THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE PATTERN PISTOL OF 1840

by Lewis F Southard

The Pattern Pistol of 1840 is a unique example of a pattern pistol submitted to the Ordnance Board for their review and approval of changes (Figure 1). The plans to change some of the features on the Model 1836 flintlock pistol began in late 1839. Period correspondence refers to the changes as "Pattern of 1839"; however, the Ordnance Board did not approve the changes until January 15, 1840. The term "Pattern" is used because these changes were not considered to be a different model. These improvements are occurring in a period of massive change in the history of military arms manufacturing. Arms making machinery had developed to a point that a system of interchangeable parts could be implemented. That allowed the Ordnance Department to make the decision to adopt the Percussion System. The Ordnance Department realized that such a massive change would require time to develop new models on the percussion system and require arms contractors to re-tool with new machinery. The new models would be precisely made and inspected to gauge. The Pattern 1840 changes occurred during this pivotal point. The changes underscore the realization that the flintlock ignition had to continue for a few more years. The story of the Pattern 1840 illustrates that the Ordnance Department could demand precise changes in parts and signal that in the future such precise machinery work would be achieved.

Provenance

Joe Desserich, a noted U.S. military pistol collector from Foster, Ohio, acquired an unusual pistol at the very first Milwaukee Gun Report show. The show was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on June 22-24, 1973; previously, the show had been held in Tulsa, OK. This new location was an exciting event for a number of veteran arms collectors living in reasonable driving distance. The Gun Report Show had a reputation for quality arms. Fortunately a number of collectors today have sharp, fond memories of these shows, which helped to establish the provenance of this very unusual pistol.[1]

The pistol on first glance is a Model 1836 contract pistol fabricated by Robert Johnson of Middletown, Connecticut 1836-1845 and Asa Waters of Millbury, Massachusetts 1837-1845. However, on closer examination it has several unique features. Over the years this pistol's unique features generated considerable discussion among collectors. Noted collector Mead Patterson once borrowed the pistol for an exhibit of Model 1836 pistols declaring: "If I win an award it will be because of this pistol."[2] After Joe Desserich's death in 1978, the pistol was acquired by Luke Woods and passed into the collection of Bob Saddler in 1996 and into the collection of the author in 2016. The pistol was displayed with Mead Patterson's pistols at the American Society of Arms Collectors (ASAC) meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, 1983. The pistol also was displayed at the National Rifle Association meeting in Louisville, Kentucky in 2016 and at the ASAC meeting at Saratoga, New York in 2018.

This unique pistol has been in the collections of ASAC members for 49 years and displayed at least three times, but has remained a mystery. It is a credit to the ASAC collectors who recognized the uniqueness of this pistol and maintained it unchanged until it could be researched and identified.

The initial feature that intrigued collectors was the stamping on the lock. Instead of the usual marking on Model 1836 pistols made by Johnson and Waters this pistol has deep and clear stamps of U.S. over a spread wing eagle and R. Johnson in a curve under the eagle (Figure 2). Less visible are the lock features that define the pistol as the Pattern 1840.

Figure 1. Modification to the 1836 flintlock pistol; the Pattern Pistol of 1840.

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Figure 2. Close up of the lack plate for the Pattern Pistol of 1840, note the eagle stamping with "R. Johnson" in an arch below.

The Pattern Pistol of 1839-1840

During a visit to Robert Johnson's Armory in Middletown, Connecticut, in the fall of 1839, Colonel George Talcott, Chief of Ordnance, proposed a plan to increase the size of the small pins (screws) of the pistol lock.[3] Robert Johnson, working with Major Henry Knox Craig, Inspector of Contract Arms, and Colonel George Bomford, the prior Chief of Ordnance, designed the Model 1836 Flintlock Pistol.[4] Considering that Johnson was the model maker and had been making the pistols since 1836, Talcott would logically discuss changes with him. Although this discussion was not recorded a follow-up letter from Johnson to Talcott on November 7, 1839 addresses the changes.

> *When you were in Middletown last it was talked about increasing all the small pins of the pistol lock to the size of the battery spring pin and also the barrel of the tumbler, which is thought by us very important on account of the springs being required stronger that those in the moddel* [sic] *pistol. If it should meet your views I would thank you for early information as practicable on account of getting ready so as to make no mistake as I am now repairing tools.*[5]

On November 12, 1839 Talcott responded to Johnson: *"…the subject of the changes to the pistol lock will be taken up as soon as the Board of Officers is convened and your letter will be fully answered."* Talcott wrote again on December 31, 1839: *"…communicate as soon as practicable to this office the few small changes that were suggested as proper to be made to the parts of pistols to be manufactured if there is no additional cost as no change in the model is anticipated."*[6]

This change in the lock screws may have been in part due to a report received by Mann Page Lomax, Inspector of Contract Arms, from Colonel Talcott on August 8, 1839: *"The following list of the parts or arms in the hand of the First Regiment of Dragoons, which have been replaced or repaired by Captain Symington during the 6 months between October 31, 1838 and April 30, 1839."* The list included both carbines and pistols. The most replaced item was lock screws with a total of 29 as compared to nine tumbler screws and six tumblers, seven tang screws, and 14 lock screws. As four band springs are also listed, the First Dragoons may have had Model 1819 pistols. However, the comparatively larger number of replacement lock screws is much greater than the top jaw and flint screw, which are easily lost, but accounted for only eight of each.[7]

In contemplating his contract arrangements for 1840-45, Johnson again brought up the subject of the changes in the lock screws in a letter dated January 9, 1840: *"… If there should be an alteration in the pins as has been suggested I should wish the privilege of delivering say 500 as the pins now are in the pistols to be delivered in Middletown Connt."* [8] Johnson's next delivery was 750 pistols on May 9, 1840.[9]

On January 15, 1840 the Ordnance Board approved the decision to go forward with the recommended lock changes to the pistol. On February 16, 1841 in a letter to the small arms makers, Bomford informed them that the Board of Ordnance, with the approval of the Secretary of War, reconsidered their recommendation of January 15, 1840 clarifying that *"…All screws made for small arms with the exception of the flint screws be made of Iron, The flint screw is to be made of steel."*[10] These changes also applied to the National Armories and they were informed by letters on February 16, 1841.[11]

On February 7, 1840 Asa Waters signed a contract with the Ordnance Department for 15,000 pistols to be delivered in five years. The contract states that: *"It is also agreed that the said Asa Waters & Son shall be furnished by the Ordnance Department with a model or standard pistol of the Pattern of 1839 to be used as a pattern."* [12] On the same day February 7, 1840 Talcott ordered Lomax to send a new model:

> *Asa Waters has a contract for pistols plus appendages two bullet moulds, 25 screw drivers, four ball screws, and two spring vises.* [for each 50 pistols] *You will please take measure to furnish them with a model pistol by selecting one of the best of Johnson's manufacture of the same pattern as those delivered in 1839, except as respecting certain lock screws, which Mr. Johnson has been authorized to increase in diameter. This model will be used until another of a different description is prepared, which is expected will be accomplished in the work of this year.* [13]

Talcott informed Asa Waters on March 2, 1840 that he was sending a model pistol from Johnson's works that was intended to show the changes made in the size of the screws & tumbler.[14] Waters perhaps a little perturbed about the model changes replied: *"We understand that Mr. Johnson is to furnish us with another model or pattern pistol? Of the one furnished us before I have nothing to say - enquire of the inspectors- but I will respectfully ask the same privilege to furnish Mr. Johnson with a model."* [15] On June 15, 1840 Waters stated they had received a new model pistol from Mr. Johnson *"made expressly for our use on which they have been at work for about two months."* [16]

From these letters it is clear that the pistol sent to Asa Waters was a Model 1836 pistol likely dated 1840 chosen from those delivered and modified with the Pattern 1840 changes approved by the Ordnance Board. By June of 1840 Johnson would have used up the 500 pistol locks on hand with the small screws with his May 23, 1840 delivery of 750 pistols. He would have been well along preparing the August 23, 1840 delivery of 1,050 pistols when he supplied the pattern pistol to Waters. Therefore, Waters received a standard production Johnson pistol likely dated 1840 complete with the new screws.

From the above records it is clear that the changes in the Model 1836 pistol began during a visit of Talcott to the Robert Johnson Factory before November of 1839. The reply to Johnson's letter by Talcott on November 17, 1839 indicates the changes were to proceed. In late December it appears that Talcott is requesting a pattern model from Johnson for the upcoming Ordnance Board meeting on January 15, 1840 at which time the changes were officially approved. The pattern pistol was likely made in December of 1839. The contract with Asa Waters dated February 7, 1840 refers to the Pattern of 1839. The Board of Ordnance made one final change to the pistols on February 16, 1841.

Description

The pistol generally follows the Model 1836 military flintlock pistol manufactured in 1836-1845. It is in excellent condition. The first unusual feature is the stamping on the lock plate. The polished plate is deeply stamped U.S. over a spread wing eagle and R. Johnson in a curve under the eagle (Figure 2). The stamp is similar to the one used by Robert Johnson for his Model 1817 rifles. The lock plate is a very soft metal, with casting flaws. This soft metal accounts for the unusually deep stamp on the lock plate. The lock plate is not well finished on the interior. The brass pan is indifferently fitted to the lock. The assembly codes VV, MM, and L are stamped on the inside of the pan (Figure 3). The pan bears the inspector stamp S; however, the pan does not fit the lock. The tumbler, bridle and the lock screws have a fine blue finish and marked with the letter L. The treatment is different from any of the other lock components. The cock and cock screw are also stamped with the L.

The stock is nicely finished and has the sub-inspector stamp JCS in an oval cartouche as well as S stamped on the tail of the lock flat (Figure 4). These are the initials of John C. Stebbins, Springfield Armory Inspector. The iron mountings are also stamped with an S of Stebbins. The stock does not have the final inspection cartouche of the Ordnance Officer for contract arms who at this time would have been the MPL cartouche of Major Mann Page Lomax. The barrel is stamped with the standard proof marking US NWP P with the final inspection S on the barrel flat. Nahum W. Patch, originally from Harpers Ferry Armory, was assigned full-time to Middletown, Connecticut in 1831. The barrel has the assembly codes MM and 7.

The pistol's unusual components are confined to the lock. The deep, clear stamping of the lock plate and the treatment of the tumbler and lock screws separate this pistol from other Model 1836 pistols. The finely prepared lock screws mounted on a specially marked but indifferent lock plate suggest that this pistol is Robert Johnson's pattern submitted to the Ordnance Board on January 15, 1840 to illustrate the proposed changes in the Model 1836 Pistol. The pistol simply served as a "platform" on which the feature under review was mounted. In this case this pistol's purpose was to only display the tumbler and lock screw changes under review.

To test this explanation the lock was dismounted and the screws and tumbler carefully measured. The diameter of the battery spring pin (frizzen spring screw) was used to set the size for the proposed changes in the other lock screws. The battery spring pin shaft on a number of sampled Model 1836 pistols measures .135 inches. The shaft of the finely blued lock screws on the Pattern Pistol measure .135 inches. The same process was used for the tumbler.

The internal lock pin shaft measurement on samples dated 1836-39 measure .130 to .132 inches in diameter and the tumbler barrel measures .273 to .285 in diameter. On pistols dated 1842-44 the shaft on the internal lock screws are a consistent .135 and the tumbler barrel is also a consistent .290. The consistency of the pistol screws in the later pistols indicates precision in the manufacturing of the lock parts matching the pattern. Although the model 1836 pistols are not interchangeable, the new model and later production pistols show an increase in the consistency of the components. Measurement trials of the internal lock screws clearly show that screws from the 1840s dated pistols are too large to fit into the lock plates of the 1830s dated pistols.

These measurements support the changes in the lock components approved by the Ordnance Board in 1840-41. The unusual stamping on the lock plate and the finely finished featured lock screws combine to identify this pistol as the Pattern 1840 completed by Robert Johnson in late 1839, submitted to the Ordnance Board and approved on January 15, 1840. That Pattern approval is reaffirmed with additional changes by the Ordnance Board on February 16, 1841, which added that the flint screw was to be made of steel and clarifying the lock pins were to be made of iron.

Figure 3. Lock plate interior of the Pattern Pistol of 1840.

Figure 4. Note the cartouche "JCS" for John C. Stebbins and the single "S" to the right of it as a sub-inspector mark for Stebbins.

Inspection cartouche of John C. Stebbins (1794-1876) and the changing times.

One of the features that puzzled the collectors was the presence of the JCS inspection cartouche on the stock (Figure 4). John C. Stebbins inspected Johnson pistols in April and October of 1838. During most of 1838 Stebbins was inspecting at Asa Waters in Millbury, Massachusetts. At this time Stebbins was considered one of the best inspectors at Springfield Armory. Stebbins began working at Springfield Armory in 1814 primarily in the filing shop. He was made an inspector in 1833.[17] Stebbins was employed at Springfield when the Ordnance Department began considering adopting the percussion system.

On June 16, 1838 the Secretary of War in a letter to Chief of Ordnance George Bomford required that an Ordnance Board be convened:

> *I am unwilling to sanction any departure from patterns, models, dimensions of the ordnance or ordnance stores without full examination by the board. I concur with the Chief of Ordnance to create a board…* [18]

One of Bomford's concerns was how to phase out of the flintlock contract arms. On December 18, 1838 Bomford ordered Major Mann P. Lomax, Inspector of Contract Arms, stationed at Watertown, Massachusetts Arsenal: *"To designate an intelligent and confidential inspector to ascertain how much stock was on hand that would need to be used up before the introduction of new models."* [19]

On December 26, 1838 John C. Stebbins received written orders from Major Lomax. Due to the anticipated changes in the Model Musket Stebbins was ordered to inspect the parts on hand at the various private armories. In addition he was ordered to also inspect the carbine and pistol contractors. Lomax stated: *"You must be aware of its great importance, and in selecting you for the service, great confidence is manifested in your zeal and ability."* Stebbins' orders accompany his "Form 29" for travel expenses. The investigation covered 40 days from January 4 to February 25, 1839. The $233.00 expense was charged to the "Arming the Militia" account.[20] Stebbins submitted his written reports to Lomax on February 24, 1839 and Lomax submitted the reports to Colonel George Bomford, Chief of Ordnance, on February 27, 1839. Lomax noted in the letter that the report was deficient in not addressing the tooling changes that would be necessary.[21]

The inventory shows that an abundance of parts were present at Waters' and Johnson's armories. Waters was carrying significantly more inventory than Johnson. The individual parts ranged from two to five thousand items each. Stocks seemed to be the only consistent low number in each establishment.

On November 4, 1839 Talcott submitted a report to Secretary of War Joel R. Poinsett on the capability of the private armories fabricating arms for the United States. Talcott visited seven armories and used a list of questions to obtain information. Talcott reported that Waters and Johnson had sufficient buildings and machinery to manufacture pistols. It was noted that due to scanty water supply Johnson had employed a steam engine. Former pistol maker Simeon North in Middletown, Connecticut was reported to have extensive machinery and conducted no operations by hand. According to Talcott, North had achieved interchangeable parts with the Hall carbines he was making.[22] Six of North's employees formed H. Aston and Company and fabricated the Model 1842 percussion pistols beginning in 1846.

The JCS on the Stock

Because of the esteem that Stebbins enjoyed with Ordnance Department leadership, questions emerged during the research concerning the JCS inspection cartouche. Did the presence of the JCS on the stock signify involvement with the development of the Pattern Pistol? One of Stebbins' specialties at Springfield had been filing tumblers.[23] An understanding of the inspection process and the inspection records makes Stebbins' role clear.

The JCS cartouche on the stock indicates the finished pistol was passed by Stebbins as sub-inspector. The Stebbins S also appears on the flat of the barrel indicating that the proofed barrel had been finished and passed inspection. The S is also present on the mountings and on the pan (Figure 5). However, the Ordnance Inspection cartouche MPL of Major Mann P. Lomax is not present indicating that on final inspection Lomax noted a flaw and the pistol was rejected. These pistols were not inspected by gauge. If the rejected pistol could be easily repaired it may be resubmitted. If not, it was set aside. Stebbins' only inspections for Johnson were on April 26, 1838 for 500 pistols and October 2, 1838 for 650 pistols. Stebbins made four inspections for Asa Waters; the last on November 27, 1838. Although inspecting pistols was new to Stebbins, he had been inspecting contract muskets since 1837.[24]

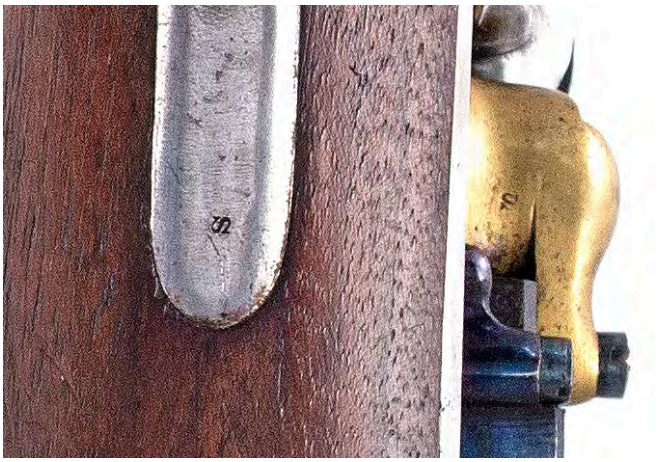

Figure 5. Note the sub-inspector marking of "S" for Stebbins on the finial of the trigger guard and under the pan.

A thorough examination of the pistol without the lock does not reveal any flaws that would reject the pistol nor are there any C stamps for condemnation. Since a different inferior lock plate was used for the new screws and the Stebbins' inspected pan is a poor fit to the lock plate and the lock has an extra set of mating marks, a logical conclusion is something about the original lock caused the Ordinance Officer's rejection.

The review of the Ordnance Inspector was to check the work of the sub-inspector. Stebbins, a relatively new pistol inspector, may have missed a flaw in the original lock plate that was caught by Lomax. Although the JCS cartouche nor Stebbins had anything to do with developing the components of the Pattern Pistol, the presence of his initials narrow the time frame to late in the year 1838.

One final possibility to be considered is that this rejected pistol may be a post contract sale. Asa Waters fabricated numerous pistols from rejected parts for private sale including flintlocks and the percussion "Flat Lock Waters." Robert Johnson was allowed an extra delivery to use up any parts on hand. He delivered his last 750 pistols on May 15, 1845. Robert Johnson then closed his business, sold the buildings, and retired to farming as a wealthy man. There were no Robert Johnson after-contract sales.

Why the changes in the Model 1836 Pistols?

Because the initial conversation about the changes to the Model 1836 pistol were verbal between Talcott and Johnson there is no written evidence concerning the "problem" they were addressing. The limited correspondence provides a few clues, along with Johnson's letters during the development of the Model 1836. During the development of the Model 1836 pistol, Johnson was given instructions to increase the width of the battery and the pan over the size of the Model 1819 pistols. The French Model 1822, which was also used as a pattern, features an even wider battery and pan than the Model 1836. In addition the base of the battery that covers the pan on the French pistol has a concave surface to allow the pan to be over full. This feature was not adopted on the Model 1836. Colonel George, Chief of Ordinance, informed Major Henry Knox Craig on April 21, 1835: *"The difference is made for the greater security of fire. This will be the only difference you will instruct Mr. Johnson on this subject."* [25] Johnson's letters also allude to the strength of the lock springs. The main spring had to be powerful to throw the cock and attached flint against the enlarged battery (frizzen) to assure there was ignition. The Model 1836 battery and pan are larger than the 1819, but smaller than the French Model 1822.

The Model 1836 pistols were issued immediately to mounted troops engaged in the Second Seminole War in Florida. The 2nd U.S. Dragoons were issued Model 1836 pistols. Field and combat use may have suggested some changes to improve the ignition.

In June 1840 Asa Waters ordered spring steel for his pistols from Sheffield, England provided by the firm of Naylor, Hutchinson and Vickers. Note this order was placed after he received his production model with the pattern changes.

- 1,000 double sure shot drawn to size of gauge 2 for mainsprings
- 500 cast steel gauge drawn to size 3 for hammer springs
- 250 cast steel to size 1 for sear springs
- 1,500 English Blister mill drawn down to size to gauge 4 id double shear for screw drivers. [26]

The quality of the steel and the need for a powerful main spring may have put considerable pressure on the small lock screws. The cock rotates the tumbler against the mainspring. The small square on the tumbler that protrudes through the lock plate attaches the cock with only a small screw. It is not unusual to observe on pistols in relic condition that the cock has snapped off the tumbler.

Conclusion

This change to the Model 1836 pistol was a change in "Pattern" within the Model 1836. The Ordnance Department clarified this change would be made with no additional cost. The changes were likely to improve the ignition. The Ordnance Department was beginning to make plans to change the entire system from flintlock to percussion. If the original model improvements were to secure better ignition with a larger capacity pan, a larger battery, and a more powerful spring, then field use during the Florida campaigns may have pointed out that a more robust tumbler and lock screws were needed to support the initial improvements. The field report of replacement parts for 1ST Dragoon pistols in 1839 shows a disproportionate failure of lock screws. Even if these pistols were the older Model 1819s it illustrates this was not a new problem.

The Stebbins report and the Talcott investigation of the capability of the contractors clearly show that the Ordnance Department was moving toward a massive change to percussion ignition. It would be another six years before the first Model 1842 percussion pistols were delivered by H. Aston and Company. The Ordnance Department clearly did not want to develop a new model flintlock pistol. The archival records clearly show that in late 1830 Robert Johnson and Colonel Talcott engineered a fix for an ignition problem. Johnson made up a pattern model for the Ordnance Board to consider. This pattern was approved by the Ordnance Board on January 15, 1840. The pattern pistol sent to Asa Waters was a Johnson production pistol likely dated 1840 with the changes already in place. Technically the last half of the production should be termed Model 1836 - Pattern 1840.

The fate of the first two Model 1836 patterns is unknown. It would be interesting to know if Johnson used his rifle stamp on those as well and that is why it was applied to the Pattern 1840 lock plate? These pistols were the last model flintlock pistols the United States would make. The French Model 1822 was also the last flintlock model for France. This unique pistol was created at

the pivotal era between a handicraft arms industry and the machine era, which would become known as the American System of Manufacturing. This small change shows that the Ordnance Department could require standard screws to be made by contractors. Screw making machinery was just becoming available in the United States.

The physical and archival evidence combine to identify the unusual pistol acquired by Joe Desserich in 1973 as THE Pattern pistol made up by Robert Johnson in 1839 to illustrate the proposed changes in the Model 1836 pistol. The Ordnance Board's role was only to review those components suggested for change. The rejected pistol and poor quality lock are simply a platform to display the screws and tumbler and show where they fit.

The pistol is an Ordnance Board Pattern not a model! The Pattern was reviewed and approved by the Ordnance Board on January 15, 1840. This unique pattern is the very last flintlock pattern pistol. The flintlock era was at an end.

Endnotes

1 Personal conversations with Luke Woods, Spruce Pine, NC, and Peter Schmidt, Menomonee Falls, WI, 2016-2022.

2 Personal conversations with Luke Woods, Spruce Pine, NC, 2016-2022.

3 The term pin in the era meant a "screw" that went into metal while the term screw was reserved for insertion into wood. The term battery was used for what is more commonly called today a frizzen.

4 Lewis F. Southard, "The Model 1836 Pattern Pistol". *Military Collector and Historian*, Volume 49, No. 1 Spring 1997, 12-17.

5 Robert Johnson to Colonel George Talcott, November 7, 1839, Record 156, Office Chief of Ordnance, Entry 21, National Archives Records Administration.

6 Talcott to Johnson, November 12, 1830, and December 31, 1839, RG 156, OCO, E 3, NARA.

7 Talcott to Major Mann Page Lomax, August 8, 1839, RG 156, OCO, E 6, Volume 1, 183-184, NARA.

8 Johnson to Talcott, January 9, 1840, RG 156, OCO, E 21, NARA.

9 Settled Accounts for the Second Auditor, Record Group 217, Entry 523, Box 550, Certificate No. 4567, Inspected by John Hawkins and Mann P. Lomax, NARA.

10 Colonel George Bomford to Asa Waters and Robert Johnson et al., February 16, 1841, RG 156, OCO, E 3, Volume 32, NARA.

11 George Bomford to Edward Lucas, Harpers Ferry and John Robb, Springfield, February 16, 1841, RG 156, E 6, OCO, Volume 2, 351, NARA.

12 George Talcott, Contract with Asa Waters, February 7, 1840, RG 217, NARA.

13 Talcott to Lomax, February 7, 1840, RG 156, OCO, E 3, NARA.

14 Talcott to Waters, March 2, 1840, RG 156, OCO, E 3, NARA.

15 Asa H. Waters to Colonel George Talcott, July 22, 1840, RG 156, OCO, E 21, NARA.

16 Waters to Talcott, June 15, 1840, RG 156, OCO, E 21, NARA.

17 Anthony C. Daum and Charles W. Pate, *U.S. Military Arms Inspector Marks*. Andrew Mowbray Incorporated Publishers, Woonsocket, RI, 2016. P. 183

18 Peter A. Schmidt, *U.S. Military Flintlock Muskets, The Early Years 1790-1815* Andrew Mowbray, Incorporated Publishers, Woonsocket, RI, 2006. P. 117

19 Bomford to Lomax, December 18, 1838, RG 156, OCO, E 3, Volume 30, 268-69, NARA.

20 C. Howard, Paymaster, Springfield Armory, February 25, 1839, RG 217, E 523, Folder 3378, NARA.

21 Lomax to Bomford, February 27, 1839, John C. Stebbins to Mann P. Lomax February 25, 1839, enclosing Tabulated Report, Record Group 156, OCO, Letters Received 1812-1894, E 21, Box 133, Number 65, NARA.

22 Lt. Colonel George Talcott to Secretary of War Joel Poinsett, November 4, 1839, RG 156, OCO, E 5, Letters to the Secretary of War, April 20, 1838-July 9, 1842, 98-100, NARA.

23 Daum and Pate, *Op. Cit.* p.183

24 Daum and Pate, *Op. Cit.* p. 183

25 Bomford to Major Henry Knox Craig, April 21, 1835, RG156, OCO, E 3, Volume 24, NARA.

26 American Antiquarian Society, Wooster, MA, Asa Waters Family Papers.