

Figure 2. Lock of a musket manufactured by James Haslett for the state of Virginia, ca. 1801–2. The lock is simply marked HASLETT and the barrel is marked to Pittsylvania County. Based on the bolster used and how the pan area was filled in, this example was likely altered to percussion at the beginning of the Civil War by William B. and Cyrus Fisher in Lynchburg, Virginia. The hammer is a replacement for that used when the arm was altered to percussion. The muzzle extension is 2 3/4 inches, and the muzzle-to-stud dimension is 7/8 inch, with an outside muzzle diameter of .847 inch. Courtesy Helen & Edward Flanagan

JAMES HASLETT, BALTIMORE GUNSMITH, AND THE WAR OF 1812

by Frederick C. Gaede

he name of James Haslett is well known among collectors of early American arms, with a number of flint lock firearms known having his name applied to them on the locks and barrels. Further, as an employee of Robert McCormick, Haslett was closely associated with three contracts for muskets in the Charleville-style, one for the Federal Government and two for the state of Virginia. However, his activities during the War of 1812 as a U.S. Army officer, and as a citizen and Baltimore gunsmith on behalf of Maryland, are less well known. While Haslett's experience with manufacturing military muskets will be recounted, new information on those latter activities will be the primary focus of this article.

First, some background on James Haslett. Much about the man and his work was revealed in an excellent twopart article by Richard H. Randall, Jr. in the short-lived The American Arms Collector. Born in 1773 in Ireland and having "served a regular time to one of the first gun makers in Europe," Haslett was brought from Ireland about 1798 specifically to serve as the shop foreman for Robert Mc-Cormick, also an Irish immigrant and then a Philadelphia gun maker. In 1799 McCormick began delivering muskets to the federal government, some of which included components provided by the government. Although the agreement was "To furnish 3,000 Stands of Arms or Muskets complete, with Bayonet[s]...," McCormick ultimately delivered a total of at least 3,986 muskets. McCormick also signed a contract with Virginia dated November 5, 1799, for 4,000 muskets. Haslett made the model for the latter musket contract "with his own hands," and, before the firm ceased operations in 1801, superintended the production of approximately 925 muskets for Virginia (Figure 1). In May of that year McCormick went bankrupt and spent several months in prison. His business assets were sold to John Miles, another 1798 Philadelphia contractor for muskets.2

Haslett was then recruited to work at the Virginia Manufactory of Arms being established in Richmond. Virginia's Superintendent of Public Buildings, John Clarke, traveled throughout the northeastern United States in search of workmen for the facility just as McCormick's operation in Philadelphia closed down and was bought by Miles. Clarke was impressed with Haslett and wrote the governor of Virginia: "There is a man here by the name of Haslett who was brought by McCormick from Ireland. He has had the chief management of McCormick's manufactory, and wishes to be employed at the Virginia Manufactory as under Master Armourer. He showed me some specimens of his work, with which I was much pleased. General Shee recommended him highly, both as a skillful artist and a good citizen. The workmen who formerly worked at McCormick's Manufactory are much attached to him." In order to keep together a small workforce at that shop while continuing his travels, Clarke persuaded the governor and Virginia officials to agree to contract with Haslett for 600 muskets.3 The contract was fulfilled early in 1802 and two of the three known extant examples of that contract are shown in Figures 2 through 5.4 Interestingly, the third known example, the lock of which is shown in Figures 4 and 5, does not have the customary Virginia regimental or county marking engraved on the top of the barrel. However, as Haslett is not known to have produced muskets for any other buyer before leaving Philadelphia, this musket is assumed to be an example from the 600 delivered to Virginia.



Figure 3. Close up of the HASLETT name on the lock of the above musket.



Figure 4. Close up view of the lock of another of the three known Haslett-made muskets for Virginia, this one still in original flint. Interestingly, the barrel of this musket has no regimental or county markings. Courtesy Daniel D. Hartzler

Although an estimated 19 workmen of Haslett's operation ultimately went to Richmond, apparently Haslett was disappointed in not being offered the position he sought at the manufactory. Initially he decided to stay in Philadelphia, getting himself appointed Inspector of Arms to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by Governor McKean. He even had himself listed in the *Philadelphia Directory* for 1803 as "*Haslett, James, gunmaker above 511 N. Second.*" However, he does not appear to have marked any civilian weapons while still in that city. Despite the fact that he appeared to be settling in as a resident of Philadelphia, well before the summer of 1803 Haslett had changed his

Q Q HASLETT

Figure 5. Close up of the HASLETT marking on the tail of the lock seen above.

mind and was planning his family's departure from the city for Baltimore.

Possibly he felt there were already too many competitors in Philadelphia for a fledgling gun maker, no matter how skilled. However, was Baltimore the right place to put his talents to work as he sought his fortune? In 1800 Baltimore had only 27,000 residents, compared to 41,000 in Philadelphia, and had only 3 years previously been granted the authority to incorporate as a city. Was Haslett omniscient to a degree, realizing within the decade Baltimore's population would almost equal the city he left (47,000 residents vs. 54,000 in Philadelphia in 1810) and it would become a powerful center for international trade? Indeed, Baltimore soon became the second largest city in the United States, a position it would hold until just before the Civil War. The increasing commerce of the city provided the wealth that buyers of Haslett's firearms required. Haslett participated indirectly in the city's prosperity, and that enabled him to diversify into real estate investments and other business lines. He never became wealthy, at least compared to other contemporaries in Baltimore, but he certainly achieved a solid position in the city's middle class.

Soon after arriving in Baltimore, on June 3, 1803, Haslett's first advertisement appeared in the *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Figure 6), stating "he has commenced the Gun-Business, at No 64 North Gay-Street, where he intends on carrying it on in all its various branches." The location was west of the Jones Falls causeway, which separated Old Town and Fell's Point from the center of Baltimore. How-

Gun Manufactory.

JAMES HASLET, GUN MAKER,
RESPECTFULLY informs the public, that
he has commenced the Gun Business, at No 64,
north Gay-street, where he intends carrying it
on in all its various branches.

on in all its various branches.

Having ferved a regular time to one of the first gun makers in Europe, and been inspector of arms for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, (which he resigned in consequence of his removal to this city) he flatters himself to be able to execute his work equal to any imported.

Any state in the union desirous of contracting for muskets, may be supplied with any number (the Charlevill patern) at 10 dollars and 50 cents each, being 50 cents less than they have been manufactured for in the United States.

June 3. tu&f3t#

Figure 6. Haslett's first 1803 advertisement, announcing the opening of his shop at 64 North Gay Street.

ever, the city was relatively small and it was still close to Fell's Point and its bustling harbor. Much of the commercial import/export activity that was building Baltimore's wealth occurred on the wharves of Fell's Point. Not surprising, it was also the center of the city's ship building activity; nearby the USS *Constellation* had been built in 1797.

The 1803 advertisement revealed the gunmaker(s) to which he apprenticed had likely been in London, where he acquired skills as a gunsmith, and, more importantly, contacts within the English gun trade. Thus, Haslett did not hesitate to advertise he could not only manufacture "equal in finish to any yet imported," but had established connections to be able to import the best of "London manufacture" to sell at his shop. In 1803 and 1804 another series of advertisements noted he had moved from Gay Street to No. 4 Light Street, closer to the center of Baltimore and "nearly opposite Mr. Bryden's coffee house, where he requests continuance of that liberal encouragement he has received from the spirited citizens of Baltimore, since his commencement in this city, and assures them that he will endeavor to merit a continuance of their favor." He apparently was doing well for by 1805 he had again relocated to 28 Water Street, where he offered under the "Sign of the Golden Gun" (Figure 7) an assortment of guns "of his own [make] and London manufacture." Haslett was clearly making firearms as in 1806 he took on 15-year-old Ephraim Hands as an apprentice "to learn the trade of a

Sign of the Golden Gun.

JAMES HASLETT,

RESPECTFULLY informs the Public, that he has removed from No. 4, Light-street, to No. 28, Water street, within a few doors of Market-space; where he has, at present, an elegant assortment of double and single Guns, and duelling Pistols, both of his own and London manufacture, which he can afford to sell lower than any of the same finish ever offered for sale in Baltimore.

He begs leave to return his sincere thanks to the Citizens of Baltimore, and the Public generally, for the liberal encouragement he has received since his commencement in Baltimore, and assures them, that he will endeavor to merit a continuance of it.

November 12.

soft|

Figure 7. This 1805 advertisement notes Haslett's second move, to 28 Water Street, where he would maintain his arms trade under the Sign of the Golden Gun for the remaining 25 years of his business life.

Sign of the Golden GUN. JAMES HASLETT.

rous friends on the Eastern Shore, and the public generally, that he has removed his Shop from No. 4 Light street, to No. 28 Water-street, next door to Mr. Camp, Cabinet-Maker, and a few doors from Market Space, where he continues to make GUNS and PISTOLS, warranted equal in finish to any yet imported. He likewise repairs them in the neatest manner, and on the shortest notice, without any disappointment in regard to time.

Baltimore, Oct. 21, 1806. 8

Figure 8. In 1806 he sought to extend his business to the Eastern Shore of Maryland. This was a bold move for Haslett, for at the time the Chesapeake Bay truly divided the state. The two shores of Maryland were almost separate economies, with each having its own state treasury, for example.

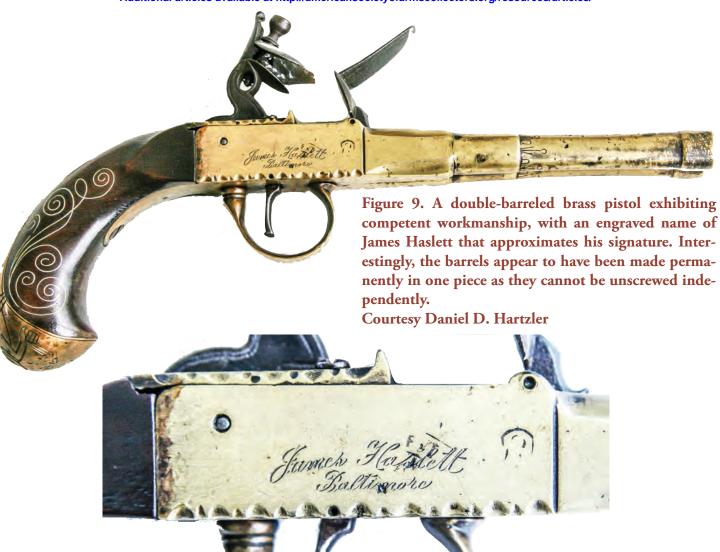
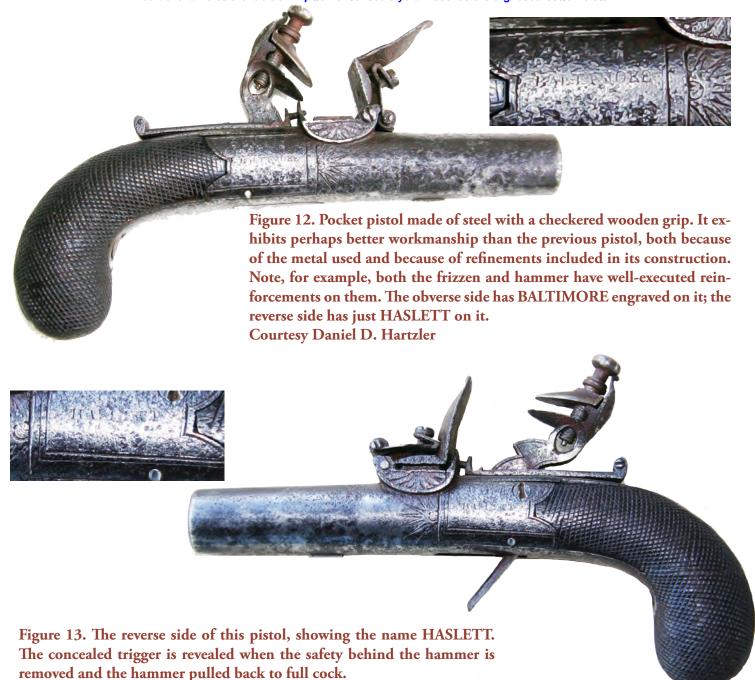


Figure 10. Close-up of the engraved name on the pistol.



Figure 11. The reverse side of the breech area has just the word Warrented (sic) engraved on it. The sliding safety for the pistol is also on this side.



gunsmith." In 1809 "James Haslett, Gun-Maker, Respectfully informs the Public, that he has now on hand the handsomest assortment of DOUBLE and SINGLE BARREL GUNS ever offered for sale in Baltimore. They are mounted in Silver, Stut [sic] and Brass, from Six Dollars to One Hundred and Thirty each." He not only advertised in Baltimore, but also across the Chesapeake Bay on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Through the Easton, Maryland, Republican Star and Easton Advertiser (Figure 8), in 1806 he notified "his numerous friends on the Eastern Shore, and the public generally," of his move to Water Street, "next door to Mr. Camp, Cabinet-maker," and that he also repaired guns and pistols. In 1810 Haslett was appointed to a "Volunteer Patrole," one of "34 captains ... to patrol the district

already described [5th and that part of the 6th ward on the west side of Jones Falls, at Fallier to Kruse's Tavern], for the better security of the property of the citizens, and for the detection of incendiaries who appear to infest the city."9

Before the War of 1812, Haslett was able to name among his customers two governors of Maryland, Robert Wright and Edward Lloyd. He continued to advertise that he had "on hand the handsomest assortment of double and single barrel guns ever offered for sale," and offered wholesale prices to "country merchants." After the War of 1812, in August of 1815, Haslett advertised that he "has recommenced his business at his old stand, Water-street, near the Marsh Market, Sign of the Golden Gun. Having returned

from England the largest and handsomest assortment of gun materials imported into Baltimore these 13 years, he flatters himself that he will be able to execute his work in a superior style, as they were manufactured under his own immediate inspection." In 1817 another advertisement appeared, noting he "has now on hand an elegant assortment of guns of almost every description, viz. [numerous descriptions of rifles, hunting guns, and pistols follow]. A few pair of the best hair trigger pistols ... gun barrels and locks of various sizes which he will dispose of to gentlemen wishing to have a gun mounted up in the country." His offer to sell "1,000 ounces of silver, in bars ... at par" at about this time may reflect just a reallocation of his investments, and may not have been related to inventory for his gun making business.

Two nicely made pistols with Haslett's name on both of them are shown in Figures 9 through 13. Besides these pistols, a number of early 19th Century high-end arms are known that bear his name. Made in the English style they all date from about 1805 until about 1820.¹³ Mr. Randall illustrated his article with a short shotgun having a lock which "resembles those in use in London about the turn of the [19th] century,"¹⁴ including a silver oval inlay with an intaglio marking of **HASLETT / BALTIMORE** in the lock plate. Shown here (Figure 14) is the left-hand lock of a different double-barreled 20-gauge shotgun.¹⁵ Both locks have inlays similar in style to the above, but in gold and with just **HASLET** (sic), misspelled (Figure 15). There is a separate oval gold inlay of **BALTIMORE** on the top of the barrels, on the rib between them (Figure 16). These oval planchetts, in silver or gold, are frequently seen on the better-made arms.

Returning to the chronological story, Haslett was aware of the need for arms by both the states and nation as international tensions mounted in the years before the War of 1812. In January 1810 he had tried to reopen negotiations with the governor of Virginia to manufacture muskets for that state. Upon the Commonwealth legislature's



Figure 14. The left-hand lock of a double-barreled shotgun, altered to percussion, showing a typical inlaid gold planchett with HASLET (sic) stamped intaglio. An identical planchett, also misspelled, is on the right-hand lock. The alteration is well done, with metal finishing matching nicely. Since Haslett died just as percussion ignition systems were gaining acceptance in the United States, it is unlikely he made the alteration. Courtesy Helen & Edward Flanagan



Figure 15. Close-up of one of the planchetts on the locks of the shotgun just as seen in Figure 14.



Figure 16. Top of the barrel rib showing a similar oval gold planchett with BALTIMORE stamped intaglio.



requesting proposals, in December he renewed an offer to lease the Virginia Manufactory facilities. Nothing came of that series of correspondence, and Haslett as well as his family remained in Baltimore. Interestingly, Haslett does not appear to have been involved when the state of Maryland investigated establishing its own arms factory the year before.¹⁶ Nor was he among the known agents and dealers who sold the state 896 muskets in 1813. This was while the July 1813 contract with J.J. Henry of Pennsylvania was being negotiated, that would result in about 5,000 more muskets coming to Maryland through Henry.¹⁷ Further, he advertised in April 1813 that one George Stiles, of whom we will hear again later, "has 100 stands of French arms complete, which he will retail at the wholesale prices [sic], to accommodate those who are unprovided. They are to be had at Mr. Haslet's [sic] Gun Factory, Water-street, and at Stiles & Williams', corner of Baltimore & South streets." There was an incongruity between Haslett's wanting to operate a facility in Virginia, and retailing muskets in Baltimore, but not wanting to involve himself in making arms for Maryland, or sell the state stock readily on hand.

Largely unknown have been the facts surrounding Haslett's deep involvement in the militia system of Maryland. Possibly he did so to enhance the same social aspirations already noted for his family, 18 or to try to ingratiate himself with those familiar with both civilian and military

arms, as possible customers.

When Maryland set up its militia system of 50 regiments in 1793, four were designated to be recruited within the city of Baltimore. In 1811 a fifth regiment was added, and the 5th, 6th, 27th, 39th, and 51st Regiments from Baltimore formed the famed Third Brigade of the 1st Division, 19 which would distinguish itself at North Point and in the defense of Baltimore, both during September of 1814. Haslett was given a commission as a lieutenant in the Second Company in the 39th Regiment, under Captain Leonard Frailey, on August 5, 1807 (Figure 17).20 Interestingly, an advertisement of the appointment was published in a Virginia paper, the Staunton Eagle, on August 28, 1807 (Figure 18). This coincides with the last of a series of advertisements that ended on the 8th of August 1807 that include Haslett's rank as lieutenant. Many militia companies were named, but the only record of one for his company apparently was this 1807 series summoning the "Baltimore Union Volunteers to meet at Lieutenant Haslett's."21 Likely he was spurred to join as a result of the Chesapeake-Leopard Affair in June of 1807,22 when another war with Great Britain looked potentially inevitable. Haslett rose to the Second Company's captaincy on February 24, 1810 (Figure 17), and apparently remained in that position until May of 1813.²³ He volunteered to enter active service when a quota was served on the militia of Baltimore in May of 1812, being one of two officers from

141		Company Officers	39.1 Righ	Baltimore		
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Figure 17. This page in the Maryland Appointment Book shows James Haslett's 1807 position as lieutenant in the Second Company (Baltimore Union Volunteers), 39th Regiment, Maryland Militia, and subsequent promotion to captain of the company in 1810. Note Leonard Frailey was his captain, and he succeeded Frailey upon the latter's promotion to major. The dates of commission are after the officers' names. Courtesy Maryland Hall of Records

Appointments. By the Governor and Council of Maryland, August 1807. James Haslett, Lieutenant

Figure 18. Notice of Haslett's 1807 appointment in the Maryland Militia to a lieutenancy in the Baltimore Union Volunteers. Interestingly, the notice appeared in the *Staunton Eagle*, a Virginia newspaper.

the 39th Regiment to volunteer. His name was included on "A Return of the Quota of the 39th Regiment Maryland Militia made in obedience to orders of 15th May 1812." That quota was never called into active service. However, even as a volunteer he would have been paid by the federal government for time served, an additional source of income.

A year thereafter Haslett's career took a perhaps not unexpected turn. On May 20, 1813, he did enter active federal service by joining the forming 38th Regiment of United States Infantry. He served as a captain in that unit for only a year, resigning on May 20, 1814, a year before the regiment was disbanded.²⁵ It is not clear why he joined, but it was certainly no coincidence that his former captain in the Baltimore Union Volunteers, Leonard Frailey, joined the 38th Regiment as a major on May 19, 1813, just the day before Haslett. Frailey resigned from the 38th on the 1st of May 1814, 3 weeks before his subordinate. It is not clear how much time they may have spent away from Baltimore. There is no record of active field service by the regiment, so possibly their involvement was mostly recruiting, to fill the ranks. Haslett left no record of his reasons for seeking an Army commission, what he did

while in service, or whether the service had any long lasting effects on his private, gun-related businesses. It does not appear either man returned to their former Maryland Militia regiment, the 39th, upon their leaving federal service.

In the months before he began active service, Haslett performed various procurement, inspection, and repair services for the Militia. It is important to clarify that, with regard to these services, at no point was Haslett operating as a militia officer, a brigade major, or as an officially appointed agent of the state. Although one or the other such position might have been expected in order to perform such activities, no appointments for him to those positions could be located in the militia officer appointment records of Maryland. It had been hoped an official appointment to do such work, or a series of such activities on behalf of the state, would have been located. However, after a number of days in the Maryland archives at the Hall of Records in Annapolis, few facts relating to the roles of brigade major, and only one substantial letter confirming these activities, could be found for Haslett.

That being said, the particular letter is fascinating. It is both shown (Figures 19 and 20) and transcribed below for the benefit of readers. Dated April 15, 1813, it was addressed to James A. Buchannan, Esq., who had been appointed just 2 days before to be a member of Baltimore's "Committee of Supply." The committee was to manage \$20,000 appropriated by the City Council on April 13th for its defense.²⁶

James A. Buchannan, Esq. Sir,

I have examined the 49 swords at Mr. Lemons, and broke in Proof, 8, leaving 41 serviceable, which I have altered according [to] Mr. Leonard Taylor's orders, I have examined at Mr. Wm. Hollin's 238 muskets of a good Quality, 9 of them, the Hammers were soft, 34 the breeching projected beyond the touchole [sic], which defects I have remedy'd [sic], one bayonet broke in proof, not yet replaced.

I examined Mr. Karthand's Pistols, there is 12 pair that may do with wiping up.

I have overhauled the whole of Mr. A. Clopper[]s muskets, and find only Fifty, that are any way serviceable for Militia, They are nearly alike wide in the Caliber, They have brass pans, I have them in my possession, They want to be wiped up and some trifling repairs done to some of them.

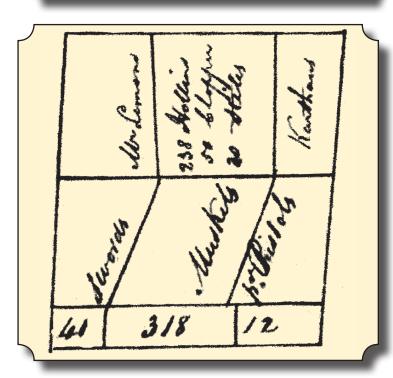
Likewise the whole of Captn. Stiles[] Arms they are of the same quality of Mr. Clopper's, I have selected 30 from his of the same finish as Mr. Clopper[]s / Brass pans /. The bayonets of neither sample are as good as they ought to be.

I have examined Mr. Pitts[;sp?] 10 Muskets they make very good fire arms, are very good for Ship use but not calculated for Field use. They differ in caliber and they have lost their Bayonet Fastenings.

[s] James Haslett

Baltimore 15th April 1813

Recapitulation 27



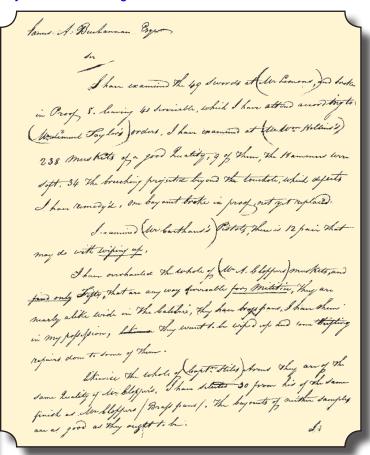


Figure 19. First page of Haslett's letter of April 15, 1813, detailing some of his work as an inspector and gunsmith on behalf of Baltimore City. The touch hole problem he "remedy'd" is particularly intriguing. Although bayonets apparently accompanied at least some of the muskets, only one is mentioned, and none are enumerated in his recap of the delivery.

Courtesy Maryland Hall of Records

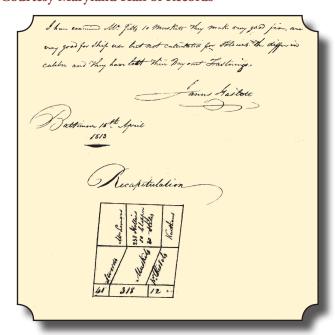


Figure 20. Second page of Haslett's letter of April 15, 1813, including a recapitulation of the swords, muskets, and pairs of pistols he examined and repaired.



Figure 21. The brass pan of an 18th Century French musket that was imported for the state of Virginia in 1786–7. A number of the 3,390 muskets Virginia received at that time were made at the Tulle Armory in the configuration of French colonial muskets, such as this one, marked to the 36th Virginia Regiment, Prince William County. The top jaw and screw have been replaced. Courtesy Samuel P. Higgenbotham II

Since it was addressed to a member of the Committee of Supply, this letter likely represents work done on behalf of the city of Baltimore, rather than the state of Maryland. However, at this point it is not clear who authorized Haslett to examine or repair these items. And while it appears the city likely purchased these items, no other evidence reviewed by the author to date indicates the city did in fact purchase these items, or any other swords, pistols, muskets, or bayonets independently of what it received through the state of Maryland. The single most indicative point is the fact that Haslett branded some muskets at some time, and the ones to be described may have originated among those Hollins offered. If other evidence is found that supports the city's purchase of these arms, they would be in addition to any other totals published.²⁸

No muskets with "brass pans" have been seen with markings indicating ownership by the city, or state for that matter.²⁹ The brass pans possibly indicate 80 of these muskets were surplus French arms, M1777 or Year IX muskets, or something similar. Another candidate would be French colonial muskets made at the Tulle Armory. The pan area of one of the 3,390 of the latter exported to Virginia in 1786–7, marked to the 36th Regiment, Prince William County, is shown in Figure 21.³⁰ If Virginia could arrange to import French arms, likely other agents could do the same for obsolescent French arms.

Note Haslett "remedy'd" the fact that the breech plugs had projected into the barrels beyond the touch holes on 34 muskets, rendering them unusable. Further, an unknown number of bayonets accompanied the muskets examined and repaired, since one broke in proofing. Occurring at about the same time, one can only wonder if the muskets offered at Haslett's shop by Captain George Stiles were not selling and were consequently made a part of this group.

Several recorded payments mentioning Haslett in 1813 provide only circumstantial evidence of other work on behalf of the militia, specifically three of the five Baltimore City regiments. Those payments included, for the 6th Regiment, Maryland Militia, "Hauling Muskets from Hazlets [sic]" on April 23, 1813, others to him on May 18th and an unknown quantity back to their armory in Fells Point on the 21st. A Maryland-marked musket with the numeral 6 set on top of the state name is known. Four other muskets with **6.M.M** branded on the flat opposite the lock are known, three without any other markings linking them to Maryland, but one made by Nippes & Co. was examined with a state brand and other archival documentation to a known Maryland militiaman. These markings may have been applied by Haslett, although the work cannot be definitively ascribed to him or a brand for that regiment to Frailey.31 That being said, the total for hauling to and from Haslett's shop was \$2.00.³² No corresponding invoices from Haslett regarding what he may have done to these muskets for the 6th Regiment, or what he may have charged for his services, could be located.

We know at least some of the muskets that passed through Haslett's hands were marked by him. The brand of his name may have been just to show his general inspection of the piece, or possibly it was also to indicate which pieces had been repaired by him. So far only three muskets are known with the name of **HASLETT** branded into their stocks, all identically placed in front of the trigger guard. One is owned by Helen and Edward Flanagan, another by the author, and a third by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. At times they will also be referred to here as No. 1, No. 2, and No.3, respectively. The first two, it might be noted, are in a joint display at this 124th ASAC meeting.

All were made in the French Charleville style, and all still have original length barrels of (No. 1) 44 3/4 inches; (No. 2) 44 7/8 inches; and (No. 3) 44 3/4 inches. None have

a model designation engraved on the tang of the breech plug.³³ Two, Nos. 1 and 2, have had the hammers completely replaced, which may represent work performed by Haslett when he inspected them. No. 3 has what appears to be its original hammer, but now lacks the top jaw and screw.

Clearly the musket owned by the Flanagans (No.1; Figures 22, 23, 24 [top for all three]; Figures 25 and 26) arrived in the United States in 1777, one of the first of approximately 10,000 from France that came ashore in New Hampshire. Of these 2,016 were initially assigned to three battalions of troops from that state, and so marked and numbered. In this case the marking is NH **3B No 236**. The markings on the lock of this example are so obscured that the armory of manufacture cannot be determined. The tail of the lock does have a large US stamped into it, and, as noted, the entire hammer has been replaced. It has its original French army acceptance marks still partially visible on the left side of the stock, near the butt plate. Also on the left flat, opposite the lock, there is a branded 39 REGT., of which more will be said later. Interestingly, there is an additional very small



Figure 22. The lock areas of Haslett-marked muskets Nos. 1 (top) and 2 (bottom). The name of the original armory where the musket was assembled cannot be seen on the lock of No. 1; St. Etienne is on No. 2. Courtesy Helen and Edward Flanagan (top), and the author (bottom)



Figure 23. The stock flat opposite the lock for muskets Nos. 1 and 2, showing the markings to the 39 REGT.



Figure 24. (Above) The stock in front of the trigger guard for muskets Nos. 1 and 2, showing the brand of HASLETT.



Figure 25. (Above) Close up of the 39th Regiment mark on No. 1. Note the New Hampshire markings on the barrel are partially visible.

Courtesy Helen and Edward Flanagan



Figure 26. Unique to this musket, No. 1, a very small US has been stamped into the left side of the stock, right at the juncture of the comb and wrist extension.

Courtesy Helen and Edward Flanagan



Author's collection

Figure 28. (Above) Close-ups of the 39th Regiment mark on No. 2, along with other armorers' review marks applied while in storage. The small "x" over the large "V" mark is known to have been applied at the Schuylkill Arsenal.

but discernible **US** stamped on the left side of the butt, at the juncture of the comb and wrist extension (Figure 26). This "**US**" is smaller than that seen stamped into the metal on muskets of the late 18th Century. Apparently this mark is unique to other collectors of early muskets. The bayonet stud of this musket is on the bottom of the barrel, 1 9/16 inches from the muzzle, which has an outside diameter of .821 inch. With its long record of service, it is amazing this musket survived to once again serve Maryland during the War of 1812.

The second example (No. 2; Figures 22, 23, 24 [bottom for all three]; Figures 27 and 28) is 60 1/8 inches overall. The lock is marked for the French armory of St. Etienne, and also has a large "US" stamped on the tail end. The entire hammer has been replaced. It too has remnants of the original acceptance marks on the butt, as well as the initials "IN" stamped into the European walnut stock. Those are believed to have been placed there by John Nicholson when muskets in storage in Philadelphia after the Revolutionary War were periodically marked, as well as cleaned and repaired, if necessary, by contract armorers.35 Two other such inspection marks from early in the 19th Century are on the flat opposite the lock (Figure 28). They suggest this musket was released from governmental ownership after it was at Schuylkill Arsenal and not long before the War of 1812. Also on that flat is the same "39 **REGT."** seen on the previous musket. A couple of other indistinguishable markings are also on that flat, and one just below the trigger guard. The musket may have had some damage at the muzzle as the original top band has been replaced with what appears to be an altered middle band of another musket. On this musket the bayonet stud is entirely missing, and no trace can be seen of its original location. Although likely it was a bottom stud, there is a short iron blade sight 1 7/8 inches from the muzzle, and it may have been built up from a top stud. However, if the stud position was altered ca. 1771 in France, with that distance it should have been relocated to the underside of the barrel.

The third musket (No. 3; Accession number 62210; Figures 29 through 35) may have been assembled using original French iron components received during the Revolutionary War. The substantial amounts of component parts were subsequently issued from the Philadelphia Depot and Schuylkill Arsenal to contractors who used them to assemble complete muskets. ³⁶ Without an analysis it is difficult to determine if the stock is European or American walnut, but there are no vestiges of French

army acceptance markings on the butt (Figure 32). It is 60 inches overall in length, and has a lock marked for the French armory of Charleville. However, it does not have a US stamped at the tail of the lock. As noted this musket has its original hammer, but is now missing the top jaw and screw. The bottom stud for the bayonet is located 1 1/4 inches from the muzzle.³⁷ There are no original barrel bands or band retaining springs currently on the musket. There are markings on the stock flat opposite the lock indicating the musket was in storage at Schuylkill Arsenal early in the 19th Century. It too has a branded "39 REGT." on the flat.

All three muskets have two important markings in common, the first being that of "HASLETT" in all capital, Roman font letters 1/4-inch tall branded into the walnut stocks in front of the trigger guards. The brand for this mark was almost certainly made by Leonard Frailey, for reasons that will be revealed shortly. In addition, as noted, all have the marking "39 REGT." branded in the flat opposite the lock. In the opinion of the author, this mark confirms their Maryland association, both because that numbered regiment was raised in Baltimore City, and because the identical regimental mark appears on another musket with state of Maryland markings (Figure 36). The original description of musket No. 3 by George Moller indicated the regimental marking was for the 19th Regiment.38 However, an examination of the musket indicated part of the brand was set on the iron side plate and consequently only a portion of the 3 was impressed into the wood, making it look like it may have been a 1 (Figure 31). It was clear upon comparison with the other two muskets that the complete markings were identical, and the first numeral was actually a "3". A number of replacement bayonets were made for these assembled Frenchstyle muskets.

An interesting association with the 39th regimental mark was made during the research for this article. Leonard Frailey has already been mentioned as Haslett's immediate commander as captain of the 2nd Company of the 39th Regiment, as well as while major in the 38th U.S. Infantry. The two clearly were close because one of the payments made by the Committee of Supply on behalf of the 39th Regiment was to Frailey, on May 8, 1813, for "a Brand for marking the arms" (Figure 36). There is little doubt Frailey's brand was used to mark the three muskets that we have just examined as being associated with Haslett. Indeed, with both Haslett's mark and the regimental brand all placed in the same positions, it would

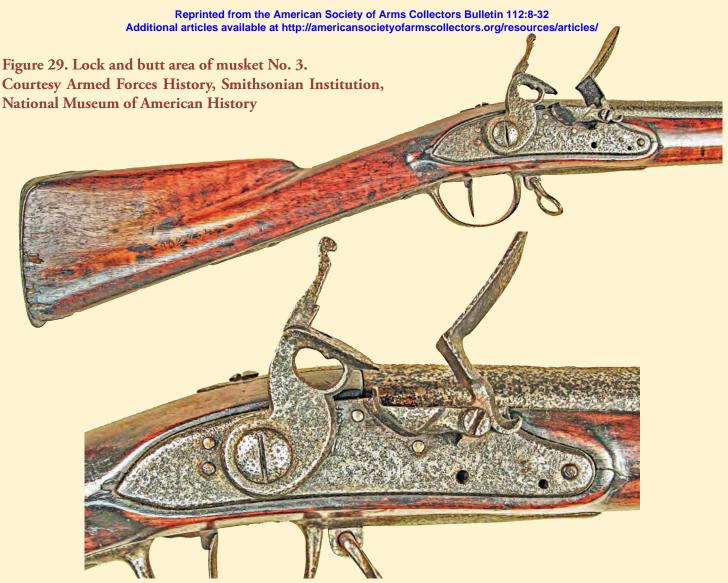


Figure 30. The lock area of musket No. 3, with a barely discernible Charleville armory mark and no US on the tail of the lock. This musket may have been assembled in the United States after the Revolutionary War, and any French armory—marked lock on hand might have been issued to its assembling armorer.



Figure 31. Flat opposite the lock of the same musket as seen in Figure 30. Although the numeral 3 is only a partial, note it is the same 39 REGT. mark seen on the previous two arms. Other examination marks placed on the flat while the musket was still in storage are also visible.

inches. As with musket No. 2, a barrel band has been adapted in place of the original top band.



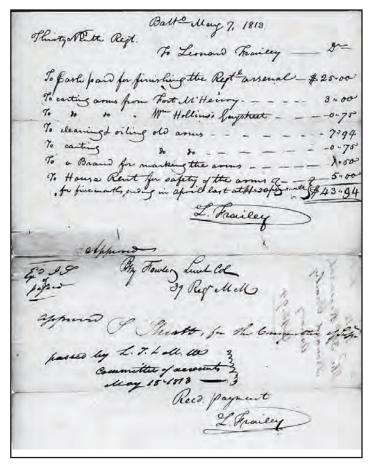


Figure 36. Receipt for \$1.50 for "a Brand for marking the arms" of the 39th Regiment, paid to Leonard Frailey on May 18, 1813.

Courtesy Baltimore City Archives,

Maryland State Archives

have been likely Haslett placed both marks on them at the same time, almost certainly before he left for the U.S. Army. The regimental brand was delivered in April or early May of 1813, and Haslett joined the Army later in May, so he had time. It should be noted the same exact mark is also seen on a musket made by Asher & Pliny Bartlett of Springfield, Massachusetts (Figure 37), one of the 917 credited to J.J. Henry under his agreement with Maryland dated July 8, 1813.⁴⁰ Further, the mark of the 27th Regiment, another Baltimore City regiment of the 3rd Brigade, on a Harpers Ferry marked musket, is very similar in style. It can be speculated Frailey may have made that brand as well. Neither the Bartlett nor the latter musket, of course, has Haslett's name on it.⁴¹

Haslett next appears in the historical record as a member of the staff of Brigadier General Tobias E. Stansbury, 2 commanding the 11th Brigade, "composed of the remaining militia of Baltimore county." Although the brigade had been encamped and working on the entrenchments on Hampstead Hill (Figure 38) since August 10th, Haslett did not show up in the field until September 3rd, along with his servant, Asbury. With the distinct possibility of a British landing to move on Baltimore, a sense of duty to his adopted city and state may have prompted Haslett to want to volunteer for some staff, even if a position within his own former battalion was not available. Also, he may have become aware of an imminent transfer by the current Brigade Major of Stansbury, Beall Randall, 45 and thought



Figure 37. The same 39th REGT. brand on a musket made by the Bartlett brothers and delivered to the state of Maryland on behalf of J.J. Henry in 1813. Undoubtedly all of these regimentally marked muskets were used in the defense of Baltimore the following year.

Courtesy Charles E. "Ed" Kemp

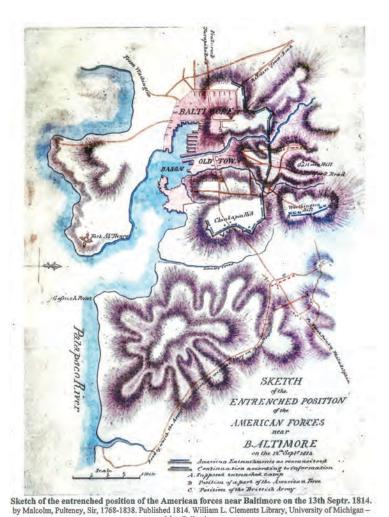


Figure 38. Map including the entrenchment on Hampstead Hill, otherwise known as Chinkapin Hill, where these three muskets undoubtedly were put to use when the 39th Regiment returned from the battle of North Point, September 12, 1814.

"Sketch of the Entrenchments near Baltimore on the 13th of Septr, 1814," by Sir Malcolm Pulteney. Courtesy William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

the improvement in rank appropriate to his experience. Indeed, Haslett had served both as a militia officer and as a regular army officer, and thus had more military training than many of the other officers present. The rank and position on his staff must have been agreed to by Stansbury, perhaps unofficially, as a courtesy to someone well known in the community. While Haslett's specific duties on Stansbury's staff could not be confirmed, Brigade Majors were generally assigned inspection duties, often being referred to jointly as "Brigade Major & Inspector." Isaac Dickson, on Stansbury's staff at the end of 1814, just after Haslett's brief possession of the position (Figure 39), had "Inspector" in his rank, which would suggest Haslett could

have acted in the same capacity as well.⁴⁶

It is certainly possible Haslett had an expectation the arrangement with Stansbury could have been officially confirmed. Despite a diligent search in the state's archives at the Hall of Records in Annapolis, an actual appointment to that rank on any date by Maryland officials could not be determined. Indeed, only one official mention of Haslett was found, as an "Inspector" in the 11th Brigade. Clearly he was considered an officer, but no rank was noted. Further, it does not include a date of appointment (Figure 39). He may have been on the field for such a short time the paperwork may never have been initiated. However acquired and brief, because of that one notation of service as an officer, it was as Brigade Major that Haslett's service during the defense of Baltimore was recorded.⁴⁷ Maryland militiamen called into federal service in August to defend Baltimore were discharged on November 18, 1814.48 There is no substantiation that Haslett was still in the field on that date, or ever received any pay for the days he served in the militia and with General Stansbury in 1814. We will never know for certain, but Asbury and he may have returned to his shop as unceremoniously as they had arrived in camp on September 3rd.

Haslett was not quite finished with military involvement, however. Continuing his procurement activities, he was to be paid \$10.00 "for Bullet Moulds," invoiced on October 14, 1814. The threat from the British was still considered significant at that point, so such a purchase was both possible and customary. One of his last recorded activities in connection with the defense of Baltimore was for "repairs of muskets 27th Regt." His bill for \$35.75 was dated October 24, 1814, but the commander of the 27th, Colonel Kennedy Long, did not acknowledge receipt of the funds until January 14, 1815. 49 It is not known when Long gave the payment to Haslett.

The archival record makes no further mentions of Haslett in military contexts, as far as can be determined. However, he continued being listed in directories as a gunsmith until 1827. In 1815 he advertised "he has recommenced his business at his old stand, [28] Water Street, near the Marsh Market, sign of the Golden Gun. Having received from England the largest and handsomest assortment of gun materials imported into Baltimore these 13 years, he flatters himself that he will be able to execute his work in a superior stile [sic], as they were manufactured under his own immediate inspection." An 1829 Baltimore Directory does not have a listing for him as gun maker, and the Water Street

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Figure 39. The one notation of Haslett as an "Insptr" [Inspector] and as an officer is this record of his service with General Tobias Stansbury of the assembled 11th Brigade.

Courtesy Baltimore City Archives, Maryland State Archives

address, where the "Sign of the Golden Gun" once hung, was now just the dwelling he occupied. He had invested in real estate beginning in 1809, and continued to do so in his later years. Haslett tried several other businesses, including as a principal in a coach and harness partnership.52 Beginning in 1822 he was also involved with his son, James Haslett, Jr., as a merchant grocer, which business was sold to one John H. Barney on the 15th of June 1829, "the business carried on by them has ceased."53 Haslett was honored in 1832 by being named a judge in the Sixth Election District, for his work during the contested defeat of Andrew Jackson in 1824, and the latter's subsequent election as president 4 years later.⁵⁴ In 1832 Haslett was listed merely as being in residence at 28 Water Street, before retiring to his estate in Southern Maryland at Drum Point, Calvert County, Maryland. He died at the estate on August 15, 1833, at the age of 60. His modest Baltimore residence and workshop, 28 Water Street, a "two story house with a back building attached late the residence of James Haslett, Esq. ... subject to a ground rent of \$25 per annum,"55 was offered at auction by Samuel H. Gover the following year. William Haslett administered the estate and advertised for claims against the estate on September 3, 1833, within 2 weeks of his father's death.

James Haslett, Sr., had been well trained in his chosen profession of gun making. While clearly capable, he does not seem to have really prospered making and merchandising arms. He seems to have achieved affluence in other ways, primarily through investing in Baltimore real estate. Haslett even took time to be a Regular Army officer. He

used his gunsmithing talents and experience in support of his fellow citizens, and even took the field by their side, if only briefly. Haslett had become a respected citizen and contributed to the defense of his adopted homeland and city in the climactic 1814 battle of Baltimore. Evidence of that commitment is sparse, with the three muskets discussed here among the best substantiation.

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NOTES:

- 1 Richard H. Randall, Jr. "James Haslett, Baltimore Gunsmith, Part I--His Life," The American Arms Collector, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 1957), and "James Haslett, Baltimore Gunsmith, Part II--His Work," Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1957); hereafter referred to as Randall, "Haslett, I" and "Haslett, II." Facts about Haslett's personal life that are not endnoted in this article can be assumed to have been drawn from the two parts of this article. Some of the material in the articles was included in the entry for "Haslett, James /Baltimore" in Daniel D. Hartzler, Arms Makers of Maryland (York, PA: George Shumway, Publisher, Longrifle Series, 1977), 162-8. Besides illustrating 11 firearms with Haslett's name on them (see endnote 9), many of the known advertisements involving Haslett are also included in the entry for "Haslett, James" in Daniel D. Hartzler and James B. Whisker, Gunsmiths of Maryland (Bedford, PA: Old Bedford Village Press, 1998), 151-3; hereafter referred to as Hartzler and Whisker, Gunsmiths. Any unattributed quotes or advertisements can be found in these publications.
- 2 George D. Moller, American Military Shoulder Arms, Vol. II, From the 1790s to the End of the Flintlock Period (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1993), 142, 146-9, 251, 253, 276-8; hereafter Moller, Shoulder Arms, II. Moller notes Robert McCormick was among a number of contractors to the U.S. Government for 1798 Contract Muskets. McCormick and Richard Johnston also contracted with Virginia on November 5, 1799 for 4,000 muskets. Only 925 were delivered, with the last 50 muskets being completed by James Haslett. There is an archival suggestion that both McCormick's and Haslett's names were put on the lock plates, although none so marked were observed by Giles Cromwell, nor by the author. John Miles agreed to manufacture the remaining 3,025 muskets, with surviving records only documenting 1,425 being delivered by April 1802. See also Peter A. Schmidt, U.S. Military Flintlock Muskets And Their Bayonets, The Early Years, 1790-1815 (Woonsocket, RI: Andrew Mowbray, Inc.—Publishers, 2006), 39-42, 46-8; hereafter referred to as Schmidt, Early Years. Schmidt documents McCormick delivered at least 3,986 muskets, some with parts and rough stocks provided by the Government; others made under a Government contract for 3,000 "Muskets complete, with bayonets and ramrod ... of the Charleville Model." Schmidt notes 120 muskets were delivered to the Government in 1802, after McCormick's bankruptcy, and their assembly may have been supervised by either Haslett or John Miles, who bought McCormick's shop and tools after the latter's bankruptcy. McCormick also contracted with the state of Pennsylvania on May 4, 1801 to deliver 1,000 muskets, but he had been imprisoned the same month for the bankruptcy and made no deliveries to that state. See also Giles Cromwell, The Virginia Manufactory of Arms (Charlotte, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1975), 4-7, 9, 16, 167; hereafter referred to as Cromwell, Virginia Manufactory. Cromwell notes Miles responded to Virginia's advertisement of July 15, 1801 and confirms he was given a contract for the remaining 3,025 muskets not delivered by McCormick. See also Craig D. Bell, "Virginia Manufactory of Arms: The Original Operating Years From 1802 Through 1821," The American Society of Arms Collectors Bulletin No. 104 (Fall 2011), 2-20. Other Bulletins that have articles that pertain to the Manufactory are Nos. 32, 33, 34, 44, 52 and 89.
- 3 John Clarke to the Governor of Virginia, July 23, 1801, as quoted

- in Randall, "Haslett, I," 54. John Clarke was Superintendent of Public Buildings, and oversaw the construction and establishment of the Virginia Manufactory of Arms, as well as the state penitentiary. He would become the first superintendent of the Manufactory. General John Shee served as an agent for the state of Virginia, working with various arms contractors and suppliers, including McCormick, Miles and Haslett. See "Guide to the Governor James Monroe Executive Papers, 1799, 1802," The Library of Virginia, Collection 40936. See also Cromwell, *Virginia Manufactory*, 167, where the delivery of the 600 muskets to Richmond by sea is detailed as having occurred between September 16, 1801 and February 22, 1802. See also Edward R. Flanagan, "Virginia Militia Long Arms," The American Society of Arms Collectors *Bulletin No. 34* (Fall 1976), 2-17; hereafter referred to as Flanagan, "Virginia Militia Arms."
- 4 Two of the three were altered to percussion ignition systems, likely at the beginning of the Civil War. For information on various modes of alteration, and to compare the Fisher bolster to the one in the Flanagan collection (which was also shown in Cromwell, *Virginia Manufactory*), see John M. Murphy, M.D. and Howard Michael Madaus, *Confederate Rifles & Muskets: Infantry Small Arms Manufactured in the Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Newport Beach, CA: Graphic Publishers, 1996), 227-9. Interestingly the hammer on the arm shown in Murphy and Madaus' book (which was in the Giles Cromwell collection when photographed) is also considered a replacement, but closely resembles that currently on the Flanagan musket.
- 5 Randall, "Haslett, I," 55.
- **6** Baltimore County Register of Wills, Indenture, 1803-6, 634, as quoted in Hartzler and Whisker, *Gunsmiths*, 151. In 1810 he advertised that Hands had run away after "nearly 4 years at the gun making business." No reason was given for the departure, but Haslett only offered a 1¢ reward, and "no other expenses paid." Clearly he did not expect the apprentice to be returned, and this was merely a public notice of the termination of the apprenticeship.
- 7 Easton, Maryland, Republican Star & Eastern Shore Advertiser, October 17, 1809.
- **8** Easton, Maryland, *Republican Star & Eastern Shore Advertiser*, November 11, 1806. See also Hartzler and Whisker, *Gunsmiths*, 152, for a similar ad in the same paper dated October 21, 1806.
- **9** Advertisement for a "Volunteer Patrol" published in the Baltimore Federal Republican, November 29, 1810.
- **10** Robert Wright (November 20, 1752 September 7, 1826) served as a U.S. Senator from Maryland from 1801-6, when he was elected the 12th Governor of Maryland (1806-9). He was followed by Edward Lloyd V (July 22, 1779 June 2, 1834), who served as the 13th Governor of Maryland (1809 -11), and as a United States Senator from Maryland (1819-26). Lloyd also had served as a U.S. Congressman from the seventh district of Maryland (1807-09).
- 11 Hartzler and Whisker, *Gunsmiths*, 153. That he was attempting to again manufacture arms after the War of 1812 was indicated by his noting that he was looking for another apprentice, of *"reputable*"

parents ... none other need apply."

- 12 Hartzler and Whisker, Gunsmiths, 153
- **13** James D. Julia Inc.'s October 2013 auction set a new record for an American cased set of dueling pistols when a Haslett-marked pair sold for \$195,000. See also Hartzler and Whisker, *Gunmsiths*, 16, 41, 46, 56-61.
- 14 Randall, "Haslett, II," 94.
- 15 Formerly in the collection of Hugh Benet, Jr., this arm was sold during the Conestoga auction of June 22, 2000 (Catalog 84-5, Item No. 437). It is now part of the Helen and Edward Flanagan collection. As noted in the auction description, on the bottom of the barrels are the markings HASLETT, as well as IH/BALTIMORE and TWIST/NARROW.
- **16** Maryland's Governor Lloyd proposed a "manufactory of arms" the same year, 1809, but the General Assembly, possibly after evaluating Virginia's experience with setting up its own manufactory of arms, which eventually achieved only modest success, did not pursue a state facility. See notice printed in the Easton, Maryland, *Republican Star & Eastern Shore Advertiser* for February 21, 1809, which notes the proposed capacity was for "1,000 arms complete."
- 17 Frederick C. Gaede and Joseph R. Marsden, "Maryland's Acquisitions of Muskets and Bayonets for the War of 1812," *Military Collector & Historian*, Vol. 65, No. 2 (Summer 2013), 108-29; hereafter referred to as Gaede & Marsden, "Acquisitions." Interestingly, this large contract was offered by the Governor's Council, and not by the state's General Assembly.
- 18 Randall, "Haslett, II," 97, Endnote 1, mentions all of Haslett's children were prominently "married after Haslett was well established in Baltimore"
- 19 Although the original legislation of 1793 placed no limitation on the number of regimental recruiting districts the state could have above the original 50, additional regiments were legislatively authorized. For example, An Act to Regulate & Discipline the Militia of This State (Annapolis, 1811) added the 51st Regiment. The 52nd and 53rd Regiments would be added later, the latter in 1835 to Baltimore City's Third Brigade. See An Act to Enrol, Organize, Equip, and Regulate the Militia of the State of Maryland, Passed December Session, 1834, Chapter 251, and the Supplement Thereto, Passed March 18, 1836 (Annapolis, Jeremiah Hughes, n.d. [ca. 1836]). It was about this time that "Maryland Volunteer Infantry" began to replace the designation of "Maryland Militia." See also The Baltimore Directory and Register for 1814-15 (Baltimore: Printed by J.G. O'Reilly, 1814), 268-9, "Baltimore Militia." See also Gaede & Marsden, "Acquisitions."
- **20** Militia Appointments [Book] 2, MSA SE6701 (Md5587/MdSR2332), 141Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Adjutant General Papers, 1794-1816. See also Microfilm 820907-11/4/81.
- **21** July 4th and 23rd, as well as August 3rd and 8th 1807, *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, as quoted in Hartzler and Whisker, *Gunmsiths*, 151. He likely had been elected lieutenant in June, or earlier, and acted in that capacity within the company thereafter, while

awaiting his official notice from Annapolis. The previous endnote recorded the effective date as August 5th.

- 22 Although this event has been well covered in the literature, a short synopsis is in order. On June 22, 1807 the HMS *Leopard* fired on and boarded the USS *Chesapeake*, which was not ready for an armed confrontation on the open sea but nevertheless had been sent out to show some American resolve. Four seamen who had deserted the Royal Navy were removed from the *Chesapeake*, and the British citizen among the four was subsequently hanged. The incident only served to increase tension between the United States and Great Britain, with an eventual result being a declaration of war in June 1812.
- 23 There is a discrepancy in the dates of service. The primary source, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Adjutant General Papers, 1794-1816, Militia Appointments 2, MSA SE6701 (Md5587/ MdSR2332), 141. Same for the 11th Brigade, 159. See also Microfilm for same 820907-11/4/81, which shows his appointment as captain on February 24, 1810. A secondary source, by a researcher familiar with these records, lists the promotion as occurring on May 12, 1813, with service of just 14 days and a resignation on June 2, 1813. See F. Edward Wright, Maryland Militia, War of 1812, Volume 2 (Silver Spring, MD: Privately published, 1979), 78. However, Wright's dates are also in conflict with Haslett's appointment to the 38th Regiment of U.S. Infantry. That is confirmed as having occurred on May 20, 1813, with service until his resignation on May 20, 1814. See Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army from its Organization, September 29, 1789, to March 2, 1903 (Washington: GPO, 1903), 510; hereafter referred to as Heitman, Register. For further confirmation by an early source, although also secondary, see also Charles Kitchell Gardner, A Dictionary of All Officers Who Have Been Commissioned, or Have Been Appointed and Served, in the Army of the United States ... Including the Distinguished Officers of the Volunteers and Militia of the States (New York: G.P. P:utnam and Co., 1853), 219, "James Haslett (Md); Capt 38 Inf 20 May 1813; resigned 20 May 1814. Brigade Major of Stansbury['s] Brigade in defense of Baltimore 1814."
- **24** Maryland State Archives, Adjutant General Papers, War of 1812 Papers, 1812-24, online archives msa-s3391-1-66-0176.
- **25** The 38th existed from January 29, 1813 under the command of Colonel Peter Little, until a consolidation occurred on May 17, 1815. Heitman, *Register*, 134.
- 26 Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812* (New York: Harper and Bros., Publishers, 1868), 948. The members of the committee were Edward Johnson, Mayor, James Buchannan, Thorndike Chase, James Mosher, Henry Payson, Samuel Sterrett, Luke Tiernan, and Dr. J.C. White. Buchannan would mismanage War of 1812 hero Sam Smith's mercantile business and speculate in the stock of a branch of the second Bank of the United States, contributing to the Panic of 1819 and Smith's financial ruin. However, even after displaying fraudulent behavior, Buchannan apparently insulated himself so he never suffered either monetarily or with a conviction.
- **27** Maryland State Archives, Baltimore City Archives, War of 1812 Records (BRG 22), online archives bca_brg22_1_0006 and 0007.

- 28 For example, as provided in Gaede & Marsden, "Acquisitions." There is a high probability that such evidence will be found as the Baltimore City archives are just beginning to be accessible, and there are many files of miscellaneous documents in the Hall of Records from the era of the War of 1812 regarding state activities that remain to be examined.
- 29 None of the 65+ muskets examined by the author to date that can be associated with Maryland through markings have brass pans and thus correspond with the description in Haslett's letter.
- 30 Moller, Shoulder Arms, II, 268.
- **31** The numeral 6 in the 6.M.M marks are similar in style to the single number 6 on the Flanagan musket, made by Nippes. See also *Man at Arms*, "Ricochet," Vol. 37, No. 3 for a photograph of one of the 6.M.M marks.
- **32** Maryland State Archives, Baltimore City Archives, War of 1812 Records (BRG 22), online archives msa-sc5458-45-20-0359 and duplicated at -0465.
- 33 The topic of 18th Century French musket patterns is complex and no definitive typology has been completed, if such an objective could be attained. Moller, Shoulder Arms, II, 143, is helpful with the following about one feature defining different models, bayonet lug placement: "The French Model 1766 musket was originally equipped with a bayonet lug located on the underside of the barrel, 1 1/8" behind the muzzle. In 1770 several thousand Model 1766 and earlier muskets were altered for a bayonet adopted in 1769. The alteration included the relocating of the bayonet lug to the top of the barrel, 1 1/4" behind the muzzle. In 1771 the barrels of many of these muskets were again modified for a newly adopted bayonet, by removing the lugs to the underside of the barrel, 1 7/8" behind the muzzle." However, a number of other aspects of an extant musket need to be evaluated before a model can be assigned to it, or relegated to having been assembled in the U.S. afterwards, but with French components delivered during the Revolutionary War.
- **34** Michael R. Carroll, *New Hampshire Marked French Revolutionary War Muskets* (Potomac, MD: Privately published, 2009), 12-7. See also Michael R. Carroll, "New Hampshire Marked French Muskets of the Revolutionary War," The American Society of Arms Collectors, *Bulletin No. 100* (September 2009), 35-46.
- 35 Surviving receipts indicate Nicholson repaired, and likely marked, at least 5,971 muskets between 1780 and 1784. George D. Moller, *American Military Shoulder Arms, Vol. I, Colonial and Revolutionary War Arms* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1993), 151-8.
- **36** Moller, *Shoulder Arms, II*, 216. He suggests it was assembled from metal components intended for a French M1766 musket, an opinion confirmed in a personal message to the author dated June 21, 2014.
- 37 A number of original French and American-made replacement bayonets were fitted to these muskets during the last quarter of the 18th Century, and later. For more information on them see Joseph R. Marsden, "US Bayonets C-1784-1813 for French Muskets M1768-1774," Society of American Bayonet Collector's (SABC) *Journal No. 33* (Fall 2000), and Frederick C. Gaede and Joseph R. Marsden, "More on US Bayonets in the 1780s and 1790s," SABC *Journal No.*

- 93 (Fall 2015).
- 38 Moller, Shoulder Arms, II, 216.
- **39** Maryland State Archives, Baltimore City Archives, War of 1812 Records (BRG 22), online archives msa-sc5458-45-20-0163. The payment was approved by Samuel Sterrett, a Committee of Supply member and brother of Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Sterrett (1773-1821), commander of the 5th Regiment, Maryland Militia, at the battle of North Point and in the defense of Baltimore on Hampstead Hill.
- 40 The musket was in the collection of the late Edward Kemp. The Governor's Council "ordered that the Executive will take of Mr. J. Joseph Henry of Philadelphia, for the use of the State of Maryland one thousand Muskets at twelve Dollars and seventy five cents each Musket; the same to be delivered in six weeks from the twelfth day of July instant [1813] and will continue to take one thousand Stand of Muskets every six weeks till the order shall be countermanded of which three weeks notice shall be given. By order, Ninian Pinkney, Clerk." Henry Family Papers (Accession 1209), Box 8, Folder 8, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware. See also Gaede & Marsden, "Acquisitions," for an examination of how Henry used other gun makers to help fill as much as he could of the open-ended contract. In addition the 39th Regiment received 425 muskets from the 3,050 received in 1813 from the Federal Government, later classified as having been distributed under the Militia Act of 1808. See Maryland State Archives, Adjutant General Papers, War of 1812 Papers, 1812-24, online archives msa-sc5458-45-20-0010, for an 1817 recapitulation of the flow of arms between the Federal Government and Maryland.
- 41 Third Brigade Quartermaster Colonel Richard Waters sent (at least) three "Receipts for Stamping Muskets" to the adjutant general of the state of Maryland, indicating 1,692 muskets were marked after the War of 1812 ended. On June 28, 1815 Waters was paid a penny each for marking 660 muskets; on October 3, 1815 for 716 more; and on January 6, 1816 for a final 316. Contingent Expenses of Colonel Richard Waters, Brigade Quarter Master, Adjutant General Papers, War of 1812, S931, Box 68, Folder 37, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, MD.
- **42** Tobias E. Stansbury (1757-October 25, 1849) was from a pioneering family of Baltimore County, Maryland. He served in the General Assembly of Maryland from 1800 until 1815, and again from 1819 until 1823. For six of those years he was Speaker of the House.
- 43 James Lakin, *The Baltimore Directory and Register, for 1814-15* (Baltimore: Printed by J. G. O'Reilly, 1814), 269; hereafter referred to as Lakin, *Directory*. Research by Scott Sheads indicates the 11th Brigade was composed of elements from the 7th, 15th, 36th, and 46th Regiments of Infantry from Baltimore County. He further notes in 1813 a regiment called the 2nd Regiment of the 11th Brigade was formed of miscellaneous companies and commanded by Captain John Randall during the defense of Baltimore.
- 44 The illustration, by a British officer, Sir Malcolm Pulteney, indicates the American entrenchments were along "Chinkapin Hill." Interestingly, Major General Samuel Smith refers to that hill by the same name, "Chinquepin hill," in a letter to the Committee of Vigilance & Safety dated August 27, 1814 requesting men and implements to work on the entrenchments. Baltimore City Archives, (BRG

- 22, War of 1812 Records, msa-SG5488-45-20-682.
- 45 Probably a relative of John Randall just noted, Beall Randall had served as a major in the 2nd Regiment of the 11th Brigade from April 29 to July 8, 1813. Randall then served as Brigade Major for General Stansbury until September 2, 1814, when he transferred to command a rifle battalion. Probably aware of things related to his former regiment, and a vacancy on the general's staff having been created, Haslett promptly took advantage of the situationand attached himself the following day. See F. Edward Wright, *Maryland Militia War of 1812, Vol. 2, Baltimore* (Silver Spring, MD: Family Line, 1979), 59.
- 46 As noted, initially it had been hoped a connection with the appointment as brigade major could be made with an appointment to be a designated inspector of arms for the state. However, this narrative has shown no such connection could be established. See Lakin, *Directory*, 269 for such a designation for James Calhoun, on the staff of Brigadier General John Stricker of the Third Division from Baltimore City since at least July 10, 1812; and Isaac Dickson, on Stansbury's staff near the end of 1814.
- 47 If Haslett did indeed just volunteer his service, he was not alone. A number of rosters of the times reflect individuals having joined a particular unit just before the British landed on September 12, 1814, and proceeded to attack the city by land and water. "Roster of Defenders in the War of 1812," [incomplete]. Extracted from original rolls in the Treasury Department, 3rd Auditor's Office, September 10, 1839. Baltimore City Archives, BRG 22 Series 1 Box 6 HRS 614 [BCA BRG22-1-6-4-1]. See also William M. Marine, *British Invasion of Maryland*, 1812-1815 (Baltimore: Society of War of 1812 in Maryland, 1913), 316. See also *The Citizen Soldiers at North Point and Fort McHenry September 12 & 13 1814* (Baltimore: Nathaniel Hickman, [n.d.; 1852]), 2. Marine and Hickman probably used the first named source for their compilations of service in the two battles.
- 48 Portions of the Maryland Militia were in Federal service from August 19 until discharged November 18, 1814. In a private collection is the original ceremonial discharge for Private John Pocock of the 27th Regiment, preprinted with the date of November 18, 1814, and signed by Colonel Kennedy Long (1763-1828), commander. Privates Daniel Wells (of Wells and McComas fame) and John Pocock were the plaintiffs in a suit against Colonel Long and John Kennedy (Pocock's company captain) about forcible service in their militia companies. The judge ruled a crisis existed by the invasion of the state, and both had been properly taken into service. They were turned back over to their captains. *Niles Weekly Register* "Martial Law Case," (Baltimore: By the Editor at The Franklin Press, n.d [ca. 1815]), Vol. V, 47-8.

- 49 Maryland State Archives, Baltimore City Archives, War of 1812 Records (BRG 22), bca-brg22-1-1565. The invoice was now addressed to "The Committee of Vigilance & Safety." Although the last digit cannot be discerned, an 181X-dated Harpers Ferry musket with 27 REGT. double branded in front of the trigger guard was formerly in the collection of Edward Kemp. Another Harpers Ferry-marked musket with the same 27 REGT. mark can be seen in Schmidt, Early Years, 118.
- **50** Randall, "Haslett, I," 57 The address given was 22 Water Street; however that was no doubt a typographical error as every other reference has Haslett at 28 at this time. See also Flanagan, "Virginia Militia Arms."
- 51 Baltimore Patriot, September 13, 1815. There is no evidence Haslett ever traveled to London to personally supervise the fabrication of any firearms he retailed. Business being business, note how quickly trade between his London contacts and Haslett resumed after the war. In January 1815 an advertisement appeared selling "an elegant Patent Breached FOWLING PIECE, with mahogany case, and every apparatus for cleaning complete (of Haslett's make.) She can be seen any time previous to the sale—Considered by judges as a first rate gun." Baltimore Telegraph, January 26, 1815.
- 52 Hartzler and Whisker, Gunsmiths, 152-3.
- **53** Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser, July 1, 1829. The advertisement was published under the names of James Haslett and James Haslett, Jr.
- 54 During the mid-term elections of 1826 Haslett was chairman of a Jackson Meeting of voters from the Fifth and Sixth Wards of Baltimore, which approved resolutions in support of the presidential candidate, defeated in 1824 but elected in 1828. They also resolved to "unite as Jacksonians, in the support of John P. Kennedy, esq. [sic]" Baltimore Patriot, September 29, 1826. An accomplished poet and author, Kennedy had been a member of the Fifth Maryland Regiment's Baltimore United Volunteers at Bladensburg, North Point and during the defense of Baltimore in 1814. He later became an officer in the Maryland Militia, and would go on to become President Millard Fillmore's Secretary of the Navy, 1852-3, helping to open Japan to trade with the West.
- **55** Baltimore Patriot, February 28, 1834. The dwelling was on a lot 17 feet wide and running back 100 feet. It was not clear from Federal Census records how many individuals were housed in this dwelling, which also provided Haslett with his retail shop and a workshop. However, he had a wife and at least two sons there, as well as a servant and apprentice at times.