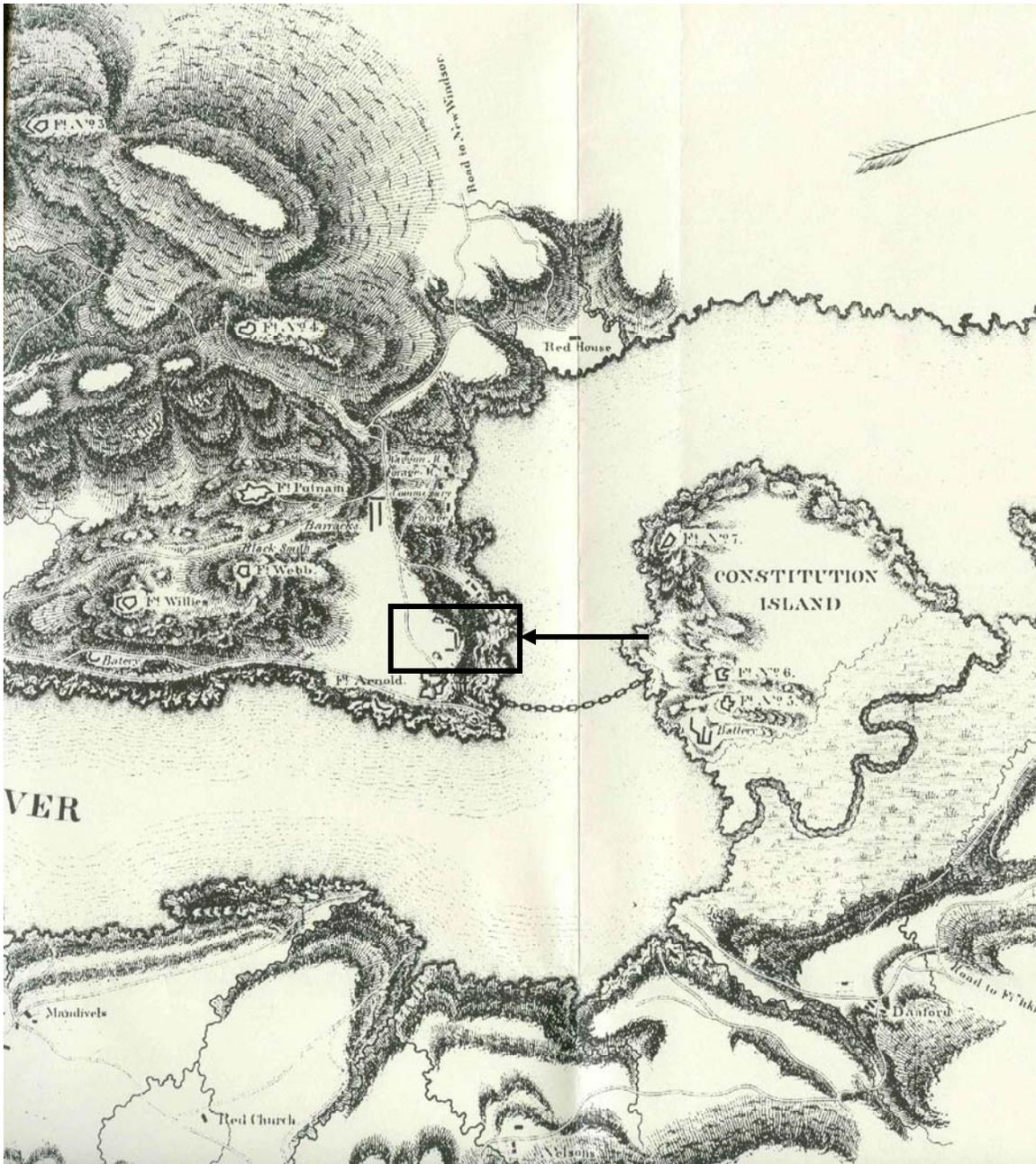
<sup>110</sup> “Orderly Book, West Point Garrison, August-December 1780” (WPA Transcript, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York), 20.

<sup>111</sup> Fisher, Editor, “*The Most Advantageous Situation in the Highlands,*” *An Archaeological Study of Fort Montgomery*, 19-58.

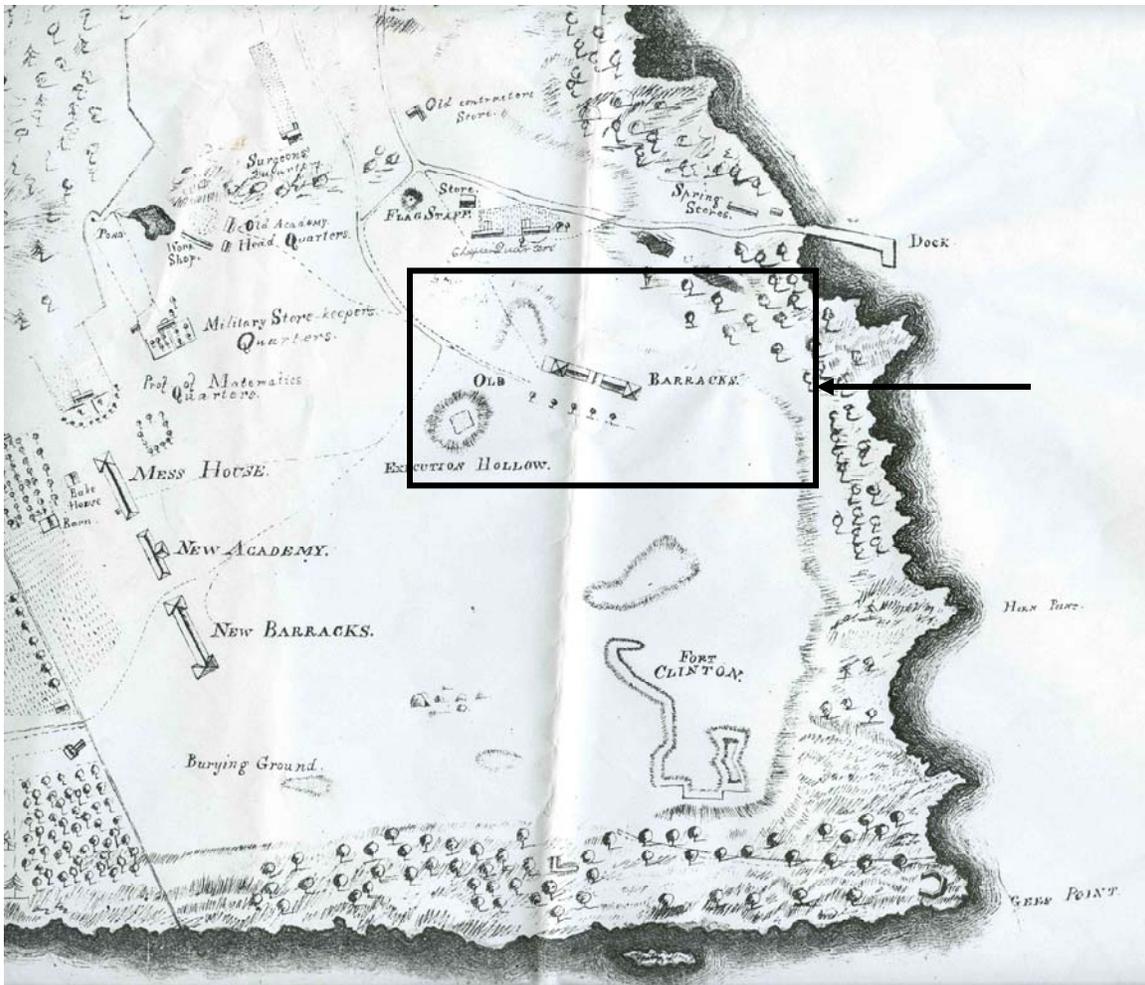


Map Eleven

**“Continental Army Barracks in Vicinity of Fort Clinton, West Point, 1779”  
by Captain Moses Greenleaf, 11<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment  
(Massachusetts Historical Society)**



Map Twelve  
**“Continental Army Barracks in Vicinity of Fort Clinton, West Point, 1780”**  
by Engineer Villefranche  
(Boydton, *History of West Point*, 86)



Map Thirteen

**“Continental Army Barracks in Vicinity Fort Clinton, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”**  
 (Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York)

2.11 Revolutionary War Fire Station

One of the most interesting logistical facilities at Fortress West Point was actually the establishment of the very first West Point Fire Station. Given the fact that almost the entirety of West Point was constructed of timber, fire was obviously a great concern. A report by Major Sebastian Baumann of the Continental Army Artillery regarding the winter of 1779-1780 at West Point specifically discussed how he:

*... slept through the course of the winter with my boots on, in order to be handy on account of the daily cry of fire, to save the implements of War from being destroyed by a conflagration, for on my representing the danger wherein, I was told that it was my business to safe guard, and secure it...all those necessary implements are housed under the roof made of shingles and sides made of boards, and liable to common accidents of firing destroyed in one instant of fire....*<sup>112</sup>

On November 7, 1780 General Orders noted: “The fire engine being put in good repairs the Garrison Q’r M’r [Quarter Master] will see that it is properly executed and a proper number of

<sup>112</sup> Major Sebastian Bauman, Continental Army Artillery, “Report, 1781” USMA Special Collections & Archives, USMA Library, West Point, New York.

men from the artificers assigned to work it.”<sup>113</sup> Presumably, this fire engine was a simple hand pump with a hose and copper nozzle, re-filled using water buckets, which could be pulled by hand or possibly by horses to the scene of a fire. Such fire engines were in widespread use in England and the Netherlands by this time in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and similar fire engines are recorded to have been present at Boston, Philadelphia, New York City, Albany and other American cities as early as the Seven Years War. Where or how the Continental Army would have obtained such a device is unknown. Possibly it was constructed at West Point by Continental Army artificers, or it may have been moved to West Point from another community. Surviving examples of 18<sup>th</sup> century fire engines are relatively small, typically the size of a simple cart. The fire engine’s assignment to the artificers suggests that it was stored in proximity to their operations. It would probably have been stored in a shed or storehouse, and no archaeological specific evidence of the fire engine would be expected to remain.

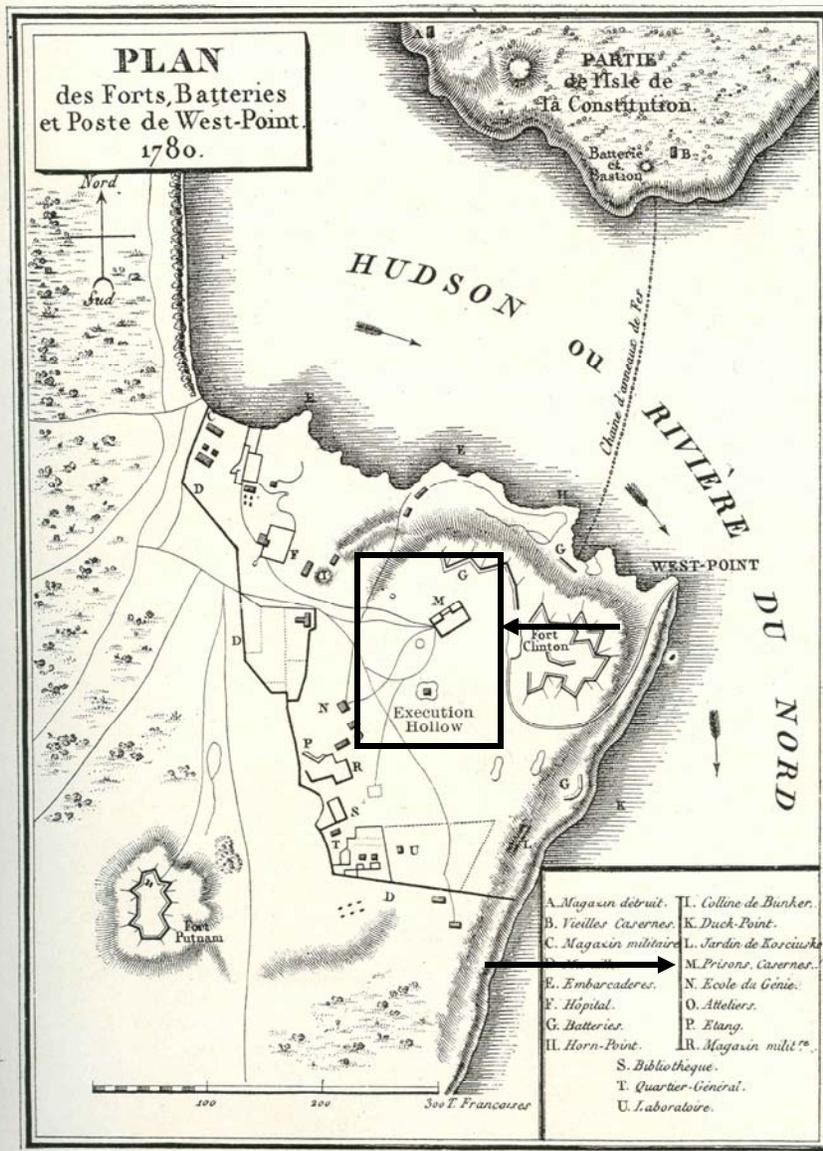
## 2.12 Jail and Execution Hollow

Some type of rudimentary jail was also located at West Point, presumably in conjunction with the main guard. In August 1780 there was a brief piece of dissension between Artillery Commander Colonel John Lamb, West Point Commander Major General Benedict Arnold and Continental Army Commander George Washington regarding the use of West Point to lodge prisoners. Lamb, responsible for the internment of an alleged British spy, stated his concerns that West Point was inadequate for this purpose, as two prisoners had escaped that month alone.<sup>114</sup> Again, the location of this jail is not known. Given Lamb’s concerns regarding its efficiency, this could not have been a particularly substantial structure. The 1780 French Map of West Point noted a “prisone” located to the west of Fort Clinton, between Fort Clinton and Execution Hollow, which is the presumed location of this jail.

---

<sup>113</sup> “Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel’s Company, German Regiment,” 173.

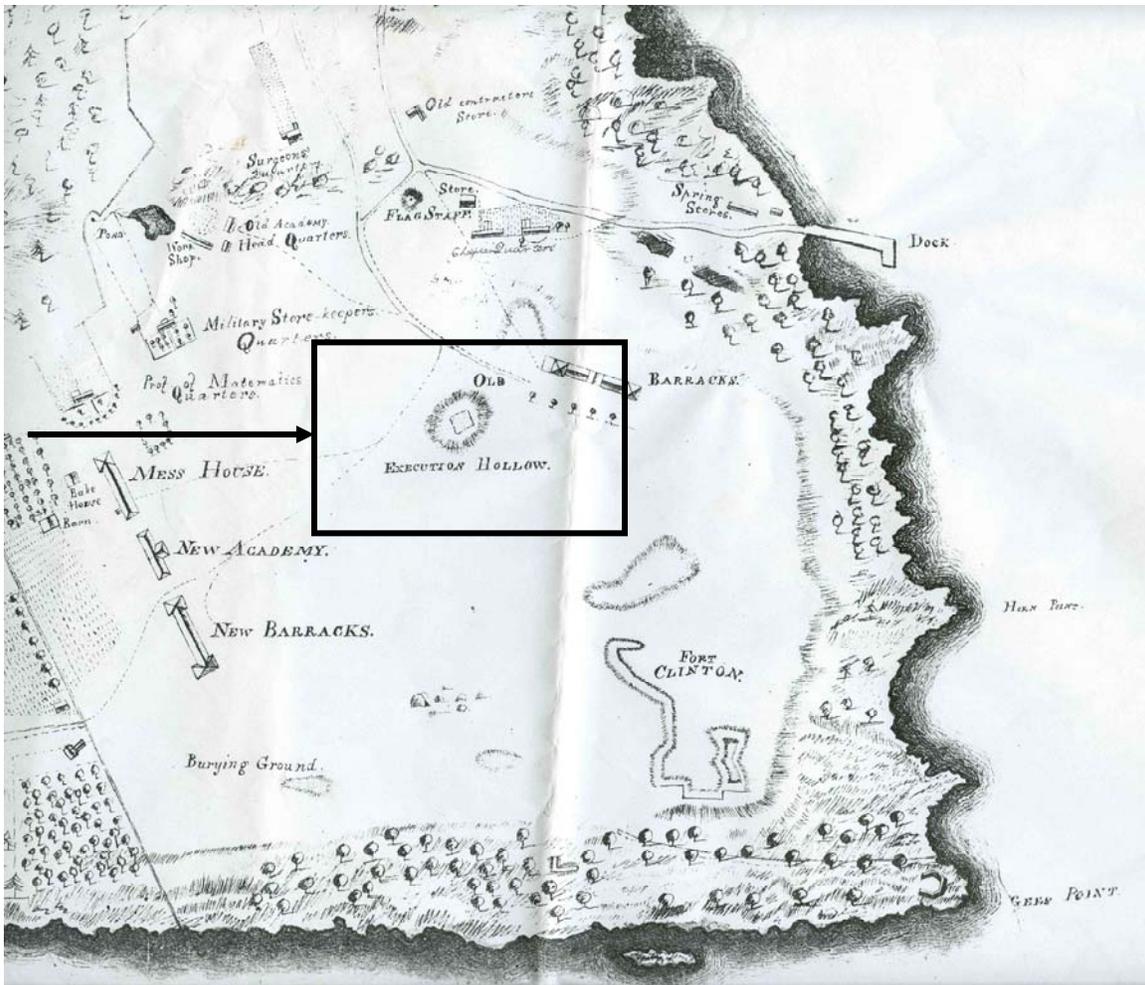
<sup>114</sup> Lynn L. Sims, *The Military Career of John Lamb*. PhD Thesis, (New York: New York University, 1975), 161.



MAP OF WEST POINT IN 1780.

N, Engineer school; S, library; U, laboratory.  
 (The words in English were added in 1904.)

Map Fourteen  
**“Revolutionary War Jail and Execution Hollow, West Point, 1780”**  
 by a French Officer  
 (Centennial of the United States Military Academy, 204)



Map Fifteen

**“Execution Hollow, West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”**  
 (Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York)

Execution Hollow was used, as its name implies, as the location for executions and punishment of deserters, criminals, and mutineers. The location of Execution Hollow is underneath the furthest north public bleachers at the Cadet Parade Field on the Plain. Execution Hollow was heavily modified in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by the construction of Battery Byrne, a coast defense mortar training battery [Figure Three].<sup>115</sup> This battery was in turn demolished shortly before World War II. As a result of the construction of this battery, no vestiges of the Revolutionary War Execution Hollow are believed to survive.

<sup>115</sup> Dr. Steven Groves, “Memorandum: Location of Execution Hollow” (West Point: December 4, 1989).



Figure Three  
**Execution Hollow during early construction of Mortar Battery Byrne**  
(Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library)

### 2.13 Artillery Park

Although not necessarily a logistical or support facility, being a more purely military activity, was the location of the artillery park. The Park of Artillery comprised the heaviest pieces of artillery, which were intended to provide the most substantial firepower of the artillery in formal sieges. In the case of the Continental Army, guns that were not assigned to artillery units, batteries or fortifications, or which were not mounted on carriages, were presumably also stored at the Artillery Park. The Park of Artillery also served as the headquarters and main encampment of the artillery. Here would be located the Laboratory where ammunition would be prepared, the commanding officers of the artillery, all of the various wheeled vehicles of the artillery, the field forges necessary to keep the artillery's carriages and wheeled vehicles operating, the spare ammunition, horses, baggage, and other necessary equipment with which the artillery could not function. John Muller, Professor of Artillery and Fortification at Woolwich, described the carefully configured alignment of the Park of Artillery:

*The artillery is generally placed about 300 paces before the middle of the first line of the army, upon some rising ground, except a more convenient spot of ground happens to be before some wing...the best approved method is to divide the artillery into brigades, and to place the guns of the first to right of the front line, and their ammunition behind them in one or more lines, then those of the second brigade next to the first in front. The artillery companies and miners are half incamped to the right, and the other half to the left of the park, in the usual manner, with some of the lieutenants in the rear of them. In*

*the rear of the park are incamped the civil list all in one line; behind these is a line of the remaining lieutenants, and behind these the captains and commissaries. Opposite to the middle, and behind the captain's line, is the major's tent; and behind this the colonel's to the right... Opposite to the middle is placed the army guard, and opposed to the right wing, the artillery guard at the same distance. In the middle of the front two light pieces are advanced at a distance of 20 paces, loaded with powder for the alarm guns ready to be fired when required. To the right of the park are placed the artificers, with their tools, materials, and baggage, in a line from the front to the rear. To the left of the park, the commissaries and their baggage. The horses of the equipage are placed behind....*<sup>116</sup>

A visit by a French observer in March 1781 noted: "On a plateau behind this fort [Fort Clinton] the artillery park is laid out, beside a very beautiful parade ground."<sup>117</sup> Another French observer noted in August 1781: "The first fort met with on debarking at West Point is Fort Clinton, which is a square bastion. It entirely overlooks the river, and is constructed on a rock, which rises from it, but on reaching that a piece of flat ground is found, where the Park of Artillery is posted, which forms a very extensive and fine place d'arms."<sup>118</sup> Major Sebastian Bauman of the Continental Army Artillery noted of the facilities of the Artillery Park on the Plain in January, 1781:

*All the implements of war from this and other places are housed on the plain without musket shot from any of the works in a wooden house, more properly barn, is repositied [sic] all the necessary apparatus both for a siege and defence. Powder and flint, composition of slow and quick fire, muskets and bayonets, man and horse harness, all the sponges [sic] and seventy paper cannon cartridges: besides many thousand other things all together in a huddled mass; from where it would puzzle the greatest artillerists in the knowing world at least forty eight hours in order to prepare the guns in the garrison for action.-I say all those necessary implements are housed under the roof made of shingles and sides made of boards, and liable to common accidents of firing destroyed in one instant of fire, would such a thing befall us I will vouch today, that we sooner would replace powder from Europe than those implements from any part of America-*<sup>119</sup>

In November 1781 Continental Artillery Commander John Lamb ordered that a shed be constructed to protect the cannon carriages during the winter, possibly in response to Bauman's concerns, but the size of this shed, and whether or not it was ever constructed, is not known.<sup>120</sup>

A 1786 visitor to West Point recalled:

*...in the rear [of Fort Clinton] is the park [of Artillery] magazines etc. too tedious and numerous to describe; a very great quantity of excellent ordnance lies there now, which is inclosed very strongly with planted timbers....*<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>116</sup> Muller, *Treatise of Artillery*, 195-197 and Plate XXVIII.

<sup>117</sup> Evelyn M. Acomb, Editor, *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 61.

<sup>118</sup> Baron Cromot duBourg, Aide to Rochambeau, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* IV, no. 3-6 (March- June 1880) 307-308.

<sup>119</sup> Sebastian Bauman 1781 Report.

<sup>120</sup> Sims, *Military Career of John Lamb*, 171.

<sup>121</sup> Cartographer Griffith Evans, "Journal 1786" Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

## 2.14 The Plain

In addition to its use as the Artillery Park, the Plain was also used as the garrison's major drill field. Cartographer Evans also recorded in 1786: "A beautiful level plane [sic.] very rare to find the like here where nothing but mountains & water to be seen scarcely – perhaps 9 or 10 acres very useful for parading on..."<sup>122</sup> The Plain was not only used as a parade field or drill ground, but on at least one occasion it was used as the venue for a boxing match: "They met upon a flat piece of ground below the forts...a large ring was formed by the large body of soldiers which had assembled to witness the fight."<sup>123</sup> It should be obvious that activities of this type would have left few, if any, archaeological vestiges.

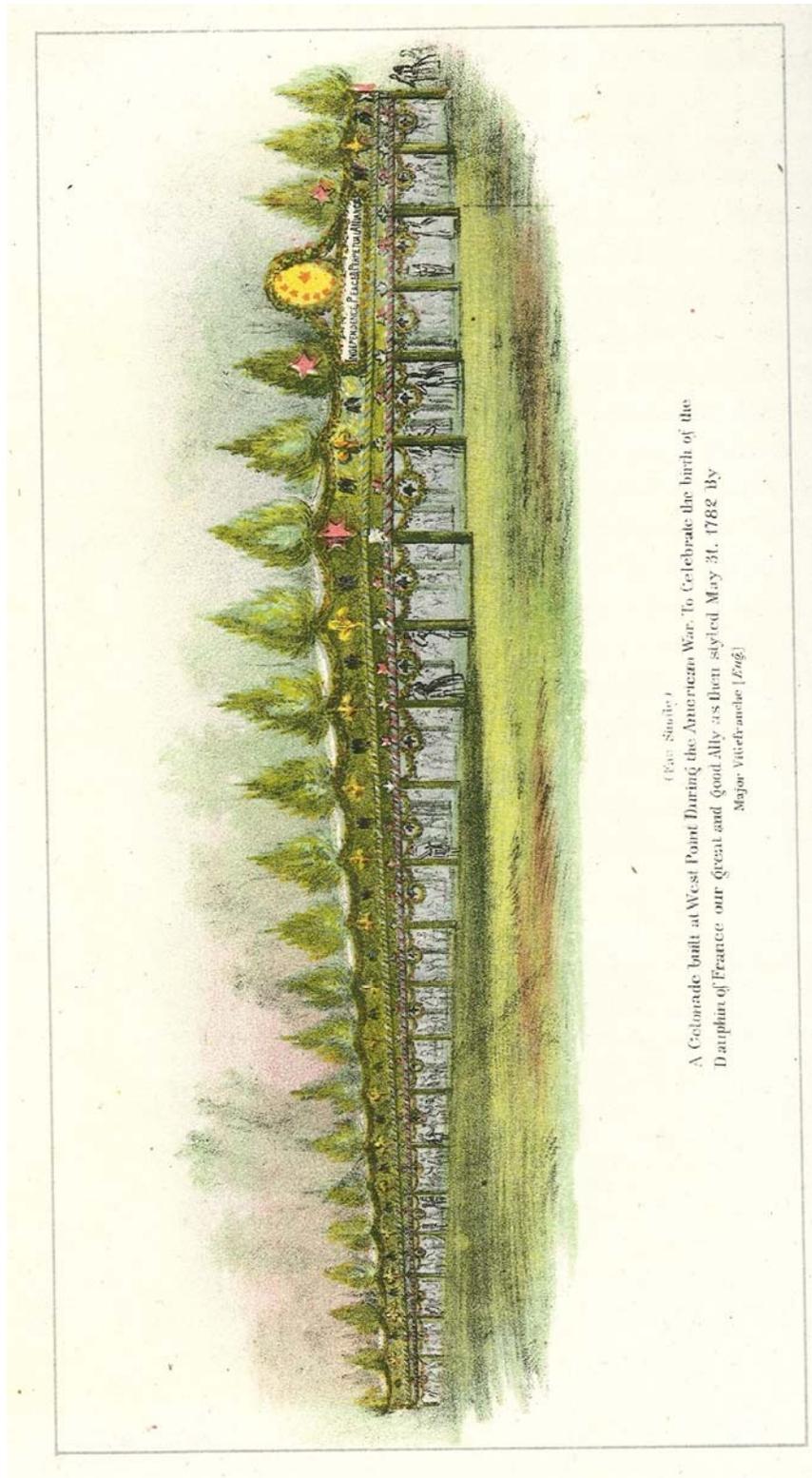
The Plain was also the site of an elaborate celebration of the Birth of the Dauphin of France, on May 31, 1782. This celebration saw the construction of a 600 foot x 30 foot wide colonnade of 118 pillars, made of the trunks of trees, covered with a roof of pine boughs. The whole was ornamented with evergreens, various patriotic French and American decorations, and martial armaments including bayonets and muskets [Figure Four].<sup>124</sup> As with other Revolutionary War resources, the structures constructed for this celebration would have been intended to be temporary, and would not have left any substantial archaeological evidence. The extensive ground disturbance associated with the leveling and filling of the Plain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century would almost certainly have removed any vestiges of these structures.

---

<sup>122</sup> Evans, "Journal 1786."

<sup>123</sup> Hanna, Editor. *A History of the Life and Services of Captain Samel DeWees*, 170.

<sup>124</sup> Reeve, "West Point in the Revolution," 196.



(See Study)  
 A Colonnade built at West Point During the American War, To Celebrate the birth of the  
 Dauphin of France our great and good Ally as then styled May 31, 1782 By  
 Major Vitefranche [L'ing.]

Figure Four  
**“Colonnade Erected on The Plain to Celebrate Birth of Dauphin of France, May 31, 1782”**  
 (Boynton, *History of West Point*, 161)

## 2.15 Ammunition Magazines

In order for West Point to resist any British attack, relatively large quantities of gunpowder had to be maintained on hand. To protect this gunpowder, which was expensive and difficult to procure, from weather elements or enemy attack, ammunition magazines had to be constructed.

It is known that Redoubt No. 7 on Constitution Island served as an Ammunition Magazine, both during the later years of the War for American Independence, and after the disbanding of the Continental Army. The first mention that Redoubt No. 7 was proposed to serve as the West Point Powder Magazine appears in a letter from Major General Henry Knox from West Point on September 4, 1782: “The redoubt on Constitution Island, which is intended as a temporary magazine for the powder at Fish Kill and Newburg, will be ready to receive it in three or four days.”<sup>125</sup> This work was clearly completed, for a survey of fortifications at West Point prepared in December 1782 reported, “Fort No. 7 Is Now a magazine for the powder of the department.”<sup>126</sup> The earlier 1780 French map of West Point shows a “magazine” at the location of Redoubt No. 7 on Constitution Island, which suggests that this redoubt had previously served as an ammunition magazine. Redoubt No. 7 is the furthest north redoubt of all West Point fortifications, is separated from other fortifications on West Point by a safe distance, and presumably was considered to be a secure location.

Powder and munitions are noted as being stored in the various forts and redoubts at West Point, in regular reports in the Knox Papers. These would have been small “ready” magazines that contained enough ammunition to resist an attack on these works. Presumably Fort Clinton contained a larger magazine, although details on the size and precise location of this magazine are not definite. Major Sebastian Bauman of the American Artillery commented upon the Fort Clinton and Fort Putnam Ammunition Magazines in 1781:

*The powder magazine in Fort Clinton, if I may be allowed to give it that appellation, is nothing but a bombproof; in which is lodged near four hundred barrels of powder, intermixed with live shells and fixed ammunition, musket and cannon cartridges, carcasses and hand Grenades. Before all this combustibles is a hinged wooden door even with the surface, and under the care of a singal [sic] sentinel- The powder magazine in Fort Putnam is still in a worse situation, for it stands upon the surface and its wall made of wood, therefore liable to common accidents of fire. Besides it stands exposed to all measures of shot and shells from the northeast to the south.*<sup>127</sup>

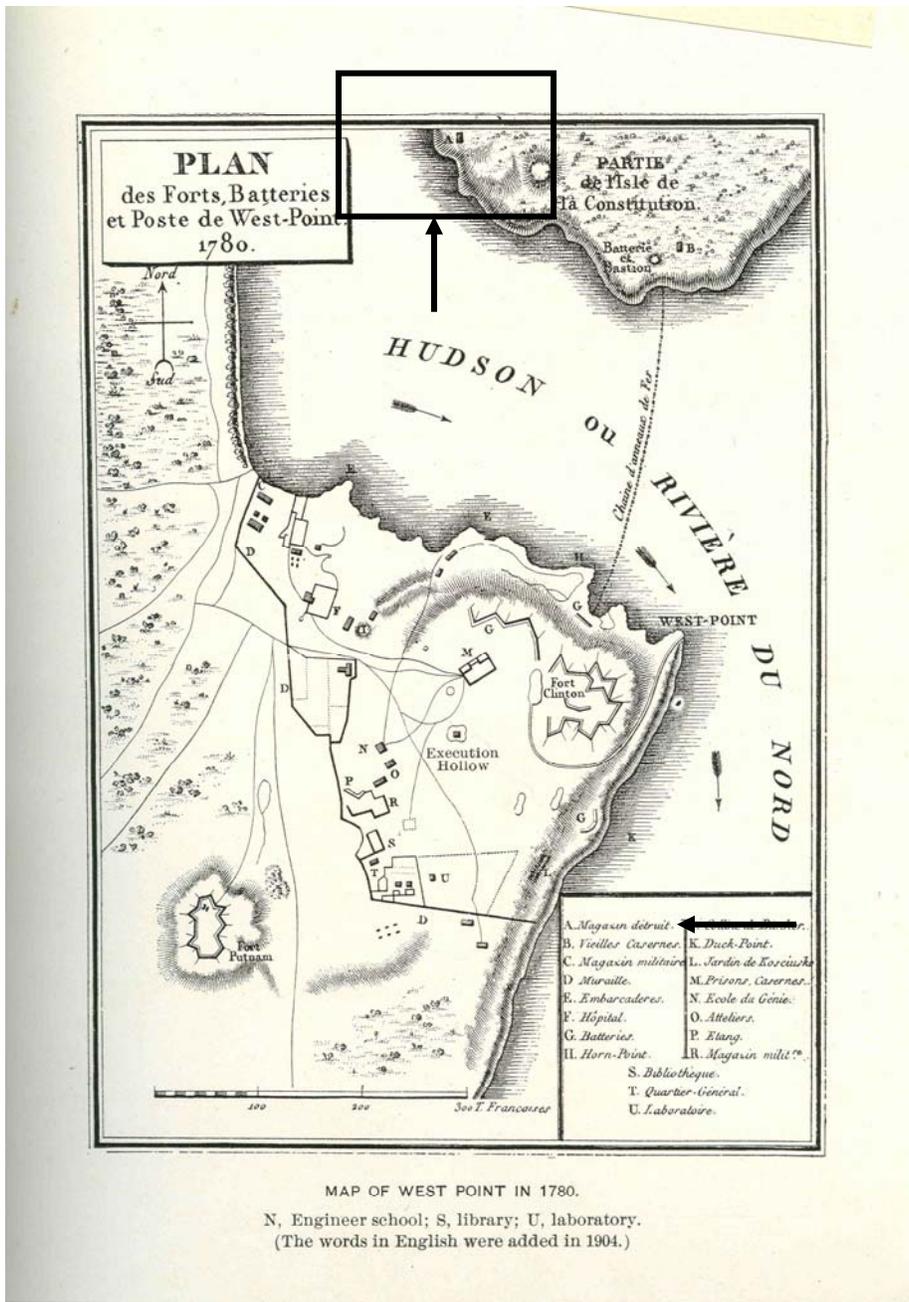
Although the location and size of the ammunition magazine at Fort Clinton requires further research, and Bauman’s complaints aside, it would presumably have been a relatively deep and well constructed structure. Although the western portions of Fort Clinton have been disturbed by the operation of the Cadet Summer Camp throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and also by the construction of Cullum Road, parking areas, utility infrastructure, and athletic fields, there remains a possibility that archaeological remnants of this powder magazine survive. Any ground disturbance or excavation in this area will require archaeological investigations in advance of construction, and archaeological monitoring during actual construction. Remnants of the smaller powder magazines are documented to survive at Redoubt No. 3, Redoubt No. 4, and Redoubt Wyllis.

---

<sup>125</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 9, 134.

<sup>126</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 10, 173.

<sup>127</sup> Sebastian Bauman Report, 1781.



MAP OF WEST POINT IN 1780.  
N, Engineer school; S, library; U, laboratory.  
(The words in English were added in 1904.)

Map Sixteen  
**“Revolutionary War Magazine, Redoubt No. 7,  
 Constitution Island, West Point, 1780”  
 by a French Officer**  
*(Centennial of the United States Military Academy, 204)*

## 2.16 Headquarters Buildings and Officers Housing

As with any military installation, housing for officers stationed at West Point was necessary, and administrative or headquarters buildings to perform staff operations in was also required. When the Continental Army arrived at West Point in February 1778 the only inhabitants were the Charles Moore Family. The Continental Army immediately took over their residences, and the Moore Family moved across the Hudson River. A Petition from Moore to the New York State Legislature for compensation in 1782 stated:

*The Memorial of Charles Moore sheweth that your Memorialist was possessed of two good dwelling houses and a farm at West Point in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven upon which he then lived and depended for the maintaining of his family; and that in the month of January one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight the Committee appointed by the honorable the Legislature of this State in conjunction with his Excellency Governor Clinton, and certain other Officers of the Army of these United States, to fix upon a place to fortify Hudsons River in pursuance of a resolution of the Congress of these United States, did fix upon your memorialist 's farm informing your Memorialist at the same time that he should have full satisfaction for all the damages he should sustain by it; and in consequence thereof your Memorialist was obliged by the then Commanding Officers in this Department Major General Putnam and brigadier General Parsons of the Continental Army to leave his houses and farm .*<sup>128</sup>

Moore's major residence was a three-storied house with four chimneys, and was so pretentious for its location that it was sometimes known as "Moore's Folly." It was obviously large and prominent enough that it was selected as the Continental Army headquarters for West Point, and Washington made it is headquarters when he stayed at West Point.<sup>129</sup> It is frequently referred in Revolutionary War soldier's accounts as the "Red House," so it was obviously painted red at the time of the War for American Independence. This house was located at the current Target Hill Field. Construction at Target Hill Field in the 1930s caused extensive ground disturbance that removed all vestiges of the structure. Only a historic plaque on Target Hill Field documents its location [Photograph Three].

Apparently Moore's other house was located in the vicinity of the current Superintendent's House, and was also used as a Continental Army officers housing/ headquarters building. To alleviate the shortage of structures at West Point, apparently at least one building was actually disassembled at Fishkill Continental Army Depot and shipped down the river in pieces to West Point, where it was subsequently re-assembled. Colonel Lewis Nicola, Commandant of the Invalid Corps, wrote Major General Henry Knox on October 3, 1782:

*I am informed the work at the house I am to occupy at he Point cannot proceed for want of boards...I am under the necessity of requesting your application to Genl Knox to know whether I can be permitted to pull down some of the empty barracks here & have them removed to West Point for the house I am to inhabit there.*

Knox responded on October 5, 1782:

*Col. Nicola, of the Invalids, is hereby authorized to take down & remove from Fishkill such of the useless and unoccupied barns at that place as he shall judge*

---

<sup>128</sup> Charles Moore, "Charles Moore Petitions Regarding His Property at West Point, March 22, 1782 and April 1, 1781" Records A0202-78-Box 5-#2142; and A0203-78-Box 7- #2383. New York Legislative Papers, Albany, New York.

<sup>129</sup> Lenora R. Cross, "The Moores of West Point," Accessed on-line at <http://www.jaycross.com/jayhoo/The%20Moores.htm> on April 11, 2005.

*necessary for furnishing him with quarters at the Point during the ensuing winter.*<sup>130</sup>



Photograph Three  
**Commemorative Plaque to Moore House**  
**Target Hill Field, West Point**  
(D. Cubbison, February 2006)

Several primary source accounts mention visiting officers' houses at West Point during this timeframe. In 1786 Cartographer Griffith Evans, performing a land survey of the Hudson River, visited West Point for an evening. He recorded in his Journal:

---

<sup>130</sup> Knox Papers, Reel 10, 25, 29.

*Head Quarters a genteel building I may observe that there is several handsome houses on the Point. ... the rain continuing incessant & severe I declined going to dine with Major Doughty & called to see Cap McClean[,] him & Mrs. McClean expressed & discovered every possible fondness of me & happiness in seeing me & I declare I reciprocated every such emotion, I dined and chatted with 'em about Pennsa [Pennsylvania] I spent an agreeable hour with them parted reluctantly with taking a draught of shrub & water, bid them farewell I always was attached to McClean but never felt it so sensibly before....<sup>131</sup>*

The Marquis de Chastellux noted the hospitality of a number of American officers at their residences at West Point during his 1781 visit. One commentary he made was particularly telling as regards the quality of their accommodations: "They lodged in a little barrack neatly arranged.... Whilst dinner was preparing, General Heath took me into a little closet, which served him as a bed chamber...."<sup>132</sup>

The 1820 map of West Point, drawn before the numerous improvements to the Military Academy planned by Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer were implemented, indicates a number of small structures along the location of the present day McArthur Barracks, Superintendent's Garden, and Jefferson Place. These are presumed to be the various Officers Lodgings and Administrative/Headquarters Buildings constructed by the Continental Army. These buildings appear to have been small wood framed houses with a central fireplace typical of New England houses. Photographs of two of these buildings were taken in the 1870s, one of the "Thompson House-Washington Cottage" (alleged to be Washington's Headquarters), and one of Gridley Tavern. These two buildings, long since torn down, are believed to be representative of this type of early building [Figures Five and Six].

It is interesting that a sketchbook that renowned American Artist Charles Wilson Peale made of the Hudson River Valley in 1801 contains two colored sketches that Peale made "from the side of the mountain." It is believed, based upon an analysis of the local terrain, that Peale made these drawings from the general vicinity of the topographical slope below and to the east Fort Putnam, to the west of The Plain. These two colored sketches clearly depict a number of these "little barracks" as Chastellux so charmingly referred to them [Figures Seven and Eight].<sup>133</sup>

Although none of these buildings survive today, at least several of the foundations are known to remain. A recent engineering study of the Superintendent's Quarters, Historic Family Housing Building 100 on Jefferson Place which was constructed for Superintendent Thayer in 1822, noted: "In unexcavated areas [of the basement] there appear to be the remnants of abandoned stone rubble foundations."<sup>134</sup> Although previous ground disturbance and excavations throughout this area have been extensive, the foundations of other Revolutionary War structures may well remain in the Jefferson Place vicinity, and the area should be considered to be archaeologically sensitive.

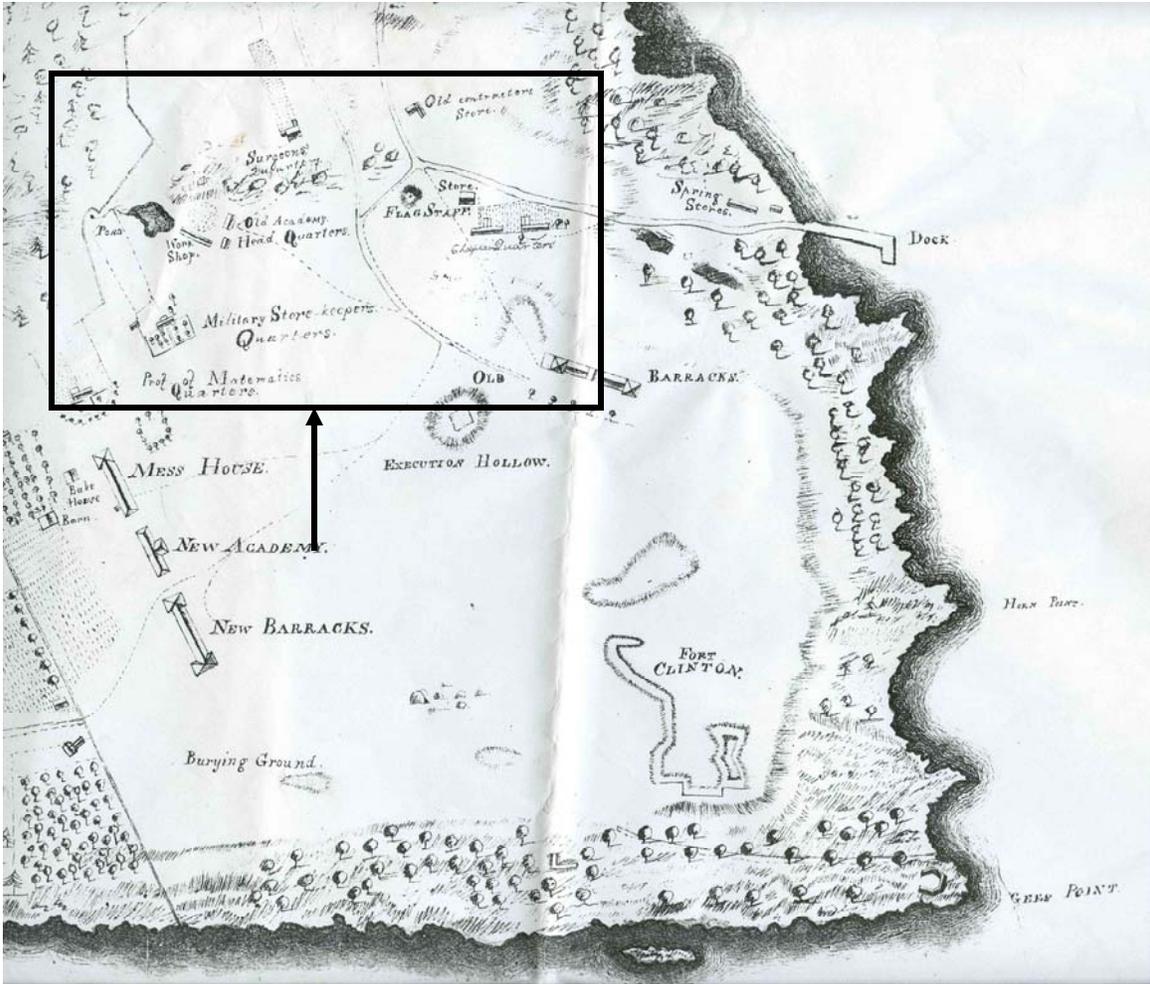
---

<sup>131</sup> Griffith Evans Journal, 1786, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

<sup>132</sup> Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, 47, 51.

<sup>133</sup> Charles Wilson Peale, "Charles Willson Peale, Hudson River Sketchbook, 1801", American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Accessed on-line at <http://www.amphilsoc.org/library/mole/p/hudsonriver.htm> on December 12, 2003.

<sup>134</sup> U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New York District, "Quarters 100 Rehabilitation Investigation, 30% Draft Report, U.S. Military Academy" (New York: December 2003), 4-20.



Map Seventeen

**“Revolutionary War Officers Housing and Headquarters/Administrative Buildings,  
West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”**

(Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York)



Figure Five

**“Old Gridley’s Tavern, West Point, 1871”**

[Archives and Special Collections, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York]



Figure Six

**“Thompson’s House or Washington’s Cottage, West Point, November 1870”**  
[Archives and Special Collections, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York]



Figure Seven

**“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain”  
by Charles Wilson Peale, 1801**

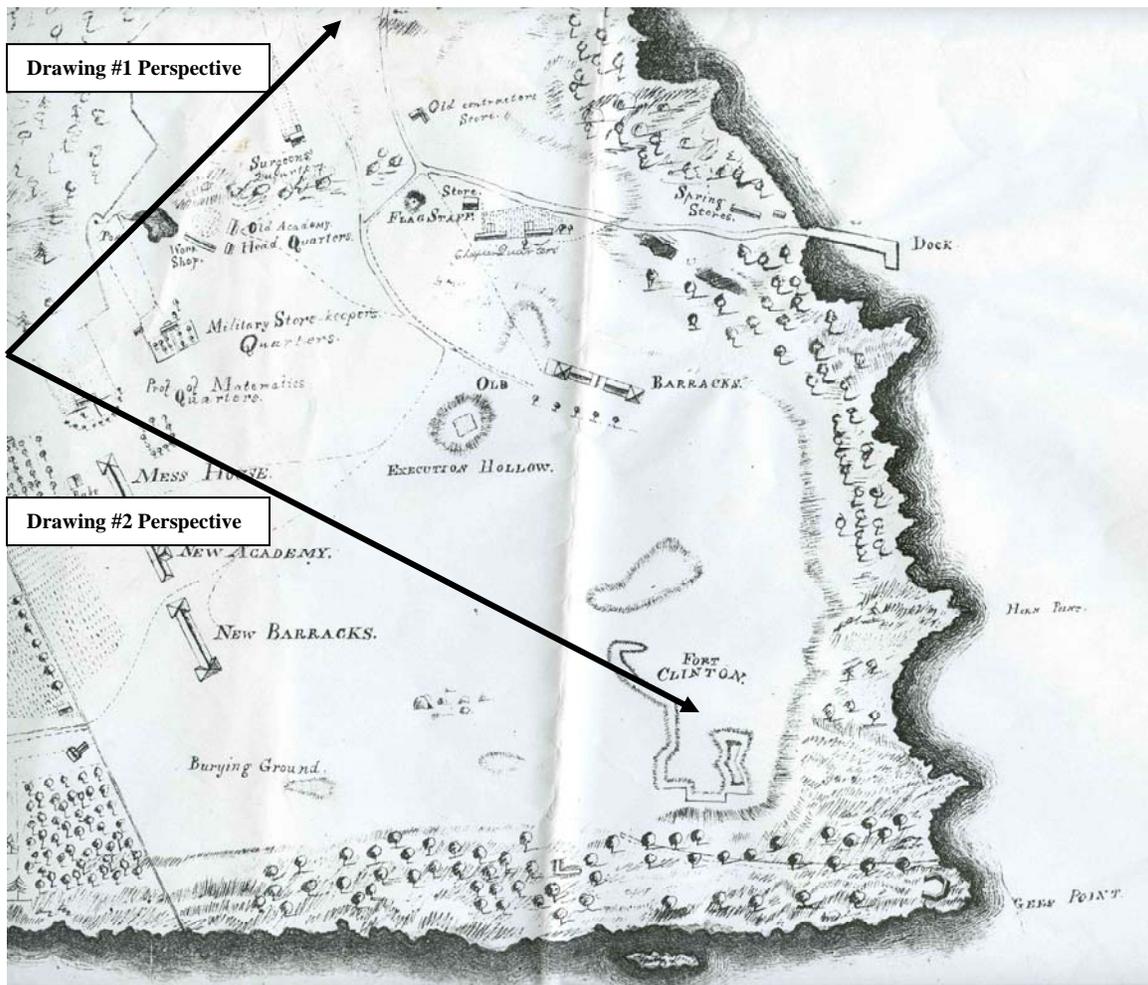
[American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]



Figure Eight  
**“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain”**  
**by Charles Wilson Peale, 1801**  
[American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]

### 3.0 Analysis of 1801 Charles Wilson Peale Sketches

The 1801 Charles Wilson Peale sketches are clearly among the oldest drawings of West Point, before the construction phase initiated by Superintendent Sylvanus Thayer removed the last vestiges of Revolutionary War West Point. Accordingly, a detailed analysis of the sketches was performed. To support this, the 1820 Cadet Map was particularly useful. When the map and two sketches were compared, it was possible to precisely identify each of the structures in the Peale drawings. Unfortunately, although the precise location where Peale made the sketches, the topographical slopes below Fort Putnam, is still extant the recent construction of the Arvin Cadet Physical Development Center now obstructs the views of the Plain from this perspective. Additionally, Peale's perspective is the reverse of the historic photographs taken in the later portion of the 19<sup>th</sup> century of several of the Revolutionary War era buildings that still survived at that time, such that a comparative analysis of the appearance of the buildings is not possible.



Map Eighteen

#### “West Point, 1820 by Cadet G. Bruffs”

(Archives and Special Collections, USMA Library, West Point, New York)



Figure Nine  
**“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain”**  
**by Charles Wilson Peale, 1801**  
[American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]

**Legend**

- 1- Moore House (Red House)
- 2- Surgeons Quarters
- 3- Old Academy Headquarters

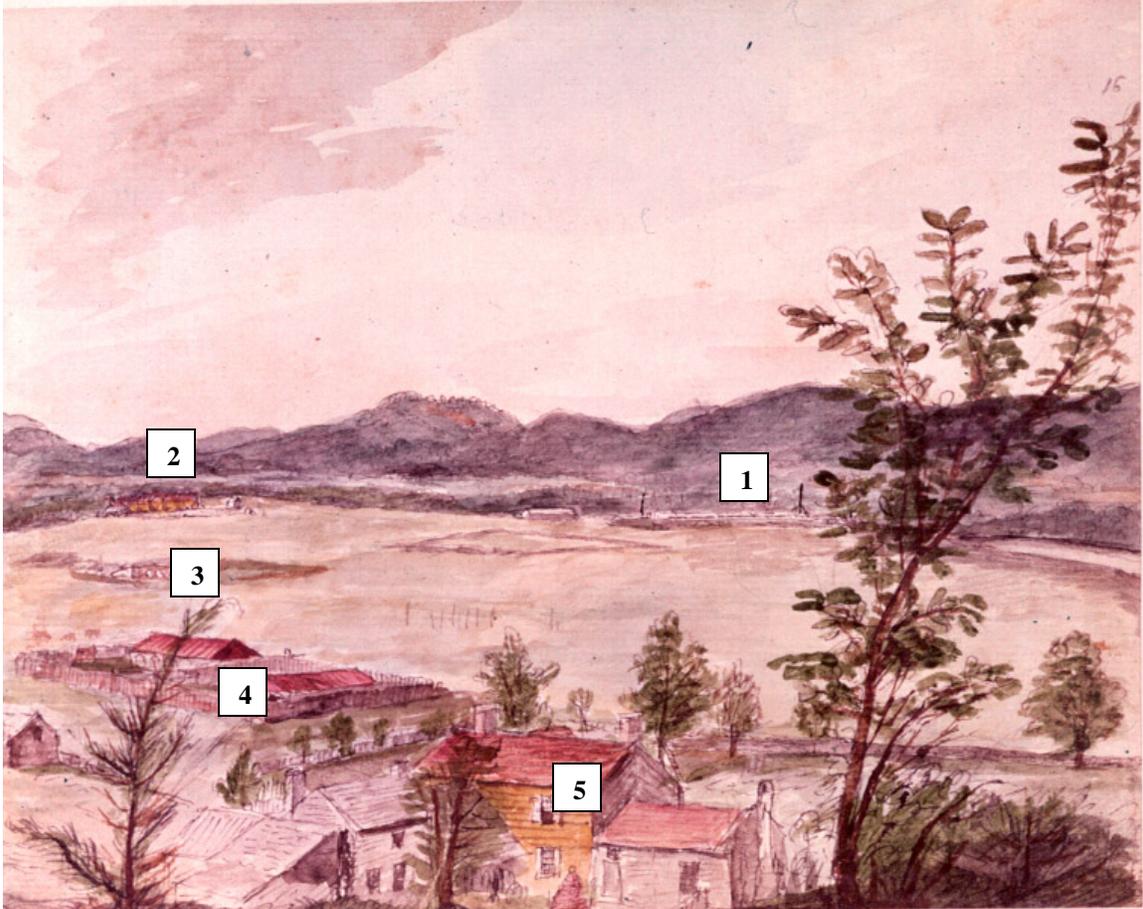


Figure Ten  
**“View of West Point from the Side of the Mountain”**  
**by Charles Wilson Peale, 1801**  
[American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania]

**Legend**

- 1 – Fort Clinton
- 2 – Long Barracks
- 3 – Execution Hollow
- 4- Military Store Keepers Quarters
- 5 – Revolutionary War House (Mathematic Instructors Quarters on 1820 Map)

#### **4.0 Conclusions**

The history of Fortress West Point's existence as a Continental Army garrison ended on November 19, 1783 when General George Washington departed West Point, en-route to return his commission to the Continental Congress upon the successful conclusion of the War for American Independence.<sup>135</sup> His last letters from West Point were to Robert Morris, Financier of the Continental Congress, attempting to obtain funds to pay the remaining officers of the Continental Congress; and to the Continental Congress informing them of the completed British evacuation of New York City. Even in victory, Washington's final concerns at West Point were logistical.

This monograph has attempted to obtain and peruse primary source documents associated with the occupation and use of the Revolutionary War Fortress West Point. As this study has identified, in addition to the well known military fortifications designed to defend the constriction of the Hudson River at this point, West Point also served as a major logistical and supply point for the Continental Army in the Hudson Highlands. West Point contained numerous and diverse logistical and support facilities. These logistical and support structures, almost completely ignored by historians, were every bit as important to the defense of Fortress West Point as the fortifications. In fact, without these logistical and support facilities, the fortifications could never have been constructed, and the army that constructed them could never have been sustained. The full extent of these various activities and facilities has not been previously studied or documented.

Obviously, this short manuscript is intended to only provide a beginning point for study on this topic. Considerably more archival and cartographic research and study remains to be performed to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the full breadth of these supply and support functions at West Point. Additionally, it is hoped that future archaeological investigations at West Point can provide more information on several of these facilities and activities.

The Cultural Resources Management Office of the U.S. Army Garrison West Point has also obtained additional primary sources, which the exigencies of professional responsibilities have precluded being transcribed. Over the next several years a number of these primary sources will be transcribed, and made available to support future research efforts at West Point.

---

<sup>135</sup> Stanley Weintraub, *General Washington's Christmas Farewell* (2004; paperback edition New York: Plume Books, 2004), 21, 27.

## **Bibliography – West Point during the War for American Independence**

### Primary Sources

Acomb, Evelyn M., Editor. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig Von Closen, 1780-1783*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.

Beekman, George C., Editor. "Letters Received by Cornelius Ten Broeck of Rocky Hill, New Jersey from his Sons Cornelius and Peter Serving in the Continental Army, 1779-1780." *Magazine of American History* II (1887), 168-175.

"Benjamin Peabody Orderly Book." WPA Transcription. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

Chastellux, Marquis de Francois Jean. *Travels in North America in the Years 1780-1781-1782*. New York: White, Gallaher & White, 1827.

Clap, Adjutant Caleb. "The Orderly Book of Adjutant Caleb Clap, 1778-1779, 9<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment." Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. Microfilm Copy at David Library of the American Revolution, Washington's Crossing, Pennsylvania.

Comfort Sands and Company. "Broadside: Contract Regarding Continental Army Supplies and Stores, Fishkill, New York, December 22, 1781." Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society.

Corbett, Ichabod. "Diary of a Revolutionary Soldier." *Proceedings of the Worcester Society of Antiquity* 19 (1903), 171-186.

duBourg, Baron Cromot, Aide to Rochambeau. "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* IV, no. 3-6 (March- June 1880) 205-214, 293-308, 376-385, 441-452; VII, no. 4 (October 1881), 283-295.

"Eleazor Everett Orderly Book, 1780, Orderly Book, 3d Massachusetts Brigade (Paterson), West Point, July 2 1780 – August 26 1780." William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Evans, Cartographer Griffith. "Journal 1786." Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Fisher, Elijah. *Elijah Fisher's Journal while in the War for Independence, and Continued Two Years After He Came To Maine, 1775-1784*. Augusta, Maine: Press of Badger & Manley, 1880.

Fowler, Samuel P. Editor, "Journal of Captain Samuel Page in the Campaign of 1779, with Notes" *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* IV, no. 6 (December 1862), 241-249; and V, no. 1 (February 1863), 1-9.

Hall, Charles S. *Life and Letters of Samuel Holden Parsons, Major General in the Continental Army and Chief Judge of the Northwestern Territory, 1737-1789*. Binghamton, New York: Otseningo Publishing Company, 1905.

Hanna, John Smith, Editor. *A History of the Life and Services of Captain Samel DeWees, A Native of Pennsylvania and Soldier of the Revolutionary and Last Wars*. Baltimore: Robert Neilson, 1844.

"Huntington Orderly Book (1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut Regiment, Continental Line), West Point, August 1780-October 1783." WPA Transcription. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

Jordan, John W. "Continental Hospital Returns, 1777-1780." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* XXIII (1899), 35-49; and 210-223.

Joslin, Joseph, Jr. "Journal of Joseph Joslin, Jr. of South Killingly, A Teamster in the Continental Service, March 1777 – August 1778." In *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*. Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1899. VII: 299-369.

Kagle, Steven E., Editor. *The Diary of Josiah Atkins*. New York: New York Times and Arno Press, 1975.

Knox, Major General Henry. Papers, 1750-1786. Boston, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Historical Society. Microfilm Copy at Moore Wing, USMA Library, West Point, New York.

Lauber, Almon W., Editor. *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780, The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, With Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782*. Albany: University of the State of New York: 1932.

Lee, William, Editor. "Record of the Services of Constant Freeman, Captain of Artillery in the Continental Army." *Magazine of American History* 2 (1878), 349-355.

Moore, Charles. "Charles Moore Petitions Regarding His Property at West Point, March 22, 1782 and April 1, 1781." Records A0202-78-Box 5-#2142; and A0203-78-Box 7- #2383. New York Legislative Papers, Albany, New York.

O'Neill, Sergeant John. "The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, August 1, 1779 to September 11 1779" In *Pennsylvania Archives* Second Series. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896. XI: 527-551.

"Orderly Book of Captain Daniel Livermore's Company, Continental Army, 1780." In Isaac W. Hammond, Editor. *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*. Concord, New Hampshire: Ira C. Evans, 1889. 9: 200-244.

"Orderly Book of Captain John Francis of Beverly [Massachusetts], West Point, October 7, 1778 – January 23, 1779 and February 1, 1779 – April 30, 1779." WPA Transcription. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

"Orderly Book, Continental Army, February 12, 1779 – July 8, 1779." WPA Transcription. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

"Orderly Book of the 7<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment, Smiths' Clove, Orange County, New York, May- August 1779." WPA Transcription. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

"Orderly Book, West Point Garrison, July- August 1779." WPA Transcript, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

"Orderly Book, West Point Garrison, August-December 1780." WPA Transcript, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

Parkman, Private Ebenezer, Baldwin's Artillery Artificers Regiment. "Diary June 1779-June 1781." American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts. Parkman primarily served with the wagon train in Smith's Cove and at Fishkill.

Peale, Charles Wilson. "Charles Willson Peale, Hudson River Sketchbook, 1801." American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Accessed on-line at <http://www.amphilsoc.org/library/mole/p/hudsonriver.htm> on December 12, 2003.

Pennington, Lieutenant William, 2<sup>nd</sup> Continental Artillery Regiment. "Diary of American Revolution Services at Hudson Highlands, May 4, 1780 – March 22, 1781." *Journal of Military Services Institute* IV, no. XV (1883), 314-329.

Rice, Howard C., Jr. and Anne S.K. Brown, Editors. *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press and Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1972.

Rush, Benjamin. *An Account of the Life and Character of Christopher Ludwick*. Philadelphia: Garden and Thompson, 1831.

Scammel, Adjutant Alexander. Letter to Brigadier General Edward Hand, "Construction of Soldiers Huts" West Point, New York, November 19, 1779. Archives and Special Collections, Rutgers University Library, New Brunswick New Jersey.

Shaw, Captain Samuel. "Captain Samuel Shaw's Revolutionary War letters to Captain Winthrop Sargent" *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 70 (July 1946), 281-324.

Shy, John, Editor. *Winding Down, The Revolutionary War Letters of Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert of Massachusetts, 1780-1783, From His Original Manuscript Letterbook in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1989).

Symmes, Rebecca D., Editor. *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York*. Cooperstown, New York: The New York State Historical Association, 1980.

Thacher, Dr. James. *Military Journal of the American Revolution*. Hartford, Connecticut: Hurlbut, Williams & Company, 1862.

"The Orderly Book of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel James Chambers, May 23 1779 – August 25 1779" In *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Clarence M. Busch, State Printer of Pennsylvania, 1896. XI: 459-525.

"The Orderly Book of the Lieutenant Colonel's Company, German Regiment, 1780." In *Pennsylvania Archives* 6<sup>th</sup> Series. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Harrisburg Publishing Company, State Printer, 1907. XIV: 123-207.

"The Orderly Book of the New Jersey Brigade (Maxwell's), November 13, 1780 – December 9, 1780" In *Pennsylvania Archives* Sixth Series, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: State Printer, 1906-1907. XIV: 191-207.

"The Orderly Book of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, February 2, 1779 to April 15, 1779" In James B. Linn and William H. Egle, Editors. *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution, Battalions and Line, 1775-1783*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Lane S. Hart, State Printer, 1880. II: 447-526.

Tuckerman, Brigade Quartermaster Abraham. "Receipt Book of Brigade Quartermaster Abraham Tuckerman, 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Brigade, April 26- November 26, 1781." American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Washington, General George. "George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799." Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. Accessed on-line at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>.

Weeden, William B., Editor. "Diary of the Reverend Enos Hitchcock, 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment." In *Rhode Island Historical Society Proceedings*. New Series, VII (1899), 106-134; and 147-194.

Welles, Captain Roger. *The Revolutionary War Letters of Captain Roger Welles of Wethersfield and Newington, Connecticut, with four such letters from three Newington Soldiers*. Hartford: Privately Printed, 1932.

“West Point Garrison Orderly Book, July- August 1779 and August-December 1779.” WPA Transcription. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

Wood, Virginia Steele, Editor. “The Journal of Private Zebulon Vaughan, Revolutionary Soldier, 1777-1780” *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 113 (February 1979), 100-114; (March 1979), 256-257; (April 1979), 320-331; (May 1979), 478-487.

#### Archaeological Reports and Studies

Alexander Archaeological Consultants. *Cultural Resources Investigations of a Possible Tent Encampment Area Associated with Redoubt 4, The United States Military Academy, West Point, Orange County, New York*. West Point, New York: Directorate of Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, December 2005.

Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization (BRAVO). *Cultural Resource Report, Electronic Phase I Archaeological Survey Conducted at Redoubt #3, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York*. West Point, New York: Directorate of Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, September 2005.

Calver, William L. “Papers.” New York Historical Society, New York, New York.

Calver, William L., and Reginald P. Bolton. *History Written With Pick and Shovel*. New York: New York Historical Society, 1950.

Cohn, Michael. “Evidence of Children at Revolutionary War Sites.” *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 12 (1983), 40-42.

Feister, Lois M. *Archaeological Excavations at the Oven Ruins in the French Fort at Crown Point State Historic Site, Essex County, New York*. Peebles Island, New York: New York Bureau of Historic Sites, December 1999.

Fisher, Charles L. Editor. “*The Most Advantageous Situation in the Highlands,*” *An Archaeological Study of Fort Montgomery Historic Site*. Albany, New York: New York State Museum, 2004.

Hanson, Lee and Dick Ping Hsu. *Casemates and Cannonballs, Archaeological Investigations at Fort Stanwix, Rome, New York*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1975.

PanAmerican Consultants. *Intensive Cultural Resources Investigations for Jefferson Hall (New Cadet Library and Learning Center), Jefferson Place, U.S. Military Academy, Orange County, West Point, New York*. West Point, New York: U.S. Military Academy, December 2005.

Starbuck, David R. “The Identification of Gender at Northern Military Sites of the Late 18th Century.” In Elizabeth Scott, Editor. *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race and Class in Historical Archaeology*. Tucson and London: University of Arizona Press: 1994, 115-128.

#### Secondary Sources

\_\_\_\_\_. “Biographical Memoir of the late Dr. John Cochran: Communicated for the American Medical and Philosophical Register.” *The American Medical and Philosophical Register* 1 (1811), 465-468.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Medical Department of the Revolutionary Army.” *Magazine of American History* XII, no. 3 (September 1884), 241-260.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Story of How an Unknown British Soldier of the Battle of Germantown Regained His Identity." In John L. Cotter, Daniel G. Roberts, and Michael Parrington, Editors. *The Buried Past, An Archaeological History of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. 351-353.

Angel, J. Lawrence. "Colonial to Modern Skeletal Change in the U.S.A." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 45 (1976), 723-736.

Association of Graduates, U.S. Military Academy. *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, 1802-1902*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Biddle, Walter L. C. "Doctor John Cochran, Director-General of the Hospitals of the United States, 1781." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* III, no. 3 (1879), 241-249.

Blanco, Richard L. "Continental Army Hospitals and American Society, 1775-1781" In Maarten Ultee, Editor. *Adapting to Conditions, War and Society in the Eighteenth Century* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1986), 150-173.

Boynton, Captain Edward C. *History of West Point*. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863.

Brister, Lt. Colonel Jane G. *History of Army Medical Service at West Point*. Unpublished Manuscript, Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

Chard, Thonton, Editor. "Excerpts from the Private Journal of Doctor John Cochran, Director of Military Hospitals During the Revolution and Close Friend of Washington and Lafayette." *New York History* XXV, no. 3 (July 1944), 360-378.

Chard, Thornton. "Illustrations Pertaining to the Life of Doctor John Cochrane." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 20 (1946), 76-84.

Church, Albert E. *Personal Reminiscences of West Point from 1824 to 1831: A Paper Read to the U.S. Military Service Institute*. West Point, New York: USMA Press, 1879.

Condit, William W. "Christopher Ludwick: Patriotic Gingerbread Baker." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* LXXXI (October 1957), 365-390.

Cross, Lenora R. "The Moores of West Point." Accessed on-line at <http://www.jaycross.com/jayhoo/The%20Moores.htm> on April 11, 2005.

Cubbison, Douglas R. *Historic Structures Report, The Redoubts of West Point*. West Point, New York: Directorate of Housing and Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, January 2004.

Cubbison, Douglas R. *Historic Structures Report, River Defenses of Fortress West Point, 1778-1783*. West Point, New York: Directorate of Housing and Public Works, U.S. Military Academy, January 2005.

Dolan, Graham P. *Major General William Heath and the First Years of the American Revolution*. PhD. Thesis. Boston University: 1966.

Doren, Carl Van. *Secret History of the American Revolution*. Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1941.

Egly, T. W., Jr. *History of the First New York Regiment, 1775-1783*. Hampton, New Hampshire: Peter E. Randall, Publisher, 1981.

Figliomeni, Michelle. *The Flickering Flame, Treachery and Loyalty in the Mid-Hudson During the American Revolution*. Washingtonville, New York: Spear Printing, 1976.

- Gibson, James E. "The Role of Disease in the 70,000 Casualties in the American Revolutionary Army." *Transactions & Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 17 (1949), 121-127.
- Groves, Dr. Steven. "Memorandum: Location of Execution Hollow." West Point: December 4, 1989.
- Hatch, Louis C. *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904
- Hocker, Edward. "Ludwick, Baker General of the Continental Army." *The Picket Post, Valley Forge Historical Society Newsletter* 14 (July 1946), 55-57.
- Hume, Ivor Noel. "1972 Excavations at the Colonial Public Hospital Site in Williamsburg, Virginia."
- Hume, Ivor Noel. *Here Lies Virginia: An Archaeologists' View of Colonial Life and History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963.
- Jordan, John W. "The Military Hospitals at Bethlehem and Lititz During the Revolution." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* XX, no. 2 (1896), 137-157.
- Kebler, Lyman F. "Andrew Craigie, The First Apothecary General of the United States." *Journal of the American Pharmaceutical Association* XVII, no. 1 (January 1928), 63-79; and XVII, no. 2 (February 1928), 167-178.
- Lossing, Benson J. *The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*. 1859; reprint edition Rutland Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1972.
- Marsh, Dr. Elias J. "Biographical Memoir of John Cochran, M.D." In Dr. Joseph Parrish, Editor. *The New Jersey Medical Reporter and Transactions of the New Jersey Medical Society*. Burlington: S.C. Atkinson, 1849. II: 25-28.
- Phalen, James. "John Cochran." *The Army Medical Bulletin* 52 (April 1940), 14-17.
- Rees, John U. "As Many Fireplaces as You Have Tents, Earthen Camp Kitchens." Accessed on-line at <http://www.revwar75.com/library/rees/kitchen.htm> on February 21, 2006.
- Richardson, Edward W. *Standards and Colors of the American Revolution*. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.
- Risch, Erna. *Supplying Washington's Army*. Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1981.
- Robbins, Peggy. "Washington's Baker General." *Early American Life* (October 1977).
- Saffron, Morris H. *Surgeon to Washington, Dr. John Cochran, 1730-1807*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1977.
- Shaffer, Mark and Dorothy A. Humpf. "A Revolutionary War Burial Ground in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 66, no. 2 (Fall 1996), 42-52.
- Sims, Lynn L. *The Military Career of John Lamb*. PhD Thesis. New York: New York University, 1975.
- Snook, Dr. George A. "An Eighteenth Century Hospital at Oswego." *Military Collector & Historian. Journal of the Company of Military Historians*, XXXVII, no. 2 (Summer 1986), 74-75.
- U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New York District. "Quarters 100 Rehabilitation Investigation, 30% Draft Report, U.S. Military Academy." New York: December 2003.

United States Army Hospital, West Point, New York. *Papers, 1796-1829*. Special Collections and Archives, U.S. Military Academy Library, West Point, New York.

Weintraub, Stanley. *General Washington's Christmas Farewell*. 2004; paperback edition New York: Plume Books, 2004.