Pennsylvania Contract Muskets—1797 Arms Procurement Act

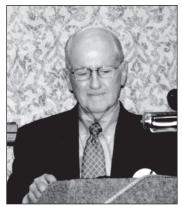
David A. Stewart and William M. Reid

This paper provides background on the development of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and information on procurement, manufacture, inspection, and distribution of arms for use of the militia in accordance with an act passed by the General Assembly March 28, 1797.

BACKGROUND

At the onset of King George's War in 1744, Pennsylvania was the only colony without an established militia system, reflecting strong Quaker influence in the Provincial Assembly. When a French attack on Pennsylvania territory in the West appeared imminent, Benjamin Franklin proposed citizens take the initiative in forming volunteer "military associations." Plans were developed for forming companies and regiments in each county. Associators would furnish their own arms and equipment and elect officers. Within a few weeks, hundreds of armed Associators assembled in Philadelphia and were informed by the Assembly their action was "not disapproved." By war's end in 1748, membership had reached more than 10,000.1 The system was allowed to dissolve following the war but precedent for military structure had been established in Pennsylvania. Associator units were reactivated again following British General Braddock's disastrous 1755 expedition during the French and Indian War to capture Fort Duquesne at the site of present day Pittsburgh (Figure 1). After Braddock's defeat, the war shifted to the St. Lawrence Valley and Northern New York frontier, leaving Associator units to protect the Western Pennsylvania frontier and respond to Indian depredations in the Lehigh Valley, some within fifty miles of Philadelphia. The French and Indian War concluded with the Treaty of Paris in 1763, ending French possession of any part of the North American mainland.

The Associator system became inactive again until news of the April 17, 1775 fighting on Lexington Green reached Philadelphia. Within the next few months, officers





were commissioned for new Associator battalions. Associtors made up Pennsylvania's quota of 4,500 men in June 1776 when Congress requested 10,000 militia for 90 days service as a "Flying Camp" or mobile reserve. Stationed at Perth Amboy, New Jersey as reinforcements for Washington's Army, units of the Flying Camp participated in the Battle of Long Island and action on Staten Island. Pennsylvania veterans of the Flying Camp took part in Washington's victories at Trenton on December 26, 1776 and Princeton the following week.

The association system was replaced by an effective Pennsylvania Militia Act in March, 1777 requiring enrollment of all white males between 18 and 53 capable of bearing arms. Few exemptions were granted and the act resulted in enrollment of 60,000 men.3 Active duty was limited to 60 days with men called for service by classes and reformed into provisional battalions. These battalions served with the Continental Army at the Battle of Brandywine and provided protection between Philadelphia and Valley Forge during the difficult winter of 1777/78. Militia companies furnished individual replacements for Continental regiments, while others joined special units of "rangers" or "ranging companies" for relatively long tours of frontier service. Even after the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781, conflict with Britain's Indian allies continued along the Western frontier. The March 1777 Militia Act was replaced by a new militia act in 1780, which was renewed in 1783.



Figure 1. Map of the State of Pennsylvania by John Reid, New York, 1796.

The U.S. Congress, acutely aware of public sentiment against a standing army as a threat to states rights, while recognizing the need for a military force under Congressional control, passed a resolution June 2, 1784 disbanding the Continental Army. The next day Congress requested 700 men with their officers to the rank of captain to be furnished by four states from their existing militia organizations. Pennsylvania, with the largest quota of 260 men, responded promptly. The force eventually attained regimental strength of about 1,000 men and was for practical purposes a national standing army.⁴ This first American Regiment was assigned to protect the Northwestern frontier and take possession of outposts vacated by the British under terms of the 1783 Paris Peace Treaty. The English were not intimidated by this small American force and continued to occupy much of the area, using the strategic outposts to supply the Indians and incite them against American frontier settlements. The American 1794 victory at Fallen Timbers, near present day Toledo, Ohio, resulted in a British withdrawal from Fort Detroit and areas adjoining western Pennsylvania, but the vast territory extending to the Mississippi River remained effectively under British control.

Formalizing the Paris Peace Treaty in 1783 did not lead to amicable relations between the two nations. England remained in control of the Northwest Territory. During the same period, British warships were stopping unarmed American vessels on the high seas, impounding cargos, and impressing American sailors. These and others

grievances fostered widespread support for renewed war with England. John Jay was selected to undertake a mission to London in 1794 to resolve these and other important issues. The 1794 Jay Treaty did achieve British withdrawal from Northwest Territory but little else.5 The treaty did not guarantee protection of American sailors from impressment and allowed British ships to seize goods bound for France: England and France having been at war since 1793 as part of a larger European War. The unpopular treaty was narrowly approved by Congress as the price of peace, providing much needed time for the United States to consolidate and rearm in the event of future conflict. France regarded the Jay Treaty as a repudiation of the alliance that had

existed with the United States since 1778 and viewed America as Britain's ally in the French war with England. French warships began to harass American vessels on the high sea, seizing American goods and impressing American sailors in what has become known as the Quasi War.⁶ Hundreds of American ships were boarded and taken into French ports in the Caribbean, accused of carrying British goods. Differences with France escalated until a new American fleet cruised the Carribean, defeating two French warships in naval engagements and capturing many French ships, while recovering more than 70 American vessels. Again, declared war was not in the interest of either party and the Quasi War ended in 1801.

At the end of the Revolutionary War, the United States had large numbers of muskets literally stacked in storage at arsenals throughout the states from New England to the Carolinas. These arms consisted primarily of French muskets turned in by discharged Continental Troops as well as a considerable number in new condition that had never been issued. Additionally, there were large numbers of captured British and Hessian arms and smaller numbers produced by Committee of Safety contracts, Continental armories, and individual gunsmiths. Condition of these arms varied from new to unserviceable. Ongoing efforts to maintain, clean, and repair the weapons over the years were hampered by lack of funds. Even so, the number of muskets on hand when inventoried in 1784 was looked upon as adequate to meet requirements of the small Federal Army for many years to come.

Congress passed the U.S. Uniform Militia Act May 8, 1792.⁷ This act replaced the previous 1780 U.S. Act and subsequent updates, nearly two years before the 1794 U.S. Act, providing for the acquisition of arms and establishment of Federal armories, was passed. The Uniform Militia Act required enrollment of every free able-bodied white male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five and further that within six months he shall:

"... provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, 2 spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or firelock—or with a good rifle ..."

Section 1 of the act laid the groundwork for standardization of bore diameter:

"... from and after five years from the passing of this act, all muskets for arming the militia as herein required shall be of bores sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound..."

matching the .69 cal. bore of the French Charleville musket. Guidelines for arranging and managing the militia were also set forth.

The Pennsylvania Legislature finding the laws previously enacted for regulation of the militia:

"... to require material alteration; in order to which it has been thought more advisable to rewrite the whole system than to amend it by supplemental statutes ..."

passed a new Militia Act April 11, 1793.8 This act, 24 sections long with 35 articles of additional rules and regulations, provided guidance for organization and management of the militia in accordance with the 1792 U.S. Uniform Militia Act. The class system for calling the militia to active service was retained. The act required each member to provide himself with a musket, firelock, or rifle with ammunition and equipment as required by the U.S. Act. Pennsylvania had previously furnished muskets to the militia from State and Federal stores for a number of years and this change is an indication of the shortage of arms available from these sources. Interestingly, the most important provision of the 1792 U.S. Uniform Militia Act, the standardization of bore size, was not addressed by the Pennsylvania legislation.

Reporting to the U.S. Senate in December, 1793, Secretary of War Henry Knox advised the United States' store of arms was seriously depleted and stressed the need for additional arms and production facilities. His report listed a total of 31,000 serviceable muskets in Federal facilities and noted more than 12,000 muskets had been issued to the army and individual states in just the previous four years. In addition to these more recent issues, substantial numbers had previously been issued to the army and militias engaged

along the Western frontier, while others were made useless by years of deterioration in poor storage facilities. The limited size of the United States Army, diminishing number of serviceable arms, and ongoing shortage of available funds during this period contributed to the unfavorable terms of the Jay Treaty and later prevented the Quazi War with France from becoming a more widespread conflict the United States could not afford.

ARMS PROCUREMENT

Congress responded to recommendations in Sec. Knox's report by passing an Act April 12, 1794 authorizing establishment of two national armories and purchase of additional arms and ammunition.¹⁰ By the end of 1795 contracts for 7,000 Charleville pattern muskets were in place and funds were made available to the U.S. Minister to Great Britain, leading to the purchase of additional thousands of British and European muskets in 1799 and 1800. President George Washington established the two authorized armories at Springfield and Harper's Ferry. Production of Charleville pattern muskets began in 1795 at Springfield Armory and similar muskets were produced at Harper's Ferry beginning in 1801. Reference to "Charleville" pattern muskets refers to the French Model 1766 Infantry Musket with improvements of 1770 (Figure 2). Thousands of these muskets were in storage in U.S. arsenals following the Revolutionary War. Adoption of the French Model 1766 musket as the standard U.S. infantry arm resulted in the largest number of existing arms stored at U.S. arsenals conforming to the new U.S. standard. This resulted in uniform length, weight, and, most importantly, bore size, leading to standard ammunition for the army.

It seems clear Pennsylvania did intend to provide the militia with the standard .69 caliber infantry arms required by the U.S. Uniform Militia Act before May of 1797. Following passage of the U.S. and Pennsylvania militia acts in 1792 and 1793, relations with England improved somewhat with signing of the Jay Treaty in 1794 and it would be several years before relations with France deteriorated to the point where war appeared imminent. It appears the Pennsylvania Legislature turned to other matters of importance during this period of reduced tension. Faced with the end of the five-year period stipulated in the U.S. act for standardizing bore size, as well as the deteriorating situation with France, the Pennsylvania Legislature passed "An Act to provide arms for the use of the Commonwealth" on March 28, 1797.

The act called for the Governor to procure twenty thousand stands of arms, half by immediate purchase (referring to a proposed contract to purchase ten thousand mus-



Figure 2. French Model 1766 "Charleville Pattern" infantry musket.

kets of English manufacture), the other half to be manufactured in the United States. The arms were to be of the French Charleville pattern and specifications for manufacture and proof were included in the act. Completed and inspected arms were to be distributed into the care and charge of the Brigade Inspectors of the State Militia in proportion to the number of Representatives in the Legislature from Philadelphia and the counties throughout the state and, importantly, the act appropriated two hundred forty thousand dollars to pay for the arms procured. The text of the act is included in Appendix A.

Governor Thomas Mifflin addressed a joint session of the Pennsylvania Legislature August 29, 1797, bringing matters requiring immediate action to the attention of the members.¹² Portions of his address regarding militia organization and arms procurement are quoted as follows:

"... It is another source of pleasure and congratulation, that not withstanding every recent symptom of dissatisfaction and hostility, the conciliatory conduct which the Federal Government has pursued, promises effectually to restore the harmony of our foreign relations and to preserve the peace and prosperity of the Union. In order, however, gentlemen, to provide against a disappointment in this hope, Congress have directed, among other cautionary measures, that a corps of eighty thousand militia shall be organized, of which ten thousand six hundred and ninetysix men are to be furnished by Pennsylvania. The necessary instructions have been issued for complying with the requisition; but permit me to observe, that the imperfections in our militia law, which have often been the subject of remark in my communications to the Legislature forbid the expectation of certainty or expedition, in embodying a competent force, upon the present or upon any future emergency. In carrying the act for procuring a supply of arms into effect, time has been allowed for transmitting proposals from the most distant parts of the Union; and the delay has enabled me to obtain the aid of the President for facilitating an exportation from Europe; to ascertain, under a late law of Congress, an exemption from duty on the importation into Pennsylvania, and, in consequence of the sudden prospect of a general peace, to insist on more advantageous terms than could have been contemplated in an earlier purchase. The contracts will, nevertheless, I trust, be formed so as to ensure delivery of ten thousand stands of arms in the course of the ensuing spring: but still, it is obvious, that the whole establishment of an arsenal can be of little importance, unless the regulations for mustering and training the militia shall also be efficient; and, therefore, you will excuse the renewed expression of my solicitude, that a reform may be speedily introduced, on points so essential to the national honor and defense . . . "

The favorable terms for importation of arms from abroad mentioned by Gov. Mifflin referred to an act passed by Congress in 1794 prohibiting export and encouraging import of arms for a period of one year.¹³ This act was extended by Congress several times at least through May, 1802. Thomas McKean replaced Gov. Mifflin in late 1799 only a month before Mifflin's death. Four and a half years after Gov. Mifflin addressed the Legislature urging adoption of a new law for regulating the expanding militia, the Legislature passed an Act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth in April, 1802.¹⁴ This act still required members to furnish their own arms while establishing criteria for distribution of muskets when received under the March 28, 1797 Arms Procurement Act.

ARMS CONTRACTS

The Commonwealth placed notices in newspapers throughout the state and beyond under the date of April 3, 1797 requesting proposals to furnish 20,000 stands of arms for the use of the Commonwealth.¹⁵ The notice stated onehalf of the total could be imported but the other half were to be manufactured in the United States, all of the pattern of the French Charleville musket. A detailed description of the arms was included in the notices and proposals were to specify the price, times, and manner of delivering the completed arms. Proposals for the 10,000 imported muskets were due at the Secretary of the Commonwealth's office in Philadelphia on or before the 15th of May, with proposals for those manufactured in the United States due at the Secretary's office June 1, 1797. No accounting of the number of proposals received has been located and, apparently, time allowed for receiving proposals from interested parties was not sufficient, as a second notice dated May 19th extended the date for receiving all proposals to August 1, 1797.16 Complete text of both notices is included in Appendix B.

The published requests for proposals resulted in eight Contracts for a total of 20,900 muskets complete with bayonets awarded as follows:¹⁷

Contracts Awarded Under the March 28, 1797 Act (First Group)

Contract Date	Contractor	Muskets Contracted
Nov. 15, 1797	Thomas &	10,000
	John Ketland	
	City of Philadelphia, PA	
Dec. 7, 1797	Owen Evans	1,200
	Montgomery Co., PA	
Dec. 13, 1797	William Henry	2,000
	Northampton Co., PA	
Apr. 11, 1798	Jacob Lether &	1,200
	Kunrat Welshance	
	York Co., PA	
Apr. 11, 1798	Abraham Henry	2,000
	& John Graeff	
	Lancaster Co., PA	
Sep. 3, 1798	John Miles	2,000
	Philadelphia Co., PA	
Jan. 14, 1799	John Fondersmith	500
	Lancaster Co., PA	
Feb. 5, 1799	Albert Gallatin*	2,000
	Fayette Co., PA	
	Total	20,900

*Albert Gallatin was a member of the U.S. Congress when he received a contract for 2,000 stands of arms for the Commonwealth; he was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by President Jefferson in 1801. All of the muskets delivered under this contract were manufactured by Melchoir Baker in Haydentown in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, about ten miles east of New Geneva. By agreement in April, 1801, Gallatin transferred his interest in the contract to Baker and his associate Abraham Stewart.¹⁸

The contract price per stand with bayonet was \$13.33 except the 10,000 stands from Ketland were priced at \$10.25 per stand. Ketland maintained a business office in Philadelphia but it was intended to produce the muskets in England, taking advantage of concessions included in the 1794 U.S. Act encouraging arms importation referenced by Gov. Mifflin in his Aug. 1797 address to the State Legislature. The Ketland contract required delivery of all 10,000 stands by 15 Nov. 1798, more than three years earlier than contract delivery dates for some of the muskets manufactured in Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, the British Government voided this contract and no deliveries were made.¹⁹

To make up for the 10,000 stand shortfall resulting from nullification of the Ketland contract, the Commonwealth let a

second group of contracts totaling 8,500 stands. One contract was extended, making a total of 9,000 stands of arms with bayonets contracted at a price of \$11.00 each. These contracts are summarized as follows:²⁰

Contracts Awarded Under the March 28, 1797 Act (Second Group)

Contract	17	Muchote
Contract Date	Contractor	Muskets Contracted
Apr. 16, 1801	John Fondorsmith	
Apr. 10, 1601	John Fondersmith	500
App. 16, 1901	Lancaster Co., PA	2,000
Apr. 16, 1801	John Miles	2,000
Apr. 17 1901	Philadelphia Co., PA Conrad Welshance,	1 000
Apr. 17, 1801	·	1,000
	Jacob Doll, and	
	Henry Pickel	
A 17 1001	Borough of Lancaster, PA	1.000
Apr. 17, 1801	Jacob Dickert and	1,000
	Mathew Llewellin	
	Borough of Lancaster, PA	
Apr. 17, 1801	Jacob Haeffer	500
	Borough of Lancaster, PA	
Apr. 17, 1801	Henry Dehuff	500
	Borough of Lancaster, PA	
Apr. 17, 1801	Peter Brong	500
	Borough of Lancaster, PA	
May 2, 1801	John Kerlin Jr. &	500
	Samuel Kerlin*	
July 3, 1801	Berks Co., PA	500
(extension)		
May 2, 1801	Edward Evans &	1,000
	James Evans	
	Montgomery Co., PA	
May 4, 1801	Robert McCormick &	1,000
	Richard Johnson**	
	City of Philadelphia, PA	
	Total	9,000
	Net from First Group	10,900
	Total Contracted	19,900

*The Kerlin May 2, 1801 contract for 500 stands was extended to 1,000 stands by Gov. Mifflin July 3, 1801.²¹

**Robert McCormick was imprisoned for bankruptcy the same month he contracted with the state, and he did not deliver muskets under his contract. John Miles purchased McCormick's machinery, tools, and equipment and reportedly made deliveries under McCormick & Johnston's contract from August 1801. This Contract was completed by John and Samuel Kerlin, who made the final deliveries in 1811.²²

Aside from the Ketland contract which included references to importation of arms from abroad, the seventeen con-

tracts in Groups 1 and 2 between the Commonwealth and Pennsylvania contractors were substantially the same. Group 1 contractors were given advance payments and these contracts required surety signatures guaranteeing performance; John Miles indentured a small piece of real estate in the Northern Liberties to cover his advance of six hundred dollars. Later contracts listed under group 2 provided no advance payments; surety agreements were not required and there were no penalties for late delivery. A copy of the December 7, 1797 contract between the Commonwealth and Owen Evans of Montgomery County is included as a typical example of a contract for securing arms under the March 28, 1797 Act (Appendix C).

ARMS MANUFACTURE

Specifications for the Charleville pattern muskets delivered under the contracts were stated in the March 28, 1797 Arms Procurement Act, repeated in requests for proposals and included in the contract documents. Contracts required the letters "C P" to be marked on the barrel near the breech and on the lock plate exterior (Figures 3 and 4). Contracts

also called for "PENNSYLVANIA" to be branded into the stock in small capital letters (Figure 5). Lock plates of muskets viewed are plainly marked C P and this mark is discernible on the majority of barrels; others are deteriorated and no longer visible, while some were perhaps never marked. The small branded "PENNSYLVANIA," actually a stamped impression where observed, appears on very few muskets and is located on the bottom edge of the stock below the trigger guard. There was no requirement that the muskets be marked with the contractor's name and many are found without such identification. Barrels were proved and final inspection of assembled muskets was done at the place of manufacture. Expense of proving barrels, inspection of completed muskets, as well as boxing and portorage of accepted arms was paid by the state.

There are several examples of contracts with two or more contractors awarded on the same day and this may indicate contractors worked together in producing arms under separate contracts. Henry Dehuff of Lancaster contracted for 500 muskets May 11, 1801, the same date of contracts with Dickert, Haeffer, and Brong. A note from Inspector of Arms Peter Getz dated September 2, 1808 states:²³



Figure 3. Typical "C P" mark stamped on barrels of 1797 contract muskets.



Figure 4. Typical "C P" mark stamped on lock plates of 1797 contract muskets.



Figure 5.
"PENNSYLVANIA" in small capital letters stamped into the stock of a 1797 contract musket below the trigger guard.

"... The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Debit To the estate of Henry De Huff, Esquire, dec'd. for 3 years storage of 750 muskets \$40.00. I the subscriber Do Certify that I have inspected the above number of arms, that for want of room at my house they were left at the house of Henry DeHuff, esq. Deceased..."

Ten days later, Inspector Gustavus Stay paid \$1.25 for hawling (sic) public arms from the house of the widow DeHuff.²⁴

These 750 muskets had been stored at DeHuff's house for three years, suggesting DeHuff was involved in the manufacture of more than the 500 muskets he contracted for. There are no muskets of these contracts identified to Dickert, Dehuff, or Haeffer and only a small number attributable to Peter Brong.

Few of the contractors were experienced in producing substantial numbers of arms under contract conditions as it is evident that complete locks, finished barrels, and other components were purchased from others and assembled by the contractors. No records of subcontracts for complete muskets have been found. Many locks found on these muskets have initials of names marked inside the lock plate indicating, in most cases, the lock maker rather than contractor. Producing several hundred to more than a thousand barrels was another operation beyond the capability of some contractors and barrels are found marked on the underside with initials or, in some cases, names of barrel makers. Summaries of initials and names observed on locks and barrels and other information pertaining to components obtained from others are included in Appendix D.

PROOF AND INSPECTION

Contracts for arms procured under the March 28, 1797 Act require:

"... each barrel to undergo the same degree of proof as is now in use for the proof on those made for the service of the United States ..."

and further specify the contractor shall well and truly manufacture and furnish:

"... stands of the said arms agreeably to the pattern deposited with the Secretary of the Commonwealth and in all respects conformably to the description herein before recited to be inspected by a person to be appointed by the Governor..."

Inspectors appointed by the Governor of the Commonwealth served under the direction of Colonel Clement Biddle appointed Quartermaster General for the militia of Pennsylvania in September, 1781.²⁵ From his office in Philadelphia, Colonel Biddle administered the proving of barrels and final inspection of arms by inspectors assigned to the contractors. Based on inspection reports, he certified

accepted arms in lots for payment and directed distribution of arms to Brigade Inspectors of the various militia regiments. Powder and lead balls for proving barrels were purchased from merchants in Philadelphia and stored in the Philadelphia Magazine to be distributed to inspectors or shipped directly to the place of manufacture at Col. Biddle's direction.

Lists of appointments of Inspectors of Arms have not been located. However, many of the inspectors can be identified by correspondence back and forth with Col. Biddle. Forty-three documents covering transactions relating to proving barrels were located, most having to do with purchase of powder and balls in Philadelphia and shipping these items to inspectors at the places of manufacture. Other documents from the same source record the inspection of completed muskets as well as the cost of inspection and other expenses. Selected information drawn from the above documents is included in Appendix F.

The requirement that each barrel undergo the same degree of proof made for the Service of the United States refers to the following procedure:²⁷

" . . . MUSKETS TO BE SUBMITTED TO PROOF

AS FOLLOWS:

In order that the proof of the barrels of our muskets may be uniform in the different places where arms are manufactured for the United States the following is to be considered as the proof by powder which all musket barrels will be subjected to and stand, to entitle them to be received: Viz

The musket barrel having been straightened and received its last boring and its last polishing on the grind stone being of the proper length and dimensions and having no defects to render it unserviceable, it is to be transferred to the workmen to be breeched and have its touch-hole formed.

Thus prepared and finished, the barrels are to be put on the proofrack and fixed and confined so as not to rebound. They are immediately fired twice: The first time with a charge of powder equal in weight to the eighteenth part of a pound averdupois (sic), and the second with a charge one-fifth less, or the twenty second part of a pound weight. In both instances a ball of the Caliber of the piece is to be put in.

It is required that all barrels in future shall stand this proof, and that none be received which do not: Good muskets being essential to the preservation of the lives of the soldiery and the success of the arms of the United States.

The powder with which this proof is to be made will be first proved with a five and a half inch Mortar, one ounce whereof must propel a twenty four pound ball eighty yards.

Your most Obedient Servant

JAMES McHENRY . . . "

Barrels passing the proof test were struck by the inspector with a proof mark near the breech consisting of a liberty cap over P in a sunken oval (Figure 6). Selection of



Figure 6. Liberty cap proof mark stamped into musket barrels passing proof test firing.

the liberty cap device as a proof mark for Commonwealth muskets was influenced by political and sociological attitudes developed over the last half of the eighteenth century.

Acting the day the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, Congress, recognizing the need for an official seal of the new nation, appointed a committee to develop a device for the seal. After years of study and delay, Congress, acting in 1782, approved the design for a seal consisting of a spread-winged American bald eagle with a ribbon in its beak bearing the legend "E Pluribus Unum" (out of many, one). The eagle held the olive branch of peace in one talon while the other clutched a formidable bundle of arrows. Over the years, the eagle became a symbol of new strong central government binding the states into a unified nation, offering peace on the one hand but ready to defend itself should it be necessary. When the national armory was established at Springfield in 1794, the spread-winged eagle motif was struck into the lock plates of muskets and proved barrels were marked with an eagle head.

The liberty cap dates back to at least Roman times when a cap was given to freed slaves to signify their liberty, in this context referring to release from restraint. The cap, also known as a Phrygian cap, was a brimless, limp, conical cap fitting snugly around the head. The cap continued to represent liberty and became associated with the French Revolution of 1789. Years before, this the cap became the symbol of "Sons of Liberty" organizations opposing the repressive stamp act passed by the British Parliament in 1765. The stamp act was repealed the following year as a result of demonstrations, riots, and acts of vandalism by the Sons of Liberty who were supported in their efforts by Englishman John Wilkes, Col. Isaac Barré and other British

radicals. The Sons of Liberty continued to oppose British authority and ignite revolutionary fervor throughout the colonies right up to the beginning of the Revolutionary War in 1775. The liberty pole topped with a liberty cap became an icon for the Sons of Liberty and a widespread symbol of a growing desire for independence.

Pennsylvania Quakers dominated the General Assembly and for many years the assembly resisted military organization reflecting the Quaker passive attitude regarding military matters. Pennsylvanians in particular and most Americans were opposed to a strong central government with a large standing army, preferring most powers of government be legislated at the state

level. However, Pennsylvanians did support liberty and freedom. Sons of Liberty groups were organized in Pennsylvania and widely supported. The Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776 and Pennsylvania was the second state to ratify the Constitution in 1787. The liberty cap is at the center of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety seal adopted in 1775 surrounded by the motto "*This* (liberty) *is my right and I will defend it*" (Figure 7). Among the first coins struck at the new United States mint at Philadelphia in

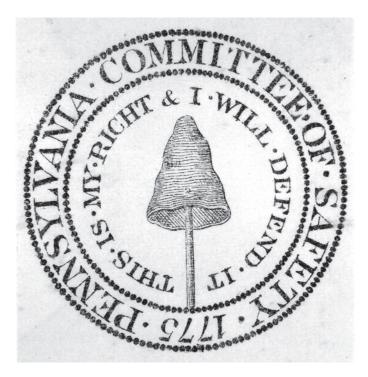


Figure 7. The liberty cap is at the center of the seal of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, adopted in 1775.

1793 were large copper cents with a portrait of Lady Liberty carrying a liberty cap on a staff over her shoulder (Figure 8). The liberty cap symbol seems well suited as a proof mark for the Quaker State.

Although not specifically stated in the contracts, the procedure for inspecting finished muskets probably was similar to that in use by U.S. inspectors and is repeated as follows:²⁸

After the barrel is proved:

" \dots The stock, lock, mountings, rod and bayonet is next to be examined.

The lock is to be viewed inside and out & taken asunder if necessary; or at least so far as to examine the screws & workmanship. The springs are to be attended to. The fire of the flint is to be looked to particularly.

The stocks are to be looked at, the band and springs, the guards, triggers, britch plate and etc.

The barrels are to be taken out of the stock unbritched to view the thread of the screw, to see the inside of the stocks so as to know the whole is fit for service, after being put together again. The rods are to be bent by force of the hand to try their temper, each or all ways likewise to see clearly by no means to set in springing.

The bayonets are to be pushed on the muskets and also the temper tried by a staple fixed in a block, by a small lever in the socket. . . . "

U.S. inspectors stamped their initials on the stock flat opposite the lock to indicate inspection and acceptance of muskets manufactured for the United States. Inspectors of Arms for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania certified inspection and acceptance of these contract arms in writing to Col. Biddle and inspectors stamps seldom appear on the stock flat.



Figure 8. Liberty cap type U.S. large copper cent struck at the Philadelphia Mint in 1794.

MUSKET DESCRIPTIONS

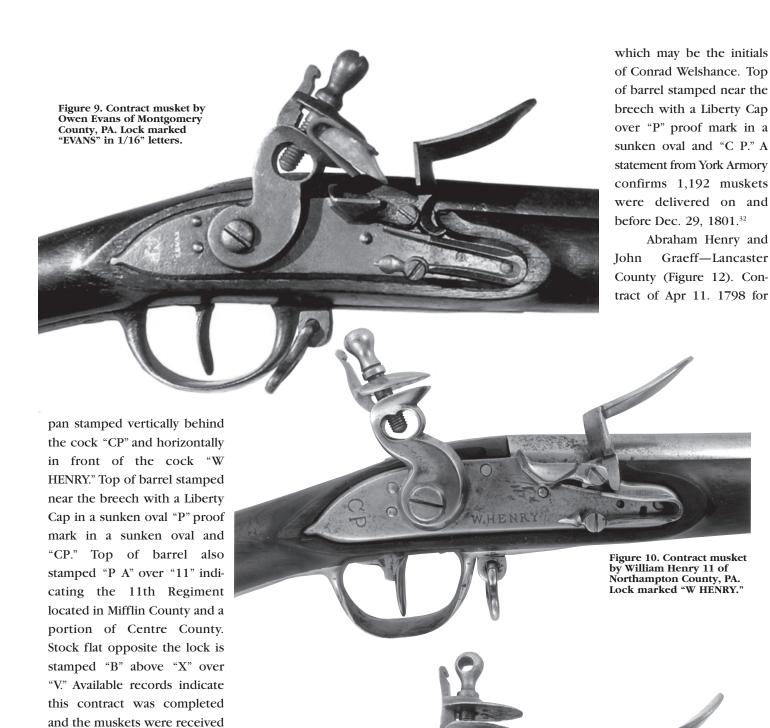
Muskets manufactured under the March 28, 1797 Act to provide arms for the use of the Commonwealth are described below. All of the muskets listed conform with the French Charleville pattern specifications included in the procurement act and repeated in requests for proposals and contracts with the manufacturers. Since general characteristics and dimensions of the muskets do not vary, the descriptions given are limited to lock and barrel markings with regimental and other markings noted when present. Records of muskets received by the Commonwealth and distributed to the militia are incomplete. Numbers of arms listed below indicate only that muskets were received and distributed and should not be misconstrued to represent totals of such arms; nor should absence of information be interpreted to indicate no arms were delivered. These numbers were assembled from papers in the Pennsylvania Archives.²⁹ More detail regarding this information is included in Appendix F.

First Group of Contracts

Thomas and John Ketland—City of Philadelphia. Contract of Nov. 15, 1797 for 10,000 muskets at \$10.25 each. These muskets were to be imported from England and delivered within one year. The British government refused to approve the export and the contract was cancelled.

Owen Evens-Montgomery County (Figure 9). Contract of Dec. 7, 1797 for 1,200 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed by Jan. 1, 1799. Lock with integral faceted pan stamped vertically behind the cock "EVANS" in 1/16-inch letters over "CP." The small capital letters used in the Evans stamp are the same size used on locks of Evans 1794 contract arms. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval and "CP." Stock stamped "PENNSYLVANIA" behind the trigger guard as specified in the contract; also "3" and "R" stamped into stock to rear of breech plug. "J H" in script over "V" stamped into stock flat opposite the lock, possibly the initials of James Haslett, an Inspector of Arms for the Commonwealth in 1802. The 3rd regiment was located in Dauphin County after the April 6, 1802 Militia Act was passed but this musket may have been distributed prior to passage of this act and could be from any county in accordance with earlier marking procedures. Available records account for 1,390 muskets delivered between Oct. 1799 and May 1803, which may indicate some were delivered under Edward and James Evans May, 1801 contract.30

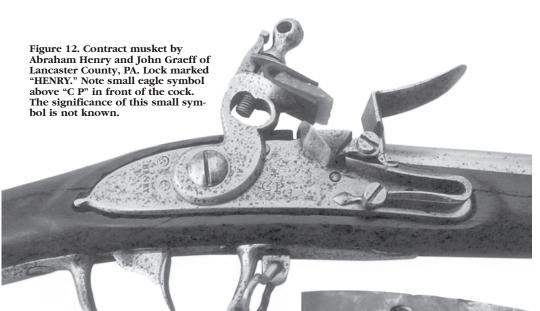
William Henry—Northampton County (Figure 10). Contract of Dec. 13, 1797 for 2,000 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed by Jan. 1, 1800. Lock with integral, faceted



Jacob Lether and Kunrat Welshance—York County (Figure 11). Contract of Apr. 11, 1798 for 1,200 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed in two years. Lock with round detachable pan stamped vertically behind the cock "LETHER & CO" in two lines over "C P." Lock interior stamped "C W,"

by Sept. 20, 1803; six of these muskets were distributed to other contractors for pat-

> Figure 11. Contract musket by Jacob Lether and Kunrat Welshance of York County, PA. Lock marked "LETHER & CO."



Underside of barrel stamped "HK" attributed to the barrel maker. Available records indicate Inspector of Arms James Nicholson inspected 1,198 muskets at John Miles works between Aug. 4, 1800 and June 4, 1801 and noted they were for Miles' old contract.³³

Another example by John Miles is marked on the exterior of the lock as described above. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with

2,000 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed in two years. Lock with integral faceted pan stamped vertically behind the cock "HENRY" and horizontally in front of the cock "CP" under a device appearing to be a small spread-winged eagle. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval. CP mark usually found at this location is not visible as

a result of heavy cleaning of the pitted barrel or it may never have been marked. There are two deep scalloped punch marks near the breech thought to be condemnation marks. Available records make no specific mention of arms received from this contractor. A separate lock plate from one of these muskets is marked with a small crossed scimitar symbol above "C P" in front of the cock (Figure 13). The significance of these small symbols is unknown.

John Miles—Philadelphia County (Figure 14). Contract of Sept. 3, 1798 for 2,000 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed in two years. Lock with rounded integral pan stamped vertically behind the cock "MILES" over "C P." Lock interior stamped "NK" attributed to the lock

maker. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval and "C P." Top of barrel also stamped 80 RT.4 CO. NO.2, indicating the 80th regiment located in Philadelphia County (Figure 15).

showing a small crossed scimitar symbol above "C P." The significance of this small symbol is not known.

Figure 14. Contract musket by John Miles of Philadelphia County, PA. Lock marked "MILES."

Figure 13. Detail of lock plate from

John Graeff of Lancaster County, PA

contract musket by Abraham Henry and

a Liberty Cap in a sunken oval and a separate deeply stamped "P" below the cap cutting into the perimeter of the oval. Number "173" is engraved on the tail of the breech plug, suggesting the barrel is of earlier origin. This musket is marked

"42 REGT" on the side plate and branded "4 CO 42 RT" on the left face of the butt stock, indicating the 42nd regiment located in Philadelphia County (Figure 16). Another deeply branded marking on the wrist is illegible.

John Fondersmith—Lancaster County. Contract of Jan. 14, 1799 for 500 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed in two years. There are no identified muskets by this contractor. Available records indicate Inspector of Arms Peter Getz received and approved 100 muskets made by John Fondersmith in Lancaster June 9, 1802 and another 100 Nov. 24, 1802 noted as part of the last contract (meaning the above 1799 contract).³⁴

Albert Gallatin-Fayette County (Figure 17). Contract of Feb. 5, 1799 for 2,000 muskets at \$13.33 each to be completed by Mar. 1, 1802. Lock with rounded integral pan stamped vertically behind the cock "M:BAKER" over "CP" for Melchoir Baker, Gallatin's associate. Gallatin transferred his interest in the contract to Baker in Apr. 1801. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval and "CP." In addition to these marks, the barrel is stamped in the same area with a small "V" and another "P" in a sunken oval. The tang of the breech plug is stamped "162." The underside of the barrel is stamped "IK" for John Kerlin and "22." Available



Figure 16. Detail of a John Miles contract musket branded "4CO.42RT." on the left side of the butt stock for the 42nd Regiment located in Philadelphia County.

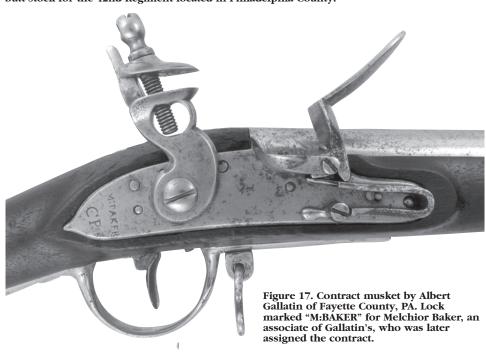




Figure 15. Detail of a John Miles contract musket marked on the barrel "80 RT.4CO.NO2" for the 80th Regiment located in Philadelphia County.

records indicate 1,200 muskets were received and inspected at New Geneva by Inspector of Arms Col. Joseph Torrence before Jan. 27, 1802.³⁵

Second Group of Contracts

John Fondersmith—Lancaster County (Second contract). Contract of Apr. 16, 1801 for 500 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed by Dec. 16, 1802. Here again, there are no identified muskets by Fondersmith. Available records indicate Inspector of Arms Peter Getz received and approved 50 muskets

in Sept. 1803 and another 100 muskets in Nov. 1803. In addition, Inspector of Arms Gustavus Stay received 50 muskets in Jan. 1806.³⁶ These 200 muskets are attributed to this contract.

John Miles—Philadelphia County (Second Contract) (Figure 18). Contract of Apr. 16, 1801 for 2,000 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. Lock with integral faceted pan stamped vertically "MILES" above "PHILAD." over "C P." Lock interior stamped with a large "T," probably the lock makers identification mark. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with an Eagle Head over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval with smooth edges and "C P." Available records indicate Inspector of Arms James Nicholson inspected 631 muskets at John Miles works between Aug. 12 and Dec. 2, 1801.³⁷ These muskets are attributed to this contract but could have been delivered under Robert McCormick's May 4, 1801 contract.³⁸

Conrad Welshance, Jacob Doll, and Henry Pickel—Borough of York. Contract of Apr. 17, 1801 for 1,000 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. A small number of muskets attributed to this contract have been reported. These arms are marked "PICKEL" over "C P" vertically behind the cock.³⁹ There are no receipts or distributions recorded in the available records.

Jacob Dickert and Mathew Llewellin—Borough of Lancaster. Contract of Apr. 17, 1801 for 1,000 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. There are no identified muskets by these contractors. No records of muskets received or distributed have been located.

Jacob Haeffer—Borough of Lancaster. Contract of Apr. 17, 1801 for 500 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in

one year. There are no identified muskets by this contractor. Available records indicate 100 muskets were received and approved by Inspector of Arms Peter Getz Jan. 17, 1803 and an additional 100 muskets May 30, 1803.⁴⁰

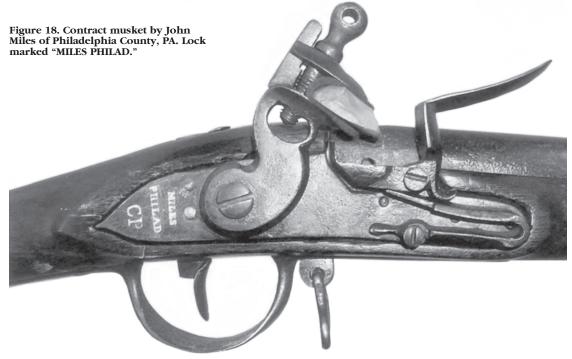
Henry DeHuff—Borough of Lancaster. Contract of Apr. 17, 1801 for 500 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. There are no identified muskets by this contractor. A letter from Inspector of Arms Peter Getz dated Sept. 2, 1808 acknowledges receipt of 750 inspected muskets stored at the home of the widow DeHuff for three years due to lack of storage at inspector Getz' house.⁴¹

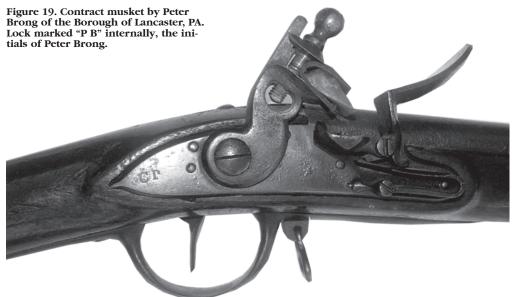
Peter Brong—Borough of Lancaster (Figure 19). Contract of Apr. 17, 1801 for 500 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. Lock with detachable faceted pan stamped horizontally behind the cock "C P." Lock interior stamped "P B" for the contractor Peter Brong. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval. "C P" stamp usually found at the rear of the barrel is not visible as a result of rusting or may not have been marked. Top of barrel stamped "8Co. 84th. Regt. Penn. M." indicating issue to the 84th Regiment located in the City of Philadelphia. No records of muskets received or distributed have been located. Peter Brong advertised for proved barrels and musket locks in the September 23, 1801 issue of the *Lancaster Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser* (Figure 20).

As noted in a previous section, it has been reported that the four contractors located in the Borough of Lancaster receiving contracts, dated April 17, 1801, may have worked together in manufacturing the total of 2,500 muskets contracted by them.⁴² The fact that 750 muskets were not

removed from DeHuff's house since they were fabricated in 1805 supports this as DeHuff's personal contract was for only 500 muskets.

John Jr. and Samuel Kerlin—Berks County (Figure 21). Contract of May 2, 1801 for 500 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. The contract was extended Jul. 3, 1801 for 500 additional muskets. Lock with integral round pan stamped vertically behind the cock "C P." Lock interior stamped "I K" over "K." This musket is attributed to the Kerlin con-





Robert McCormick and Richard Johnson—City of Philadelphia. Contract of May 4, 1801 for 1,000 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. Robert McCormick was imprisoned for bankruptcy the same month he contracted with the state and he did not make deliveries under this contract.

Unidentified Muskets

One musket with typical lock and barrel markings but having no contractor identification markings

PETER BRONG,

North Queenstreet, Lancaster,

OFFERS 20 Shillings, Cash, for every
Musket-barrel which is proven, and of
the size directed by Law, and 19 Shillings,
Cash, for each good Musket-lock.

He gives the highest price for Walnut plank of 2 Inches and one quarter thick: If well seasoned, it will be prefered.

Good encouragement will be given to Lock-filers: Such as apply foon will receive the highest Wages.

He has for fale an excellent Forte Piano, which will be fold low for Cash.

Sept. 23. 1801

ef.

Figure 20. Peter Brong of Lancaster, PA advertised for proved musket barrels and musket locks in the "Lancaster Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser" on September 23, 1801. Photo from "The Pennsylvania Kentucky Rifle" by Henry J. Kauffman.

tract. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval. There is no evidence of the C P mark on the barrel. Available records do not mention arms received under this contract.

Edward and James Evans—Montgomery County (Figure 22). Contract of May 2, 1801 for 1,000 muskets at \$11.00 each to be completed in one year. Lock with integral faceted pan stamped vertically "EVANS" in 1/8-inch letters over "C P." The Evans name stamp used on this lock is identical to that used on Owen Evans 1798 contract arms. Top of barrel stamped near the breech with a Liberty Cap over "P" proof mark in a sunken oval. Traces of the "C P" barrel marking are visible. Available records indicate Inspector of Arms James Nicholson proved and inspected 200 muskets manufactured under this contract in Oct. and Nov., 1801. 43



Figure 21. Contract musket by John, Jr. and Samuel Kerlin of Berks County, PA. Lock marked "I K" over "K" internally.



Figure 22. Contract musket by Edward and James Evans of Montgomery County, PA. Lock marked "EVANS" in 1/8" letters.

can be attributed to manufacture in the Lancaster area. The lock is stamped "LECHLER" internally, for Henry Lechler, a lock maker from Lancaster who relocated to Carlisle, PA in 1797 (Figures 23 and 24). The underside of the barrel is stamped "J.BRYAN" in a sunken rectangle (Figure 25). James Bryan was a gunbarrelsmith who operated a barrel mill south of Lancaster on Mill Creek (Figure 26). The right side of the butt stock is branded "117R," indicating the 117 Regiment located in Dauphin County.

Another unidentified musket with typical lock and barrel markings (C P near breech of the barrel is not discernible due to pitting) is stamped "D S" on the lock interior, possibly the initials of Daniel Sweitzer, a lock maker in Lancaster (Figure 27). The barrel is stamped on the underside "C M," the initials of the barrel maker. Number "21" is stamped into the stock flat opposite the lock possibly indicating the 21st Regiment from Cumberland County.

A third unidentified musket with typical lock and barrel markings is stamped "D.SWEITZER" on the lock interior, for Daniel Sweitzer, a lock maker in Lancaster (Figure 28).

Still another unidentified musket with typical lock and barrel markings is stamped *I*F*S* on the lock interior (Figure 29). This musket is of interest because the top of the barrel is stamped "I K" in a sunken oval (Figure 30). These are the initials of John Kerlin and are usually found on the interior of locks or the underside of barrels. The prominent location of this mark suggests this musket may have been manufactured by John and Samuel Kerlin under their May, 1801 contract or possibly delivered later under the McCormick contract.



Gunfmith Bufinefs HENRYLECHLER

from Lancaster has commenced the GUN & RIFLE MAKING BUSINESS in the house of Mr. William Blair, in the main ftreet in the borough of Carlifle, he likewife makes new Gun and Rifle LOCKS and repairs old one's as he has ferved a regular apprenticeship to the above branches, he hopes to give fatisfaction to all who may employ him and warrants all Rifles which are made by him, to be equal to any made in the ftate and repairing done in the neatest He wifhes to purchase a manner. quantity of feasoned curled Maple plank, of two and a half or three inches thick.

Carlifle, May 1ft, 1797.

Figure 24. Henry Lechler, of Carlisle, PA, advertised his gun and lock-making business in the May 17, 1797 issue of "Klines Carlisle Weekly Gazette."

Related Muskets

John Joseph Henry of Philadelphia sold 87 muskets to the Commonwealth on Sept. 29, 1814 shortly after the British attack on Washington.⁴⁴ A musket attributed to this sale is of

1808 U.S. contract configuration (Figure 31). The lock is stamped vertically behind the cock "J. HENRY" over "PHILA," and horizontally in front of the cock with a spread-winged Eagle over "US." The top of the barrel is stamped with "P" in a sunken oval and "C P." There are no U.S. proof or inspectors marks present.

A second musket, also of 1808 U.S. contract configuration, was manufactured by William Henry, Jr. and John Joseph Henry of Philadelphia under their U.S. contract dated Jun. 30, 1808 (Figure 32). This musket was proved and inspected

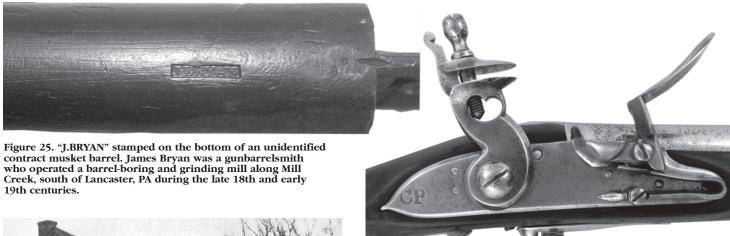


Figure 26. James Bryan's gun barrel mill along Mill Creek south of Lancaster, PA. Photo from "The Pennsylvania Kentucky Rifle" by Henry J. Kauffman.

by the government and subsequently issued to the state of Pennsylvania under provisions of the U.S. Militia Act of 1808. The lock is stamped vertically behind the cock "J. HENRY"

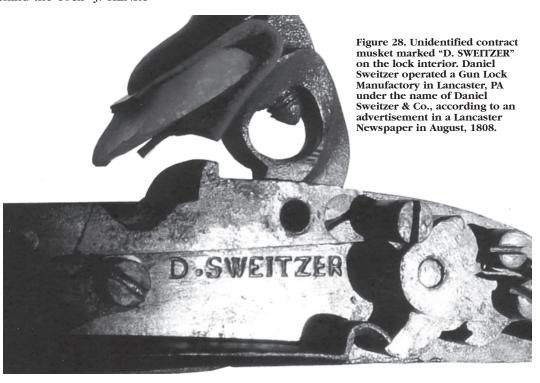
over "PHILA" and horizontally in front of the cock with a spread-winged Eagle over "US." The top of the barrel is stamped with an Eagle head over "CT" proof mark in a sunken oval and "CP589." U.S. inspectors initials "MTW" are stamped into the stock flat opposite the lock and "CP 589" is also stamped in the wood at this location.

Bayonets

Contracts for muskets produced under the Mar. 28, 1797 Act required each to be furnished with a bayonet. The bayonets were not numbered to

the guns and almost any 1795 style bayonet with a 15-inch blade could be associated with these contracts. "C P" markings combined with numbers matching muskets were stamped on bayonets issued to Pennsylvania under the U.S. Militia Act of 1808. Available records mention bayonets by Rose of Philadelphia furnished with muskets manufactured under the Gallatin/Baker contract. 45 Bayonets by Miles and Eberle and similar styled bayonets could also be associated with these muskets.

Figure 27. Unidentified contract musket marked "DS" on the lock interior, possibly the initials of Daniel Sweitzer of Lancaster, PA.



ARMS DISTRIBUTION

Contracts let under the March 28, 1797 Act specified accepted muskets were to be delivered to the Commonwealth at the following locations.46

First Group Contracts

Ketland*	City of Philadelphia
O. Evans	City of Philadelphia
W. Henry	City of Philadelphia
Lether and	Place of Manufacture
XXYY 1 1	27. IS

Welshance (York)

A. Henry City of Philadelphia

& Graeff

Miles City of Philadelphia Fondersmith City of Philadelphia Gallatin New Geneva, Fayette Co.

(or City of Philadelphia)

Borough of Lancaster

Second Group Contracts

Fondersmith

Tonacisinin	Dolough of Lancaster
Miles	City of Philadelphia
Welshance,	Borough of York
Doll, & Pickel	
Dickert &	Borough of Lancaster
Llewellin	
Haeffer	Borough of Lancaster

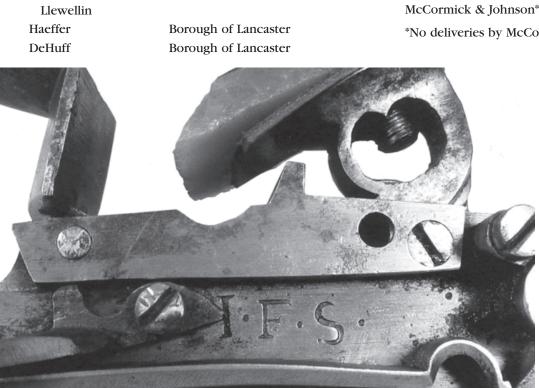


Figure 29. Contract musket marked * I*F*S* on the lock interior, the initials of an unidentified lock maker.



Figure 30. Top of barrel detail of a contract musket showing the initials "I K" for John Kerlin. The prominent location of this mark is unusual and this musket is tentatively attributed to John and Samuel Kerlin's manufacture.

Brong Borough of Lancaster Kerlin Brigade Inspector—Berks Co. E. & J. Evans Brigade Inspector—

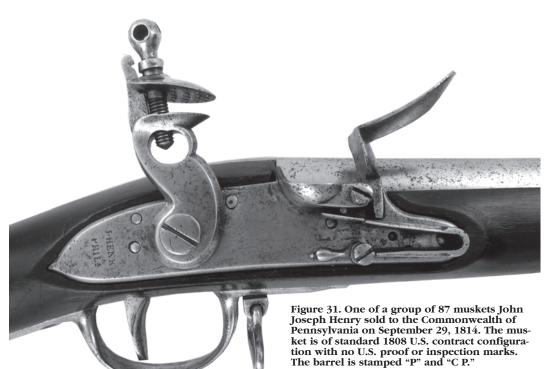
Montgomery Co.

McCormick & Johnson* City of Philadelphia

*No deliveries by McCormick & Johnson—bankruptcy.

Delivery dates specified by the first group of contracts generally required delivery of a portion of the contract within six months with the balance to be delivered within two years. A noticeable exception to this pattern is the Gallatin contract for 2,000 stands of which 500 were to be delivered within two years and the balance within three years; an indication of Gallatins lack of experience in arms manufacturing and political influence in the Governor's office. The reason partial deliveries were specified was to offset cash advances allowed some of the manufacturers, thus requiring

^{*}No deliveries—contract cancelled.



early delivery of previously paid for muskets. The second group of contracts did not provide cash advances, required delivery of the entire number contracted within twelve months (twenty months for John Fondersmith), and did not call for partial deliveries in the interim.

A complete summary of arms received by the Commonwealth under the procurement contracts was not

found in the Pennsylvania Archives. Several small slips of paper certifying arms received between 1800 and 1803 were located, accounting for 3,817 muskets; two others dated 1806 and 1808 accepting 50 and 750 stands, respectively, bring the total delivered to the state to 4,617 stands supported by receipts.⁴⁷ None of the documents included in these figures cover muskets delivered Philadelphia, indicating arms received were accounted for differently in Philadelphia.

Several summaries of arms distributed to militia throughout the Commonwealth were found in the archives.⁴⁸ Some of the

documents indicate arms were received under contract by the Commonwealth and issued to various counties. Other summaries note arms distributed directly from contractors and probably never physically received by the Commonwealth. One summary by Col. Clement Biddle dated January 27, 1802 includes a note referring to 1,200 stands of arms received and inspected at New Geneva—the first record of arms received under the

Gallatin/Baker contract connected with a date in early 1802. Another summary dated February 24, 1804, by Col. Biddle indicates six muskets were issued to the manufacturers for patterns in April, 1801. These may have been part of a group drawn directly from Wm. Henry of Nazareth for distribution to Lancaster or York contractors, whose contracts are dated in 1801. An undated and unsigned summary of public arms received by the Commonwealth indicates all of the arms contracted were delivered except 100 stands "to be delivered" by John Fondersmith. Because this



Figure 32. Detail of 1808 U.S. contract musket by William Henry, Jr. and John Joseph Henry with U.S. proof and inspection marks. This musket was issued to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania under the U.S. Militia Act of 1808, where it was stamped "C P 589" on the barrel and stock flat opposite the lock.

summary is not dated or signed, the information should be treated with caution. However, it is an indication that the arms contracted for under the March 28, 1797 Act were received. Additional information regarding muskets received and distributed is included in Appendix F.

Arms distributed to the militia were directed to Brigade Inspectors, who in turn distributed the arms to the commanding officers of the regiments in each brigade. The muskets were then assigned at the company level in proportion to the number of men in each. Captains of each company were responsible for marking the arms with the number of the regiment and company and numbering the arms in sequence. Company commanders were also responsible for providing secure storage for the arms, arranging for their care and maintenance, and making the arms available at company exercises for men not able to furnish arms privately. Examination of surviving muskets indicates many of the arms received were not marked as required or perhaps never distributed at the company level. The strength of a company according to the 1802 Militia Act was to be not less than sixty-four nor more than one hundred privates. The militia of the Commonwealth was arranged in divisions, brigades, regiments, battalions, and, finally, companies. Four companies made a battalion, two battalions a regiment, and four regiments a brigade, with two brigades in each division. Although actual company strength listed above probably varied widely from the numbers stated, they do indicate a regiment might vary from five hundred to eight hundred men. Considering the militia in 1802 included about 130 numbered regiments, total militia strength could run from 65,000 to over 100,000 men. It is understandable that arming the militia depended on private arms furnished by members, particularly when arms under contract totaled only 19,900 stands and these were not delivered in as timely a manner as planned.

The ongoing shortage of public arms for arming the militia is illustrated by information taken from a return of the First Brigade, Third Division from Chester County. The return, dated November 1, 1806, summarizes data from the 17th, 47th, 85th, and 97th regiments comprising the brigade as follows: total privates 2,655, 679 public property arms with bayonets and 9 private muskets, 279 private fusees, and 14 rifles. These numbers indicated there were public arms on hand for approximately 25% of the brigade; 10% were armed with private arms. There were no arms available for 65% of privates in the brigade.

The 1802 Militia Act assigned consecutive numbers to each regiment in the Commonwealth. Newly formed regiments, usually resulting from population changes, were assigned the next number in sequence regardless of geographic location. Under earlier systems, regiments within each county were numbered independently beginning with

one, etc., without regard to duplication of numbers. The former system complicated record keeping and discouraged esprit de corps that could develop for a regiment associated with a distinct number over an extended period. A peculiarity of the 1802 numbering system was that the 1st Regiment was established in Franklin County in south central Pennsylvania and the 2nd Regiment was located in Westmoreland County near Pittsburgh. Older areas in Eastern Pennsylvania received higher numbers—Montgomery County assigned the 36 Regt. and the City of Philadelphia assigned the 25th. As an aid to collectors who might own a regimentally marked Pennsylvania musket, a complete list of regiments taken from the 1802 and 1807 Militia acts is included in Appendix F.

SUMMARY

During the days of unrest in the late eighteenth century, Pennsylvania was one of the few states taking steps to arm its active militia. Records indicate the muskets contracted under the Pennsylvania 1797 Arms Procurement Act were completed. Some of these were delivered in 1799, while others were received during the following years or even in the early War of 1812 period. The initiative of the Commonwealth in moving forward with arms acquisition and the efforts of local arms manufacturers in producing substantial numbers of arms provided a supply of needed muskets until arms were provided under the U.S. 1808 Militia Act. Today the scarcity of these muskets and condition of existing examples is an indication of rough treatment in the hands of citizen militia, poor maintenance and storage, and long private use in rural Pennsylvania.

The authors hope this article will increase interest in these state contract muskets and bring forth additional information. Our thanks to Bruce Bazelon, who introduced us to the Pennsylvania State Archives in Harrisburg, PA, and to Ronald Gabel and Jim Reid, for their assistance with photographs in this article.

NOTES

- 1. Bazelon, Bruce S. and Trussell, Col. John B.B. *Defending the Commonwealth*, Mobray Publishing Co., 1980, p. 2.
 - 2. Ibid., p. 2.
 - 3. Ibid., p. 3.
 - 4. Ibid., p. 4.
- 5. *John Jay Treaty*@www.google.com, U.S. Department of State.
- 6. *Quazi War*@www.google.com, U.S. Department of State.

- 7. An Act more effectually to provide for the National defense by establishing an Uniform Militia throughout the United States. Approved May, 1792. Second Congress, Sess. 1, Ch. 33. (U.S. Archives, Philadelphia).
- 8. An Act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Approved April 11, 1793. Philadelphia: Printed by E. Oswald, No. 156 Market Street, M,DCC,XCIII. (Library Company of Philadelphia).
- 9. Moller, George D. *American Military Shoulder Arms Vol. II.* University of Colorado, 1993, p. 1.
 - 10. Ibid., p. 1 & 2.
- 11. An Act to provide arms for the use of the Commonwealth. Passed 28th March, 1797. Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Smith, Vol. 111, pg. 228. Printed and Published by John Bioren, No. 88, Chestnut Street, 1810. (Jenkins Law Library, Philadelphia).
- 12. Gov. Mifflin's address to the Legislature 29th August, 1797. Klines Carlisle Weekly Gazette, September 6, 1797, Microfilm #515. (David Library of the American Revolution).
- 13. An Act probibiting for a limited time the Exportation of Arms and Ammunition and encouraging the Importation of the same. Approved May 22, 1794. Third Congress, Sess. 1, Ch. 33. (U.S. Archives, Philadelphia).
- 14. An Act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Approved April 6, 1802. Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 1801–1802. Printed by Robert Bailey, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1802 (Jenkins Law Library, Philadelphia).
- 15. Secretary's Office, Philadelphia, April 3, 1797. Independent Gazetteer, May 12, 1797, Microfilm #XN 10:9, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- 16. Secretary's Office, Philadelphia, May 19, 1797. The Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser, June 2, 1797, Microfilm #XN 28:17, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- 17. Record of Arms Contracts 1797-1801 & 1815. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 26, Series 26.29, Microfilm #3171.
- 18. Whisker, James Biser. *Albert Gallatin's Contract Arms*. The Gun Report, Vol. 50, No. 1, June, 2004, p. 16.
 - 19. Moller, p. 253.

- 20. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 26, series 26.29, Microfilm #3171.
 - 21. Pennsylvania Archives, 9th Series, Vol. 3, p. 1754.
 - 22. Moller, p. 253.
- 23. Pennsylvania Archives, Office of the Quarter Master General, Accounts, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
 - 24. Ibid.
- 25. Johnson, Allen (editor). *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. I. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1964, p. 239.
- 26. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
- 27. Hicks, Major James E. *United States Ordinance, Vol. 11, Ordinance Correspondence,* Published by James E. Hicks, Mount Vernon, N.Y. 1940, p. 16.
 - 28. Ibid, p. 55.
- 29. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
 - 30. Ibid.
 - 31. Ibid.
 - 32. Ibid.
 - 33. Ibid.
 - 34. Ibid.
 - 35. Ibid.
 - 36. Ibid.
 - 37. Ibid.
 - 38. Ibid.39. Moller, p. 257.
- 40. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
 - 41. Ibid.
- 42. Reilly, Robert M. *United States Martial Flintlocks*, Andrew Mowbray Inc. Publishers, Lincoln, RI, 1986, p. 59.
- 43. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
 - 44. Moller, p. 258.
- 45. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
- 46. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 26, series 26.29 microfilm #3171.
- 47. Pennsylvania Archives, Record Group 19, series 7-2818.
 - 48. Ibid.

*An Act to provide arms for the use of the Commonwealth, passed March 28, 1797.

Chapter MDCCCCXXIX

An ACT to provide arms for the use of the Commonwealth

Sect. I. BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the Governor be, and he is hereby empowered and required, to procure, as speedily as may be, twenty thousand stands of arms, of a size and quality best adapted for field service, one half by immediate purchase, and the other half to be made or manufactured within the United States; the whole to be of the fashion or pattern of the French Charleville musket, and of the dimensions following, to wit; the length of each barrel to be three feet eight inches, and to receive a ball of the size of eighteen to the pound; each barrel to undergo the same degree of proof as is now in use for the proof on those made for the service of the United States, and to be stamped or marked near the breech with the letters C.P. the locks to be upon the best construction, double bridled, on a flat plate, and marked with the letters aforesaid; the mounting iron, with bands and swivels, and spring to each band; the ramrods to be of well tempered steel; the bayonets to be fifteen inches in the blade, made of steel well tempered, and polished; the stock to be made of well seasoned walnut; the length of the butt of the musket to be fifteen and an half inches from the breech end of the barrel to the heel plate; the side pins, breech pins, and trigger, to be case hardened; the weight of the musket and bayonet, thus completed, not to exceed eleven pounds.

Sect. II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That as soon as one moiety or half part of the arms, directed to be provided in the foregoing section, shall be had and completed, agreeably to the intention of this act, the Governor shall direct such arms to be distributed between the city of Philadelphia and the several counties of this state, in proportion to the number of Representatives in each, that is to say; the said arms are to be delivered into the care and charge of the Brigade Inspector of the city and each county, who shall give his receipt for the same; and it shall be the duty of the said Inspectors to deliver the said arms to the field officers of each regiment or battalion of infantry within his brigade, in proportion to the number of men in each; and the field officers of each regiment or battalion shall give their joint receipt for the arms so delivered, declaring themselves personally responsible therefor, and that they shall be kept in good order; and the said Brigade Inspectors respectively shall provide a proper place or places for depositing and safe-keeping the arms of each of the regiments or battalions within his brigade, which place or places of deposit shall be fixed on by and with the consent and approbation of the field officers of each respective regiment and battalion; and it shall be the duty of the respective Brigade Inspectors to deliver the receipt given by the field officers as aforesaid to the Adjutant-General, who shall cause the same to be filed and recorded in his office; and the regimental Quarter Master shall report to the Brigade Inspector the situation of any of the arms of the regiment which may be injured or out of repair, and the said Inspector shall cause the same to be repaired without delay, and shall also, when occasion may so require, employ a suitable person or persons to cleanse and oil the arms belonging to the respective brigades; and the Register and Comptroller-General shall allow all necessary expenses which may be incurred in consequence of this act, in settling the respective accounts of the Brigade Inspectors. Provided always, That the field officers shall not be responsible for any of the arms, which shall, by order of the Inspector, be put into the possession of any person or persons, for the purpose of cleansing or repairing, until they shall be by them returned, in order to be deposited: but the Brigade Inspector shall be personally responsible therefor until they shall be returned to the place of deposit. And provided also, That upon the death, resignation or removal of any field officer, it shall be the duty of the Brigade Inspector, within six weeks thereafter, to examine and ascertain whether the arms committed to the care of any such field officer are in their respective places of deposit, and in good order, and if found so, the said Brigade Inspector shall certify the same to such field officer, if resigned or removed, or to his executors or administrators, if dead; upon which certification, or upon the neglect of the Brigade Inspector to make such examination, the responsibility attached to the field officer or his estate shall cease and be void.

Sect. III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall be the duty of the Brigade Inspectors to visit the place or places in which the arms of the several battalions and regiments within their respective brigades are deposited, at least once in every six months, and at every such visit they shall carefully examine the condition and number of arms in each place of deposit, and if it shall appear to either of the said Inspectors, that any of the arms belonging to the regiments or battalions within his brigade are misplaced, lost or embezzled, he is hereby authorized and required to cause suits to be commenced against the person or persons, through whose neglect such loss, embezzlement or misconduct has arisen, so that the said arms may be restored or replaced without delay; and it shall be the duty of the Quarter-Master of each respective regiment (on notice from the Brigade-Inspector, which notice he is hereby required to give.) to attend at the examination made by the Inspector of the arms of the regiment to which the said Quarter-Master belongs; and he shall give to the said Inspector such information respecting the arms as the case may require, and shall aid and assist the Inspector in examining the same; and if any regimental Quarter-Master shall, after due notice given, neglect or refuse to attend at the time of such examination, or refuse to give such information as the case may require, he shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty dollars for every such neglect or refusal, to be recovered by the Brigade-Inspector in the same manner, and for the like uses, that the militia fines are directed to be applied.

Sect. IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That as soon as the remaining moiety of arms are provided, they shall be distributed in the manner before mentioned, and the officers respectively shall be responsible for the same, in the manner herein provided respecting the first moiety of arms to be provided.

Sect. V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the sum of two hundred and forty-thousand dollars is hereby appropriated for the purposes mentioned in this act, to be paid on warrants drawn by the Governor upon the Treasury of this commonwealth, out of the fund for the support of government.

Passed 28th March, 1797. Recorded in Law Book No. VI. page 182.

APPENDIX B

*Notices requesting proposals for supplying the Commonwealth with 20,000 stands of arms.

Secretary's Office

Philadelphia, April 3, 1797

BY directions of the Governor, Notice is hereby given, that proposals will be received at my office, for supplying the state as soon as possible, with Twenty Thousand Stand of Arms; one half of which may be imported, but the other half must be made or manufactured within the United States.

The Act of the General Assembly, authorizing the purchase, requires, that "the whole quantity of the arms shall be of the fashion or pattern of the French Charleville Musket, and of the dimensions following, to wit:—The length of each barrel to be three feet eight inches, and to receive a ball of the size of eighteen to the pound, each barrel to undergo the same degree of proof as is now in use for the proof of those made for the service of the United States, and to be stamped or marked near the breech with the letters U.S. (sic) the locks to be upon the best construction, double bridled, on a flat plate, and marked with the letters aforesaid. The mounting iron, with bands, and swivels and springs to each band—the ram-rods to be of well tempered steel. The bayonets to be fifteen inches in the blade, made of steel, well tempered and polished. The stock to be made of well seasoned walnut. The length of the but (sic) of the musket to be fifteen inches and a half from the breech end of the barrel to the heel plate. The side pins, breech pins, and trigger, to be case hardened. The weight of the musket and bayonet thus completed, not to exceed eleven pounds.

The proposals must specify the price, times, and manner of delivering the arms—and the names of two sufficient sureties for the performance of the contract. For the moiety which may be imported, proposals will be received till the 15th of May next; and for the moiety which must be made or manufactured within the United States, proposals will be received till the first of June next.

A.J. DALLAS

Secretary to the Commonwealth.

The printers in the principal towns of the several States are requested to republish this advertisement.

Secretary's Office

PHILADELPHIA, MAY 19TH 1797

BY directions of the GOVERNOR, NOTICE is HEREBY GIVEN, that FURTHER TIME is allowed, until the first day of August next, for presenting proposals at my office to supply the state with 20,000 stands of Arms; one half of which may be imported, but the other half must be made or manufactured within the United States.

The act of the General Assembly authorizing the purchase, requires that "the whole quantity of Arms shall be of the fashion or pattern of the French Charleville musket, and of the dimensions following, to wit: the length of each barrel to be three feet eight inches, and to receive a ball of the size of eighteen to the pound, each barrel to undergo the same degree of proof, as is now in use for the proof on those made for the service of the United States, and to be stamped or marked near the breech with the letters C.P. the locks to on the best construction, double bridled on a flat plate, and marked with the letters aforesaid. The mounting iron, with bands and swivels and spring to each band. The ram-rods to be of well-tempered steel. The bayonets to be fifteen inches in the blade, made of steel well-tempered & well-polished. The stock to be made of well seasoned walnut. The length of the butt of the musket to be 15 1/2 inches, from the breech end of the barrel to the heel plate. The side pins, breech pins, and trigger to be case hardened. The weight of the musket and bayonet thus compleated not to exceed eleven pounds."

The proposals must specify, the price, times, and manner of delivering the Arms and the names of two sufficient sureties for the performance of the contract.

A.J. DALLAS

Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The printers in the principal towns of the several states, are requested to re-publish this advertisement.

APPENDIX C

*Following is the December 7, 1797 contract between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and Owen Evans of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania to furnish 1,200 stands of arms under the March 28, 1797 Arms Procurement Act.

Articles of Agreement made and entered into on the seventh day of December in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hendred and ninety seven. Between Thomas Mifflin Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in behalf of the said Commonwealth of the one part and Owen Evans of Providence Township in the County of Montgomery in the said Commonwealth Gunsmith of the other part.

Whereas the General Assembly of this Commonwealth did in and by an Act entitled "An Act to provide Arms for the use of the Commonwealth" passed the twenty eighth day of March last authorize and empower the Governor to procure by purchase as speedily as may be ten thousand stands of arms to be made or manufactured within the United States of a size and quality best adapted for field service to be of the fashion or pattern of the French Charleville Musquet and of the dimensions following to wit—the length of each barrel to be three feet eight inches and to receive a ball of the size of eighteen to the pound, each barrel to undergo the same degree of proof as is now in use for the proof on those made for the service of the United States and to be stamped or marked near the breech with the letters C.P. the locks to be upon the best construction double bridled on a flat plate and marked with the letters aforesaid, the mounting iron with bands and swivels and springs to each band, the ramrods to be of well tempered steel, the bayonets to be fifteen inches in the blade; made of steel well tempered and polished, the stocks to be made of well seasoned walnut the length of the but (sic) of the musquet to be fifteen and a half inches from the breech end of the barrel to the heel plate, the side pins, the breech pins and trigger, to be case hardened, the weight of the musquet and bayonet thus completed not to exceed eleven pounds. And Whereas the said Owen Evans hath made proposals for manufacturing twelve hundred stands of the said Arms agreeably to the true intent and meaning of the Legislature which proposal the said Thomas Mifflin deems it for the interest of the Commonwealth to accept. Now These Articles Witness that for the consideration hereinafter mentioned he the said Owen Evans hath and by these presents doth agree undertake and Contract to and with the said Thomas Mifflin and his Successors Governors of the said Commonwealth, in manner and form following to wit—that he the said Owen Evans shall and will well and truly manufacture and furnish twelve hundred stands of the said Arms agreeably to the pattern deposited with the Secretary of the Commonwealth and in all respects conformably to the description herein before recited to be inspected by a person to be appointed by the Governor; that he shall and will deliver the said Arms in the City of Philadelphia at his own risk cost and charge within twelve months from the first day of January next, that the said arms shall be of good quality and workmanship at least equal to the standard pattern aforesaid and that he shall and will cause the said Arms to be stamped on the barrel and lock as the said recited act prescribes and also the stocks to be branded with the word Pennsylvania in small Roman Capitals. And the said Owen Evans for himself his heirs executors and administrators doth covenant promise and agree to and with the said Thomas Mifflin and his Successors Governors of the said Commonwealth that he will well and truly do execute and perform all and singular the agreements undertakings and contracts herein before specified. And the said Thomas Mifflin on behalf of the said Commonwealth in consideration of the undertakings and Contracts herein before specified, covenants promises and agrees to and with the said Owen Evans that on the delivery of the said Arms agreeably to Contract he the said Owen Evans shall have and receive at the rate of thirteen dollars and one third of a dollar; for each stand, that shall be found to be complete agreeably to the standard pattern and the description herein before recited; that the said Arms shall be proved at the expense of the State at the place of making them by a person to be appointed by the Governor for that purpose; that the expense of portorage and boxing the said Arms shall be paid by the State; that the said Owen Evans shall have and receive in advance from time to time, during the said twelve months one third of the amount of the Arms contracted for as aforesaid and that at the expiration of the said twelve months, and upon the completion of this contract, the said contractor shall have a preference for any subsequent Contract on equal terms with other proposals made at that time. In Witness whereof the parties to these presents have set their hands and seals the day and year first herein written.

Sealed and Delivered

Thomas Mifflin LS

in the presence of US

Owen Evans LS

Joshua Tyson

John Hastings

(Surety statement and signatures have been omitted.)

APPENDIX D

*Initials and names of lock and barrel makers observed on muskets procured by contract under the March 28, 1797 Act are listed.

*A description of gun barrel making is included because the procedure for welding, boring, and grinding musket barrels is not widely understood.

*Examples of components purchased by contractors are included.

Names and initials marked on the inside of lock plates are attributed to lock makers identification, although they can also be those of the contractor.

Contractor	Lock Maker	
Lether & Welshance	C W (Conrad Welshance) Contractor	
Miles	н к	
Miles	N K	
Miles	E	
Miles	W	
Miles	T	
Brong	P B (Peter Brong) Contractor	
Kerlin	I K/T (John Kerlin) Contractor	
Unidentified	A A (Adam Angstadt)	
Unidentified	C * N	
Unidentified	D S (Possibly Daniel Sweitzer)	
Unidentified	I W/C	
Unidentified	* I * F * S *	
Unidentified	Lechler (Henry Lechler)	
Unidentified	D. Sweitzer (Daniel Sweitzer)	
Unidentified	A W	

Barrel Makers

Names and initials observed marked on the underside of musket barrels are regarded as gun barrel makers identification.

Contractor	Barrel Maker
W. Henry	L. L.
Miles	S
Miles	I K (John Kerlin)
Miles	R R
Gallatin	I K (John Kerlin)
Unidentified	СМ
Unidentified	W B
Unidentified	J. Bryan (James Bryan)
Unidentified	B (5/16" X deep stamp)

James Bryan owned and operated a boring and grinding mill standing along Mill Creek south of Lancaster in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He was called a gunbarrelsmith when he bought the mill and when he sold it.

The following description of the work required to produce a finished musket barrel is quoted from "The Pennsylvania Kentucky Rifle" by Henry J. Kauffman, Bonanza Books, 1960, page 160.

".... A barrel was made of a ruler of metal, called a skelp, which was of appropriate width, thickness, and length, for the desired barrel. The center section of the skelp was placed over a forge fire and heated to a white welding heat. It was then placed over a groove in a barrel anvil and welded around a small piece of iron call a bick iron, or mandrel. Because only a short section could be welded at a time, the bick iron was removed and the skelp replaced in the forge after each welding operation. This heating and welding continued until the skelp was converted into a metal tube with a small hole in the center. Boring the barrel followed the welding; both operations were performed by the barrel specialist who welded, bored, and ground the barrels. The barrel was first clamped to a flat carriage which was mounted in a recess of a wide bench top, with provision for the carriage to move backward and forward. In order to bore the barrel, both the carriage and the barrel were pressed against the rotary motion of the bit until it cut its way through the barrel. Larger drills were subsequently used until the bore reached the desired diameter. Each drill had a cutting action except the last one which ws rectangular in shape, the sharp corners of the rectangular one reamed the bore to a brilliant smooth finish. The inside of the barrel had to be examined frequently during the boring operation to determine if any low, black spots appeared, spots which were frequently removed by tapping the outside of the barrel over the low spot on the inside. If the bore was

not perfect after a number of such trials, it was discarded. The final test of the finished bore was to determine if it were straight. To do this a silk thread was stretched tightly along the inner wall of the barrel. If it touched the metal throughout its length, the barrel was straight; if otherwise, the barrel was tapped with a copper hammer until the desired uniformity was obtained. Finishing the barrel by grinding out the hammer dents and giving it the desired shape was done upon a wide, large diameter grind stone "

It is easily understood why barrel making was left to experienced smiths with specialized facilities.

Components From Others

An example of musket components obtained from others appears on an invoice submitted by Inspector of Arms James Nicholson for inspecting muskets, etc., in and around Philadelphia.

"... April 1801—For inspecting 800 bayonets and 600 rods. Gallatins Contract and Manufactured by Rose—\$10.00..."

Nicholson inspected these items at William Rose's works in Philadelphia. The information is taken from Pennsylvania Archives, Office of the Quartermaster General, Accounts, R.G. 19, series 7–2812.

Initials stamped on the inside of locks and underside of barrels are attributed to lock and barrel makers if they differ from contractors initials. Daniel Sweitzer of Lancaster and Henry Lechler of Carlisle marked their names inside locks found on these muskets and James Bryan of Lancaster stamped his name on the underside of a barrel made at his water-powered mill near Lancaster. Peter Brong advertised to purchase proved barrels and muskets locks in 1801 for use in his contract for 500 muskets.

APPENDIX E

*Inspectors of Arms

*Purchase and distribution of gunpowder and balls for proving barrels.

*Inspection of completed muskets.

Information pertaining to Inspectors of Arms, purchase of powder and balls for proving barrels, and inspection of muskets is taken from Pennsylvania Archives, Office of the Quartermaster General, Accounts, R.G.19, Series 7–2818 unless otherwise noted.

Inspectors of Arms

Individuals identified in correspondence as Inspectors of Arms performing duties under direction of Quartermaster General Clement Biddle include the following:

James Haslett, received gunpowder and balls for proving barrels in 1802.

Jeremiah Mosher, Lancaster or York—see the letter quoted below for information on Mosher's inspection responsibilities. He was replaced by Peter Getz in February, 1800.

Peter Getz, Lancaster, PA—received gunpowder at Jacob Dickert's shop in 1801. Inspection of muskets by Lether and Welshance in 1801; Fundersmith in 1802, 1803, and 1806; Haeffer in 1803 and DeHuff in 1808 or earlier.

Gustavus Stay, Lancaster, PA—Received and inspected muskets by John Fundersmith in 1806.

John Young, Easton, PA—Received gun powder and balls for proving barrels in 1802. Inspecting muskets by William Henry in 1801, 1802, and 1803.

James Nicholson, Philadelphia—Received gunpowder for proving barrels in 1801, 1802, and 1803. Inspecting muskets for Philadelphia area contracts in 1800 and 1801.

Col. Joseph Torrence, New Geneva, PA—Received gunpowder for proving barrels in 1802. Inspecting muskets for Gallatin/Baker contract in 1800, 1801, and 1806.

Liam (?) Cook—Received gunpowder for proving barrels in 1803.

James (?) Hewitt—Received gunpowder for proving barrels in 1802.

Inspector of Arms Jeremiah Mosher advised Col. Clement Biddle as follows in an undated note:

"... Of the arms manufactured by John Graeff and Abraham Henry at Lancaster there are stored and ready for delivery seven hundred and forty-two stand. In a short time, they expect to have two hundred more ready for delivery.

Of those manufactured by Jacob Leather at Yorktown, there are stored and ready for delivery five hundred and nineteen stand.

I have been twice to Strasburg at the manufactory of Fundersmith. I find he has not a single musket ready and only five barrels on hand. He has I believe about 200 locks . . . "

On February 12, 1800, Governor McKean appointed Peter Getz of Lancaster in place of Col. Mosher to inspect arms manufactured by the above contractors.

Proving Barrels

The Commonwealth purchased gunpowder and lead balls for proving barrels from Philadelphia merchants. Available records of costs of gun powder range from \$11.00 per quarter cask in 1799 to \$8.00 or \$9.00 per quarter cask for purchases in 1802 and 1803, depending on the destination. Gunpowder was typically delivered to the Philadelphia Magazine and distributed from there to inspectors as needed. Lead balls were priced at eleven or twelve cents per pound and were sent directly to inspectors as directed by Col. Biddle.

A copy of an invoice for gunpowder purchased for the Philadelphia Magazine is as follows:

```
Clement Biddle, Esquire for
the use of the Commonwealth, proving arms
Bought of Wm. Nickels

1801

April 14th. 1 Quar Cask powder
for Proving Arms @8 50/100 doll's

May 15th 1 ditto @8 50/100 —

June 3rd 1 ditto @8 50/100 —

Dollars 25.50

Recd Payment in full for my husband Mrs. Susanna X Nickels Mark
```

A copy of an invoice for gunpowder distributed from the Philadelphia Magazine to Inspector Peter Getz is as follows:

Sir

Please to deliver four Casks of powder of the same quality used for proving Arms for the Commonwealth to the order of Mr. Jacob Dickert for Peter Getz at Lancaster and furnish me amount for the State.

Clement Biddle April 7, 1801

The Keeper of The

Powder Magazine

A copy of an invoice for lead balls purchased and delivered directly to Inspector James Nicholson is as follows:

Clement Biddle, Esq.				Philadelphia Sep 15th 1800
for Commonwealth			D. to Ludlam S. Howland	
balls for proving arms				
(Sep 15) Musket balls delivered	to James Nicholson		25 #	
Nov 27	Do	to Ord	100 #	
1801				
Jan 19	Do	Do	100 #	
\$26.00			225 #	

Inspecting Muskets

Completed muskets were inspected at the place of manufacture by Inspectors of Arms appointed by the Governor. Inspectors certified the muskets in writing to Col. Clement Biddle, who in turn directed the distribution of arms that had been approved.

A summary of an invoice tendered to the State of Pennsylvania by Inspector James Nicholson for proving barrels and inspecting completed muskets, etc., at locations in southeastern Pennsylvania is as follows:

```
John Miles' old contract
Aug. 4, 1800 thru Jun. 4, 1801
inspecting 1198 muskets
proving 699 barrels
```

William Henry's contract

Aug, 4th thru 6th, 1800

inspecting 331 muskets at Nazareth

Owen Evan's contract

Aug. 25th and Sep. 19, 1801

inspecting 200 muskets

Albert Gallatin's contract

April, 1801

inspecting 800 bayonets and 600 ramrods manufactured by Rose.

John Miles' new contract

Aug. 12th thru Dec. 2, 1801

inspecting 631 muskets

proving the same.

James and Edward Evans' contract

Oct. 12th and Nov. 21st, 1801

inspecting 200 muskets

proving the above.

Mr. Nicholson invoiced the state \$230.50 for the above services including travel expenses to Nazareth and J. and E. Evans works. Barrels were proved for five cents each and completed muskets were also inspected for five cents each.

Another summary of an invoice tendered to the State by Inspector John Young of Easton for proving and inspecting barrels and inspecting completed muskets manufactured by William Henry at his Nazareth works is as follows:

Debit—The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to John Young Inspector of the Public Arms manufactured by William Henry, Esq. 1801

	June 16	To proving and inspecting	barrels	104	
	Aug. 28	do		143	
	do	To inspecting muskets			77
1802					
	Apr. 9	do	do		202
	do	do	barrels	206	
	May 5	do	muskets		309
	Jul. 8	do	barrels	94	
	Sept. 13	do	do	69	
	Dec. 14	do	do	161	
1803					
	May 9	do	do	183	
	Aug. 3	do	muskets		300
	Sept. 15	do	do		608
				0(0	1/06
				960	1496
			@6 cents	\$57.60	\$89.76

Mr. Young also included daily charges for John Roth, who assisted him in proving and inspecting the arms and a charge for Henry Seagreaves, for cartage of gun powder for proving barrels from Philadelphia to Nazareth:

\$33.75

In addition, a charge for the amount paid Robert Boggs for cartage of powder from Philadelphia:

Also: 26 days horse hire for traveling to and from Mr. Henry's factory at 50 cents:

\$13.00

Total

\$195.11

Clement Biddle reduced the invoice to \$170.55, noting the unit cost for proving barrels and inspecting muskets was 5 cents, not 6 cents as charged.

APPENDIX F

The following information relating to receipt and distribution of Arms by the Commonwealth is taken from Pennsylvania Archives, office of the Quartermaster General, Accounts, R.G. 19, Series 7-2818 unless otherwise noted.

Arms Received

Summary of public arms received from William Henry and certified by Christ H. Lensman, October 5, 1803:

Aug. 9, 1800	15 boxes
May 16, 1803	24 boxes
Sept. 20, 1803	36 boxes

75 boxes @ 25 stands each

1875 muskets

1240 of these muskets remained in the care of Lensman in October, 1803.

Summary of public arms received from John Fundersmith by Inspectors of Arms at Lancaster is as follows:

June 9, 1802	100 stands by Peter Getz
Nov. 24, 1802*	100 stands by Peter Getz
Sept. 30, 1803	50 stands by Peter Getz
Nov. 29, 1803	100 stands by Peter Getz
June 11, 1806	50 stands by Gustavus Stay

^{*}Noted on this receipt "this 100 stands is delivered as part of the last contract."

Summary of public arms received from Jacob Haeffer by Inspector of Arms Peter Getz at Lancaster is as follows:

Jan. 17, 1803	100 stands
May 30, 1803	100 stands

Summary of a statement from the Public Armory at York is as follows:

1,192 stands of arms by Jacob Lether and Conrad Welshance were received by the armory at York on or before December 29, 1801. Drafts on the above 1,192 stands by Col. Biddle and not listed by date—

To Brigade Inspectors	@ Cumberland Co.	195 stands
To Brigade Inspectors	@ Franklin Co.	195 stands
To Brigade Inspectors	@ Franklin Co.	195 stands
To Brigade Inspectors	@ Adams Co.	130 stands
To Brigade Inspectors	@ Adams Co.	65 stands
To Brigade Inspectors	@ Adams Co.	65 stands

Total 845 stands

There were not enough arms at York to satisfy two additional droughts given by Col. Biddle.

Note: The value of the above is the indication that Lether and Welshance had delivered the arms contracted for in April of 1798 by the end of 1801 and these muskets appear to have been the only arms on deposit at York Armory.

An undated and unsigned summary of public arms received by the Commonwealth indicates all of the arms contracted were delivered except 100 stands "to be delivered" by John Fundersmith. Because this summary is not dated or signed, the information should be treated with caution; however, it is an indication that the arms contracted for under the March 28, 1797 Act were received.

Debit	C. Biddle	for Arms Received	10,230
	P. Getz	do	7,240
	J. Torrence	do	2,000
	To be delivered on Fundersmith contract		100
			19,570
			12,2/0

^{*}Arms received by the Commonwealth

^{*}Arms distributed by the Commonwealth

^{*}Numbering of militia regiments

	Amount of arms contracted for	19,570	
Debit	Peter Getz	7,240	
	by Arms delivered to G. Stay	1,434	
	(Bal. Getz)	5,806	
	Getz has receipts for	2,316	
		1,434	(G. Stay)
		3,750	

7,240 - 3,750 = 3,490 Deficient (Received by Peter Getz without receipts)

Note: It appears Peter Getz was not a meticulous record keeper.

The actual number of arms contracted was 19,900 stands.

Arms Distributed

A summary headed "Return of Arms of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Received under Contracts and issued to different Counties" prepared by Col. Clement Biddle January 27, 1802 lists the following arms distributed:

	824 Stands
	580 Stands
	550 Stands
	400 Stands
	565 Stands
	215 Stands
	450 Stands
	151 Stands
	250 Stands
	100 Stands
	435 Stands
	130 Stands
	420 Stands
	195 Stands
	390 Stands
	195 Stands
Total	5,850 Stands
	Total

A note at the bottom of this summary states:

" \dots A distribution has been directed for the western counties from the twelve hundred stands which have been received and inspected at New Geneva \dots "

This indicates a total of 7,050 muskets had been or were about to be distributed by late January, 1802.

Another incomplete summary of arms distributed to Brigade Inspectors in several counties was prepared by Col. Clement Biddle, Feb. 24, 1804 and accounts for a total of 7,708 stands of arms distributed including 2,101 stands distributed directly from contractor's works as listed below. Note that some overlap in the 1802 and 1804 summaries precludes adding the arms distributed to obtain a total distribution by Feb., 1804.

Oct. 1799	Montgomery Co.	Order on O. Evans	140
Dec. 1799	Montgomery Co.	Order on O. Evans	40
Aug. 9, 1801	Montgomery Co.	Order on O. Evans	30
May 14, 1802	Montgomery Co.	Order on O. Evans	280
Apr. 18, 1803	Montgomery Co.	Order on O. Evans	300
			790 Stands
May 14, 1802	Berks Co.	to receive of Evans	300
May 15, 1803	Berks Co.	to receive of Evans	300
			600

May 2, 1800	Northampton Co.	Order on W. Henry	100
Dec. 23, 1800	Northampton Co.	Order on W. Henry	100
Oct. 13, 1801	Northampton Co.	Order on W. Henry	50
May 15, 1802	Northampton Co.	to receive of W. Henry	200
			
			450
May 2, 1800	Wayne Co.	Order on W. Henry	35
Dec. 17, 1800	Wayne Co.	Order on W. Henry	50
Jun. 23, 1801 (?)	Wayne Co.	Letter to W. Henry	120
			205
Apr. 1, 1800	Luzerne Co.	Order on W. Henry	50
Issued to Manu	ıfactures for Patterns		6
			_
			56
		Total	2,101 Stands

Regiments Numbered

"An act for the regulation of the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," approved April 6, 1802, assigned numbers in numerical sequence to the regiments of militia as follows:

County or (City)	Regiment Number
(Philadelphia)	24, 25, 28, 50, and 84
Philadelphia	42, 67, 75, 80, and 88
Montgomery	36, 51, 56, and 86
Bucks	15, 31, 32, and 48
Chester	27, 47, 85, 97, 44, and 92
Delaware	65 and 100
Lancaster	5, 7, 120, 121, 34, 60, 98, and 104
York	40, 41, 61, 111, 113, and 124
Adams	9, 20, and 93
Berks	37, 43, 69, 79, and 114
Dauphin	3, 66, 78, 95, and 117
Cumberland	12, 21, 49, 59, 87, and 116
Franklin	1, 64, 68, 73, and 96
Northampton and Wayne	13, 38, 94, 101, 118, 8, 71, 103, 110, and 115
Northumberland, Lycoming, and Luzerne	35, 45, 57, 81, 112, 123, 129, 4, 18, 39, 77, 102, and 106
Mifflin and part of Centre	11, 52, 74, 83, 89, and 131
Huntingdon and part of Centre	14, 33, 46, 58, and 119
Fayette	72, 90, 91, and 108
Bedford and Somerset	10, 55, 105, 109, 127, and 128
Washington and Greene	22, 23, 53, 82, 6, 99, 122, and 130
Allegheny and parts of Butler and Beaver	16, 29, 62, 76, and 125
Westmoreland	2, 19, 30, 54, 63, and 70
Armstrong, Erie, Crawford, Warren, Mercer,	17, 26, 107, and 126

Five years later on April 9, 1807 the Commonwealth approved "An Act for the Regulation the Militia of the Commonwealth" replacing the April 6, 1802 Militia act. The new militia law assigned numbers to the divisions of the militia as follows:

Venango, and parts of Butler and Beaver

Division	City of County
1st	City and County of Philadelphia
2nd	Bucks and Montgomery
3rd	Chester and Delaware
4th	Lancaster
5th	York and Adams
6th	Berks and Dauphin
7th	Cumberland and Franklin
8th	Northampton and Wayne
9th	Northumberland and Luzerne
10th	Lycoming, Tioga, Potter, Jefferson, McKean, and Clearfield
11th	Mifflin, Huntingdon, and Centre
12th	Bedford, Somerset, and Cambria
13th	Westmoreland and Fayette
14th	Washington and Greene
15th	Alleghany, Armstrong, and Indiana
16th	Beaver, Butler, Mercer, Crawford, Erie, Venango, and Warren

An additional nine regiments were included in the 1807 act that were not listed in the 1802 act; these were predominately in the western counties where population was increasing:

1st Division 140th Regiment

16th Division 132nd through the 139th Regiments

Both the 1802 and the 1807 Acts list the commanding officer of each regiment on the dates the acts were passed.