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Bashford Dean

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operation, and he died at Walter Reed General Hospital on November 12, 1934. Five major generals of the United States Army, as honorary pall bearers, walked beside his casket as it was borne for burial to a beautiful hillside in Arlington National Cemetery.

In complying with Colonel Lull's last expressed wishes, his widow has given his historical and research library to the American Military History Foundation, asking that it be made a memorial to his work. This valuable collection of several hundred volumes comprises numerous important biographies, many French and German books on the World War, naval records of the Civil War, the set of *Official Records, War of the Rebellion* formerly belonging to General Townsend, Adjutant General during the Civil War, containing marginal notations made in pencil by the original owner, and other works useful for reference by workers in our military history. This valuable asset of our Foundation is designated as The Lull Memorial Library.

ON AMERICAN POLEARMS, ESPECIALLY THOSE IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

BY BASHFORD DEAN

(Reprinted, by kind permission, from Metropolitan Museum Studies, Volume I, Part I.

Continued from Volume I, page 121.)

SPONTOONS

The American spontoon (espontoon, sponton, demi-pique, half-pike), which was in part the derivative of the halberd, may be readily studied; spontoons are referred to in numerous documents, and actual specimens occur in many local museums. In fact, they are too common and too simple to inspire interest.

From early literature it appears that the spontoon was carried in actual service "during the first years of the Revolutionary War, but not later." In a letter to the writer from John Ward Dunsmore, who has given much attention to early American arms, a memorandum is cited in the *Handbook of Valley Forge*—that owing to the scarcity of side arms "officers not having swords should cease carrying guns, which tend to distract their attention from their men and obtain half pikes." These pikes or espointons, called spontoons, were to be "six and one-half feet in length, one and one-half inches thick in the largest part, the iron part to be one foot long." One of these is in the Dunsmore Collection; five in the arsenal at Trenton. From Herbert N. Hixon of West Medway, Massachusetts, an original document was received regarding the use of spontoons by the Medway Militia Company in 1838 and their value in that year.¹³

A few characteristic forms are, in brief:

Figure 28. Spontoon with shaft about seven feet long, 1730-1760, French (?), found in 1926 (?) when digging in the lock of the canal at Fort Edwards,

New York. This find, now in the possession of A. R. Wing of that place, was recently brought to the writer's attention by his friend, George A. Douglass. The blade is slightly keeled, base discoidal and incised with lilies of the valley (?); the socket is long, filed baluster fashion near the blade, and attached to the shaft by long straps, longer than blade and socket together, quite early in character.

Figure 29. "Sponton Louis XV," a badly rusted specimen dug up and preserved in Fort Ticonderoga (Pell Collection). It dates not later than the middle of the eighteenth century; it has the typical sharp keel passing along the face of the blade, also annular ornaments on the conical zone where head and shaft join. Straps occur on the sides, instead of on the front and back of the shaft. This form was early used as a standard shaft.

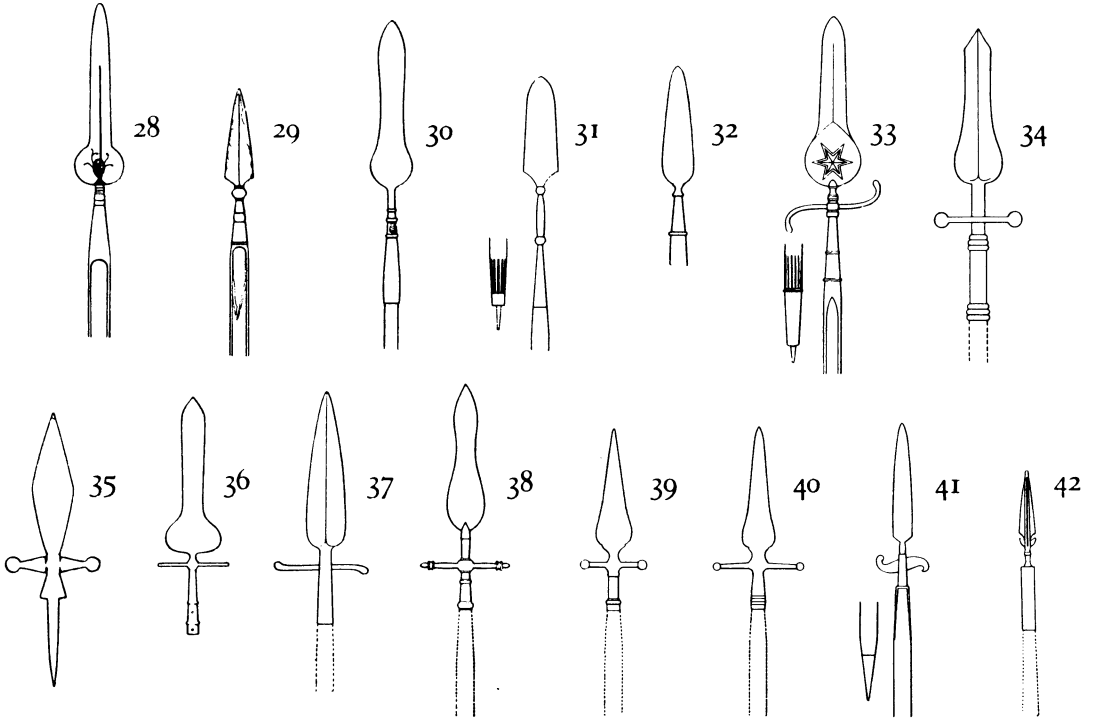
Figure 30. Spontoon, 1770-1790, secured by George A. Plimpton in Wrentham, Massachusetts, and by him lent to The Metropolitan Museum of Art. It can hardly be earlier than the date assigned, for it lacks straps; and, capping a long socket, its blade is demountable—features which are distinctly modern. The blade is wide, spatulate at the base.

Figure 31. Spontoon of similar date, exhibited in the museum in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Its blade is tapering, slightly concave at its base, its shank bearing two globular ornaments. The "ferrule" by which the spontoon was fastened to its shaft is too frail to suggest a date early enough for the arm to have been used in actual service. The base of the shaft, as shown in this figure, was strengthened with a ferrule and slightly ornamented. According to the records of the Deerfield Museum, it was carried by Ensign Lucius Graves (of the Revolution?); it is an heirloom in the family of Charles R. Graves of Whately, Massachusetts.

Figure 32. Revolutionary spontoon, the blade sub-elliptical, the ferrule with simple annular ornament. It is preserved in the Old Colony Historical Society's cabinet at Taunton, and is labeled "carried by Captain Joseph Sanford at Lexington and Bunker Hill."

Figure 33. Highly developed spontoon dating probably from the late eighteenth century. Its apical blade is stout and keeled; its basal region broadly ovate, ornamented by file-work with a six-pointed star. The blade is attached to the wooden shaft by a long and somewhat ornate "turned" base and ferrule. An arrêt, or toggle, perforates the ferrule not far from the apical blade, its arms twisted forward and backward alternately. We note that the straps which fastened this arm to the shaft were arranged at the sides of the spontoon head, as in figure 29. At the butt of the shaft a serviceable ferrule is present. This arm is preserved in the Deerfield Museum; it is labeled as having been carried by Captain Joel Nims on training days at Shelburne; the arm is in excellent condition, though marred by modern paint.

Figure 34. Spontoon of Major-General John Sullivan. This is drawn from the pictured arm in his portrait (fig. 1), which is believed to antedate 1777;



FIGS. 28-42. AMERICAN SPONTOONS. SCALE 1:11

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| <p>28. French (?), 1730-1760</p> <p>29. 1755, Pell Collection</p> <p>30. About 1770-1790, from Wrentham, Mass.</p> <p>31. About 1770-1790. Carried by Ensign Lucius Graves</p> <p>32. Carried by Capt. Joseph Sanford at Lexington and Bunker Hill</p> <p>33. Late XVIII Cent. Carried by Capt. Joel Nims</p> <p>34. 1777, or earlier. From portrait of Major-General John Sullivan</p> | <p>35. Revolutionary Period. Found near Fort George</p> <p>36. Revolutionary Period. Taunton Historical Society</p> <p>37. Revolutionary Period. Arsenal, Trenton</p> <p>38. 1812. Carried by Col. John Russell</p> <p>39. 1810-1840. Essex Institute</p> <p>40. Revolutionary Period (?). Carried by Col. Thos. Gilbert (?)</p> <p>41. 1800-1830, from Deerfield</p> <p>42. Head of Banner Shaft. 1840</p> |
|---|---|

it illustrates clearly, therefore, the type of spontoon carried by staff officers during the Revolution. At the best it is a clumsy form, its blade spatulate; it is provided with a heavy socket, and an arrêt with globose ends.

Figure 35. Officer's spontoon of the Revolutionary period, the iron alone preserved. It was found near Fort George (Manhattan Island), and preserved in a small private collection¹⁴ in that locality, *fidé* John Ward Dunsmore and R. Pelham Bolton. In proportions it is not unlike the Sullivan arm, or for that matter the spontoon figured in a portrait of General David Wooster (1776).¹⁵ It has a long lozenge-shaped head, but lacks ferrule or socket, the

iron having been provided with a spike at its base which was driven into an iron-bound shaft. It is evidently the work of a competent local blacksmith. From tip to base it measures about eight inches.

Figure 36. Spontoon of the late eighteenth century, spatulate (inverted) in form, resembling figure 30. The crossbar is delicate, tipped with rudimentary bulbs. The ferrule is slender. It is preserved in the Historical Society's rooms, Taunton.

Figure 37. Spontoon of the late eighteenth century. The blade is lanceolate; the ferrule simple; the crossbar slender; the tips of the bars bent one to the right, one to the left. From a specimen in New Jersey State Arsenal, Trenton, according to a sketch kindly furnished by J. W. Dunsmore. Essentially similar specimens occur in various local collections, e.g., in Washington's headquarters, Newburgh, New York.

Figure 38. Spontoon of the period of the War of 1812. The blade is somewhat spatulate (inverted), its base frail and slightly ornamented, indicating that the arm was of little more than ceremonial value. The crossbar and socket are decorated with "turned" rings. From a specimen (no. 1068) in the Essex Institute, Salem. According to information given by L. W. Jenkins, Director of the Peabody Museum, this spontoon was carried by Colonel John Russell of the Salem Artillery (1815-1830).

Figure 39. Spontoon of 1810-1840, decadent in form, possibly used as the head of a banner shaft. The blade is acute, lanceolate; the crossbar short, ending in a ball; the ferrule with unimportant annular ornaments. From a specimen in the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. A specimen in brass, similar to the preceding one, was on sale a year or two ago at the Boston Art Company's shop in Boston. Arms of this type were carried on October 4, 1814, at a brigade review between Salem and Marblehead, officers of the Essex Guard carrying spontoons instead of swords.¹⁶

Figure 40. Spontoon of iron, not later than the first quarter of the nineteenth century, possibly of Revolutionary date; decadent in form, similar to figure 39, but with crossbar slightly longer. From a specimen given by W. C. Waters to the Essex Institute; its label states that "it was carried in political parades during the Taylor campaign" (1848). See, however, below under figure 42.

Figure 41. Spontoon of the first third of the nineteenth century. The head is of "Deerfield type" (cf. fig. 31), reduced in size, with degenerate ferrule and eccentric crossbar of extraordinary width (flat), its tips curving alternately forward and backward. An heirloom of Derixa Nims, presented to the historical collection of Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Figure 42. Spontoon head (or head of banner shaft), 1840 (?), the blade thin-edged in section; socket degenerate; crossbar rudimentary. Brass. From a specimen in the Essex Institute labeled "carried by Colonel Thomas Gilbert, aid to General Artemas Ward at the battle of Bunker Hill"; its donor to the

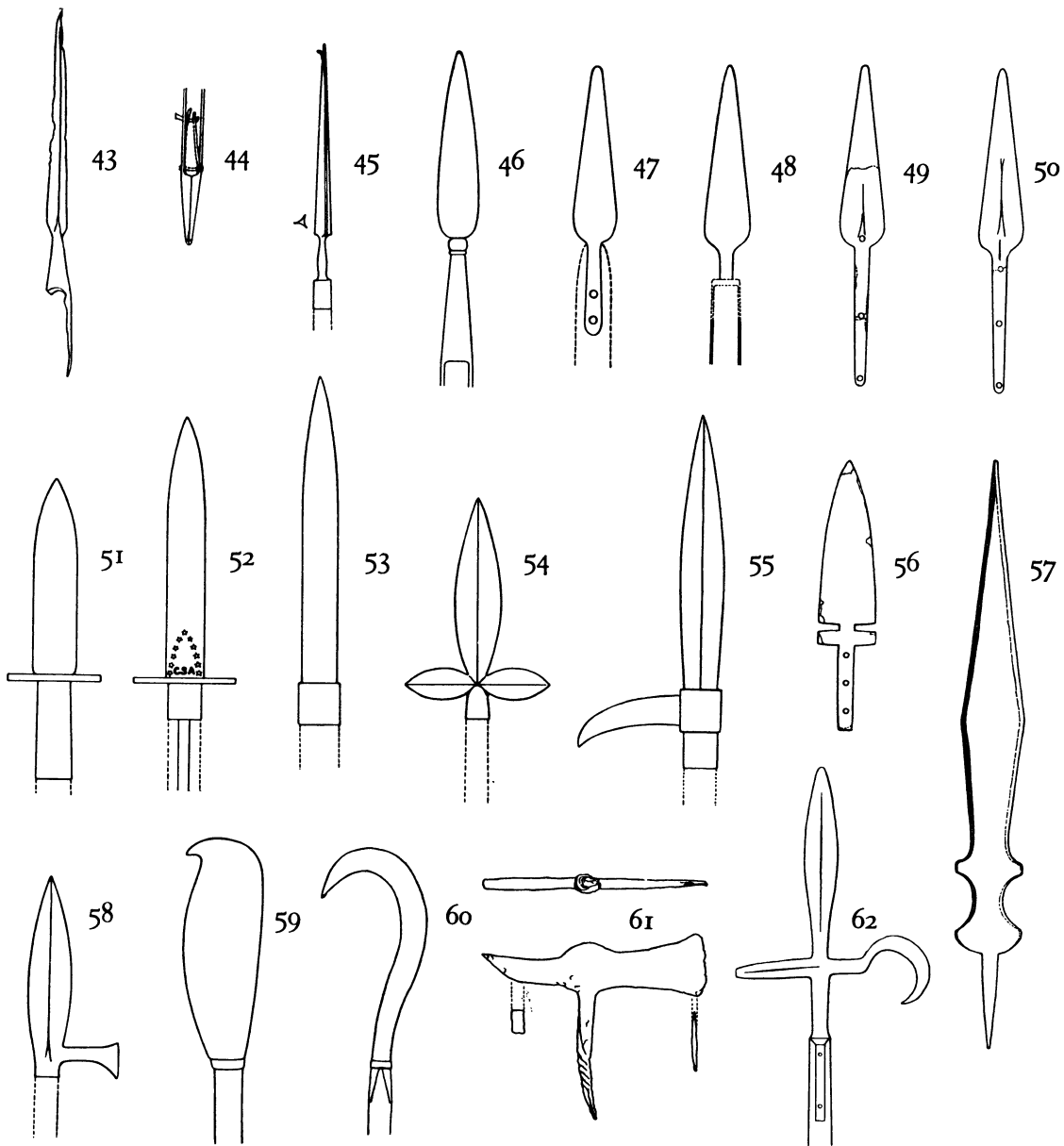
museum was H. F. Waters. There can be no doubt that the present specimen is of late date and is labeled inaccurately; it may have been confused with the first Waters spontoon (fig. 40), which, for the rest, corresponds in a general way with the Sullivan specimen (fig. 34), dating not later than 1777. This is the view of Mr. Jenkins, a kinsman of the donor, who recalls seeing the objects years ago and has the impression that H. F. Waters pointed out to him the iron spontoon, not the brass one, as having belonged to Colonel Gilbert.

PIKES

The half-pike, or spontoon, which became specialized during the eighteenth century as an officer's ceremonial arm, is in certain details of structure (e.g., in *arrêt*, basal lobes, ferrule) a degenerate halberd. Its shaft was rarely more than seven feet long; in cases it was even shorter—five feet or thereabouts. The pike, on the other hand, was provided with a shaft whose length, in the heyday of this arm, measured eighteen feet, or even more.¹⁷ Pre-Revolutionary pikes were often ten feet in length. The thickness of their shafts was rarely greater than one and three-quarters inches; their heads varied slightly in shape in various localities at different times. Actual specimens of pike-heads are not uncommon. Various forms of them appear in figures 43-58.

The first of these (fig. 43) shows pike-heads of the Revolutionary period, probably of the model designed by Dr. Benjamin Franklin; they were dug up at 196th Street and Fort Washington Avenue, from a rubbish heap dating from the time of our severe defeat, 1776.¹⁸ They are now exhibited as part of the Bolton Collection at the Jumel Mansion, New York City. It is clear that these specimens were serviceable arms, and in one case the shaft was evidently of extraordinary thickness, intended for heavy service. In the same region Mr. Bolton found numerous ferrules (fig. 44) which served doubtless for the bases of shafts. At one spot no less than twenty-seven of these were unearthed together. A bronze pike was also found in the neighborhood (fig. 45), having a thin-edged spike with well-formed neck and base.

Of similar date are numerous pike-heads in local collections. In the Morristown (New Jersey) Museum three specimens (figs. 46-48) are exhibited, all from the neighborhood and of the Revolutionary age. From excavations at West Point (redoubt 4, built in 1778) were found the pike-heads of figures 49 and 50. In a general way it is noted that pikes have changed little in the course of centuries; those carried in the War of 1812 were essentially like those just figured. Nor were pikes of Civil War times widely different. Their shafts were shorter (half-pike length, six and one-half to seven feet), but their heads were similar in size and weight. In this connection one may refer to the sales catalogue of the firm of Bannerman and Company, New York City, which figures the John Brown pike of 1857 and the Georgia pikes of 1862, including their variants, "clover-leaved" and "bridle-cutting" types.¹⁹ His figures are here reproduced, figures 51-55.²⁰ Of the John Brown pike (fig. 51), which helped, alas, to bring on the Civil War, over six hundred



FIGS. 43-62. AMERICAN PIKES. SCALE 2:17

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| 43. Pike-Head, Revolutionary Period | 53. Pike with Folding Blade, from Georgia |
| 44. Iron Butt Piece of Pike Found on Washington Heights | 54. Clover-leaf Type, from Georgia |
| 45. Bronze Pike Head, Revolutionary Period | 55. Bridle-cutting Type, from Georgia |
| 46. Revolutionary Period, from Morristown | 56. Pike-Head, Pell Collection |
| 47. Revolutionary Period, from Morristown | 57. Pike-Head, "American," New Hampshire Historical Society |
| 48. Spear from Arnold Tavern, Morristown | 58. Pike-Head, Pell Collection |
| 49. 1778, from West Point | 59. Bill-Hook, Canal St., New York |
| 50. 1778, from West Point | 60. Bill-Hook, Museum, Reading, Pa. |
| 51. Bannerman Catalogue No. 520 | 61. Miner's Axe, Calver Collection |
| 52. From Georgia, Bannerman Catalogue No. 521 | 62. Combination Bill-Hook, Pell Collection |

specimens were captured at Harpers Ferry in 1859. The Georgia pikes were produced locally to the number of several thousands in response to Governor Joseph C. Brown's proclamation of July, 1862.

There remain to be described several eccentric types of polearm. In figure 56 is shown an iron pike-head with arrêt, which was dug up in Fort Ticonderoga, and is exhibited there in the Pell Collection. It is crudely made, and peculiar in being without straps for adjustment to the shaft. In this case the shaft was sawed, and the pike-head inserted in the slot, then made fast by three nails or rivets, the holes for which are seen in the base of the present object. It dates not later than the Revolutionary War. From its crude design it may have been used by Indians.

Figure 57 pictures a pike-head in the possession of the New Hampshire Antiquarian Society, respecting which the treasurer, Samuel M. Chase, of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, was so good as to furnish information. It is of considerable length—nearly two feet from tip to base. It is crudely sword-shaped, and is inserted by a spike-shaped butt in the iron-bound end of a shaft. The present object is a local find, and may have been of Indian origin. We know of nothing like it among European objects.

In figure 58 appears a curious pike-head with lateral branch which was probably used as a bridle cutter, a type, according to John Ward Dunsmore, well known in Revolutionary times. A specimen of it is preserved in the Newark Arsenal.

In figure 59 is shown a bill-hook which served doubtless as an arm as well as an agricultural implement in earlier times (seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries). Specimens of this form are preserved in local museums. The present example, in the writer's possession, was found in Canal Street, New York City, when trenches were being dug by the Consolidated Gas Company. Such an implement (or arm) was attached to a shaft by means of a basal spike.

Two other bill-hooks may be noted: the first is in the museum at Reading, Pennsylvania (fig. 60), here reproduced from a pencil sketch by the writer's friend, C. O. von Kienbusch. This dates probably from the second half of the eighteenth century, and is "Pennsylvania-Dutch." It may have been little more than a farmer's implement. The second, having an apical blade, is preserved in the Pell Collection at Fort Ticonderoga (fig. 62).

A final curious arm recalls a tomahawk (fig. 61); it was found in the refuse heap of the British Camp at 201st Street, New York City, and is in the collection of W. L. Calver, of New York.

Notes

13. The following is a true list of the Spontoons as they were taken by the Company Aug. 15, 1838.

S. S. Jones, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	<i>Acct. of Cash Recd for Spontoons</i>	
Harison G. O. Bemis, Dr.—to 1		Rec ^d of Albert M. Sumner	.24
Spontoon	.24	" " Warren Chapin	.24

James Chapin, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	“ “ Clark Elliss	.24
Jones Butler, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	“ “ Adin B. Underwood	.24
William Ware, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	“ “ Rufus Chapin, Jr.	.24
Ethan Claffin, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24	“ “ Homer Warfield	.24
Warren Claffin, Dr.—to 1 Spontoon	.24		
Willard Parkhurst—to 1 Spontoon	.24		\$1.44
	<hr/>		
	\$1.92	Amt brot forward	1.92
		2 spontoons Left with J. M.	.48
			<hr/>
			\$3.84

Making 16 in number the Same that was bought of C. T. Eames—of which \$1.00 was pd out of the Subscription money the rest was pd by S. Walker of which he took the Cash that was Rec^d for Spontoons, the balance is Still due him—DEXTER WHELOCK.

14. A Hildebrandt, 1615 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

15. In the Print Department of the Museum.

16. cf. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* . . . , published by the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

17. During the sixteenth century the pike developed great length. In the seventeenth century Roger Boyle, 1st Earl of Orrery, in his *A Treatise of the Art of Warre* (London, 1677), recommends that all pikes should be sixteen and one-half feet long. Gaya in 1678 notes that the ashen pike staves should measure fourteen to fifteen feet. At the outbreak of the Revolution pikes were provided for soldiers and boatmen in considerable number; Dr. Franklin, following the tactics of Marshal Saxe, furnished the standard model, head eighteen inches long, shaft fourteen feet; they appear to have been discarded about 1778, or used only sporadically thereafter. In later times they became reduced to nine or ten feet (1832), when their use was discontinued in the British service. Later American pikes (which were really half-pikes or spontoons) measured six and a half feet, or even less.

Nicholas Boone, in his *Military Discipline* (Boston, 1706), p. 71, gives the following directions for saluting with the pike:

“An officer is to stand in the same posture with his pike ordered as a private soldier, only his arm stretched out, holding his pike at the arm's end, the butt-end at the same distance from his right foot, which keeps it upright.

“To salute standing, the officer is to fall back with the right arm and leg, keeping the spear of his pike directly to the rere sloped, just about the same height as a soldier's pike is when it is shouldered, his left to the front, and the middle of his right foot against the left heel, his left hand stretched out streight before him, he is to take hold of the pike, and turning it with his right hand, to quit that place he had hold of with his right hand, and taking hold of the butt-end with his right hand, he is to bring the spear of the pike close to the ground, but not to touch it, his fingers of both hands straight out, as soon as ever he has brought the spear so low, he is to raise the pike again, and to bring the spear backwards directly to the rere at the same height 'twas at, and bringing up his right foot at the same time, brings his pike up to the order 'twas at; and then he is to pull off his hat without bowing, and to keep it off till the person be past whom he salutes. He must be sure to observe to do every motion leisurely, and not too quick, and take care to have his salute timed, so that he may be ready to pull off his hat just as the person he salutes comes right against him.

“In saluting he must take care always to stand faced directly to the front, or that way the soldiers face: and to salute just so, let the person he salutes come which way he will.

“To salute marching, as soon as the officers approach the person they are to salute, they must be sure to shoulder their pikes from their comport altogether, and to take

great care that they do not swing them round, but only turn the spears directly backwards, and lay them as level as 'tis possible to carry them on their shoulders, their elbows out.

"When they salute they must take great care to do every motion exactly together, and leisurely. And therefore 'twould be necessary for one to give the word to the rest: and they are to take care that in saluting they neither stand still nor mend their pace.

"The first motion saluting is to dart their pikes leisurely, directly forward upon the same level as they are shouldered, stretching out their right hand as far as they can, advancing at the same time with the right foot, and then advancing with the left foot, bringing the right hand back, they turn their pikes directly forward bringing them near the ground, and then raising them again, they bring them to their shoulder upon a direct level as they were: which done, they pull off their hats without bowing, and keep them off till they are past by the person they salute.

"They must be sure to time their salute so, as to be ready to pull off their hats just as they come over against the person they salute.

18. cf. Robert Warwick Bingham, "The American Military Pike of '76," in *A Miscellany of Arms and Armor* (Bashford Dean Anniversary Volume) (New York, 1927), pp. 39-40. This paper gives complete documentation of the subject, and shows that in the early years of the Revolution as many as a thousand of these arms were in actual use.
19. Francis Bannerman, *Illustrated and Descriptive Catalogue of Military Goods*, No. 17 (New York, 1922), pp. 11 and 22.
20. Four such pikes from the arsenal at Augusta, Georgia, were presented to the Museum by Mrs. Jameson Gardner.

Other material used: *Court and Probate Records of Essex County, Mass.* (1634-1680); Louis de Gaya, *A Treatise of the Arms and Engines of War . . .* (London, 1678); *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, VI (1872).

THE MILITARY LIBRARY

General von Steuben, by John McAuley Palmer. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 434. \$4.00)

Of Benjamin Franklin it might well be said, in those words from the hymnal, that he moved "in a mysterious way his wonders to perform." Wonders he certainly did perform, not the least of which was the sale, as we would phrase it today, to the Continental Congress of the Baron von Steuben, "Lieutenant General in the Prussian Army and the Quartermaster General and friend of Frederick the Great." Actually he was not, nor had he ever been, any of these things, save perhaps the last. When he left the Prussian Army in 1763 he had attained only to the rank of Captain. Nevertheless, as such, he had been attached to the personal staff of the King, for whom he had discharged highly confidential duties. As his aide-de-camp he had been a member of the class in military art formed by Frederick at the close of the Seven Years War. This was composed of thirteen selected officers who had shown exceptional ability in the field. The King was the sole instructor of this class which was the germ of higher military education in Prussia. Steuben may thus be regarded, in spite of his other deficiencies, as a charter member of the Great General Staff.