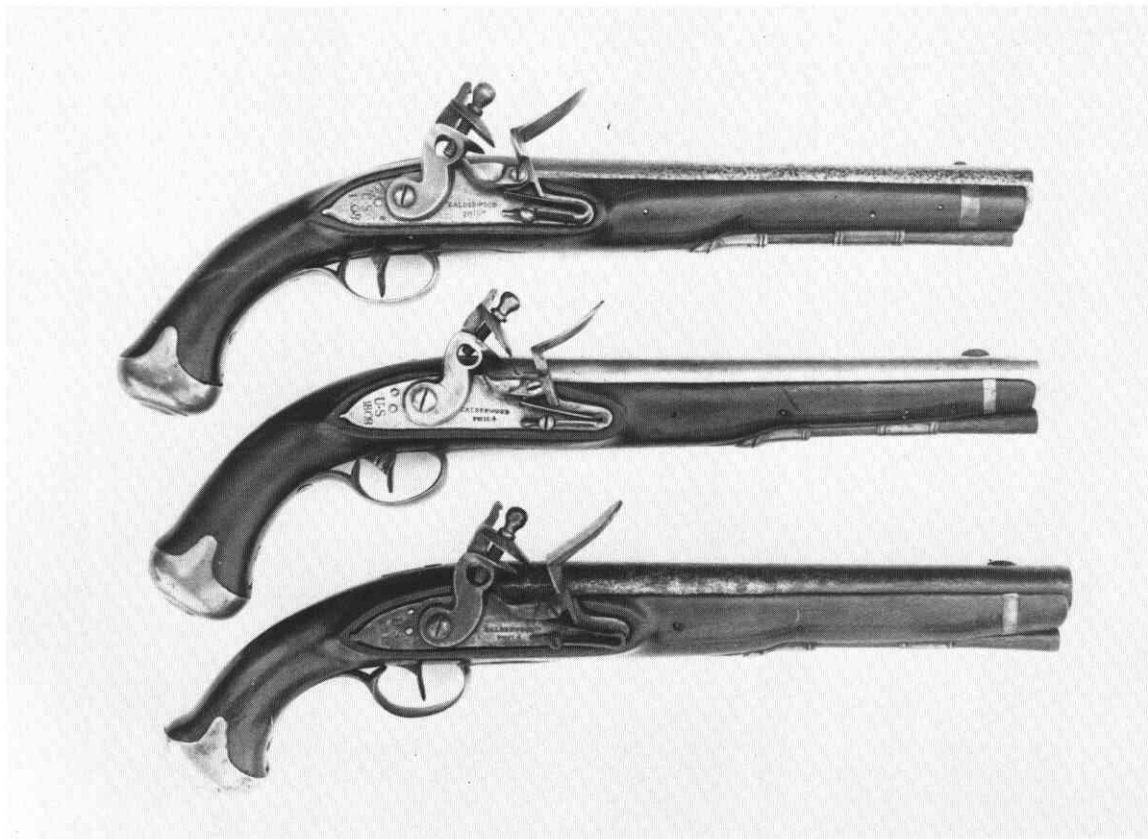


One of the two known Jacob Cooke 1808 contract pistols. The lock is marked Sweitzer and U.S. The barrel is marked J. Cooke.



The three known Calderwoods follow the same basic design.

The Primary 1807-1808 U.S. Martial Pistols

James M. Wertenberger

Since the beginning of U.S. martial pistol historical researching, the 1807-1808 contact pistols have proved to be very perplexing. Documents previously found, often incomplete and confusing, have lead to many inaccurate conjectures which now appear in print as gospel. Somewhere back in time these pistols even got classified as 1808 secondary martials. The classification of secondary martial is totally erroneous; the 1807 - 1808 contract pistols are actually more "primary" than many of the Norths, Waters, or Johnsons we accept today as primary.

The majority of the research in the past was done by Major James E. Hicks and Colonel R.C. Kuhn. Hicks researched the contracts let, but contracts let do not always accurately reflect deliveries. The research done by Kuhn was based on inspector's reports which, I will point out later, was a "real can of worms". The research underlying this article is based on actual *payment* records shown in the records of the Purveyor of Public Supplies, the Ordnance Department, the War Department and the Treasury Department of the United States. These records tell which contractors received advances, the amount of the advances, how many pistols were delivered, how much was paid for the pistols, and all final accounting adjustments. Three attempts were made by the government between 1813 and July 13, 1821 to finalize these figures, but to no avail. In desperation the auditors said it could not be done, as the British had burned the records in 1814 when they burned Washington D.C. In fact, the records did not get burned, as they were not in Washington. Tench Coxe, Purveyor of Public Supplies, had been fired from his position in 1812 and, for his own reasons, took all the key records home with him, to remain with the family throughout the years. In the final 1821 audit it was determined Coxe had a shortage of \$2406.00, and settlement was made for \$1000.00. This information can be found in the *Papers of Tench Coxe in the Coxe Family* at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (microfilm publication), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania. University Microfilms, 1977.

In 1807 it was resolved to increase the number of regiments in the United States Army and to secure contracts for two thousand pairs of pistols as part of the equipment required for the army. In the Jefferson papers in the Library of Congress there is a letter to Tench Coxe from Thomas Jefferson dated January 24th, 1807, in which Coxe is to purchase 2000 Rifles, 2000 pairs of pistols, and



1000 swords. In the Secretary of War Letter Book, record group 107, covering Henry Dearborn's Secretary of War letters to Coxe dated October 22nd, November 3, 9, & 18, 1807, one can find the arrangements made to purchase the arms. In the November 3rd letter Dearborn gives instructions to Tench Coxe, Purveyor of Public Supplies, to purchase 2000 pairs of pistols. Note the year is 1807, not 1808, the year Congress passed the Act of Congress to Arm the Militia. Hicks pointed out this fact in 1940 in his book *Notes on United States Ordnance*, Volume 1. Apparently most later historians preferred to look at the pictures in the book and did not bother to read the text.

Study of the 1807 - 1808 contract pistols has not revealed a single pistol with a state marking. On the other hand, many Simeon North pistols, including the 1811 model through the 1819 model, and the later Johnson and Waters pistols are found marked S.N.Y. (State of New York), Ohio, North Carolina, South Carolina, and CONN. (for Connecticut), which tells us these particular pistols were delivered to these states. In the records of Maryland, 165 pistols are listed during December, 1823, as having not yet been delivered by the United States. The only pistol under contract at this date by the United States was the 1819 S. North Pistol. If one were to stop at this point and examine the physical evidence available today, one would conclude the 1807 - 1808 contract pistols are the primary martial pistols, and the Norths, Johnsons, and Waters the secondary pistols. Actually the Norths, Johnsons, and Waters are both primary and secondary, all having been used by the United States Government *and* the state militias.

In 1807, Tench Coxe, who appears to have been a self-professed "expert" on about everything, began contracting pistols as ordered by the Secretary of War. As Coxe was from Pennsylvania, he was under the opinion everything should be made in Pennsylvania and thus contracted only with Pennsylvanians. The first of these contracts was "let" (i.e., granted, assigned) to Joseph Henry on November 19, 1807. Subsequent contracts were let to other contractors in 1807 and 1808, including a second contract to Henry. All the contracts were either finalized or near finalization before Congress decided, during April of 1808, to arm the militia.

After the letting of these pistol contracts, other contracts pertaining to the pistols were let. These contracts were for the manufacture of the pistol stocks by contractors *other than the pistol makers*. These stocks went into government stores and were later issued to many of the pistol makers. In many cases, a pistol was already partially owned by the United States before the pistol was finished by the pistol maker. With the exception of the stocks issued for the McCormick and McCormick-type pistols of 1797 & 1798, the 276 stocks issued to Tryon in 1814, and a few stocks issued to Simeon North about this same time, no other U.S. martial pistols are known at the present time to have been made from government-owned stocks.

Disregarding the contracts let for pistol stocks and only listing the contractors who actually made deliveries and were paid for them provides the following information:

REEL 6, VOLUME 21

- May 20th, 1808. Ordnance Department paid to Jacob Richardson 266 pistol stocks @ 14 cts. \$37.24.
- May 20th, 1808. Ordnance Department paid to Elijah Matson 424 pistol stocks @ 14 cts. \$59.30.
- October 5th, 1808. Ordnance Department to Jacob Richards 288 pair pistol stocks @ 14 cts. \$40.34. [Note: the change in the book entry from pistol stocks to pairs of stocks. As all the other pistol stock entries are in pairs it will be concluded the first two entries were meant to be entered as pairs and not as single pistol stocks. Mathematical errors are those of the government bookkeeper.]
- March 8th, 1809. Ordnance Department paid Lewis Schrack for 250 pairs of pistol stocks @10 cts. \$25.00 (Note: we now have price cutting).
- March 17th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Elijah Matson 76 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$7.60.
- March 21st, 1809. Ordnance Department to Lewis S. Coryell 150 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$15.00.
- March 31st, 1809. Ordnance Department to Enoch Kitchen 80 pair pistol stocks @ 10 1/2 cts. \$8.40.
- May 3rd, 1809. Ordnance Department to Moses Kitchen 106 1/2 pairs pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$10.66.
- May 9th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Jacob—? 686 1/2 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$68.25.
- May 25th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Lewis L. Coryell 639 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$63.90.
- May 27th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Enoch Kitchen 87 1/2 pair pistol stocks @ 10 1/2 cts. \$9.18.
- June 17th, 1809. Ordnance Department to James Thompson 138 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$13.80.
- August 4th, 1809. Ordnance Department to John Irick 92 pistol

stocks \$9.20. [This will be assumed to be 92 pairs @ the usual 10 cts. per pair.]

- August 8th, 1809. Ordnance Department paid to Lewis J. Coryell 51 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$5.10.
- August 25th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Jacob Righter 69 1/2 pairs pistols stock \$6.95.
- September 4th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Lewis J. Coryell 182 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$18.20.
- October 6th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Lewis Schrack 26 1/2 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$2.65.
- November 11th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Jacob Richards 135 pair pistol stocks \$13.50.
- November 13th, 1809. Ordnance Department to Lewis Enters 135 pair pistol stocks \$13.50.
- November 13th, 1809. Ordnance Department paid to D. Pettibone for inspecting the pistols stocks. [Note: no dollar amount is recorded for Pettibone's service.]
- December 15th, 1809. Ordnance Department paid John Frick 19 1/2 pair pistol stocks \$1.95.
- December 27th, 1809. Ordnance Department paid Lewis Schrack 50 pair pistol stocks \$5.00.
- May 5th, 1810. Ordnance Department paid Irick 110 pair pistol stocks \$11.00.
- March 18th, 1811. Ordnance Department to I. Irick 56 1/2 pair pistol stocks @ 10 cts. \$5.65.

When one reviews the figures above, the total number of *pairs* of pistol stocks equals 4,118 1/1. Therefore 8,237 stocks were purchased to provide for 4000 pistols. As mentioned earlier, Tench Coxe was an expert, and in this case he was an "expert buyer". So what's new in government purchasing today? Nothing. With the information above there *is* something new in gun collecting, and that is the disappearance of one of the rituals of the old, knowledgeable martial pistol collector. The ritual was performed when an 1807 - 1808 pistol stock was found missing any identifiable metal parts. The old pro would squint through a magnifying glass at the stock for long periods of time, occasionally grunt, mumble often, and then amaze his fellow collectors with his knowledge as he pronounced the stock a Guest or Shuler stock, or whatever, because of this detail or that detail. With the exception of Joseph Henry, who will be covered later, what the government had in its stores at the time is what the contractor got.

Another criteria used in identifying the remains of 1807-1808 contract pistols in the past has been the identification of the metal parts used in making the pistol. This criteria still can be used, but to a very limited extent. During this study it was noted some of the pistol contractors used more than one source of supply for their pistol parts, and some contractors used the same source as the other contractors. This was especially true when it came to locks, as more than one contractor used the same source for locks.

Eleven different gunmakers, according to the records, were given contracts for pistols. Some of these makers delivered pistols and others failed. The study of these records begins with Joseph and Adam Angstat.

No historian or collector has reported seeing a real Angstat contract pistol, and this paper is no exception. A few Kentucky-type Angstat pistols do exist; the Angstat brothers *did* deliver pistols, as deliveries and payments are recorded in the records:

RECEIPT BOOK OF PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES, TENCH COXE

Received Philada. April 22, 1808 of Tench Coxe pps. One hundred & fifty dollars on account of making pistols. \$150. For Joseph & Adam Ansted. Test Eno. Cumberland. Joseph Angstat. [Note: this entry and the next two entries were taken directly from the original receipts signed by the Angstats. Over the years confusion has existed as to the proper name of the family. Entries appear as Anstead, Ansted, and Angstat. Both brothers, in their own hand, spell the name as Angstat. Throughout this research, what ever spelling was used in the original records is the spelling used in reproducing the following records.]

Received Sept. 8th, 1808 of Tench Coxe pps. Two hundred dollars on account of making pistols. \$200. Adam Angstat. Joseph Angstat.

Received of Tench Coxe pps. Feby. 3rd 1809 One hundred & eighty dollars on account of making pistols. \$180. Pay Jos. Anstead Adam Anstead. Joseph Angstat. Adam Angstat.

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 Vol. 21 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
4/20/1808 A & J Ansted on account \$150.
9/8/1808 .123 A & J Angsted on a/c pistols \$200.
3/8/1809 .123 J & A Ansted on acct of pistols \$180.

[A number of 1809 entries appear in the 1807 - 1808 ledger.]

5/9/1809 .66 Jacob Shuler to sundry accts.

.123 A & J Anstead for gun locks \$150.00 [There is also a strange entry on Angstat's ledger page mentioning Shuler, but in the sum of \$15.00.]

5/23/1809 Ord. Dept. to A & J Anstead 51 1/2 prs. of pistols @ 10.00 \$515.00.

5/29/1809 Ord. Dept. A & J Anstead
Sept. 8th 1808 - .13/.123 24 1/2 pr. pistols \$245.00
Feb. 2nd 1809 - .13/.123 27 pr. pistols \$270.00
\$515.00

[The above is a correcting entry to reflect the actual dates of delivery of the 51 1/2 pairs of pistols by the Angstats.]

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

5/23/1809 A & J Anstead 51 1/2 pr pistols \$515.00.

(A & J Angstat's ledger page is noted, "Contract for 50 pr. pistols". The page also contains an entry of May 19th, 1809.)

274 By John Shuler \$15.00
275 By Ordnance Department for 51 1/2 pr. pistols \$515.00
\$535.00

The figure of 51 1/2 pairs does agree with Col. Kuhn's findings and does concur with the January 3rd, 1811, Statement showing the number & kinds of arms delivered under contracts. Hicks found a conflicting letter addressed to M.T. Wickham dated Dec., 1811, from Tench Coxe. In the letter Coxe told Wickham that Adam Anstead & J. Anstead had made 132 pistols, and that they seemed willing to make an additional 132 more. As the 132 figure cannot be backed by actual records, it is assumed Coxe was recalling the figure from memory and it is inaccurate.

The last original record found in the Tench Coxe papers appears after the arms inspection controversy has started, and the following letter is written by Coxe to Adam Anstead:

Sir;

It appears to be the opinion of Mr. Jacob Shough one of the present inspector of arms that a number of pistols among which are a proportion of yours are not fit for service. As the standards exist and the contract was in writing and as the pistols be recorded to, I must request you to call at this office the first you shall be in town in order to see what justice and reasoning yet require to be done. Early attention requested.

Tench Coxe

Whether Angstat ever made it back in town is unknown.

ADAM & JOSEPH ANGSTAT 1808 CONTRACT PISTOLS SUMMARY	
4/22/1808 Contact for pistols.	100
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals.	103
3/13/1810 Pistols inspected & entered on Storekeepers books, Schuykill Arsenal.	103
11/1/1810 Number of pistols judged unfit for service. [This is the report made by Jacob Shough referred to in Coxe's letter of December 17, 1810 to Adam Anstead. As the Angstat pistols were unmarked, two other unmarked pistols were assumed to be Angstat pistols.]	105
1/3/1811 Purveyor's Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered.	103

WILLIAM CALDERWOOD

To date only three Calderwood pistols are known in collections. These three pistols were reunited at a American Society of Arms Collectors meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, several years ago. Since that meeting, one of the three pistols has been donated to the Smithsonian Museum in Washington, D.C. All three pistols are basically the same, with the exception of one item: each barrel has a different sized "eagle P" barrel proof inspection mark. The marks range in size from a very small mark up to a normal full-size stamp. Each stamp is original, but it was interesting to find such a range of die sizes used on such a limited production pistol.

The history of the deliveries of pistols by William Calderwood is a story of no nonsense and fast efficient deliveries. William Calderwood was granted a contract on April 21st, 1808, for 60 pairs of pistols. On the following day he had already borrowed money from the Government to start production.

RECEIPT BOOK OF PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES. TENCH COXE

Received Philada. April 22, 1808, of Tench Coxe pps. one hundred & fifty dollars on account of making pistols. \$150. William Calderwood.

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 Vol. 21 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
6/29/1808 James Calderwood on account of pistols \$50.00.

[Note the first name used in this entry is James and not William. At the present time it is not known who James Calderwood was, but it can reasonably be assumed he was a relative acting in William's behalf.]

9/7/1808. .124 Willm Calderwood on a/c pistols \$200.00
9/7/1808 .11/.124 Ord. Dept. to William Calderwood 30pairs of pistols @ 10.00 \$300.00
9/28/1808 William Calderwood on account pistols. \$100.00

10/19/08 .124 Ord. Dept. to William Calderwood on account of pistols.	\$50.00
10/19/1808 .11/.124 Ord. Dept. to William Calderwood for 10 pr. of pistols @ 10.00	\$100.00
11/1/1808 .124 William Calderwood on account pistols.	\$50.00
11/1/1808 .12/.124 Ord. Dept. to William Calderwood 10 pr. horsemans pistols @ 10.00	\$100.00
11/11/1808 .124 William Calderwood on account pistols.	\$35.00
11/11/1808 .12/.124 Ord. Dept. to William Calderwood 17 horsemans pistols @ \$5.	\$85.00
12/21/1808 .124 William Calderwood on account pistols	\$15.00
12/21/1808 .12/.124 ord. Dept. - William Calderwood 1 1/2 pr. pistols @ 10.00.	\$15.00

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

9/30/1808 To William Calderwood 30 pr. pistols.	\$300.00
10/19/1808 To William Calderwood 10 pr. pistols.	\$100.00
11/2/1808 To William Calderwood 10 pr. pistols.	\$100.00
12/22/1808 To William Calderwood 1 1/2 pr. pistols.	\$15.00

[In this ledger the second entry of 11/1/1808 for 17 pistols, as shown in the Ledger of the Purveyor of Public Supplies. was left out. The entry does appear on William Calderwood's ledger, page .124, in the Ordnance Department's records as 8 1/2 pairs received 11/2/1808 for \$85.00. Calderwood's ledger page is also noted; "Gunmaker for 60 pr. pistols".]

LEDGER 1809 - 1812 Vol. 28 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
No entries, as William Calderwood had completed his entire contract in the year 1808.

WILLIAM CALDERWOOD 1808 CONTRACT PISTOL SUMMARY

4/21/1808 Contract for pistols.	120
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals.	120
3/13/1810 pistols inspected & entered on Storekeeper's books. Schuykill Arsenal.	120
11/1/1810 Number of above pistols judged unfit for service.	120
1/3/1811 Purveyor's Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered.	120
These figures also agree with the research done by Hicks and Kuhn.	

JACOB COOKE

Two Jacob Cooke pistols are known in collections today. One of the pistols is illustrated here, and the whereabouts of the other pistol is known by another A.S.A.C. U.S. martial flintlock pistol collector who, for obvious reasons, is not sharing the location of the pistol with the rest of the martial pistol collectors. The missing pistol is pictured in the Serven Gunroom catalog featuring the sale of the Charles D. Cook collection. Both pistols appear identical, with the exception of their trigger guards. The Cooke pistol has a trigger guard with a larger bow than the pistol illustrated here. Both pistols are marked "J. COOKE" on top of the barrel, with the "eagle P" barrel proof. The locks of both pistols are marked US on the tail and Sweitzer between the cock and the frizzen.

Some confusion exists over just how many pistols were contracted for with Jacob Cooke. Col. Kuhn reported a contract dated 11/19/1807 for 300 pistols and a second contract dated 1/28/1808 for 1200 pistols. These figures are totally out of context with history. On January 9th,

1808, Tench Coxe wrote to Jacob Cooke the following:

Sir. I send you the papers relative to making fifty pair of pistols agreeably to our mutual engagement. The stocks are to be black walnut. The pattern pistol you have seen at Lancaster. Be pleased to sign the papers and procure Mr. Jacob's to sign surety & I will pay the money as you shall direct. You will sign, where the cross is with a pencil. Mr. Jacob will sign, where the two crosses with a pencil are made.

On January 9th, 1808, Coxe wrote the Secretary of War expounding Mr. Cooke's talents. Mr. Cooke was described as "having respectable connections and as being a regular bred gunsmith who desired to make 100 horseman's pistols, which I wish him to do in order to see his talents." As one can see, this is the first time Coxe has dealt with Jacob Cooke. Coxe has never seen Cooke's work and Coxe is trying to justify to the powers above why he wants to contract with Cooke. This action does not correlate with a supposed contract let November 19, 1807, for 300 pistols. February 9th 1808 found Coxe sending another letter to Cooke saying pistols had been ordered, but Cooke had not yet returned the signed contract. On Feb. 23rd, 1808, Coxe wrote Cooke the signed contract had been received and that \$60.00 was being sent to Cooke (the first advance). The actual date of the contract as entered in the "Statement of Contracts made for the War Department by Tench Coxe, Purveyor of Public Supplies, in the year 1808" is February 1st 1808.

A correlation does exist between Kuhn's reporting of contracts for 300 pistols 11/19/07 and 1200 pistols 3/28/08. These are the same exact dates and quantities as contracted for with Joseph J. Henry. Enough said.

The actual deliveries are as follows:

RECEIPT BOOK OF PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES, TENCH COXE

April 2nd 1808. Rec'd of Tench Coxe Pur. P.S. Twenty dollars on acct. of pistols contracted for. Jacob Cooke.

May 23rd 1808. Rec'd. May 23rd 1808 T. Coxe P.P.S. one hundred dollars on acct. of pistols for U. States. Jacob Cooke. (Please note again the pistols are for the U. States.)

LEDGER 1807-1808 VOL. 21 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

Jacob Cooke's account number is .114.	
2/9/1808 Jacob Cooke on acct. \$60.00. (An advance.)	
8/8/1808 .114 Jacob Cooke on acct. of pistols	\$100.00.
.11/.114 Ordnance Dept. to Jacob Cooke 22 pr. horsemans pistols @ 10.00	\$220.00.
.11/.114 Ord. Dept. to Tench Coxe portage of a box of pistols .33c.	
1/12/1809 .12 Ord. Dept. to Jacob Cooke 9 pr. pistols @ 10.00	\$90.00.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

8/9/08 To Jacob Cooke 22 pr. pistols	\$220.00
1/10/09 Jacob Cooke 9 pr. pistols.	
4/1/09 To Jacob Cooke 2 pr. pistols	\$20.00.

Page 114 is Jacob Cooke's ledger page (no notations)

LEDGER 1808-1812 VOL. 28 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

Jacob Cooke's account number is now 59	
Page 59 is Jacob Cooke's ledger page and is noted as follows:	
9/21/1809 By Bank of U.S.	\$65.70

9/22/1809 War Department. (The meaning of the two entries above is unknown, but the amount is later refunded by Cooke to the Bank of U. States.)

JOURNAL JULY 1, 1809 - MAY 30, 1812 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES.

BALANCE OF ACCOUNTS

July 1, 1809 .59 Jacob Cooke \$60.00.
9/21/09 .6/59 Bank of U. States to Jacob Cooke. Refunded by him for Gy?ms [the spelling is not clear] Jacobs by the hand of John Cooke in full & his contract cancelled.
9/21/09 Jacob Cooke to War Dept. For 19m [months] on interest on \$60.00 advanced to him on his contract \$5.70.
11/13/09 Interest on another account of a loan of \$100.00 \$1.61 for 3 months & 8 days. (Approximately a 6• rate.)

JACOB COOKE 1808 CONTRACT PISTOLS SUMMARY	
2/1/1808 Contact for pistols	100
9/21/1809 Final settlement. Contract cancelled.	
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals.	66
3/13/1810 Pistols inspected & entered on Storekeepers books, Schuykill Arsenal.	66
11/1/1810 Number of pistols judged unfit for service	66
1/3/1811 Purveyors Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered.	62
As the 1/3/1811 entry does not agree with the totals arrived from five other sources the entry of 62 appears to be a bookkeeping entry error with the 4/01/09 delivery being left out. The figure of 66 pistols delivered also agrees with the findings of Col. Kuhn, based upon inspection reports.	

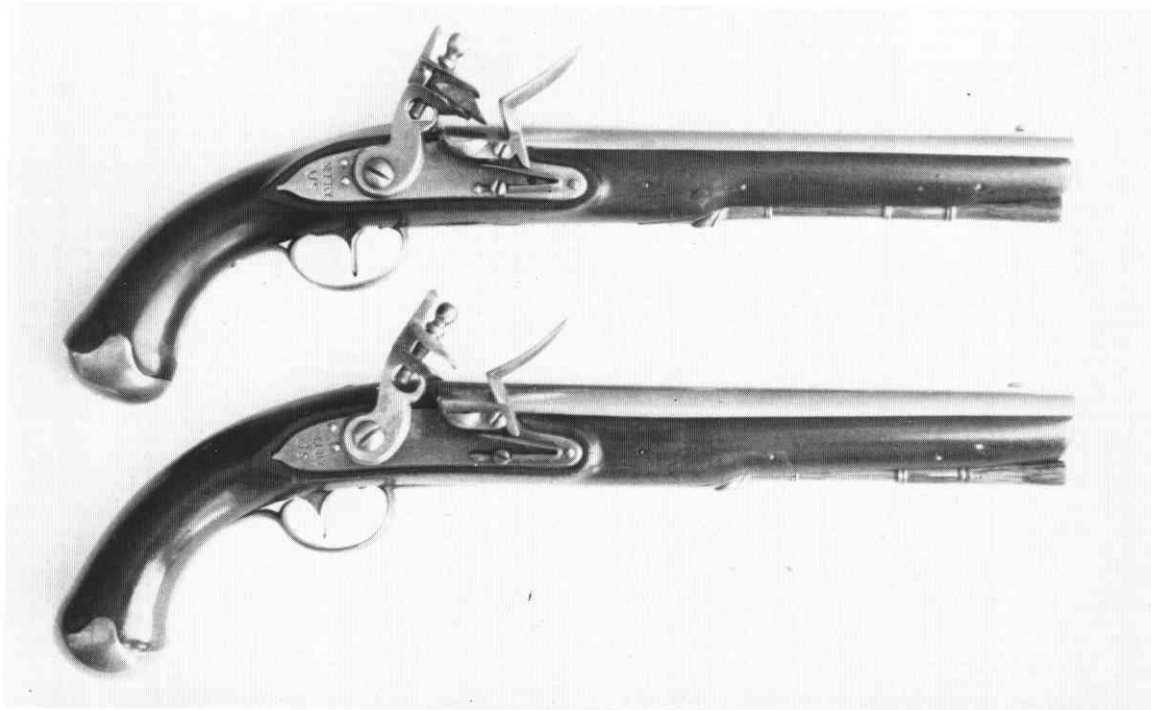
MARTIN FRY

Three Martin Fry contract pistols are known today. Two of these pistols are original flintlocks, and the third has been altered to percussion. The two original flint pistols were found as a pair and were split with one pistol going into the William Locke collection and the other pistol going into the Joe Desserich collection, both collectors now deceased. One of the pair bears the inspection mark of Jacob Shough. The other two pistols do not have this

mark. All three pistols are marked with the "eagle P" barrel proof inspection mark and are marked on the tail of the lock plate "FRY".

A fourth Fry pistol has been reported which does not follow the normal lines of the other Fry pistols. This pistol is marked FRYE under the barrel. In a letter found by James E. Hicks, addressed to Henry Pickel from Tench Coxe, dated July 2, 1806, Coxe mentions rifles "those repaired are marked FRYE". This entry may explain the pistol: it had been repaired by Fry and so marked. Another explanation for the peculiar pistol may be found in *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle* by Joe Kindig Jr. Kindig presents the statement that if a name appears on the bottom of a barrel, in all probability that is the name of the barrel maker and not the maker of the gun.

The contract with Martin Fry still, is a mystery today. The "Statement of Contracts made for the War Department by Tench Coxe, Purveyor Public Supplies, in the year 1808" does not list Martin Fry. James Hicks found records covering the 1807-1808 contracts, and Fry was not listed. Col. Kuhn reported "no contracts found" concerning Fry. From the research underlying this paper it appears that even Tench Coxe's bookkeeper did not know the quantities or when Coxe had contracted with Martin Fry, as Martin Fry's ledger page is noted "contract for" with the rest of the entry left blank. Martin Fry first appears in the 1807 - 1809 ledgers. While known, authenticated contract pistols are marked FRY the ledger entries use spellings of both Fry and Frye.



The two original flint 1808 Martin Fry pistols known today. One pistol has the inspection mark of Jacob Shough [V over JS] on the stock. The locks are marked M FRY and US.



Third and last known Martin Fry 1808 pistol as altered to percussion. Fry delivered 116 pistols.

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

6/15/1809 .13/.213 Odr. Dept. to Martin Frye 27 pr. pistols @ \$10.00 \$270.00
Boxes & carriage 3.00
\$273.00

LEDGER 1807 - 1809 Vol. 27. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES [Martin Frye is listed as from Yorktown and has account number .213] 6/15/1809 To Martin Frye 27 pr. pistols \$273.

LEDGER 1809 - 1812 Vol. 28. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES [Martin Frye's account number is now shown as number 85.]

8/25/1809 To Bank of United States 27 pr. pistols. (This entry is in reference to the 6/15/1809 entry above. See Reel 6. Vol. 22. page 23.) 4/25/1810 Martin Fry 31 pr. pistols \$310.00

MARTIN FRY SUB LEDGER PAGE NUMBER 85.

1809 Sept. 4. By Ord. Dept. for 27 pair pistols \$270.00

JOURNAL PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES JULY 1, 1809 - AY 30, 1812.

9/4/1809 .85 Martin Fry 12 pr. horsemans pistols \$120.00
15 pr. horsemans pistols \$150.00
\$270.00

4/25/1810 Ord. Dept. pd.. Martin Fry for 31 pair horsemans pistols \$310.00

MARTIN FRY 1808 CONTRACT PISTOL SUMMARY

Contract date and quantities unknown	?
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals	116
3/13/1810 Pistols inspected & entered on Storekeeper's books. Schuykill Arsenal.	108
1/3/1811 Purveyors Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered	116
1/7/1811 Number of pistols judged unfit for service.	113

Previous Col. Kuhn research based on inaccurate inspection records showed 200 pistols and 1 box of pistols delivered. More on the inspection perplexity later on.

JOSEPH J. HENRY

The Henry pistol offers the greatest number of minor variations for study; none of the variations are consistent and, at the present time, do not offer any significance.

Hammers, or cocks, as they were referred to in Henry's day, are found in two sizes: a thick beveled hammer and a thin beveled hammer. Based on comparisons with inspection marks, which is not totally reliable, the thicker

hammers may be the earlier hammers. Henry purchased all his pistol locks for his 1807 - 1808 contract pistols from William Henry. While William Henry's workmen did make some of the locks supplied it is unknown if William might have subcontracted any of the locks to other makers. Occasionally one will find the name "Griskey" inside one of Henry's locks. Lewis Griskey worked for William Henry and also worked for the government as an inspector of pistol barrels, as noted in a payment from Tench Coxe to Lewis Griskey, Inspector of Barrels during 1810. Griskey was paid for "proving 98 pistol barrels for Joseph Henry made by Pannabecker & Yocom. 91 stood proof. \$3.33."

There are two styles of J. Henry Phila. barrel markings: the most common stamping is "J. Henry Phila." in a straight line, but occasionally there is a two-line stamping in which the "J. Henry" is placed directly over the "Phila". The variation in stamping may have resulted from the use by Henry of more than one source for barrels. Henry used three sources for barrels during 1808 thru 1810, which were as follows;

DELIVERED BY NICKOLOS YOCUM

During 1808	127 1/2 were accepted.
During 1809	208 were accepted.
During 1810	54 1/2 were accepted.
During 1812	45 were accepted.

The barrels purchased during 1812 may have been the barrels used, with some left over barrels, to make the Model 1812 U.S. Navy Henry pistol.

DELIVERED BY CHRISTIAN KAUFMAN

During 1808	55 pair
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46 pair were accepted and 18 other pairs were noted "U.S. proved." The U.S. proved entry may explain the different proof marks found on some 1807 - 1808 contract pistols, as noted later.

DELIVERED BY DANIEL PANNABECKER

During 1808	109 1/2 pair were accepted.
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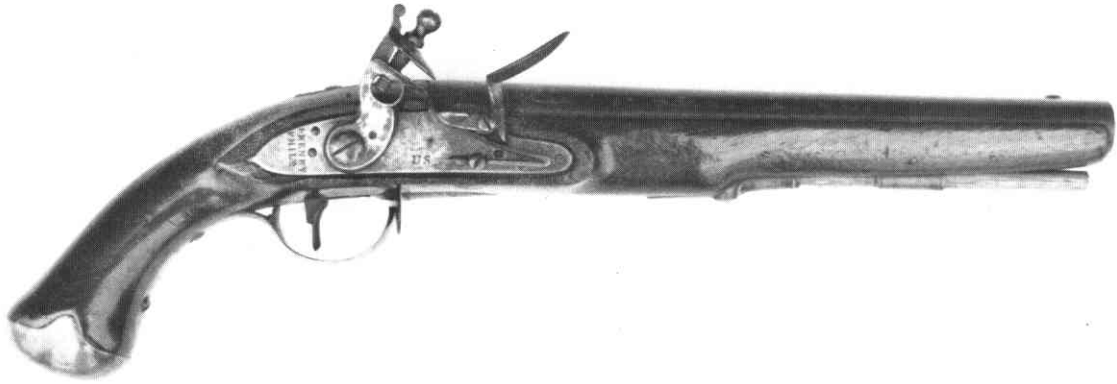
The 1808 barrels were purchased at a cost of \$.75 each

During 1809	163 1/2 pair were accepted.
During 1810	82 pair were accepted.

DELIVERED BY JOHN GETZ

During 1811	136 1/2 pair were accepted.
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The barrels purchased in 1811 are after Henry's last deliveries on his 1807-1808 contract pistols, and are included in this summary only for future researchers.



Joseph J. Henry delivered 1468 pistols under his 1807 and 1808 contracts. Later Henry purchased 724 pistols back from the government.

The majority of the butt caps are found rounded on the bottom, but other butt caps are encountered which exhibit a drop on the bottom of the cap similar to the Harpers Ferry pistol butt cap. Henry purchased his mountings for his pistols from a Joseph Edwards. Edwards delivered 300 pair of mountings February 19, 1807, at \$.50 a pair. Another 600 pair of mountings were delivered by Edwards on April 28, 1809, for \$605.35.

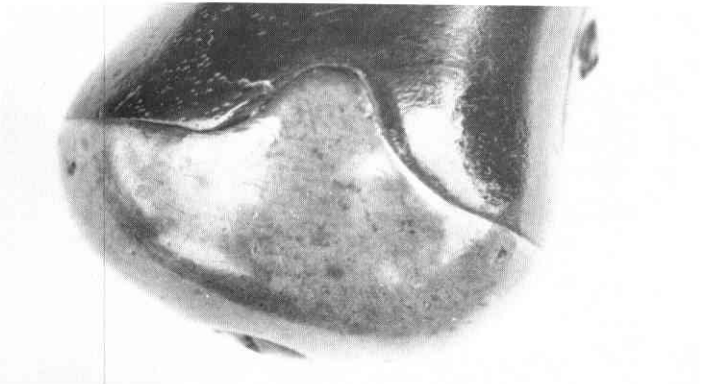
The vast majority of the Henry pistols have the "eagle P" barrel proof mark, but some are found with the "eagle CT" proof mark. Usually the "eagle CT" mark is found in conjunction with the Jacob Shough inspection stamp on the stock. Shough inspected during 1810; from this

information one might conjecture that the pistols bearing the "eagle CT" stamp were the among the very last of the 1807 - 1808 contract pistols to be delivered.

The style of the stocks used by Henry is rather consistent, as Henry did not use government-provided stocks, but rather chose to purchase them himself directly from Jacob Richards. The cost was twelve and one half cents per pair. Richards provided Henry with 600 pair of stocks in 1808, and 323 pair in 1809. After Henry made his final 1807 - 1808 contract pistol deliveries during 1810, Richards delivered another 462 pair of pistol stocks on April 26, 1811. Another delivery by Richards of 396 pair of pistol stocks on April 28, 1812, is noted in Henry's day



The J. Henry stamping on the barrel has been observed in both one line and two line configurations.

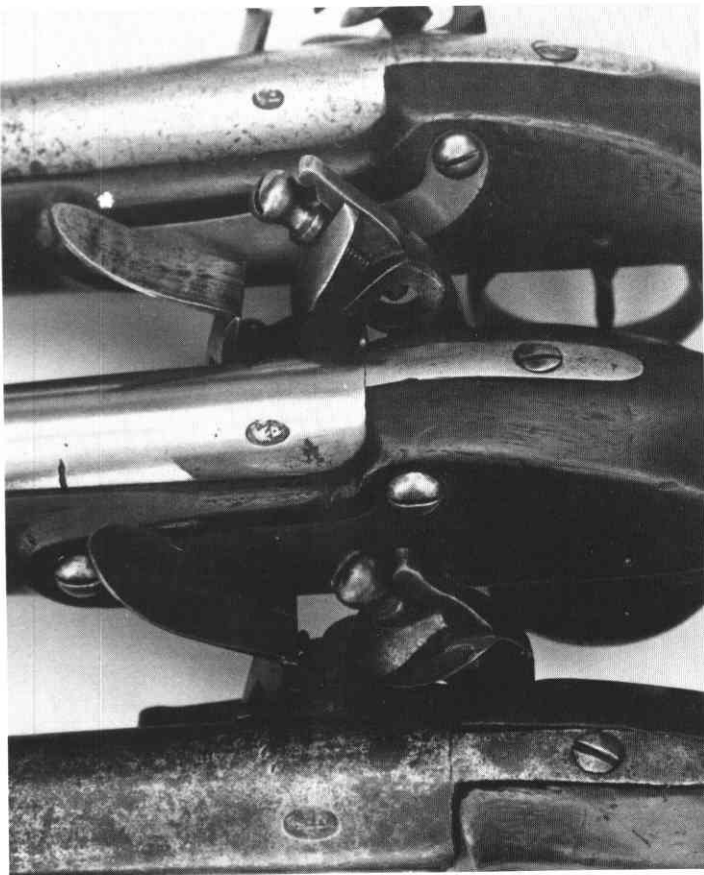


Henry's pistols can be found with two styles of butt caps.

book. As no more pistol stock deliveries are noted in Henry's day book thru 1815, it can be conjectured some of these stocks were used to make the Model 1812 U.S.



The inspection mark Daniel Pettibone used on pistols.



Looking back, three different sized inspection marks were used on the three Calderwood pistols

RECEIPT BOOK OF PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES. TENCH COXE.

Received Dec. 26th, 1807 of Tench Coxe four hundred dollars on account of making rifles & pistols. \$400. Joseph Henry.

Rec'd March 23rd 1808 of Tench Coxe Purveyor twelve hundred dollars on account of new agreement for making pistols and rifles. \$1200. Joseph Henry.

Rec'd November 25th 1808 of T. Coxe P.P.S. two thousand dollars on acct. of my contract for supply 600 pr. pistols & 600 rifles for U States. \$2000. Joseph Henry. [Note Henry says "for the U. States;" not "the states," further indicating manufacture for the United States Army.]

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 vol. 21. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

Joseph J. Henry's account number is .96

10/29/08 .96 Joseph Henry on a/c of contract for 300 prs. each pistols & rifles \$1800. (This is an advance on the November 19th 1807 contract for 300 pairs of pistols.)

11/24/08 .96 Joseph Henry on a/c of his contract for 600 rifles & 600 pr. pistols. \$2000.00 (This is an advance on the March 28th 1808 contract for 600 pairs of pistols.)

12/30/08 Ordnance Department to Joseph Henry.

299 rifles delivered 22 June \$2990.00

203 pr. pistols delivered 27 Oct. \$2030.00.

322 rifles delivered 24 Nov. \$3220.00

3/23/09 Ordnance Department to Joseph J. Henry 144 pr. pistols. \$1440.00

4/15/09 .96 J.J. Henry on acct. of arms. \$983.00

4/15/09 .13 O.D. Joseph J. Henry 56 pr. pistols \$560.00.

6/24/1809 .14/.96 O.D. to Joseph J. Henry 96 1/2 pr. pistols.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

12/31/08 To Joseph J. Henry 203 pr. pistols.

3/23/09 Joseph Henry 144 pr. pistols.

4/15/09 To J.J. Henry 56 pr. pistols.

6/29/09 To J.J. Henry 96 1/2 pr. pistols.

LEDGER 1809 - 1812 VOL. 28 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

Joseph J. Henry's account number becomes .59

9/11/09 To sundry account Henry 70 1/2 pr. pistols. Joseph Henry's ledger page also shows Sept. 11, 1809. By O.D. 70 1/2 pr. pistols \$705.00

7/31/1810 Joseph Henry 164 pr. \$1640.00.

JOURNAL JULY 1, 1809 - MAY 30. 1812 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES.

July 1, 1809 Henry is noted as owing the government \$2290.

9/9/09 .59 Joseph Henry 70 1/2 pr. pistols @ \$705.00.

9/9/09 .59 Joseph Henry on acct. of pistols \$705.00.

6/30/10 .59 Acct. of J.J. Henry on acct. of advance for pistols. \$1640.00

Tallying the different journals, ledgers, and receipt books, we find a total of 1800 pistols contracted for by the United States Government with Joseph J. Henry of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the payment to Henry and delivery by Henry of a total of 1468 pistols. This figure also corresponds with the figures derived from inspection records and other sources by Col. R.C. Kuhn as presented in the American Society of Arms Collectors *Bulletin*, Spring 1961. The figure of 1468 also agrees with the figure tabulated by James E. Hicks.

JOSEPH J. HENRY 1807 - 1808 CONTRACT PISTOLS SUMMARY	
11/02/1807 Contract for pistols	600
1/22/1808 Contract for pistols	1200
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals	1468
3/13/1810 Pistols inspected & entered on Storekeeper's books. Schuykill Arsenal.	1237
11/1/1810 Number of above pistols judged unfit for service.	1096
1/3/1811 Purveyor's Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered.	1468
Number purchased back by Joseph J. Henry from the government	724

ABRAHAM HENRY, JOHN GUEST, AND PETER BRONG

Inasmuch as a pistol contract was let to Abraham Henry, John Guest, and Peter Brong as a combine, all three gunmakers shall be dealt with together.

Five and one half Guest pistols are known. Two of the pistols are identical with the exception of their markings. The remaining pistols provide slight divergences in design. Three of the pistols appear to have been made with stocks cut from the same wide grained block of wood. One of these pistols is unmarked as to the maker, but does display a government condemnation mark. The pistol also is one of the aforementioned identical pistols. Its mate has now been given to the Smithsonian Museum. All the pistols, with the exception of the unsigned pistol, are marked in script on top of the barrel "J. GUEST," with the "eagle P" barrel proof mark. All the pistols' lock plates are marked "DREPPERT," with the exception of one example marked "Sweitzer". Ramrod pipes and trigger guards vary. One common feature does carry though all the pistols, and that is the butt cap: when viewing the butt cap from the underside, one sees a rather square profile. The length of the hand-finished spurs on the butt caps deviate from one pistol to the next.

The one half pistol counted in the total, and not

pictured, was found missing its entire lock. The pistol first surfaced when it was brought to a Ohio Gun Collectors show to find a lock. Years later the pistol was displayed in the owner's museum complete with a lock. Two stories exist: the owner was able to buy an 1807 - 1808 Dreppert pistol lock which fit his pistol exactly and beat "a million to one shot". The other story is the lock was skillfully made by a master restoration expert in Cleveland, Ohio, using the pieces of two locks to craft a new Dreppert lock for the pistol. The writer does not know which story is true. The opinion of a group of buyers at an auction of the contents of the museum years later resulted in a sale price for the pistol of approximately 18% of an unquestioned John Guest pistol.

The Abraham Henry pistol is the rarest of the contract pistols in relation to production, as only one pair was delivered. Noted past U.S. martial pistol collectors and researchers have concluded the pictured pistol to be the sole surviving example of the Abraham Henry pistol, while not knowing Henry delivered only one pair under the 1807 - 1808 contracts. Sam Smith, and Edward Bitter in their book, *Historic Pistols The American Martial Flintlock 1760 - 1845*, used as their basis for identifying the Abraham Henry pistol Smith's observations that Guest



A number of minor variations are found on the John Guest pistols. Five and one half pistols are known to have survived. The bottom pistol is unmarked with the exception of the government's condemnation mark.

used Dreppert locks and Henry used Sweitzer locks. While this statement appears to be the general rule, there is one exception and that is the Guest pistol previously mentioned using a Sweitzer lock. The stock used for the Abraham Henry pistol has totally different contours than the Guest pistols, with the exception again of one Guest pistol, and this is again the pistol with the Sweitzer lock. With these exceptions in mind, one must look further for other deviations to determine if the pistol is truly an Abraham Henry or a Guest pistol. On further examination, one can find two differences which are not found on Guest pistols. The first is the butt cap: the cap does not have the square profile when viewed from the underside as do all the Guest pistols. The second difference is found in the barrel proofs. All the noted Guest pistols were proofed and marked with the "eagle P" inspection mark. The Abraham Henry pistol is proofed with the "eagle CT" mark. - This indicates another inspector traveling in another circuit, other than the inspector who proofed Guest's barrels. Possibly this inspector was Griskey, who inspected a couple of barrels for Abraham Henry while inspecting barrels made for Joseph Henry; or Abraham might have purchased a few barrels from Joseph. Whatever may have transpired, the writer, when examining the Abraham Henry pistol from both the negative or the positive side, cannot refute the conclusions of previous martial pistol students, but can only reinforce their conclusions that the pistol illustrated is one of the Abraham Henry pistols.

REGARDING THE MARK "CT"

It has been thought by some that the mark CT surmounted with an eagle's head, found on barrels of muskets and pistols, was the proof mark for the State of Connecticut, but there is no evidence in the state laws to support such as supposition. It is the opinion of this writer

that this is the mark of the *contract arms inspector*, as the initials of H.H.P. of C.W. frequently appear on the stocks of these arms, and as both *Henry H. Perkin and Charles Williams were inspecting at the time this mark was used, it is reasonable to believe it indicated contract made arms for the United States service.* (Hicks - Vol II, p. 88.)

RECEIPT BOOK OF PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES. TENCH COXE

Received No. 14th, 1808 of Tench Coxe P.P.S. one thousand dollars on account of making rifles and pistols. \$1000.00 Henry, Guest, & Brong.

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 Vol. 21 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES.

4/11/08 Henry, Guest, and Brong paid \$200.00 [This is an advance on work to be done.]

6/17/08 Henry, Guest, & Brong on acct. \$700.00 [This is an advance on work to be done.]

11/11/08 .110 A. Henry, J. Guest, P. Brong \$1000.00 [This is an advance on work to be done.]

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

The Ordnance Department ledger does not record any pistol deliveries by Henry, Guest, & Brong from 5/21/08 thru 6/29/09. On Henry, Guest, and Brong's ledger page 110 a contract is noted for 400 pr. pistols & 200 rifles.

LEDGER 1808 - 1812 VOL. 28 . PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

Henry, Guest, and Brong's account number becomes .60.

9/20/1810 By Ord. Dep. 169 rifles & 92 pr. pistols \$2650.00
Noted contract for 200 rifles and 400 pr. pistols.

9/21/1810 Henry, Guest, & Brong 169 rifles & 92 pr. pistols. \$2650.00

JOURNAL JULY 1, 1809 - MAY 30, 1812. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

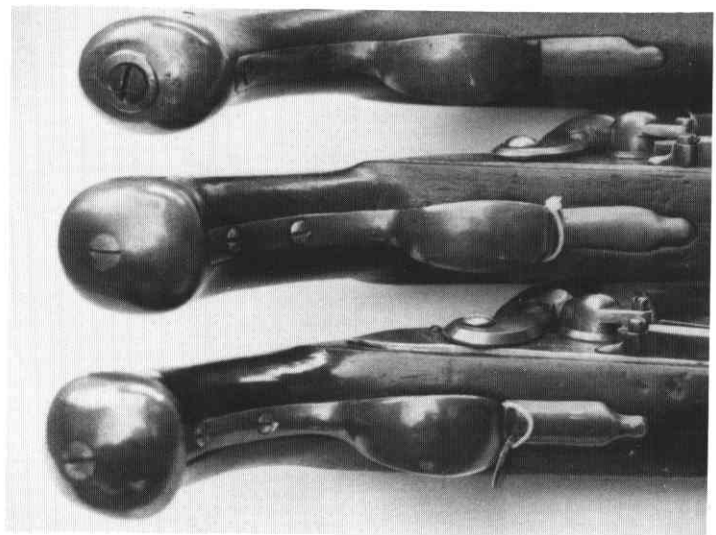
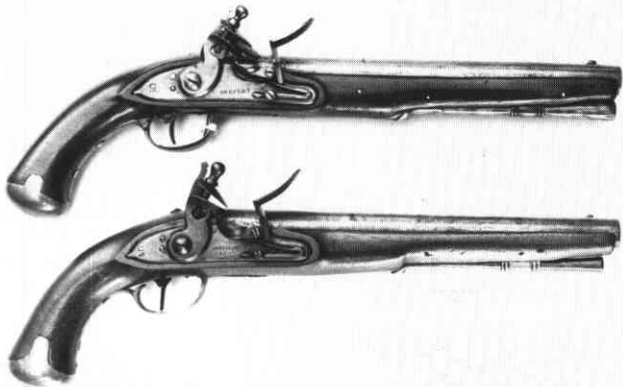
July 1, 1809 Henry, Guest, and Brong are noted as owing the government \$3500.00

9/24/10 .60/.22 Henry, Guest, & Brong., Ord. Dep. 169 rifles, 92 pr. pistols, 20 boxes & carriage as account adjusted this day \$2650.00 [These rifles and pistols were delivered 9/7/1810, and the entry is an adjusting entry covering the boxes and carriage].

9/24/10 .60/.22 Henry, Guest, & Brong to War Dept. for interest on advances made to them on account of their contract. \$100.00

9/24/10 .60/.22 Bank U. States to Henry, Guest, & Brong for this sum deposited by D. Hull of their sureties. Bal. of the a/c \$170.00

[The last two entries in this journal are closing entries. Henry, Guest, and Brong's contract for pistols and rifles have expired and are now cancelled. The final accounting has been made, and the three contractors owe the government \$170.00.]



It has been stated John Guest only used Dreppert locks and Abraham Henry used Sweitzer locks. There is an exception. The top Guest pistol has the standard Dreppert lock. The bottom Guest pistol has a Sweitzer lock.

Comparison of butt caps. The top pistol is by Joseph Henry; center, the Abraham pistol, and the Jacob Guest cap on the bottom.

According to the journals and ledgers Henry, Guest, and Brong delivered 92 pairs of pistols. The report from the Purveyor's Office of January 3rd, 1811, also confirms the figure of 92 pairs. Unfortunately, this figure has been clouded over the years by previous researchers.

James Hicks located the following document;

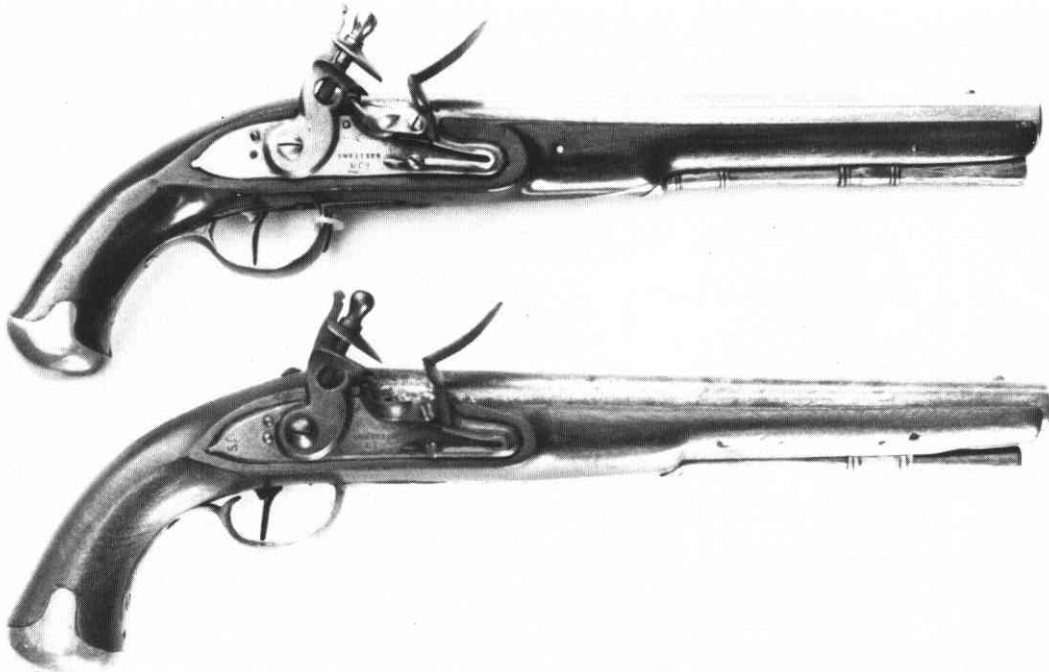
To/Tench Coxe Esq. Purveyor of Pub. Sup.		August 7, 1810	
	To Henry, Guest, & Brong		DR.
To 63 Rifles delivered by Guest	@ 10.	\$630.00	
134 pairs of pistols	10.	1340.00	
Boxes & Carriage		38.00	
67 Rifles delivered by Abraham Henry	10.	670.00	
1 pair of pistols		10.00	
Boxes & Carriage		12.00	
66 Rifles delivered by Mr Brong	@ 10.	660.00	
Boxes & Carriage		21.00	
		<u>3381.50</u>	
		118.50	
Recd of Coxe		\$3500.00	
Arm Delivered		3381.50	
Balance due Coxe		118.50	

Based upon this document, it appears that the government received 135 pairs under the Henry, Guest, and Brong contract; this has been a point of confusion. Another letter found by Hicks further added to this quandary. The letter was from Tench Coxe, dated September 7, 1810, and was sent to a Mr. G. Ingles. The letter says: "Mr. Watson has thought of taking a part of the pistols of Henry, Guest, & Brong at the contract price. Please to let him see the 123 pair in the Inspection Store".

When one organizes the documents found previous with the journals and ledgers, the answer becomes

obvious: August 7, 1810, delivery is made of 135 pairs of pistols. September 7, 1810, 123 pair are still in the Inspection Store. Mr. Watson is going to look at the remaining pistols with the thought of buying a number of the pistols. September 24, 1810, Tench Coxe makes the final settlement on the Henry, Guest, & Brong pistol contract. Obviously Mr. Watson, or someone else, has reduced the 135 pairs delivered to the Inspection Store down to 92 pairs paid for by Tench Coxe.

Col. Kuhn's research further complicated matters. Kuhn reported 499 pistols and 11 boxes of pistols. In the past the report of 11 boxes of pistols have lead people to believe this meant additional boxes of undetermined numbers of pistols. As one can see from the records above boxes were extra. During this time boxes were also extra for rifles and muskets. Kuhn also reported deliveries of 184 pistols on July 6th 1809, and 66 pistols on July 8th 1809. As noted previously, Henry, Guest, & Brong owed the government \$3500 on July 1, 1809, and this same amount was still owing September 24, 1810, when the final settlement was made, and their delivery of only 92 pair were credited against the \$3500. If Henry, Guest, & Brong had made deliveries in 1809, their account would have been credited and the \$3500 figure would have changed. Where did the strange 1809 figures come from? In conversations with a researcher who is presently studying the same records used by Col. Kuhn, the researcher has remarked he believes Col. Kuhn had gotten confused in sorting out letters and documents concerning Joseph Henry with those of Abraham Henry. Likewise, the use of inspection



Top pistol is the Abraham Henry pistol. The bottom Guest pistol has the same stock outlines and Sweitzer style lock. The Henry is proofed with an eagle CT. John Guest's pistols are proof marked with an eagle P.

reports, as we will see, has its downfall.

Another mystery which has plagued the U.S. martial pistol world has been the question, how many pistols did Peter Brong deliver under the Henry, Guest, & Brong contract for 400 pair? There are at least two Peter Brong pistols, not martially marked, which look like the 1807 model. Previously no one has found a record of a pistol delivery by Brong, but now mystery of one hundred eighty years unfolds: there was only *one* delivery, 134 pairs by Guest, and 1 pair by Abraham Henry. **PETER BRONG NEVER DELIVERED A PISTOL UNDER HIS 1807 CONTRACT WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT!**

ABRAHAM HENRY, JOHN GUEST, PETER BRONG 1807 CONTACT PISTOLS SUMMARY	
11/19/1807 Contract for pistols	800
9/24/1810 Final settlement. Contract closed.	
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals	184
3/13/1810 Pistols inspected and entered on Storekeeper's books. Schuykill Arsenal.	0
11/1/1810 Number of above pistols judged unfit for service	184
1/3/1811 Purveyor's Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered.	184

ADAM LEITNER

In the "Statement of Contracts made for the War Department by Tench Coxe, Purveyor Public Supplies, in the year 1808" a contract is listed with Adam Leitner dated May 31, 1808. The contract is for 100 pairs of pistols @ \$5.00 each with delivery in six months.

Nowhere is Adam Leitner mentioned in the journals, ledgers, or Statements of the Purveyors office. The name Leitner does not appear in the Ordnance Department ledger, nor in any inspection reports. Adam Leitner was a complete washout in regards to fulfilling any part of his contract to produce 100 pairs of pistols.

Adam Leitner 1807-1808 contract pistols summary
Adam Leitner delivered no pistols.

HENRY PICKEL

Henry Pickel is not listed in any Statements of Contracts made for the War Department by Tench Coxe, Purveyor Public Supplies, except as a rifle maker. Pickel was given some form of a contract for pistols for which Pickel was able to receive cash advances for the manufacture of pistols. A letter from the Purveyors Office found by James Hicks dated April 28, 1808, and addressed to Henry Pickel, says:

Sir:

I have recd your letter of 23rd instant and agree to take one hundred pair of Pistols of the pattern of those made at Harpers Ferry at ten dollars per pair & will make the advance of \$300. You can therefore proceed and I will send on the papers.

I am Sir,
Tench Coxe

Next one finds Henry Pickel receiving advances on his contract in the ledgers:

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 Vol. 21. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
10/17/1808 .120 Henry Pickel in advance on a/c of 100 prs. of pistols

LEDGER 1807 - 1809 Vol. 27. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
Henry Pickel is now carried as account number 120.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

10/18/1808 Henry Pickel - York Penns. - advance on 100 pr. pistols.
\$300. #169 (page 120)

LEDGER 1809 - 1812 Vol. 28. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
Henry Pickel's account number changes to number 60.

Page 60 Henry Pickel's Ledger page.

1809

July 1. To balance \$2235.

To off setting deliveries (page noted contract for 200 rifles).

SPECIAL ACCOUNTS PURVEYORS RECORDS Vol. 103 Reel 14 Page 86 Henry Pickel. On this page Pickel still had an advance balance of \$2235.00. owing against deliveries. The page is noted; Letter to Account of War Dept. Wm. Simmonds. Oct.. 5th, 1813.

As Pickel had contracted for 200 rifles and 100 pairs of pistols and only delivered 155 rifles and no pistols, it is thought that Wm. Simmonds was possibly involved in collecting unfilled contractor advances.

Henry Pickel 1807-1808 Contract Pistols Summary
Henry Pickel delivered no pistols

JOHN SHULER

Four Shuler 1807-1808 contact pistols are known, with several other Shuler Kentucky-type pistols. Unfortunately, two of the contract pistols are not included in this study. One pistol is in the hands of a man who claims he never had one, but in years past liked to show it off before the world of gun collecting had to worry about security. The forth pistol had disappeared into an unknown collection, but an old photograph has provided some details for study. In many old illustrations the Kentucky-type pistol, with its octagonal barrel, has been used to illustrate the martial pistol. This is incorrect, as the martial pistol has a round barrel. Two of the martial pistols are fitted with the same butt caps as used on the Kentucky type pistols. The other martial pistol in this study is equipped with a different style cap, which is the only cap of this type found on either the martials or Kentucky types. There is no question the cap is original to the pistol. The martials are rather crudely marked "Shuler" on top of the barrel in block letters, and the breech is marked with an "eagle P". The Kentucky type may or may not be marked "Shuler" and do not have the "eagle P" inspection mark.

RECEIPT BOOK OF PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES. TENCH COXE

Received Oct. 5th 1808 of Tench Coxe pps. two hundred dollars on account of making pistols. \$200. John Shuler

LEDGER 1807 - 1808 Vol. 21. PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES

10/3/1808 .166 John Shuler on account pistols	\$200.
3/18/1809 .166 John Shuler on account of pistols	\$50.
4/22/1809 .166 John Shuler order to D. Thomas on acct. of pistols	\$230.
4/22/1809 .13/.166 Ord. Dept. to John Shuler 1808 Sept. 15th. 4 pr. pistols	
1809 March 16th. 8 pr. pistols	
1809 April 20th. 23 pr. pistols	
35 pr. @ \$10.00	\$350.00
5/9/1809 .166 Jacob Shuler to sundry accts. Note: in this entry a Jacob Shuler is mentioned and likewise no notation is made as to monies or why the entry is made. The entry bears the same account number .166 as the John Shuler entries.	
5/26/1809 .166 John Shuler 11 prs. pistols \$10.00	\$110.00
6/29/1809 .14/.166 ord. Dept. John Shuler 22 pr. pistols \$10.00	\$220.00

LEDGER 1807 - 1809 Vol. 27 PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES
John Shuler's account number is still listed as .166. No other notations are made.

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT LEDGER

4/22/1809 To John Shuler 35 pr. pistols	\$350.00
6/29/1809 To John Shuler 22 pr. pistols	\$235.00
As one will note the 5/26/1809 entry for 11 pair of pistols is missing in the Ordnance Department general ledger, but the entry is contained in the department's sub ledger page covering John Shuler on page .166 and is as follows;	
1809 John Shuler	
4/22 261 by Ord. Dept. for 35 pr. pistols	\$350.
5/26 275 by Ord. Dept. for 11 pr. pistols	\$110.
6/29 291 by Ord. Dept. for 22 pr. pistols	\$220.
The ledger page is also noted; Gun maker contract for 150 pr. pistols. Great Swamp Bucks Co. Penn. Quaker Town Post Office.	

LEDGER PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES 1809 - 1812

John Shuler's account number assigned to these ledgers is now .59.	
7/5/1809 To John Shuler 6 1/2 pr. pistols	\$65.00
10/4/1809 To John Shuler 21 pr. pistols	\$210.00

JOHN SHULER LEDGER PAGE .59

1809 July 5. 5 by Ord. Dept. 6 1/2 pr. pistols	\$65.00
Oct. 31. 31 by Ord. Dept. 21 pr. pistols	\$210.00
This page is also noted; Contract for 150 pistols (not 150 pairs).	

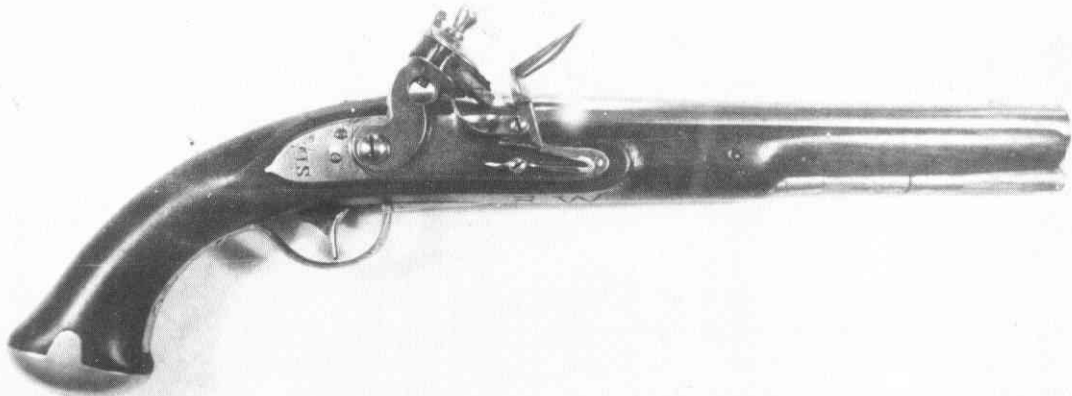
JOURNAL PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES JULY 1, 1809 - MAY 30, 1812. Vol. 22.

1809 .59 John Shuler	\$111.66
July 5. John Shuler on account pistols	\$40.00
July .19/.59 Ord. Dept. to John Shuler 6 1/2 pr. pistols \$10.00	\$65.00
10/4/1809 John Shuler Balance	\$123.34
10/4/1809 Ord. Dept. to John Shuler	
Aug 7th 6 pr. Horsemans Pistols	\$60.00
Oct. 4th 15 pr. do do	\$150.00

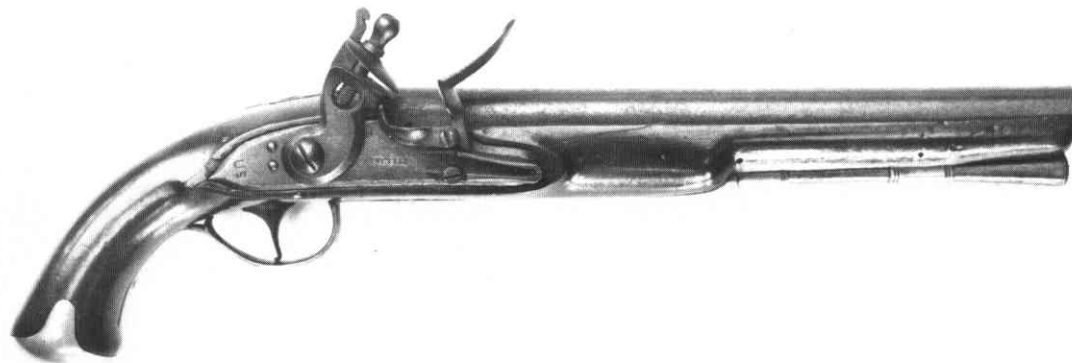
JOHN SHULER 1808 CONTRACT PISTOLS SUMMARY

6/4/1808 Contract for pistols	300
Actual deliveries per ledgers and journals	191
3/13/1810 Pistols inspected & entered on Storekeepers books, Schuykill Arsenal.	191
11/1/1810 Number of pistols judged unfit for service.	106
1/3/1811 Purveyor's Office Statement showing the number and kinds of arms delivered.	191

The figure of 191 pistols also agrees with Col. R.C. Kuhn's findings in the pistol inspection records.



Shuler delivered 191 pistols under his contract for 300. Most of the pistols observed have butt caps and stocks similar to those found on Shuler's Kentucky type pistols.



A variation of the Shuler contract pistol illustrating the fact a gunmaker had to use whatever stock was provided him by the U.S. Government.

CONCLUSION

The story of the inspection of the 1807 - 1808 contract pistols is a story of incompetence, apathetic performance, fraud and a "run for cover", as the persons involved blamed each other for the failure of the inspections.

The first pattern pistol for the 1807-1808 pistol design was made at Harpers Ferry and must have been the same or similar to the Model 1806 Harpers Ferry Pistol. The pistol was sent to Captain Irvine by November 3, 1807, with instructions to forward the pistol to Tench Coxe. When the pistol contractors viewed the pattern pistol, they objected to the long spurs leading up the side of the stock, claiming the spurs weakened the stock. A new design was suggested by the contractors which employed a short ear leading up from the butt cap. On March 7, 1808, Tench Coxe wrote the Secretary of War that two pistols made by Abraham Henry had been sent to the Secretary "to be used in any respect to govern". Coxe asked that the best pistol be returned, as there were some things on the pistols to improve, and Coxe stated he wanted an "Inspector of a really fit character." Coxe, at this point, did suggest the possible use of Jacob Cooke as an inspector if Coxe could see some of Mr. Cooke's work. By March 24, 1808, a quantity of pistols and rifles had been delivered by the contractors, and they were wanting their money. Coxe was in a bind, as there was not a pattern rifle to be used to govern the workmen, although there was a pattern for the pistols, and Coxe still did not have an inspector.

On May 7, 1808, Thomas Palmer is noted as inspecting rifles. On May 11, 1808, he was officially appointed temporary inspector of arms, and was officially appointed inspector shortly after November 16, 1808. Thomas Palmer was from Philadelphia and had made arms for General George Washington's Alexandria Militia Corps in 1774 and 1775. Palmer came very highly recommended for the job but was later relieved of his duties as a pistol inspector by William Eustis, Secretary of War, at the recommendation of Coxe. During Palmer's tenure as inspector, Coxe received a letter from an anonymous writer dated June 30, 1808, stating Palmer had accepted a bribe from John Guest of four barrels for passing Guest's ordinary barrels. Palmer did not totally disappear from the inspection scene, for on May 27, 1810, Coxe asked Palmer to inspect 200 pistol barrels for Joseph Henry. Again on August 17, 1810, Coxe wrote Palmer: it had been discovered Palmer had not bothered to inspect many of the pistol and rifle barrels which had been submitted to him, and Coxe ordered Palmer to prove these barrels and report back.

Daniel Pettibone, of Boston, Massachusetts, was appointed as inspector and entered duty by the 11th of July, 1808. Pettibone had been a sword maker for the Army

and had been employed by the Springfield Armory. Coxe described Pettibone as being "mild and obliging in his disposition and to have good zeal for service". Pettibone's first act was to put back together again pistols delivered by Martin Fry which Palmer had left in pieces while inspecting them. Coxe's opinion of Pettibone appears to have degenerated rather quickly, for on August 17, 1808, Coxe wrote Pettibone, saying "there is no proof, that you are a proficient and capable gun maker, lock filer, moulder, or finisher of barrels, nor does it appear that you are eminent in any kindred branch of the useful Arts or Trades". By November 28, 1808, Coxe was waiting for a replacement for his former employee Daniel Pettibone. Pettibone's replacement became Jacob Shough shortly before January 13, 1810. During Shough's tenure Coxe reported to William Eustis that 40 to 50 pairs of pistols had been put away during Palmer's reign before the pistols were inspected. Along with these pairs, 120 more pairs of Henry's pistols were found unfit, and the whole 164 pairs were improved by Henry and inspected again by Shough. Thus we have the "can of worms" in determining deliveries using the inspection reports. Pistols were delivered and not inspected, but bills were turned in by the inspector for inspection, pistols were left in pieces and assembled later by another inspector; and lastly the same pistols were inspected a second time by another inspector, who also was paid for his services, and again reported the make and quantity of pistols he inspected. Jacob Shough appears to have been somewhat of a talker and started talking about what was really going on in arms procurement under the direction of Tench Coxe. Coxe learned of this by November 14, 1810, and wrote Shough saying, "I learn that some opinion of yours which appears to have been orally given by form of mouth [i.e. "word of mouth"] and not in writing has occasioned all the pistols in the Arsenal, which you have inspected & passed & certified as approved, as well as the number of others inspected by Mr. Palmer and Mr. Pettibone, to be retained as unfit for service." Coxe went on to say he wanted to see Shough right away. Word spread to Chandler Irvine. Irvine had a very strong dislike for Coxe and throughout the Coxe papers one can find Irvine attempting to get Coxe thrown out of office. Irvine seized his chance and wrote to William Eustis on December 24, 1810. Coxe tried to find out from Irvine on the 26th what Irvine had said to Eustis but to no avail. Coxe attempted to head off the trouble with letters to Eustis on the 31st, and on January 4, 1812. During December of 1811, a newspaper called the "Aurora" also picked up the attack on Coxe and on January 4, 1812 Coxe ran a two page statement in the "Washington City" newspaper defending himself and expounding on what a great job he had been doing. Eustis's return letter, ringing the death bell for Coxe's job was sent January 7, 1812 and was as follows:

Sir.

Your letter of the 31st ulto relative to the inspection of small arms and of the 4th inst. covering statement of arms delivered on contract has been received. It is stated that the rifles and pistols at the United States Arsenal in the Schuykill furnished on contract with the Purveyor of public Supplies are an evident imposition and that it would have been better to have thrown the whole amount of purchase into the river, than to have procured with it, arms only calculated to appear on paper. Enclosed is a statement of the rifles and pistols alluded to, with the names of the Contractors. Be pleased to inform this Department of the dates of the several contracts, under which they were received, and time of their receipt, and the names of the persons by whom they were inspected.

STATEMENT OF PISTOLS IN STORE NOV. 1st 1810

From Jacob Cooke	33 pairs
From John Shuler	53 pairs
From A. & J Anstead	58 1/2 pairs
From William Calderwood	60 pairs
From Joseph Henry	548 pairs
From Martin Fry	56 1/2 pairs
From Henry, Guest & Brong	92 pairs
	<u>901 pairs</u>

The above Pistols are said by the Inspector to be unfit for Service in their present condition.

Extract from the Return
of Nov. 1st, 1810
Eno. Reynolds

Mily. Storekeepers Office Jan. 16th, 1811

James Hicks, in his research, also noted a similar document showing the same quantities of pistols, but with an additional notation. Under the Anstead entry (shown in Hicks as Ansted) it is noted "These 58 1/2 pair have no name on them, they are supposed—except 6 pairs to have been made by Ansted's". A later review of the records will show the 6 pairs should have been listed as 7 pairs made by someone other than the Angstats.

To add to Tench Coxe's troubles, Daniel Pettibone sued Coxe a few days later for Coxe having fired him as an inspector. A witness for the plaintiff testified he had heard Coxe tell Pettibone to accept the pistols as the manufacturer had not the pattern at the time. The witness also stated he had heard Pettibone give an opinion the pistol was unfit for service and inferior in shape and finish to any he ever saw. Pistols were rejected, repaired, and returned and passed by Coxe under protest of Pettibone. It was pointed out Pettibone had not been furnished a pattern pistol by Coxe, and when Pettibone finally did receive a pattern he continued to object to passing the pistols.

In other documents found concerning the trial a Mr. Jeremiah Vanergriff says he has seen Mr. Pettibone inspect one hundred stands of arms in less than two hours and says he would snap the lock and mark it as passed inspection. Another note reads; "3 muskets inspected by Pettibone - one sufficient & 2 more were passed which should have been condemned. Barrels not proven. Marked by D.P."

During the trial Coxe paints Pettibone as a fickle incompetent and even Eli Whitney is called as a witness

to berate Pettibone. The outcome was on March 28, 1812, when Congress passed an act to discontinue the office of Purveyor of Public Supplies, and Tench Coxe was relieved of his position on May 31, 1812. Chandler Irvine then assumed Tench Coxe's duties.

This brings us to the end of Tench Coxe, and we now know accurately how many pistols were delivered and by whom. No longer should future writers ever refer to the 1807 - 1808 contract pistols as secondary - the pistols are unconditionally pure primary United States martial pistols!

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I would like to thank Dr. Walter Peterson, Lee Hausser, Luke Woods, and Ed Bitter for providing photographs, or letting me photograph items in their collections.

I would also like to thank George Moller for sharing his notes from the Joseph Henry day books.

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SUMMARY OF ACTUAL PISTOLS DELIVERED TO AND PAID FOR BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONTRACTS OF 1807 - 1808 AS LET BY TENCH COXE, PURVEYOR OF PUBLIC SUPPLIES.

Joseph and Adam Angstat	103
William Calderwood	120
Jacob Cooke	66
Martin Fry	116
Joseph J. Henry	1468
A. Henry, J. Guest, P. Brong Contract	
Abraham Henry	2
John Guest	182
Peter Brong	0
Adam Leitner	0
Henry Pickel	0
John Shuler	191