

**“A quantity of public leather ... made up into shoes and accoutrements ...”
Soldiers, Prisoners, and Deserters at the Continental Manufactory in Philadelphia
(Including the role of artificer companies and regiments.)**

John U. Rees



“A Rambling Cobler & his Boy”

**William Laffan, ed., *The Cries of Dublin: Drawn from the Life by Hugh Douglas Hamilton, 1760*
(Dublin: Irish Georgian Society, 2003), 107.**

Contents

- 1. “The Soals were worth nothing and would not last ...”:
Continental Army Shoe Manufacturing and Supply**
 - 2. “A shoemaker by trade ...”: Leather Workers in the
Public Factory at Philadelphia**
- Addendum**
**“They will ... scarcely last one Campaign.”: The Problem of Poorly-
Made Continental Army Cartridge Pouches and Introduction of the
New Model Box**

Having gleaned Joseph Lee Boyle's two volume work "*He loves a good deal of rum ...': Military Desertions during the American Revolution* for useful and interesting material, I found myself surprised at some of the wonderful tidbits discovered. This monograph is based around several notices that bring to light interesting aspects of late-war Continental Army equipment manufacturing.¹

"The Soals were worth nothing and would not last ..."
Continental Army Shoe Manufacturing and Supply

First, an overview. Leather was a crucial necessity in cladding and equipping troops, with shoes at the top of the list of needed items. This was largely due to there being no suitable alternative to properly made footwear, and that every soldier needed shoes even for duty at a fixed post, more so when on the march.

When the war began, the nascent New England army had no certain system to supply footwear, relying on makers in and around Massachusetts to fill the need. Each Provincial government seems to have contracted for shoes, and a month after Gen. George Washington assumed command of the troops surrounding Boston, he wrote the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, "The Shirts, Shoes, Breeches and Stockings, Provided by the Province can be taken on the Continental Account." One week later he was informing the same legislative body, "In a Conference with ... the General Court, I was informed that a Quantity of Shirts, Breeches, Stockings and Shoes had been provided by the Committee of Supplies; As there are Numbers of the Army destitute of these Articles. I should be glad the General Court would order them to be delivered to the Quarter Master General and to hasten those which are in Hand. He has orders to receive them on the Continental Account." As time went on the army was increasingly clothed and equipped via Continental stores and coffers, but provinces and states continued to play a role in supplying their own troops.²

With the British evacuation of Boston in March 1776, General Washington's army moved to the area in and around New York city, awaiting their enemy's next move. At the same time additional Whig troops were moving north towards Canada; these events heralded the advent of a more mobile war, taxing the troops' marching abilities, and tearing apart their footwear. After being pushed off Long Island and considering how to defend the city itself, the commander-in-chief's mind was also concerned with the comfort and mobility of his men, telling Congress, "being Provided only for a Summers Campaign, [the soldiers] Cloaths, Shoes and Blanketts will soon be unfit for the change of weather which we every day feel."³

The hardest period of marching for both sides that year took place that autumn, when Crown forces pushed Washington's harried men from Fort Lee on the Hudson to the Delaware River, where they finally found respite. At one point in the November retreat, Sgt. John Smith of Lippitt's Rhode Island regiment, Colonel Hitchcock's brigade, noted, "our soldiers had *no* shoes to wair; was obliged to lace on their feet the hide of the cattle we had kill'd the day before." On the Pennsylvania shore, following the 25 December victory over the Hessians at Trenton, Col. John Cadwalader recorded, "we shall have some Service from Col. Hitchcock's Brigade, whose time of Enlistment will be up in a few Days. We have procured a considerable number of Shoes Stockgs & Breeches for them—They are in good Spirits & enlist very fast." Sergeant Smith had already been supplied, noting on the 23d, "I had a Pair of Stockings & shoes from the Coll Cost 19/ & 6 pence."⁴

Some method had to be settled on to procure sufficient leather to keep the armies shod. In northern New York, autumn 1776, Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler proffered the Continental Congress this suggestion:

Every kind of clothing for the army, but shoes and stockings especially, are so absolutely necessary, and such great demands are daily made for them, that a mode of supply claims the most early attention. Could not yarn socks, to rise as high as the ankle, be procured in Pennsylvania the leg-part might be supplied with Indian stockings, which, as they are much more lasting and more comfortable for the men in cold weather, would ultimately be cheaper. [And] As the publick labours under such difficulty for a supply of shoes, and that the demand will increase in a future campaign, perhaps Congress may think proper to appoint persons to erect a tan-yard in some part of the country where the materials for tanning can be most handily procured, and to which the hides from both armies in this Colony can be the easiest and most expeditiously conveyed. This, though perhaps not the cheapest mode of supplying the army, would, I conceive, be the most effectual.⁵

Schuyler's plan was not taken up per se, but a Congressional committee travelled to New York that autumn to examine various problems plaguing the Northern army. The committee instituted a program that began drying hides at locations where animals were butchered, and collection of the dried goods at Albany. From there the hides could be shipped to where they were needed. To counter the discounted sale of hides and enhance leather supplies, in November 1776 Congress directed that,

the commissaries in each department, be directed to employ proper persons to take immediate charge of the hides and tallow in their respective districts; that the former may be tanned into leather, or, at least, so far cured as to prevent their being spoiled, and the latter rendered into kegs or casks, that there be no waste of those valuable articles, but that they may be stored for the use of the Continent, and be subject to the orders of Congress; and that the said commissaries be strongly urged to pay due attention to this resolve, it being a matter of considerable importance.⁶

Still, no practical measures were enacted to promote the manufacture of sufficient numbers of sturdy shoes in 1777. In July General Washington wrote Clothier General James Mease,

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 8th. instt. I am sorry to find that you are likely to fall short in the supply of so material an Article as that of Shoes. Few of the 5000 pair that came on to Peeks Kill will reach this Army, and even those that will, I am informed, are in a manner good for nothing, they are thin french pumps that tear to peices when ever they get wet. I therefore beg you will forward on, the second parcel that you mention, as quick as possible, for a number of our Soldiers are barefooted. You must lay out for Shoes from every quarter, and without waiting for orders, keep sending them on as fast as they are made; if we had 50,000 pair it would not be too many. There are great complaints of the size of the Shoes, which are generally too small, the same complaint lies against most of your Cloathing, which do not do half the service that they would, if they were larger. It may look like occonomy but it is of a false kind, as the Clothes do not wear out fairly, but tear to pieces. Next to Shoes, Shirts are in most demand, by having a supply of them, the Soldier is kept clean and of course healthy. If you can send any of them with the Shoes, they will be most acceptable to the Army.⁷



This shoe, though found at the 1758 H.M.S. *Invincible*, Chatham Dockyard wreck site, is of a later date. According to historic shoe and accoutrement maker Shaun Pekar, the pointed toes and strap width indicate a 1775-1785 timeframe. “18th Century Material Culture: Male Shoes, Boots & Gaiters” <https://www.scribd.com/document/202562079/Footwear-Male-Shoes-Boots-Gaiters>



Seventeen-seventy-seven saw more hard-marching on a larger scale and for longer periods. The northern armies evacuated Fort Ticonderoga in July, closely followed by Gen. John Burgoyne's Crown forces, with Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates' Continental and militia troops finally halting on and near Bemis Heights, forty miles north of Albany. That August, after British Gen. William Howe's expedition boarded ships and sailed south from New York city, General Washington, unsure of their destination, marched his troops across New Jersey into Pennsylvania, and then retraced their steps. The larger portion of Washington's forces finally halted and encamped for two weeks at the Crossroads (Hartsville, Pennsylvania), before learning of Howe's landing at the Head of the Chesapeake. From that point to the army taking up winter quarters at Valley Forge, Washington's soldiers endured one of the most rigorous campaigns of the war and, still, shoes were in short supply.

Washington discussed leather goods with the Board of War after the campaign:

“Valley Forge, March 6, 1778 ... I am ... apprehensive, that the scarcity of leather will occasion a Scarcity of Accoutrements. From what the Commissary of Hides informed me some time ago, his prospects of dressed leather are distant, he having put out a great quantity to be tanned, which will not be fit for Service until next Fall. The Cartouch Boxes made in this Country, are generally very bad, and I see little chance of their being made Substantial and fit to turn the weather until we can bring our manufacture of leather to a greater perfection; which is only to be done by letting it lay much longer in the Vats, than we can afford, under our present wants. Military Accoutrements of the leather kind are said to come exceedingly cheap and good from France, and I would therefore Suggest the propriety of ordering a quantity from thence, if it should not have been already done. The Hides of the Cattle killed in the Army might then be in a manner to tally applied to procuring Shoes for them, by making contracts to exchange one for the other. Had not this method been fallen upon, the Soldiers must have been rendered totally unfit for Service, as they could not get Supplied upon any other Terms, but in a very small degree. I have very little doubt, but contracts of this kind may be so extended, as to procure a constant Supply of good Shoes for the whole Army. This is a matter worthy of the attention of the Board, as we have Suffered more for the want of Shoes than for any other Article and those imported from France affording little more than a days wear.⁸

The lack of proper leather in ample quantities remained a problem for some years. In 1778 tin and sheet-iron cartridge canisters were proposed to temporarily take the place of leather pouches. (See, “To hold thirty-six cartridges of powder and ball ...”: Continental Army Tin and Sheet-Iron Canisters, 1775-1780,” <https://tinyurl.com/tin-canisters> .) It was also in 1778 that the “new model” or “new Constructed” pouches (with a twenty-nine-cartridge capacity, copied from captured British equipment) were settled on as the new standard. Given production problems, the new equipment would not be available in any great numbers until late 1779 or early in 1780.⁹

Continental Army “new model” or “new Constructed” cartridge pouch, with improved weather-proofing and a capacity of twenty-nine rounds of ammunition. (Collection of J. Craig Nannos)



In March 1778 Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, then president of the Board of War, wrote, “The board are of opinion that these [tin] cannisters are preferable to cartridge boxes, as they will infallibly secure the cartridges from rain, and their weight is so trifling as to be no burthen to the Soldier. And seeing leather is so scarce they will be a most excellent substitute for cartridge boxes.” Timothy Pickering informed the commander-in-chief: the following June, “the board, on the 17th of April, impowered a Capt. Starr of Middleton in Connecticut to receive a quantity of public leather of Colo. Trumbull, and get it made up into shoes and accoutrements, half of each, the cartridge boxes upon the new model; and to send on both to the main army.” Regarding leather goods, they were still forced to take half measures, ensuring inadequate stores of footwear and new cartridge pouches for months to come.¹⁰

Without going into much more detail, the discussion thus far will suffice in showing the difficulties the army supply system faced in regard to leather goods, particularly shoes. Still, an overview for the remainder of the war is in order. Matters had gotten to such a head that in January 1779, Maj. Gen. William Alexander, Lord Stirling, in temporary command of the main army at Middlebrook, New Jersey, took matters in hand. He authorized brigade commanders to requisition the Commissary of Hides for a quantity of hides equal to the number of shoes needed by their troops. Those commanders would then contract with local shoemakers for footwear at a settled-upon rate of exchange. General Washington returned to camp in early February and revoked the order, though those contracts already entered into were completed. The commander-in-chief’s

objection was that the Board of War had begun devising a centralized system in which a small number of commissaries handled such contracts.¹¹

In the meantime, attempting to address needs, shoe factories were established at Newark, New Jersey, Allentown, Pennsylvania, and Middletown, Connecticut. At the end of the year another factory was opened at the barracks in Philadelphia. Although General Washington balked at soldiers serving in the factories, the Newark facility was manned by Maryland soldiers and that at Philadelphia by a company of Flower's Regiment of Artillery and Artificers; the others were civilian-staffed. By summer 1779 five Commissaries of Hides were appointed, but incompetence, fraud, and abuse still hampered shoe production.¹² In autumn that year Washington was reporting from West Point, that a

considerable part of the Army is now unfit, even for fatigue duty in these stony Grounds, and should circumstances require a move, must inevitably be deprived of the services of a number of Men fit for duty in every other respect but that of want of shoes.¹³

Only a few thousand new shoes were available before the end of 1779, and the commander-in-chief was compelled to advise the Board of War on product quality,

It has been found that great abuses both with respect to the Public and the Soldiery have been practised in many cases and especially in the latter instance, by putting in small scraps and parings of Leather and giving the Shoes the appearance of strength and substance, while the Soles were worth nothing and would not last more than a day or two's march.¹⁴

Describing the situation head to toe, Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne wrote in December 1779,

I must confess that the latter [the Pennsylvania rank and file] would make a better appearance had they a sufficiency of *hats*, but as Congress don't seem to think *that* an essential ... part of uniform, they mean to leave us uniformly bare-headed - as well as bare-footed - and if they find that we can *bare* it tolerably well in the two extremes, perhaps they may try it in the *center*.¹⁵

Eventually the Hide Department foundered, and in June 1781 the Clothier General was given that task, in addition to his other responsibilities. By that time military supply had segued to a contract system, relying on agreements with civilian merchant-providers. That system, of course, became another venue for honest brokers as well as cheats and frauds. And, so it goes.¹⁶

In the end, one statement sums it all up: Historian Erna Risch, author of *Supplying Washington's Army*, noted, "Throughout the war no single item of clothing gave more trouble than shoes."¹⁷

(Note: for an excellent discussion of Continental Army footwear supply see, Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1981), 298-304.)

“A shoemaker by trade ...”
Leather Workers in the Public Factory at Philadelphia

So, what do shoes have to do with this tale? It seems that, along with all the other efforts to supply footwear to the army, there was a Continental “Shoe Factory” run by a company of Lt. Col. Benjamin Flower’s Artillery Artificer Regiment in 1780 at the Philadelphia Barracks. That artificer company also made other leather goods for the troops and extant returns show that shoe production was only a small part of the operation. And, truth be told, some of the shoemakers working at the barracks had interesting personal stories brought out by the aforesaid deserter notices published by Joseph Lee Boyle.

Before we work our way towards individual stories, let us see where the leather operation was based and look into the story of the unit that staffed it.

Philadelphia had what were likely the largest military barracks in what formerly were the British North American colonies. Begun not long after the July 1755 defeat of Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock’s army near the Monongahela River, according to one source, they “stood till after the war of Independence, when they were torn down, and the lots sold for the benefit of the public.”¹⁸



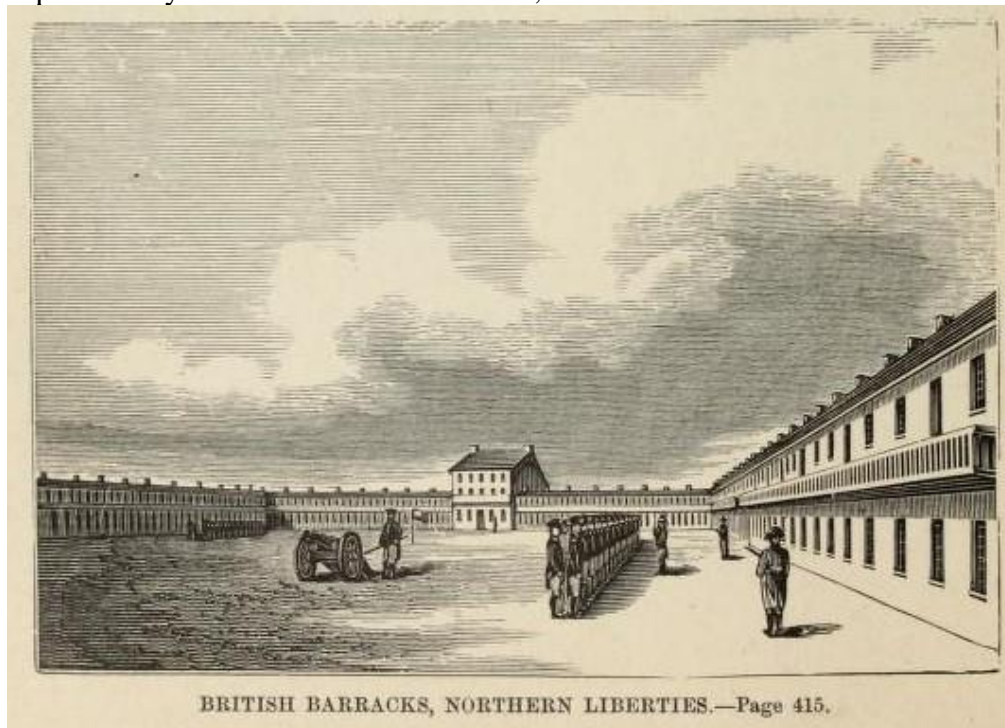
Detail from a map of Philadelphia, 1777-1778, by British engineer officer John Montresor. The barracks are pictured to the right of the letter A. “A survey of the city of Philadelphia and its environs shewing the several works constructed by His Majesty's troops, under the command of Sir William Howe, since their possession of that city 26th. September 1777, comprehending likewise the attacks against Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, and until it's reduction, 16th November 1777.” Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3824p.ar302200/>

Located in the Northern Liberties, just north of the city, the barracks site was, "severed from all connexion with the city by the marsh meadows of Pegg. No Second street road before existed; and for the convenience and use of the army a causeway was formed across those wet grounds."¹⁹

Historian John Watson, writing in the nineteenth century, gave some idea of the barracks complex size:

The ground plot of the barracks extended from Second to Third street, and from St. Tamany street to Green street, having the officers' quarters — a large three-story brick building, on Third street, the same now standing as a Northern Liberty Town Hall. The parade ground fronted upon Second street, shut in by an ornamental palisade fence on the line of that street. The aged John Brown told me the whole area was a field of buckwheat, which was cut off, and the barracks built thereon and tenanted by three thousand men, all in the same year; the houses were all of brick, two stories high, and a portico around the whole hollow square ... It was from the location of those buildings that the whole region thereabout was familiarly called Campingtown.²⁰

British sergeant Thomas Sullivan, recorded on 31 December 1777, "This day our two Battallions of Light Infantry, went into Barracks; the rest of the Army being Quartered in and about the City ... Those Barracks are a strong Brick building, one story high, which forms three parts of a square. They are about half a mile round, and in the North-end of the Town ..."²¹



Philadelphia barracks, built 1755. This is the view towards the west. Officers' quarters are the large three-story building at the center of the far row of barracks buildings. John F. Watson and Willis P. Hazard, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the olden time: being a collection of memoirs, anecdotes, and incidents of the city and its inhabitants, and of the earliest settlements of the inland part of Pennsylvania, from the days of the founders. Intended to preserve the recollections of olden time, and to exhibit society in its changes of manners and customs, and the city and country in their local changes and improvements, vol. I* (originally published 1830; Philadelphia : Edwin S. Stuart, 1884), barracks image opposite page 112.

The leather workers in question belonged to Lt. Col. Benjamin Flower's Artillery Artificer Regiment. (Flower was also Commissary General of Military Stores, and as such was responsible for receiving and issuing military equipment and ordnance.) An artificer was, basically, a craftsman, and, as per the *Oxford English Dictionary*, in a military context was a "soldier mechanic attached to the ordnance, artillery, and engineer service, to be employed in the construction and repair of military materials." In truth, Continental Army artificers were of two kinds, quartermaster artificers and artillery artificers, and acted in a number of roles.²²

The first artificer regiment (provisional) was authorized on June 29 1776 and disbanded in November that same year; the artificers themselves consisted of both hired and enlisted personnel. Commanded by Col. Jonathan Brewer, it was organized into twelve fifty-man companies in expectation that they might actually need to take up arms. Seven companies contained only carpenters, three were composed of smiths, and one company of the nautical carpenters stationed in the region to build Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold's Lake Champlain fleet. The remaining company acted as a general maintenance corps. Brewer's Regiment, though only a temporary organization, was properly a Quartermaster Artificer unit. Quartermaster Artificers worked at a range of tasks. From boatbuilding to road construction, and many things in between.²³

Ebenezer Stevens, a captain in Knox's Artillery Regiment, was the Northern Department's senior artillery officer in 1776. As such, and at the behest of Congress, he organized three artillery companies with Massachusetts recruits, plus a fourth composed of artificers from various origins. While Stevens considered his an independent command in 1777, in actuality his companies belonged to Crane's Artillery Regiment, with which they merged in 1778.²⁴

In January 1777 Benjamin Flower was appointed Commissary General of Military Stores, with the rank of lieutenant colonel of artillery artificers. As commander of the ordnance department and laboratory at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Flower raised two companies of ordnance technicians and repairmen, all enlisted soldiers. One company remained at Carlisle, while the second, commanded by a master carpenter and containing a wide range of differently skilled workmen, served with the main army's artillery park. In autumn that year, Commissary General Flower lobbied for additional companies of ordnance workers, and in November Congress authorized two additional companies of artillery artificers. At that point both Washington and Henry Knox wanted to form the four existing artillery artificer companies into a single regiment, which Congress did on February 11 1778, with Flower as lieutenant-colonel commandant. Stevens' single artificer company was absorbed by the new regiment later that same spring. As Robert Wright notes in his work on the Continental Army, the "regiment's officers held special commissions which restricted their authority to the regiment; this provision was wise since they were really supervisory technicians." (At least one artificer officer, Alexander Dow, had seen extensive field service as a company officer in a Continental Army foot regiment. Dow figures later in this story.)²⁵



Lt. Col. Benjamin Flower, circa 1779, Commissary General of Military Stores and commander of the Artillery Artificer Regiment. (Charles Willson Peale, artist.) (Flag House Museum, Baltimore, Maryland).

A similar unit was formed on November 11 1779 for the artificer companies serving the Quartermaster's Department. The Quartermaster Artificer Regiment was commanded by Col. Jeduthan Baldwin. (Baldwin had been appointed in July 1778 to command and supervise all artificers with the Quartermaster's Department.) Colonel Baldwin's ten-company regiment was to contain 40 foreman and 520 privates. Each company was slated to have 24 house carpenters, 4 ship carpenters, 4 shop joiners, 10 smiths, 6 wheelwrights, 2 saddlers and harness makers, 1 shoemaker, and 1 tailor. Other professions found in quartermaster artificer companies during the war were bellows makers, sail makers/tent makers, and coopers.²⁶

Curiously, with all the other administrative efforts to produce shoes for the army, one has been largely lost in the shuffle. In her work *Supplying Washington's Army*, Erna Risch notes that a February 1778 regulation

placed all Artillery Artificers under Commissary General Flower's direction ... Congress also provided that if at any time more artificers were needed than the Commissary General had enlisted or could enlist, his deputies, with the approval of the Board of War, could engage civilian artificers for the emergency on the most reasonable terms. Under this authority ... Capt. Theophilus Park of the Regiment of Artillery Artificers hired shoemakers and saddlers to work in the leather accouterment factory at Philadelphia which he supervised.²⁷

A portion of the accoutrement-making facility housed the so-called "Continental Shoe-Factory," though that seems to have been a subsidiary enterprise rather than a wholly separate one. My first intimation of the shoe-factory's existence was this notice:

Philadelphia, November 25 [1779].²⁸

FORTY DOLLARS REWARD

DESERTED last Monday, the 22d. inst. from the Continental Shoe-Factory in the Barracks of this city, a certain **JOHN WORKMAN, a British prisoner, and Serjeant in the 17th regiment of foot by trade a shoemaker**, about forty five years of age, about five feet six or seven inches high, fair complexion, thin visage, light coloured hair, and pitted with the small-pox; had on when he went away, a brown surtout coat, white cloth waistcoat and breeches, and a laced hat. Whoever will apprehend and secure the aforesaid deserter in any gaol on the Continent, or bring him to the subscriber, shall receive the above reward and all reasonable charges, paid by

ALEXANDER RUTHERFORD

N.B. It is supposed he inclines to go to sea; therefore all masters of vessels and others are desired not to harbor or carry him off at their peril.

The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser, November 27, 1779; December 2, 1779; December 7, 1779; December 11, 1779.

Not only did this advertisement tell me of the existence of the shoe-making shop, but that they were using British prisoners, in this case a soldier of the 17th Regiment, perhaps captured at Stony Point in July 1779. Another notice showed that Continental soldiers were also working in the accoutrement manufactory.

Philadelphia, January 12, 1780.²⁹

DESERTED from Captain Nathan Lamm's company, of the Third Virginia regiment, commanded by Col. Nathaniel Gist, viz.

JOHN MEREDITH, about 30 years old, 5 feet 10 inches high, born in the state of Pennsylvania, by trade a saddle-tree maker. ...

CEASAR BLACK, Negro drummer, 35 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches high, well made, a shoemaker by trade, and has been employed in the public manufactory as an artificer in this city, making cartridge boxes for eighteen months past, and has been lately detected with a forged discharge.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS reward for each of the above deserters, if confined in any jail, and notice given of them to the Town-Major, or the subscriber.

CHARLES JONES, Lieutenant.

The Pennsylvania Journal; and the Weekly Advertiser, January 26, 1780; February 2, 1780; February 9, 1780.

It must be noted that neither Alexander Rutherford nor Charles Jones have been found in any records denoting them as Continental Army officers. Even though Jones is shown with the rank of lieutenant in the *Pennsylvania Journal* advertisement, it is probable both men were civilians hired as supervisors or foremen to the shoemakers.

Thus far we have two men, shoemakers "by trade," one a British prisoner-of-war, the other a black Continental soldier, a drummer, belonging to a Virginia regiment, working in the public leather manufactory. Our next advertisement for deserters is dated only six days after the previous notice and lists three more prisoner-of-war/shoemakers:

Philadelphia Barracks, January 18, 1780.³⁰

DESERTED

Last night from the Continental SHOE-FACTORY, of this place.

THREE British PRISONERS, by trade shoemakers,

HENRY CROMBIE, a drummer, about five feet six inches high, fair hair, and fair complexion, had on when he went away a light coloured short coat, linen overalls, and an old regimental hat, other apparel not known.

ROBERT SMITH, about five feet seven inches high, black hair, down look; **had on when he went away a red [Light] Infantry jacket, linen overalls, and [light] Infantry cap.**

NICHOLAS SHERIFF, about five feet six inches high, brow coloured hair; **had on when he went away a red regimental coat, with the 17th regiment's buttons on it,** a pair of linen drawers, brown woolen stockings, and a regimental hat; the above Sheriff is much pitted with the small-pox;

Also a Woman named HENRIETTA MAY, wife to one of the men, now working at the Factory, about five feet high, thin visage; had on when she went away a striped cotton short gown, striped linsey petticoat, and sundry other cloaths.

Whoever apprehends any of the above Men, secures them in any Goal on the continent, or delivers them to the subscriber, at the Barracks, shall receive a reward of twenty DOLLARS for each, and all reasonable charges, paid by

ALEXANDER RUTHERFORD

N.B. It is supposed he inclines to go to sea; therefore all masters of vessels and others are desired not to harbor or carry him off at their peril.

The Pennsylvania Journal; and the Weekly Advertiser, January 26, 1780; February 2, 1780; February 9, 1780.

No unit affiliation is specifically mentioned for these men, but Nicholas Sheriff wore a 17th

Regiment coat, and Robert Smith was a light infantry soldier, or, had somehow acquired light infantry apparel at some point in his wayward career. A soldier's wife is also mentioned, but her husband is not among the listed deserters.

A third notice, first published in the January 29 *Pennsylvania Packet* issue, lists six men, though their service status is unclear: if hired men why would they be listed as deserters; if enlisted soldiers, none surface in a search of the Revolutionary War Compiled Service Records.

DESERTED [January 1780]³¹

From Captain Parke's company, in Colonel B. Flower's regiment of Artillery, and Artificers, stationed in Philadelphia.

JAMES WEER, (deserted in the month of June last) fifteen years of age, well set, fresh complexion, short bushy hair, and has since been seen in Chester with a light coloured coat faced with blue.

HENRY TURNER, (deserted in the July last) twenty-five years of age, six feet high, dark hair tied behind, by trade a shoemaker.

GEORGE SMITH, (deserted the twenty-fifth of November last), twenty-one years of age, five feet eight inches high, redish hair tied behind, by trade a shoemaker. At the same time deserted **WILLIAM RIVELY**, twenty years of age, five feet five inches high, swarthy complexion, thin dark hair, and a little pitted with the small-pox, by trade a shoemaker.

JOHN GWILLIM, went on furlough to Fredericksburgh the fourth of December last, but has not returned agreeable to his furlough; he is twenty-nine years of age, five feet five inches high, thin made, fair hair which curls round; blue uniforms [sic] faced with red; by trade a shoemaker.

ELIN ALURD, a Frenchman (deserted the seventeenth of January) twenty-one years of age, talks no English, five feet five inches high, well made, a smart looking fellow, with a good head of hair tied and plaited, and large arch eye brows; had on a short light coloured coat, white stockings, long quartered shoes of waxed neats-leather, closed in the inside on the grain; by trade a shoemaker, and carried off sundry shoemakers tools, the property of the [United] States.

Whoever takes up any of said deserters and secures them, so that they may be returned to their regiment and company, shall receive for each and every one of them ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS reward, and reasonable expences, paid by

A. DOW, Lieutenant

The Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser, January 29, 1780; February 3, 1780; February 8, 1780; February 12, 1780; February 17, 1780.

Five of the six men listed were practicing shoemakers by trade, one of whom had absconded with a set of shoemakers tools. That man, Elin Alurd, wore a pair of shoes that merited mention by the writer of the advertisement, a man who evidently knew footwear construction. The ad states that Alurd "had on ... long quartered shoes of waxed neats-leather, closed in the inside on the grain ..." ³² Leather craftsman Shaun Pekar notes that neat's leather was a historical term used to denote bovine leather, most likely calf or kip skin (leather prepared from the skin of young or small cattle, intermediate in grade between calfskin and cowhide), and that the shoes,

being closed on the grain is ... unusual in shoe construction and probably why its noted in the runaway ad. Typically, uppers are closed on the flesh side of the leather for a few reasons. It keeps the raised seam away from the wearers foot, as well as making the stitching easily repairable from the outside of the shoe. Al Saguto has noted that he has observed archaeological examples where the shoe was built grain side of the leather to the exterior, with the closing work outside, but it is incredibly rare. As to the long quarters, that's an oblique reference to the height of the back portion of the shoe (the "quarters"). If a shoe is short quartered, the upper edge of the quarters typically sit higher up towards the ankle. The longer the quarter, the further forward on the foot the buckle straps lay, and the lower It's confusing as short quarters are tall on the foot and long quarters sit lower. It's actually a reference to the distance from the rear seam of the shoe to the junction of the quarters with the vamp (the portion that covers the toes and middle portion of the foot).³³

This notice is also the first to be posted by Alexander Dow, captain-lieutenant of the artificer company. His predecessor, Theophilus Parke, had been appointed lieutenant in the Artillery Artificer Regiment in May 1778, was promoted to captain-lieutenant August 1779, and ended by being cashiered on April 4, 1780:³⁴

By a General Court Martial held in the City of Philadelphia by order of the Honorable Board of War, Jany. 24th. 80, Colonel White, President, Captain Lieutenant Theophilus Parke was tried for, "Defrauding his men of their pay and bounty," and plead not guilty. The Court were of opinion that Captn. Lieut. Theophilus Parke has not only been guilty of defrauding his men of their pay and bounty, but of repeated forgeries in signing several of the evidences soldiers in his company for their pay and bounty, without their knowledge or consent. The Court unanimously found Captain Lieutenant Parke guilty not only of fraud but of repeated Forgeries and sentenced him to be cashiered with infamy, by having his sword broke over his head on the public parade in the front of the regiment to which he belongs by the Adjutant of the said regiment, and it is the opinion of the court from the scandalous, infamous and villainous conduct of Captn. Lieutt. Parke that he is unworthy of ever holding any post civil or military in the United States, Agreeable to the 22nd. article, section 14th. of the Articles of War, the charge and sentence be published in the News Papers of the State of Pennsylvania. The charge of fraud being fully proved against Captn. Lieutt. Parke, the General confirms the sentence and directs it's execution.³⁵

Alexander Dow had been a lieutenant in Malcolm's Additional Continental Regiment from April 1777 to April 1779, when the unit was disbanded and the enlisted men placed in Spencer's Additional Regiment. Dow became a supernumerary lieutenant, that is, an officer for whom no place was available in the regiment to which he had been assigned. This generally occurred when, due to problems with enlisting or retaining sufficient men, the number of regiments assigned to a state's allotment was reduced and all the officers and men of the dissolved unit (usually the most junior organization) transferred to the remaining regiments. Officers with seniority took precedence, and Dow lost out, despite his relatively impressive combat experience.³⁶ (For details see, "One stout fellow attacked me ... But I parried him off ...": Alexander Dow's Account of Service, 1776 to 1781, Including a 1777 Skirmish and the 1778 Battle of Monmouth, <https://tinyurl.com/Alex-Dow>)

According to Alexander Dow's own account, he joined Flower's Artillery and Artificer Regiment "by request" soon after he lost his place in Spencer's Regiment, serving as lieutenant until he was installed as a replacement for the disgraced Theophilus Parke. Dow commanded

Parke's former Artificer company as of late January 1780, and was formally given command five months later:

At a board of War June 29th 1780³⁷
Present Colo. Pickering
Mr. Peters
Colo. Grayson

It having been represented to the board, that Lieutenant Dow is a person of trust, & good Character – they beg leave to report.

That Lieutenant Dow of Colo Flower's Regt. of Artillery Artificers, be promoted to the rank of Captain Lieutenant in the said Regt. his commission to bear date April 4.th 1780 – the time Capt. Lieutenant Parks was dismissed the service.

Based on related Board of War correspondence, unlike Captain Lieutenant Parke, Dow ran his company and shop as efficiently as possible, and with sound financial practices.

There is one more shoe factory deserter advertisement to share (courtesy of Eric Schnitzer):

Deserted last night from the Continental Shoe Factory at the Barracks, the following men, **Joseph M'Arthur, of the 71st grenadiers**, about 35 years of age, 5 feet ten inches high, short black curled hair, dark complexion, very much pitted with the small pox, **had on a short red regimental coat, brown cloth overalls, white jacket** and an old hat, a pair of pumps half wore, other cloaths not known.

Alexander Ferguson, of the above mentioned regiment, about 26 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, thick made, short brown straight hair, full faced, of a light complexion, **had on a short red regimental coat, brown cloth overalls, a highland cap or bonnet**, and other apparel not known.

John Curry, of the royal artillery, about 25 years of age, 5 feet nine inches high, long brown hair tied behind, very slim made, light complexion, thin visage, **had on a blue artillery regimental coat, white waistcoat and breeches**, white woolen hose and half worn shoes, with other cloaths not known.

David Robinson, of the 17th regiment, about 33 years of age, 5 feet 6 inches high, slim made, black hair tied behind, stoops in his walk, thin visaged, **had on a red regimental coat, white jacket and breeches**, woollen hose and half worn shoes, with other apparel not known.

Robert Dunbar, of the invalids, about 65 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches high, short black hair, down look, **had on a green regimental coat**, white jacket and breeches, woolen stockings, a brown surtout coat, with other cloaths not known.

N. B. There was three women wives to the above went off at the same time; one of them a short thick chunky woman, with one child at her breast and another walking.

[*Pennsylvania Journal*, 13 September 1780]³⁸

Here we have four more prisoners of war, plus a soldier from the Continental Corps of Invalids. Two British regiments mentioned in this, as well as those on the 29 November 1779 and the 18 January 1780 notices, each had men captured with the Stony Point garrison in July 1779, and that is likely how these prisoner-shoemakers came to be in Philadelphia.³⁹

So, how much footwear did Lieutenant Colonel Flower's shoemakers produce, and what other items did they manufacture? Available records are incomplete, but the answer seems to be a relatively small quantity of a variety of equipage. Here are several lists of finished goods.

“A Monthly report of the work maid and Delivered in the Factrey of Lether Accuterments for the Yuss of the Army of the United States of America in Capt Theop[hilu]s Parkes Comy of Artillery and Artificers in Coll B. Flowers Regt CGMS, under the Comand of Lieut Alexr Dow for the Month of March 1780”⁴⁰

		Each At	Total Value
“Sword Scaberts”	15	£ 5	£ 75
“Sword Belts single frogs”	50	£ 10	£ 500
“Sword Belts Dubel frogs”	420	£ 12	£ 5,040
“Begnats Belts”	100	£ 5	£ 500
“Begnats Scaberts”	2,000	£ 3	£ 6,000
“Tin Catuch Boxes Covred”	99	£ 10	£ 990
“Cartuch Body Belts”	50	£ 4	£ 200
“Shot Powtches”	99	£ 7	£ 693
“Begnats Frogs”	99	£ 7	£ 693
“Pooks & Bendings for horsmans Capes”	80	£ 4	£ 320
“Portmantow straps pairs”	1	£ 5	£ 5
“Bands for Turners Whills [wheels]”	2	£ 5	£ 10
“Girt for a pack Sadel”	1	£ 5	£ 5
“Yards of Lether straps for ordnance 2 ½ wide”	20	£ 1	£ 20
“Sides of Lether Currud”	165	£ 5	£ 825
“Horsmans Capes Doaved and Blocked”	70	£ 3	£ 210
“Pairs of Shoes”	100	£ 30	£ 3,000
“Pairs of Shoe Soals & [Top?] [Delivred inn”	200	£ 8	£ 600
			£ 20,686

Of the one hundred shoes produced in March, or possibly from a store of accrued made footwear, thirty-six pairs were issued to men associated with the barracks manufactory.

“Return of Arms and Accoutrements Received and Delivered by Majr. Jonathan Gostelowe Comy. Mily. Stores out of the Comy. Genl. Mily. stores in the Month of March 1780”⁴¹

(Note: See endnote for a May return of men and women who drew rations in Dow’s company. Names highlighted in yellow on that return also appear on the list below.)

“Names if those to whom shews [shoes] have been delivered this Month⁴¹

Capt Fay [unknown officer]	Richard Yoman
Richard Duff Clk [clerk]	Phillip Dinnis
James Boyer – Do	Danial Barkmore
John Dayley – Do	Baltous Trout
Capt. [Lieut.] Jordens Company	Richard Livers
[Pennsylvanian John Jordan, Flower’s Regiment Artillery Artificers]	Christhon Newel
William Kinnard	
Lutn Dow’s Company	Robert Cruthers
John Adams	John Smith
William Lettimore	George Cook

Peter Stay
Jacob Beck
James Tresdal
Jacob Kinney
William Hudson
Samuel Holley
John Gwillim
Mathew Ambourtes [Ambrister]
Christin Warey

Jacob Peters
William Vicker
Fredrick Beam
John David Mounty
John Coats
George Miller
Daniel Morison
Thomas Fullam
William Dolton
Laurence Gorman
John McKim

A second document titled, **“Return of work done at the Lether Factrey for the month of May 1780”** records the output for that month as follows: **1 “Compleat Bridel Except Bitts,” 4 “straps for Fillmakers [file makers],” 270 “Begnats Bels,” 30 “Begnats Frog for Light Infantry,” 131 old cartridge boxes repaired, 30 new cartridge box belts, 26 old bayonet belts repaired, 50 drum carriages, 30 carbine slings, 9 “Sarjents Black sword Belts,” 19 horsemen’s caps, 28 sides of leather cured, and 91 shoes.** All told, this “Work [was] Performed By Thirty-Eight men four of [them] sick During the Month”; for several days “no work was Done for want of ther proper Rations.” And just for the sake of full disclosure, from the same document here are the “Materials Receved for the Work of the Factrey”.⁴²

42 lb sowing thread
10 sides of soal lether
15 sides shoe uper lether
3 sides of Buffed Lether for Belts &c
600 Irne [iron] buckels for Belts
19 Cape [cap] linings
14 lb Tallow
4 lb Rosom [rosin]
3 lb Beeswax
½ lb Lambeblack [lampblack]
19 Cape [cap] Chaness
1000 sadlers T[illegible]
1000 Clowt[?] Nails”

A similar return was produced the following month, showing an increase in production from May to June:

“A Monthly Report of the work Maide and Delivered in the Factrey of Lether Accuterments for the Yuss of the Army of the United States of America in Capt. Lieut. Dows Compy of Artillery and Artificers, Coll. B. Flowers Regt C[ommissar]y Mil[litary Stores] For the Month of June 1780”⁴³

		Each At	Total Value
“Mens Harness Belts”	33	£ 7 10s	£ 247 10s
“Horsmans Sword Black Belts”	80	£ 20	£ 1,600
“Belts for Tin Cartrige Boxes”	1,244	£ 5	£ 6,220
“Begnats Belts”	1,210	£ 7 10s	£ 9,080
“Cartuch Boxes”	314	£ 39 10s	£ 11,775
“Old Cartuch Boxes Repaired”	94	£ 3	£ 202
“Sides of Lether Curud”	260	£ 5	£ 1,315
“Pairs of Shoes”	97	£ 39 10s	£ 3,637 10s
			£ 34,157

“36 Men have been full Employed

2 Men sick for 26 Days

1 Enlisted 20 Days

1 Joyned 10 Days; Total No. of Men 40 in the Factrey

Alexr. Dow Capt. Lt. A & A”

(Artillery and Artificers)

“Materials Received for the yuss of the Factrey in the present Month

245 sides of sadlers Lether

10 sides of shoe soal lether

2 sides of shoe upper lether

12 Gallons of Oill

18 lb Rosom [rosin]

2 lb Tallow

3 lb Beeswax

1 Baral Lambblacke [lampblack]

5 lb Flower

500 Rivits

600 Irn [iron] buckels

10000 Clowt Nails”

These returns surely do not show all the goods produced in the Philadelphia shop from January to July of 1780 and leave out production from manufacturers in other regions. Still we see relatively small numbers of bayonet belts, frogs, and scabbards coming out of Philadelphia, which is interesting given a series of references and directives regarding shortages of bayonet carriages in Washington’s army.

General Orders Head Quarters, Peekskill, Wednesday, August 2, 1780 ... As there is a very great scarcity of bayonet belts and scab bards the General directs that the troops keep their bayonets constantly fix'd except when cleaning as well in camp as on every kind of duty whatever with arms. This is to be considered as a standing order.⁴⁴

General orders Head Quarters, Orangetown, Tuesday, August 8, 1780 ... The order for keeping the bayonets constantly fixed has been during the March unpardonably neglected by part of the Troops: it is to be strictly observed, and the officers commanding regiments will see that the Bayonet Belts and scabbards are delivered to the Brigade Conductors taking their receipts for the number delivered and they will deliver them to the Field Commissary of military stores: The Light Infantry Companies will deliver them to their respective regiments to be included in the above.⁴⁵

General orders Head Quarters, Orangetown, Wednesday, August 16, 1780 ... As it is necessary for the noncommissioned officers to have side Arms and they are not provided with Sabres the order for delivering in the Bayonet belts so far as respects them is dispensed with.⁴⁶

One last return has been found of leather goods made by Dow's company of the Artillery Artificer Regiment in September 1780. The only items produced were "104 Pairs of Shoes" and 105 sword scabbards, plus "Mending Done by Order."⁴⁷

"Monthly Report of the work Made and Delivered, in the Factrey of Lether [Acco]uterments for the yuss of the Army of the United States of America in Capt Lieut Alexander Dows Compy of Artillery and Artificers C[omm]anded by Coll Benjamin Flower CGMS. for the Month of September 1780"⁴⁸

"Received from Major Gostelows store for the yuss of the factrey

3 Galons of Curers Oill -----	
9 sides of sadlers Lether	_____ from Major Gostelows store
[?]4 Calfskins	
[?] sides of shoe soal lether -----	

[torn page] Rosom [rosin?] _____ from the CGMS office
[torn page]oing thread

38 soldiers ar[e] Impliyed in this Manufactrey
22 of which have Ben Idil for want of L[ea]ther 29 Days
2 have Ben sick all the Month amongst the working Remander
14 at work

Alexr Dow Capn Lt"

When all is said and done, my conclusion is that the Artillery and Artificers' leather equipage manufactory, including the "Continental Shoe Factory," contributed only nominally to supplying Continental Army needs, while shoe production seems merely to have largely benefitted only artificer personnel. Still, this microcosm of equipage supply sheds light on the larger effort, and the use of prisoners-of-war, invalids, and other soldiers shows the great need of skilled workers, no matter their origin. Finally, the contribution artificer units made to the war effort has received little recognition; perhaps this work will, in a small way, rectify that oversight.



Miniature portrait of Lt. Col. Benjamin Flower (1748-1781), "Watercolor on ivory, later gilt metal case. 1 3/4 in. x 1 3/8 in." Estate of Patricia B. Wells, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania. Sold by Freemans Auction. XX



As historian Robert Selig notes, the Philadelphia military barracks, are not shown on the 1794 Benjamin Davies map ((see Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* 1829 manuscript, "a gift from John F. Watson to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania").

(Above) "Only the officer's quarters remained and were known as the Commissioners Hall, standing on 3rd Street between Buttonwood and Green [streets]."

"On the map of Philadelphia by Charles P. Varle of 1802 the barracks site is identified as Camptown." (Varle's map is in the David Rumsey online collection, <https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~205~20052:Philadelphia->)

January 7, 1778.

W H E N T H E

CHIMNEYS

O F T H E

BARRACKS

Of the different Regiments want SWEEPING.

They are to apply to

CHRISTIAN APPLE,

At the Corner of Race-Street, in Sixth-Street,

Who is EMPLOYED by the

D^y. Barrack Master General,

For that Purpose.

PHILADELPHIA: Printed by JAMES HUMPHREYS, JUNIOR,

in Market-Street, between Front and Second-Streets.

January 1778 chimney sweep advertisement.
(Courtesy of Steve Rayner, via Tom Apple)

Addendum

Excerpted from, “To hold thirty-six cartridges of powder and ball ...’: Continental Army Tin and Sheet-Iron Canisters, 1775-1780,” <https://tinyurl.com/tin-canisters>

“They will ... scarcely last one Campaign.” The Problem of Poorly-Made Continental Army Cartridge Pouches and Introduction of the New Model Box

On 16 September 1777 Continental and British forces moved into position around the White Horse Tavern in Chester County, Pennsylvania. The events of the day and ensuing consequences were recorded in the “Proceedings of a Council of Genl. Officers,” seven days later at the army’s Potts Grove camp:

when the Army left Germantown upon the 15th. instant it was a determination to meet the Enemy and give them Battle whenever a convenient opportunity should be found ... they advanced the same day to the Sign of the Buck and the day following to the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road. On the 17th. [actually 16th] in the morning intelligence was brought that the Enemy were advancing, upon which the Army were paraded and a disposition made to receive them, the Pickets had exchanged a few shott when a violent Storm of Rain, which continued all the day and the following Night, prevented all further operations. Upon an examination of the Arms and Ammunition on the 18th: it was found that the former were much impaired and all the latter, that was in Cartouch Boxes, was intirely ruined, wherefore it was judged expedient to with draw the Army to some place of security, until the Arms could be repaired and the Ammunition recruited. Before this could be fully effected, advice was received that the Enemy had quitted their former position near the White Horse Tavern and were marching down the Road leading to the Swedes Ford; but the Army not being in a condition to attack them, owing to the want of Ammunition, it was judged most prudent to cross the River at Parker's Ford and take post in the Rear of the Fatland Ford opposite to the Enemy.³⁴

The aborted action became known as the Battle of the Clouds; General Washington provided more details in a missive to Congress, calling the storm “a most violent Flood of Rain,” and that “When it held up, we had the Mortification to find that our Ammunition, which had been compleated to Forty Rounds a Man, was intirely ruined ...” Maj. Gen. Henry Knox was more specific in a letter to his wife, “After some days’ manoeuvring, we came in sight of the enemy and drew up in order of battle, which the enemy declined, but a most violent rain coming on obliged us to change our position, in the course of which nearly all the musket cartridges of the army that had been delivered to the men were damaged, consisting of about 400,000. This was a most terrible stroke to us, and owing entirely to the badness of the cartouche-boxes which had been provided for the army.”³⁵ Curiously, a small portion of the British forces suffered the same embarrassment. A British light infantry officer recorded in his journal for 16 September 1777,

The Army march’d in two Columns & join’d at Goshen Meeting House, after halting to refresh the Men, mov’d on again in the same Order, the Patroles having fallen in with a party of the Rebels – the Advance of both Column[s] soon had a remarkable successful skirmish, the 1st L.I. kill’d wound’d & took 50 Men with the Loss of one Man wounded – the Yagers were equally fortunate – these were Corps pushed forward by Washington to impede our Advance when to his great Astonishment he heard of our Approach & to gain Time to Retreat – a most heavy Rain coming on frustrated the good Effects which were expected from this Capital Move & sav’d the Rebel Army from a more compleat Over throw than they had met with at Brandewine / the Left Column headed by Sir Wm. Howe encumber’d

with all the heavy Cannon, Baggage, &ca in a narrow Broken Road, & tired Horses was incapable of proceeding & notwithstanding the impatience of Lord Cor[n]wallis to Attack the General found himself under the disagreeable Necessity to order him to halt – **the Violence of the Rain was so lasting that it was afterwards known the Rebels had not a single Cartridge in their Pouches but was Wet, the [British] Light Inf.y Accoutrements being mostly Rebel were in the same Situation.**³⁶

It is not known why the British light troops were using American cartridge pouches; perhaps the captured accoutrements held more rounds than their own, or the American pouches were being used to carry extra ammunition.

Maj. Gen. William Heath gave an early intimation of the problem of shoddy equipment, writing from Boston to the commander-in-chief on 7 June 1777, “The Cartridge Boxes which have been commonly made for the Army have been made of the most miserable Materials and in case of storm commonly serve only to waste the ammunition which is carried in them.” Heath went on, “Colo. [William] Lee [commander, Lee’s Additional Regiment] who undoubtedly may be called a Martinet in Military matters is desirous that the Boxes for the Three Regiments which are to be posted Here may be made of better Leather. He has brought me a sample. The first Expence will be considerably more than that of the present modle, but in a long run they will be much the cheapest. They will, with proper care last the War, whilst the other will scarcely last one Campaign. I would beg your Excellency ‘s Opinion.” Washington replied on 23 June, “I have long found the ill effect of the Wretched Cartouch Boxes generally in use, and I am very glad to find that Colo. Lee has found out a kind that will preserve the Ammunition; you will admit him to have them made and I should be glad of one by way of pattern,” to which Heath responded in early July, “I have directed that the Cartridge Boxes be made as soon as possible for Colo. Lee’s & Jackson’s Regiments, one of the first that is finished shall be sent to your Excellency.” This seems to be the inception of the Continental Army “new model” cartridge pouch. If so, Colonel Lee duplicated the British army cartridge pouch, of the same design and with a capacity of twenty-nine rounds of ammunition.³⁷

Shoddy accoutrements were still on General Washington’s mind as Continental forces, large and small, moved to reinforce the armies in New Jersey and New York, writing General Heath at Boston, “Let every party that you send off be fully supplied with Ammunition, which Should be delivered to the Officer and carried with their Baggage. If it is put into their Cartouch Boxes it will probably be damaged by Weather before they arrive.”³⁸ Following the White Horse Tavern deluge on September 16th some efforts were made to improve equipment. Writing John Hancock on 13 October, Washington noted,

With respect to Cartouch Boxes, without which it is impossible to act, I cannot find from my inquiries, that there are any in store. Several of the Continental Troops are deficient in this instance, and what adds to our distress, there are but very few of the Southern Militia that are provided. I am trying to make a collection about the Country, but from the information I have receiv’d, the measure will be attended with but little success. This want, tho’ not remedied immediately, may be removed in time, and I would take the liberty to recommend, that the earliest attention should be had to making a large supply. I would also advise that much care should be used in choosing the Leather. None but the best and thickest is proper for the purpose, and each Box should have a small inner flap for the greater security of the Cartridges against rain and moist weather. The Flaps in general, are too small and do not project sufficiently over the ends or sides of the Boxes. I am convinced of the utility nay necessity of these improvements and that the adoption of them, tho’ they will incur an additional expence at first, will prove a considerable saving, and of the most beneficial consequences. For we know from unhappy

experience in the severe rain on the 16th. Ulto, the few Boxes we had of this construction, preserved the ammunition without injury, whilst it was almost wholly destroyed in those of the Common form with a single flap.³⁹

That November the commander-in-chief mentioned an expedient suggested by the Board of War: “Head Quarters, Whitemarsh, November 3, 1777 ... Lining the flap of the Cartouch [pouches] with painted Canvas will certainly be of Service, considering the badness and thinness of the leather in general; but the greatest preservative to the Cartridges, is a small inside flap of pliant leather, which lays close upon the top of them and not only keeps them dry but from being rubbed.” Leather quality remained a problem, Washington notifying Congress on 6 March 1778, “I am ... apprehensive, that the scarcity of leather will occasion a Scarcity of Accoutrements. From what the Commissary of Hides informed me some time ago, his prospects of dressed leather are distant, he having put out a great quantity to be tanned, which will not be fit for Service until next Fall. The Cartouch Boxes made in this Country, are generally very bad, and I see little chance of their being made Substantial and fit to turn the weather until we can bring our manufacture of leather to a greater perfection; which is only to be done by letting it lay much longer in the Vats, than we can afford, under our present wants. Military Accoutrements of the leather kind are said to come exceedingly cheap and good from France, and I would therefore Suggest the propriety of ordering a quantity from thence, if it should not have been already done. The Hides of the Cattle killed in the Army might then be in a manner totally applied to procuring Shoes for them ...”⁴⁰ The need to retrofit old pouches in an attempt to make them waterproof continued to be necessary for several years, despite directives like that from the War Office in June 1778:

the board, on the 17th of April, impowered a Capt. Starr of Middleton in Connecticut to receive a quantity of public leather of Colo. Trumbull, and get it made up into shoes and accoutrements ... the cartridge boxes upon the new model; and to send on both to the main army.⁴¹

Despite the best of intentions, sufficient supplies of the new-designed cartridge pouches remained elusive for much of the war. By mid-September 1778 the commander-in-chief had to inform the War Board,

I would also take the liberty to mention to the Board, that we are in great want of Cartouch Boxes. At this time we have many Men without any, and a large proportion of those we have in use, serve but for little more than to spoil ammunition. This is an object worthy of consideration, and I am well persuaded the waste of Cartridges in the course of a Campaign, independent of their utility and the inconveniences experienced for want of them, is equal nearly in value to the sum necessary to procure a competent supply. The Board are acquainted with the best patterns and the quality of the leather of which they ought to be made; and I trust they will direct the most expeditious measures to be pursued for furnishing the Army with them.⁴²



Continental Army “new model” cartridge pouch, with improved weather-proofing and a capacity of twenty-nine rounds of ammunition. (Collection of J. Craig Nannos)



**Interior (above) and rear view of Continental Army “new model” cartridge pouch.
Collection of J. Craig Nannos)**



A year and half later, old pouches were still being issued, Washington again writing the Board of War,

Morris Town, May 8, 1780 ... Gentlemen: It appears by ... a letter from Baron [Maj. Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm de] Steuben that about 1500 Muskets fitted with Bayonets and the same number of Bayonet Belts and Cartouch Boxes of the new construction, are wanting to compleat the troops in this Cantonment. You will be pleased therefore to direct the above quantity to be sent forward as speedily as our circumstances will admit. The Muskets which will be returned are for the most part in perfect order, except wanting Bayonets and the Cartouch Boxes are of the old kind.⁴³

The southern states' forces seem particularly to have received short shrift. War Board member Timothy Pickering had to tell Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson in early July 1780,

We expected to be able to send you 2000 cartridge boxes; but we have been disappointed and Maj. Pierce has received at present but between six and seven hundred. – as time is pressing a slight kind may be provided – The British have for several years past, furnished their new levies with cartridge boxes made of close wood (as maple or beech) with no other covering than a good leather flap nailed to it at the back near the upper edge, and of sufficient breadth to cover the top & whole front of the box; they are fixed to the body by a waist belt, which passes through two loops that are nailed to the front of the box – cartouch boxes of this kind will answer very well & may be made at small expense.⁴⁴

And on 21 July 1780 Brig. Gen. Edward Stevens wrote Major General Gates of pouches received, likely for issue to Stevens' Virginia militia:

Sir, the 300 cartouch boxes, that I informed you I understood were on the road from Virginia, are just come in. Numbers of them are without any straps, others without flaps, and scarce any of them would preserve the cartridges in a moderate shower of Rain – What straps there are to the boxes are of linen.

The arms are in general good but the cartouch boxes bad, many of the old construction and wore out. Some with waist belts, others without any belts at all slung by pieces of rope or other strings ...⁴⁵

Let us close with Deputy Commissary of Military Stores Samuel Hodgdon's June 1781 valuation for the Board of War,

Estimate of the Sum necessary to procure 1300 new Constructed Cartouch Boxes to be forwarded with the Musketts under Order for use of the Southern Army ...
1300 New Constructed Carto[uche] Boxes @ 18[shillings]/9[pence] ...⁴⁶

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5. Peter Force, *American Archives*, series 5, vol. II (Washington, D.C.: M. St. Clair Clarke and P. Force, 1851), 246.
6. 22 November 1776 resolution, Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 6, 1776, October 9-December 31 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1906), 973-974.
7. George Washington Papers, Series 3, Varick Transcripts, 1775-1785, Subseries 3B, Continental and State Military Personnel, 1775-1783, Letterbook 3: March 30, 1777 - July 31, 1777. <http://www.loc.gov/resource/mgw3b.003>
8. Washington to the Board of War, 6 March 1778, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799*, vol. 11 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1934), 34-35.
9. **Excerpted from, "To hold thirty-six cartridges of powder and ball ...": Continental Army Tin and Sheet-Iron Canisters, 1775-1780,"** <https://tinyurl.com/tin-canisters>
On 19 March 1778 Congress authorized the adoption of a "new model" leather cartridge pouch based on the twenty-nine round British box, as well as the manufacture of tin canisters as an acceptable substitute.

Resolved, That it be recommended to each State, to appoint some suitable person or persons, to get made, with all possible despatch, as many compleat setts of accoutrements and spare bayonet sheaths as shall be sufficient for their respective quotas of troops; the cartridge boxes to be made to hold at least 29 rounds of cartridges when made up with ounce-balls, and the cover of good substantial leather, with a small cover or flap under it, that the ammunition may be most effectually guarded against rain: and to prevent impositions from the workmen, that proper inspectors be appointed to examine and receive the accoutrements, with orders to reject such as are bad and insufficient; and that the accoutrements, so provided, be sent forward with the troops, or as soon after as possible: That, in case in any State they have quantities of tin, instead of the cartouch boxes, an equal number of tin cartridge canisters be furnished agreeable to a pattern or description to be sent by the Board of War.^A

A detailed description of the canisters was provided each state by Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates.

(Circular) War office 28 March 1778 ... The recommendation to provide cartridge boxes and tin cannisters for cartridges is given, because of the almost total want of them in the public stores, and the impossibility of making a number in any degree equal to the demands of the army, in the public manufactories, where the workmen are few, and it is impossible to encrease them: agreeable to the direction of congress, the board give the following description of the tin

cannisters. They are to be six inches and an half deep, or long; three inches and three quarters of an inch broad (this breadth receiving the cartridges lengthways, as they lie in a horizontal position) and two inches and seven eighths of an inch thick; (this thickness admitting four cartridges, to lay side by side) a box of these dimensions, in the clear, will well contain thirty six cartridges with ounce balls. A wire is to be fixed in all the edges at the top, and then each side turned down (outwards) a full half inch, and soldered. The cover is to be a full half inch deep, so that when fixed on the cannister the edges shall come close down to the ledge formed by the inclosed wire. This cover at one end turns on a hinge an inch and a quarter long, the wire (fixed as above mentioned) being laid naked, that space, for the purpose; and a piece of tin is run underneath this wire, doubled together, and soldered on the inside of one end of the cover. The soldier carries a cannister by a shoulder belt, as he does a cartridge box: and for this reason the cannister has fixed to it three loops of tin, each half an inch wide, with the edges turned back, to be smooth and strong; one of them is placed underneath the middle of the bottom, and one on each of the narrowest sides, the latter at four inches distance from the bottom to their lower edges. The loops are to be sent down at each end and very well soldered, leaving a space to admit a leathern belt full one inch and a half wide, and nearly an eighth of an inch thick. The cover opens against one part of the belt, which causes it to fall down, after a cartridge is taken out, by w^h means the rest are secured from accidental fire. If possible, the cannisters should be japanned, or painted, to preserve them from rust; and all fixed with belts. The board are of opinion that these cannisters are preferable to cartridge boxes, as they will infallibly secure the cartridges from rain, and their weight is so trifling as to be no burthen to the Soldier. And seeing leather is so scarce they will be a most excellent substitute for cartridge boxes. I am Sir with great respect

Your most obedient Servant

Horatio Gates President [Board of War]

[to] His Excellency Thomas Johnson Esq^r [governor of Maryland]^B

On May 1st General Washington wrote the War Board urging that sheet-iron be used instead of tin: "The Iron cartridge Cannisters should be by all means carried on. They will upon an emergency serve instead of the Cartouch Box and will always carry spare ammunition perfectly secure from Rain, and will save tin of which the former ones were made."^C

For the time being that proved unnecessary, there being ample supplies of tin on hand, as Timothy Pickering informed the commander-in-chief:

War Office June 9. 1778 ... We are disappointed in our expectations of getting a number of iron cartridge boxes. We hoped they would have yielded immediate relief. But the principal workmen in that branch are busily engaged in making camp kettles, and cannot touch the [iron] cartridge boxes under two months from this time. Only 1000 have been contracted for at Morristown. However, the disappointment is of less consequence than was feared, for our stock of tin suitable for cannisters is much larger than was imagined; and with eight workmen Capt. Coren can make about 500 in a week: but some of his hands are hired, & less steady than could be wished. Colo. Flower judges there is tin enough at Carlisle for 10,000 canisters; and observes, that if a few good hands could be sent from camp the present deficiencies in the army would in a short time be supplied, & a stock be provided for future use. ... the board, on the 17th of April, impowered a Capt. Starr of Middleton in Connecticut to receive a quantity of public leather of Colo. Trumbull, and get it made up into shoes and accoutrements, half of each, the cartridge boxes upon the new model; and to send on both to the main army.^D

Despite the best of intentions, sufficient supplies of the new-designed cartridge pouches remained elusive for much of the war. By mid-September 1778 the commander-in-chief had to inform the War Board,

I would also take the liberty to mention to the Board, that we are in great want of Cartouch

Boxes. At this time we have many Men without any, and a large proportion of those we have in use, serve but for little more than to spoil ammunition. This is an object worthy of consideration, and I am well persuaded the waste of Cartridges in the course of a Campaign, independent of their utility and the inconveniences experienced for want of them, is equal nearly in value to the sum necessary to procure a competent supply. The Board are acquainted with the best patterns and the quality of the leather of which they ought to be made; and I trust they will direct the most expeditious measures to be pursued for furnishing the Army with them.^E

For nomenclature of the new cartridge pouches, we have seen them described in 1778 as “new model” (see above, 9 June, “cartridge boxes upon the new model”), “**New Cartouch Boxes,**” and “new construction” or “new Constructed.” See below for citations:

“new Constructed” nomenclature:

A “Return of arms and accoutrements Received and delivered out of the Commissary General Military Stores ... in the Month April 1779,” listed leather goods as follows: “**New Cartouch Boxes,**” “New Bayonet Belts,” New Bayonet Scabbords,” “Old Cartouch Boxes,” “Old Bayonet Belts,” “Repair’d Cart[ouch] Boxes,” rifle “Pouches,” “Carbine Slings,” “Sword Belts,” “Portmanteaus” “Sword Scabbords,” “Gunnery Belts,” Sides [of] Leather,” “Lt. horse Cart. Boxes,” and “Drum heads.”

Interesting that of 8,682 new cartridge boxes (likely the “new model” a.k.a. “new Constructed” boxes, copied from the British), 7,203 of which were on hand from the previous month, 842 held by Col. Flowers, Commissary General of Military Stores, and 637 with Captain Parke’s Artificers, only 481 new boxes were issued to field units that month.

“Return of arms and accoutrements Received and delivered out of the Commissary General Military Stores By Majr. Jona Gostelowe Commissary Military Stores under the direction of Colo. B Flowers CGM stores to the different Regts Battns &c in the United States in the Month April 1779,” Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790’s, no. 21016 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 68) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.

“**Morris Town, May 8, 1780** ... Gentlemen: It appears by ... a letter from Baron [Maj. Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm de] Steuben that about 1500 Muskets fitted with Bayonets and the same number of Bayonet Belts and **Cartouch Boxes of the new construction,** are wanting to compleat the troops in this Cantonment. You will be pleased therefore to direct the above quantity to be sent forward as speedily as our circumstances will admit. The Muskets which will be returned are for the most part in perfect order, except wanting Bayonets and the Cartouch Boxes are of the old kind.”⁴³

Washington to the Board of War, 8 May 1780, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799*, vol. 18 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1937), 339.

Samuel Hodgden, Assistant Commissary General of Military Stores, “Estimate of the sum necessary to procure 1300 **new Constructed** Cartouch Boxes to be forwarded with the Muskets under Order for the use of the Southern Army Philad[elphia]. June 6 1781,” *The Papers of the Continental Congress 1774-1789*, (National Archives Microfilm Publication M247 reel 160, p. 285); Record Group (RG) 360, National Archives (NA), Washington, DC, 1958).

A. Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, vol. 10, 1778, 1 January-1 May (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 270-271.

B. William Hande Browne, ed., "Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety March 20, 1777-March 28, 1777," *Archives of Maryland*, vol. XVI (Baltimore, 1897), 557-559.

- C. George Washington to the Board of War, 1 May 1778, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799*, vol. 11 (Washington, 1934), 334.
- D. Timothy Pickering (Board of War) to Washington, 9 June 1778, George Washington Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm (Washington: Library of Congress, 1961), series 4 (General Correspondence. 1697–1799), reel 49.
- E. Washington to the Board of War, 14 September 1778, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 12 (1934), 454-456.
10. Ford, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, vol. 10, 1778, 1 January-1 May (1908), 270-271. Timothy Pickering (Board of War) to Washington, 9 June 1778, George Washington Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm (Washington: Library of Congress, 1961), series 4 (General Correspondence. 1697–1799), reel 49.
11. Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1981), 298-304.
12. Ibid.
13. Washington to the Board of War, 2 October 1779, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 16 (1937), 389-390.
14. Washington to the Board of War, 6 December 1779, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 17 (1934), 222.
15. George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1957), 367.
16. Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, 298-304
17. Ibid.
18. John F. Watson and Willis P. Hazard, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the olden time: being a collection of memoirs, anecdotes, and incidents of the city and its inhabitants, and of the earliest settlements of the inland part of Pennsylvania, from the days of the founders. Intended to preserve the recollections of olden time, and to exhibit society in its changes of manners and customs, and the city and country in their local changes and improvements*, vol. I (originally published 1830; Philadelphia : Edwin S. Stuart, 1884), 415-416; barracks image opposite page 112.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Joseph Lee Boyle, ed., *From Redcoat to Rebel, the Thomas Sullivan Journal* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1997), 163-164.
22. Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, 9.
- Artificer, 1. "One who makes by art or skill esp. ne who follows an industrial handicraft, a craftsmen."
2. Military, "A soldier mechanic attached to the ordnance, artillery, and engineer service, to be employed in the construction and repair of military materials."
- Oxford English Dictionary, Compact Edition*, two vols. (Glasgow, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), vol. I, 119.
23. Robert K. Wright, Jr., *The Continental Army* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1984), 89.
24. Ibid., 103.
25. Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, 314. Wright, *The Continental Army*, 104.
26. Wright, *The Continental Army*, 104. Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, 152-158.
27. Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, 328-329.

28. Boyle, *'He loves a good deal of rum ...': Military Desertions,* vol. 2, 221.
29. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 227.
30. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 226.
31. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 229-230.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Shaun Pekar to John Rees, Facebook messaging, 9 April 2018.
34. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution – April, 1775, to December, 1783*, New, Revised, and Enlarged Edition (Washington, D.C.: The Rare Book Publishing Company, Inc., 1914), 424. A Board of War report states Parke was dismissed from the service on 4 April 1780. . Board of War report, 29 June 1780, Reports of the Board of War, December 1779 - December 1780 (vol. 4), p. 397, Continental Congress Papers, Fold3, <https://www.fold3.com/image/380008?terms=Alexander%20Dow>
35. General orders, 26 March 1780, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 18 (1937), 161-162.
36. Alexander Dow was commissioned on 12 April 1777. He was listed as a first lieutenant in John Hunter's company of Malcolm's Additional Regiment from September to December 1777; in Thomas Lucas' company, from January to February 1778; and Daniel Nivens' company, July 1778 to January 1779. In 1779 Dow was transferred to Col. Benjamin Flower's Regiment of Artillery and Artificers. He retired from service on 1 May 1781. Malcolm's Additional Regiment was dissolved and incorporated with Spencer's Regiment on April 22, 1779. For the dispersal of Malcolm's Regiment see, Washington to George Clinton and Washington to Oliver Spencer, 9 April 1779; Washington to William Malcolm (see also page note), and Washington to Oliver Spencer, 29 April 1779, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 14 (1936), 356, 357, 463, 464.
37. Alexander Dow to Congress, 26 November 1781, Memorials Addressed to Congress, C-D (vol 2), p. 467, Continental Congress Papers, Fold3, <https://www.fold3.com/image/356350> . Board of War report, 29 June 1780, Reports of the Board of War, December 1779 - December 1780 (vol. 4), p. 397, Continental Congress Papers, Fold3, <https://www.fold3.com/image/380008?terms=Alexander%20Dow>
38. Transcription of 13 September 1780 *Pennsylvania Journal*, courtesy of Eric Schnitzer.
39. "Detail of Picquets & Guards Posted at Stony Point 15th July 1779" (Public Records Office, London) 17th Regiment: 1 lieutenant colonel, three captains, 9 subalterns, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon, 15 sergeants, 22 corporals, 16 drummers, 206 privates.
Grenadiers, 71st Regiment: 1 captain, 6 subalterns, 5 sergeants, 7 corporals, 4 drummers, 122 privates
Loyal American Regiment: 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 56 privates.
Don Loprieno, *The Enterprise in Contemplation: The Midnight Assault of Stony Point* (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2004) 309.
40. "A Monthly report of the work made and Delivered in the Factory of Lether Accouterments for the Use of the Army of the United States of America in Capt Theophilus Parkes Comy of Artillery and Artificers in Coll B. Flowers Regt CGMS, under the Command of Lieut Alexr Dow for the Month of March 1780," Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 21143 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 69) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.
41. "Return of Arms and Accouterments Received and Delivered by Majr. Jonathan Gostelowe Comy. Mily. Stores out of the Comy. Genl. Mily. stores in the Month of March 1780," Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of

Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 21073 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 69) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.

“May 23d 1780

A List of the mens Names Who Draw Rations in my Compy Alexr Dow

1. Samuel North
2. John Adams
3. Jacob Beck
4. Thomas Foster
5. Petter Story [Stay?]
6. Alexr Wilson
7. Joseph Porr [or Parr]
8. Samuel Hollie
9. Richard Yurman
10. John Gwillim
11. Daniel Berkomore
12. Phillips Dimes
13. Baltour Trowt
14. John Spilirbach
15. Jonathan Foster
16. Fredrick Beams
17. Michael Petters
18. William Viggens
19. Valintin [Hoey?]
20. Richard Lavers
21. Christen Newel
22. Willm Brown
23. John Smith
24. George Cook
25. Jacob Kinie
26. Petter Sides
27. Petter Wert
28. Philip Will
29. Willm Vicker
30. John Coats
31. George Miller
32. Thomas Fullam
33. Ludwig Strathoff
34. Ezekiel Evins
35. Nicholas Rial
36. Petter Rial
37. Mathew Ambrister
38. Andrew Byars
39. John McKim
40. James Davis
44. “4 mens wives in Rootacion”

“A List of the mens Names Who Draw Rations in my Compy Alexr Dow,” 23 May 1780, Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 21135 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 69) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.

42. “Return of work done at the Lether Factrey for the month of May 1780,” Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 21154 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 69) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.

43. “A Monthly Report of the work Maide and Delivered in the Factrey of Lether Accuterments for the Yuss of the Armeiy of the United States of America in Capt. Lieut. Dows Compy of Artillery and Artificers, Coll. B. Flowers Regt C[ommissar]y Mil[litary Stores] For the Month of June 1780,” Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 21130 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 69) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.

44. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 19 (1937), 303-304.

45. *Ibid.*, 345.

46. *Ibid.*, 386.

47. “Monthly Report of the work Made and Delivered, in the Factrey of Lether [Acco]uterments for the yuss of the Army of the United States of America in Capt Lieut Alexander Dows Compy of Artillery and Artificers C[omm]anded by Coll Benjamin Flower CGMS. for the Month of September 1780,” Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records 1775-1790's, no. 21133 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M859, reel 69) U.S. War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93, Washington, D.C.

48. *Ibid.*