"A. Foulke, 1864" Tracing a Civil War Inscription

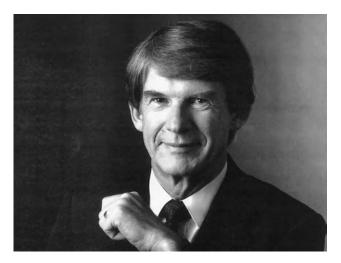
Marlan H. Polhemus

Being fascinated by historically identified Civil War artifacts, some 11 years ago I acquired a .32 caliber rimfire Smith & Wesson Model 2 Army revolver (Figure 1). On the backstrap was a simple inscription in an Old Roman Italic Outline typeface, "A. Foulke, 1864," (Figure 2). The revolver was engraved by L. D. Nimschke¹ with the engraving cut through the patent dates on the cylinder and traces of the original silver-plating remaining. With the pearl grips, the engraving and the silver-plating this defines a deluxe or presentation version of this Model 2. The 17160 serial number places its manufacture in early 1864,² which coincides with the inscription date. It came with no provenance other than it was found at an upper state New York estate sale.

Since inscriptions of an isolated name with a first initial only can be very difficult to identify, the 1864 date helped place it in the Civil War era. I assumed it might have a military association. Although these Smith & Wessons were not a military issue, they were very popular with both officers and soldiers, due primarily to their use of the newly developed waterproof metallic cartridges.

My first step in identifying this inscription was to search through the various resources of listings of officers and soldiers in the regular armed forces and volunteer forces during the Civil War at the Newberry Library, a Genealogical Library in Chicago. One of these sources is the general index of the *War of The Rebellion: the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* Here I found a reference to an A. Foulke.³ This reference was a letter dated February 22, 1864 from Brigadier General Henry J. Hunt, Chief of Artillery, Army of the Potomac, to General M. R. Patrick, Provost Marshall, Army of the Potomac, appointing A. Foulke as sutler to the First Brigade of Horse Artillery commanded by Captain James M. Robertson. An excerpt from this letter is as follows:

... My proposition, approved by you, as I understood, was to give to each unit of force 1 sutler, and but 1, viz: To each brigade attached to a corps, 1 sutler; to each brigade of horse artillery, 1 sutler; to the Sixth New York Foot Artillery (A regiment of volunteers), 1 sutler; to the mounted batteries constituting the reserve proper and for the train attached to it, 1 sutler.



The sutlers are as follows, as now recognized:

- 1. Mercer Brown, appointed sutler in December 1861, of the Artillery Reserve by the Council of Administration . . .
- 2. A. Foulke, First Brigade of Horse Artillery (Robertson's).
- 3. John Nilan, Second Brigade of Horse Artillery (Graham's).
- Thomas McCauly, Sixth N. Y. Foot Artillery (Col. Kitching).

Artillery from the reserve is detailed for temporary service by batteries, not by brigades. If to occupy a position its sutler must provide for it, if necessary. If permanently transferred to a corps it enters the brigade of the corps, and of course is supplied by the corps sutler. There is no artillery in this army outside of the organizations named.

Respectfully, your obedient servant, Henry J. Hunt, Brigadier General, Chief of Artillery

At this point I recalled a well published photograph of a Civil War sutler's tent. Upon referring to my copy of *Matthew Brady's Illustrated History of the Civil War*,⁴ I was delighted to find that this tent carried the label "A. Foulke, Sutler, 1st Brigade H.A." (Figure 3).

Returning to the Newberry Library I began to research the family name Foulke in the general card catalogue. Again, I was indeed pleased to find a listing of copies of the "Foulke



Figure 1. Smith & Wesson Model 2 Army, inscribed on backstrap "A. Foulke 1864," fully engraved by L. D. Nimschke with pearl grips.

Family" compiled by Roy A. Foulke, first and second revised editions dated 1974. This is a small limited edition supplied to the family members and various genealogical sources throughout the country. It basically deals with "John Foulks of Lancaster, Province of Pennsylvania and his descendants who are listed in this genealogy."5 At the time this edition was printed there was no reliable data regarding the ancestors of John Foulks. His name first appears in a land trust document dated December 28, 1681 in Maryland.⁶ In 1739, John and his wife Margaret settled in Lancaster, PA.⁷ Between the second and third generations in about 1800 the spelling of the "Foulks" name changed to "Foulke." Listed in the fourth generation is (Number 54) "Andrew Foulke." The only "A" in the family history contemporary to the Civil War era. This document shows Andrew as the third of eight children of William and Anne (Alexander) Foulke. This information was taken from the family bible deposited in the Library, Cazenovia College, Cazenovia, NY.8

Andrew was born June 17, 1821, in Middle Paxton Township, Dauphin County, PA and named after his maternal grandfather, Andrew Alexander. The family history goes on to describe that he was a sutler in the Civil War, referring to a *Life Magazine* article dated February 3, 1961, carrying a picture entitled "Soldier-customers and civilian storekeepers lounge around a Union sutler's store in February 1863, at Brandy

Station, VA (Figure 3). Sutlers were contractors who followed the armies in the field, selling candles, souvenirs, stationery, sometimes whiskey, and other soldier necessities. The picture is of a cabin with a log front and with other sides and the top of canvas. On the front of the cabin was a sign reading "A. Foulke, Sutler, 1st Brigade H.A." Mary Emma (Foulke) Peters, a great niece of Andrew had a copy of this original photograph which she inherited from her grandfather Joseph, Andrew's eldest brother."⁹

Andrew Foulke was a party at interest in four deeds in Chemung County, NY ranging from 1851 to 1864. The third deed of April 25, 1856, names Susan Jane as his wife and he sells his interest in his father's farm to his brother, Joseph. The deed of October 10, 1864 has Andrew buying back his interest in his father's farm and identifies him now as a resident of Washington, DC.¹⁰ This is about eight months after his appointment as a sutler.

In the family there were two significant A. Foulke items of memorabilia.

The first was a photograph taken by G. F. Child, 304 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. The cardboard backing of the framed photograph carries the following inscription written in ink, "This Picture, the Son of Anna Alexander, the Grandfather of (signed) Cora L. Foulke Wood." Beneath this inscription, written in pencil was the name "Andrew Foulke." (Figure 4) The daughter of Cora indicated she wrote these inscriptions around 1943. Also, in the granddaughter's possession was a "hair" bracelet, in which a locket contains the hair of a relative under glass. On the back of the clasp was engraved the name "S. J. Foulke," the first two initials of Andrew's wife, Susan Jane.¹¹

Andrew had one son, George Washington Foulke (Number 69) born in Chermung, N.Y. and buried in the Chermung cemetery. His gravestone states he was born August 2, 1842 and died March 14, 1925. On May 16, 1861 at the age of 20, George enlisted during the Civil War in Company E, 23rd Regiment, New York Volunteers, as a private. He mustered out May 16, 1863, at Elmira, NY.¹²

It would appear that from his photo taken in Washington, DC, and from the 1864 deed showing him as a resident of Washington, DC, Andrew spent some time in the Union Capital. This could very well be where he managed politically to obtain the sutler's appointment by the Chief of Artillery, Army of the Potomac.



Figure 2. "A. Foulke 1864" backstrap inscription.



Figure 3. Brandy Station, VA, Feb. 1864, Tent of A. Foulke, Sutler at Headquarters of 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery. Photograph by James F. Gibson, Library of Congress.

Since this "Foulke Family" genealogical history continues up through contemporary times, I was able to contact family members mentioned in the book, including the author, Roy A. Foulke (Number 104), Lola Wood Coleman (Number 130), great granddaughter of Andrew Foulke and Gerald L. Wood (Number 198) great great grandson of Andrew. The latter was kind enough to provide me with copies of Andrew's photograph (Figure 4) and a xerox copy of the sutler's tent photograph (Figure 3) on which he identifies "A. Foulke" as the prosperous individual fourth from the left, with his thumbs hooked in his vest.

Andrew's biography in the "Foulke Family" does not trace him after the war and the family members do not know what happened to him. It does state, however, that Andrew Foulke sold at Public Auction on March 5, 1871 various properties in Chermung, originally belonging to his father, William.¹³ This is the last evidence of him to my knowledge at this time. The 1850 New York census shows Andrew living in Chermung, NY with no listing in the 1860 or 1870 census.

An interesting genealogical side note is that Andrew's grandfather, William Foulks (1737–1812) second generation son of John and Margaret Foulks, was a gunsmith and gun maker in Lancaster, PA, apprenticing under William Henry, a prominent gun maker, active from 1745 to 1786.¹⁴ As early as 1758 when William was 21 or 22 years of age, he was termed a "Gunsmith" when signing a deed with his mother.¹⁵ William Foulks is listed as a General Gunsmith and Flintlock Kentucky Rifle Maker in Lancaster, PA about 1775.¹⁶ He is also described as a gun maker in a manuscript in the Lancaster Historical Society.¹⁷ Military records show that William enlisted as a private in a local company of the Lancaster County Militia prior to 1776 and served throughout the Revolutionary War.¹⁸

Further research investigation at the National Archives, Washington, DC shows Andrew Foulke listed in the Register of Sutlers, Army of the Potomac; Sutler's Permits; and Sutler's Receipts in which he signs his name "A. Foulke." (Figures 9 and 10)

Again, during this time in reviewing *Matthew Brady's Illustrated History of the Civil War*, there were in addition to A. Foulke's tent photograph other camp images of Brandy Station, Headquarters of the 1st Brigade H.A. After some inquiries, I proceeded to write to the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, requesting prints of the materials mentioned above. I found and received three different views of the Foulke tent, plus various camp photographs all labeled and taken by James F. Gibson, in February 1864. Gibson was originally a photographer for Matthew Brady's Studio in the early days of the war. By this time he had split away and was working under Alexander Gardner where full credit was given to the photographer taking the shot.

All in all, with this previously mentioned documentation, especially the family history tracing the Foulke name in the United States back to about 1681 and Andrew being the only "A" first name initial, as well as being contemporary to the "1864" era, I believe this inscription identification to have a very high percentage of authenticity, if not absolute. This presentation grade Smith & Wesson Model 2 could have been either acquired by or given to Andrew Foulke in 1864, probably in conjunction with his official appointment by General Henry Hunt, February 22, 1864. Andrew would have been 43 years old at the time of his appointment.

The term "sutler" is not commonly known today, but to the Civil War officers and soldiers he was a very familiar character. He was the one who followed the armies selling provisions such as the necessities, food and clothing, as well as the luxury nonessentials, patent medicines, writing



Figure 4. Andrew Foulke portrait, a copy of a tintype supplied by the Foulke Family.

equipment, tobacco and on occasion, liquor. He would be the equivalent of today's Post Exchange in concept, with one important exception. Unlike the "PX," where items are sold by government operation at the lowest possible price, the sutler was an appointed civilian merchant operating strictly

for profit. Generally, he was given the reputation as a scoundrel or hustler, taking advantage of the soldier and his paycheck on one hand, while on the other he was doing a great service providing these amenities (Figure 5) at great personal and financial risk, hardship, and sometimes ridicule by the soldiers themselves.

Civilian hordes have followed the great conquering armies for at least twenty-five hundred years, with the sutler being identified as a consumable goods dealer as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ In England during 1717, the suttling profession was first made an integral part of the military establishment, with British Army regulations dictating hours of trade, as well as, prices.²⁰ In America, as in Europe, the sutler offered his goods as one of the camp followers from the French-Indian War of 1757 until 1820. In 1821, the Army officially integrated the sutler into the military due to the perceived benefits of the sutler to the soldier's welfare, especially in the remote frontier posts. By 1822, the official "regular army post sutler" went into effect. Controlled by the military they served the frontier settlers, in addition to the military posts.

The abuse of the sutler's position proliferated during the Civil War due to the tremendous increase in the "volunteer" forces. The strength of the U.S. Regular Army in 1861 was about 26,000. President Lincoln proceeded to raise 500,000 volunteers to meet the Confederate threat. This was an average increase of 500 regiments which would continue to grow to nearly 2,000 by the end of the war.²¹

The appointment of the sutler was a very political thing being regulated and changed many times during the course of the war. In 1861, Federal sutlers for military posts were appointed by the Secretary of War, while troops in the field allowed sutlers to be appointed by their commanding officer of each regiment. A new law in 1862 provided that the commanding officer of each brigade was to have a sutler selected for each regiment by their commissioned officer. These regulations were constantly ignored. It was observed that sutlers, especially those of the Army of the Potomac quite often owed their appointments to political influences, such as the State governor involving state militias entering the service.²²

The "one sole sutler per regiment" created a great opportunity for greed to set in, no competition, a defined captive market. The soldiers could either pay the sutler's prices or go without. This environment spawned corruption, exorbitant prices, and poor quality goods due in large



Figure 5. "Thanksgiving in Camp," a sutler scene, Harpers Weekly, Nov. 26, 1862.



Figure 6. A Union sutler being halted in a Confederate Trap.

part to the rapidly expanding volunteer forces. Of course, not all sutlers were evil and they definitely provided a morale boost, distributing luxury items not available anywhere else. Among these items were clothing, shaving and toilet utensils, matches, candles, pans, dishes, knives, and patent medicines. Due to the frequently inadequate rations issued soldiers in the field, the sutlers stocked a vast selection of foodstuffs as well. Other items he provided were pipes, tobacco,

playing cards, games, stationery, pens, ink, newspapers, books and liquor (often officially prohibited).²³

The sutler followed the armies in his wagon full of goods and when they encamped, he put up his shop either selling from the rear of the wagon or setting up a temporary tent to advertise his wares. If the army went into more permanent quarters as Figure 3 shows, he might construct log sides with a canvas top. He would sometimes sleep in this structure to protect his merchandise. As the sutler took wagons to the battlefield he had to look out for himself. He was particularly vulnerable when the army had to pick up and move quickly or in case of retreat. He would try to throw his things into the wagon and move first if possible. The Confederates looked forward to overrunning a Union position and capturing the sutler's wagons finding luxuries they had not seen or tasted in a long time, as the war drew on. The Confederates initially had a sutler system in the early days of the war, but as their necessities grew scarce, one of their best sources were the Union sutler wagons. They would kill, capture or at least take or destroy the sutler's inventory making his risk very high both personally and financially. (Figure 6)

Due to their excessive profiteering reputation with scoundrel overtones, some sutlers became very unpopular with the soldiers, to the point where they would attack his tent and take his merchandise while the officers looked the other way. He was definitely on his own.

A few sutlers courted danger to sell goods to the front line troops. "A case in point occurred in front of Petersburg on June 9, 1864, when two sutlers in an open buggy drove toward the front line, peddling tobacco. After getting through four lines of entrenchments, they came under enemy fire, which wounded the horse and killed one of the sutlers. The other sutler turned the buggy around, and with his dead companion still in the buggy, started rearward as fast as he could go. But the horse, frantic with pain, becoming completely unmanageable, rushed high up over the bank of one of the entrenchments, and the entire outfit came crashing into the ditch. Soldiers near the scene made a rush and scramble for the tobacco. After getting that, they lifted out the living and the dead. The horse had to be killed; the buggy was a complete loss. The surviving sutler sadly left the area, carrying the harness on his arm."²⁴

While Congress was figuring out how to fund the war effort in 1861, Massachusetts Congressman Henry Wilson

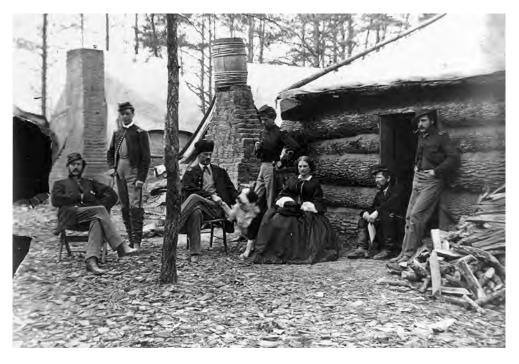


Figure 7. Brandy Station, VA, Feb. 1864, Officers and a lady at Headquarters of 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery.

warned them of the demoralizing and degrading effects of the sutler system on their troops. As Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, Wilson visited regimental camps of the Army of the Potomac to survey the soldiers and the abuses of the sutler system. He estimated sales had exceeded \$10 million a year with more than 50% profit.²⁵

Due to the scarcity of funds during this time, it was a general practice for almost every sutler to sell half of his merchandise on credit, having the soldier sign a paymaster's order. He would then give tokens that served as money, creating his own monetary system which could only be used in his store. Soldiers were trapped, generally spending more than their paycheck . . . the old credit crunch. On the other hand, with rapid army movements and personnel changes these debts sometimes became difficult to collect by the sutler.

Wilson, in March 21, 1862, guided Senate Bill No. 136 to reform the sutler system in addition to allowing the commanding officer of each brigade to have only one sutler selected for each regiment. They limited the lien on a soldier's pay to one-fourth his monthly pay, and they set prices and listed the articles that the sutler was allowed to sell. The latter being Order No. 27 which listed the following articles: apples, dried apples, oranges, figs, lemons, butter, cheese, milk, syrup, molasses, raisins, candles, crackers, wallets, brooms, comforters, boots, pocket looking glasses, pins, gloves, leather, tin washbasins, shirt buttons, horn and brass buttons, newspapers, books, tobacco, cigars, pipes, matches, blacking and blacking brushes, clothes brushes, toothbrushes, hairbrushes, coarse and fine combs, emery, crocus, pocket handkerchiefs, stationery, armor oil, sweet oil, rottenstone, razor straps, razors, shaving soap, soap, suspenders, scissors, shoestrings, needles, thread, knives, pencils, and Bristol brick.²⁶ No liquor was to be sold. This Law of 1862 addressed only the sutler for the volunteer units. "The Regular Army sutler, who was properly supervised, remained unaffected."²⁷

The next year General Order No. 35, dated February 7, 1863 included the addition of the following sale articles; canned meats and oysters, dried beef, smoked tongue, canned and fresh vegetables, pepper, mustard, yeast powders, pickles, sardines, bologna, sausages, eggs, buckwheat flour, mackerel, codfish, poultry, saucepans, coffeepots, plates (tin), cups (tin), knives and forks, spoons, twine, wrapping paper, uniform clothing for officers, socks, trimming for uniforms, shoes, shirts, and drawers.²⁸

In the early years of the war, the status of the sutler in the military establishment was of a semiofficial position in their regiment. While serving in the field, the sutler as stipulated by Army Regulations, was subject to orders, "according to the rules and discipline of war."²⁹

Army Regulations did not prescribe the sutler's uniform,³⁰ since he was technically a civilian. However, in the Schuyler, Hartley & Graham Military Catalogue of 1864, there is listed under Military Storekeepers: "These storekeepers were authorized, a citizen's frock-coat of blue cloth, with buttons of the department to which they are attached; round black hat; pantaloons and vest, plain white or dark blue; cravat or stock, black."³¹ This description seems to match A. Foulke's outfit in his photographs, as well as other images observed of sutlers of this period.

After the Civil War in 1866, Congress reduced the army to about 25,000 and abolished the sutler's position, placing



Figure 8. Brandy Station, VA, Feb. 1864, Generals George G. Mead, John Sedgwick and Robert O. Tyler with staff officers, showing Capt. Robertson sixth from the right, at Horse Artillery Headquarters.

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Figure 9. An example of a permit for Andrew Foulke.

its function under the Commissary Department.³² Due to the lack of funds and the expanding frontier posts, the sutler system was quickly revived being called now the "post trader." He operated from a military reservation subject to military control.³³ This was the heyday of this position, as an entrepreneur, most of them had a second lucrative license to trade with the Indians resulting from the Indian Peace Commission of 1866.³⁴ They also traded with the railroad miners, mechanics and freighters going west. The sutler became an influential community spokesman, serving as bankers, creditors, judges, postmasters, and mayors. The legal sale of whiskey on the military reservation posts (not on Indian Reservations) resulted in large profits and a high degree of alcoholism by the post soldiers.

By 1881, hard times began for the post trader because of two events, one being President Rutherford Hayes decree to stop the sale of liquor on the military reservations. The second financial disaster was a ruling that prevented the trader from holding both a military post trader's license and a license to trade with the Indians.³⁵ The beginning of the end came for the post trader in 1889 with the advent of the military canteen, which was the forerunner of today's Post Exchange System controlled by the government.

As displayed on his sutler's tent and his appointment reference, Andrew Foulke was a sutler for the "1st Brigade Horse Artillery." This brigade is shown in the organization of the Army of the Potomac, November 20, 1863 with Major General George Meade, Commander. It is listed under the *Artillery* section commanded by Brigadier General Henry J. Hunt, who later became Chief of Artillery and signed A. Foulke's appointment correspondence of 1864.

Listed under the *Artillery* section is the Artillery Reserve commanded by Brigadier General Robert O. Tyler. (Figure 5) Under this category is the "1st Brigade Horse Artillery" captained by James M. Robertson. This unit consisted of batteries from the Regular Army, the 2nd and 4th United States Batteries, and one volunteer unit the 6th New York Light Artillery.³⁶ Reorganized in May 31, 1864, the 1st Brigade H.A. appears in the *Calvary Corps* of the Army of the Potomac commanded by Major General Philip H. Sheridan. It is again led by Captain J. M. Robertson showing primarily the same batteries as in 1863.³⁷

In 1838, James M. Robertson was a private in the 2nd U.S. Artillery, where he reached the rank of Captain on May 14, 1861 as the war started.³⁸ He was breveted major for his service in the Battle of Gains Mill, VA and breveted Lieutenant Colonel for his participation in the Gettysburg Campaign. "While Pleasonton's Calvary at Gettysburg was preventing Stuart from joining in Pickett's charge, Robertson led the Horse Artillery which seconded the efforts of Pleasonton's leaders, Gregg and Kilpatrick, whose exploits were not second to those of the infantry." He was again breveted to Colonel for gallant service at Cold Harbor, and to Brigadier General while Chief of Horse Artillery during the campaign from May to August of 1864, including the Battles of the Wilderness, Cold Harbor, Hawes' Shop, and Trevillian Station. Robertson retired a full Major in the Regular Army in 1879 and died January 24, 1891.39

The photographs in Figures 3, 7, and 8 are from the Library of Congress collections and are dated February 1864 taken at Brandy Station, VA., Horse Artillery Headquarters. The armies would have been in winter quarters at that time with the Cavalry and Horse Artillery located at Brandy Station. This is apparent by the rather permanent buildings in the background and why A. Foulke's tent has log sides. (Figure 7) "Finally, came May 4, 1864, the great day. Grant ordered the army to move, and the once teeming winter camps were deserted."40 This would have been the commencement of the campaign of May to August 1864 that Captain J. M. Robertson, Chief of Horse Artillery participated in along with the 1st Brigade. The headquarters photograph (Figure 8) is accompanied by the title "Generals George C. Meade, John Sedgwick and Robert O. Tyler with staff officers at Horse Artillery Headquarters." Meade is fourth from the right, Sedgwick is second from the right, Tyler is seventh from the right in the long overcoat. To the far right is Brigadier General

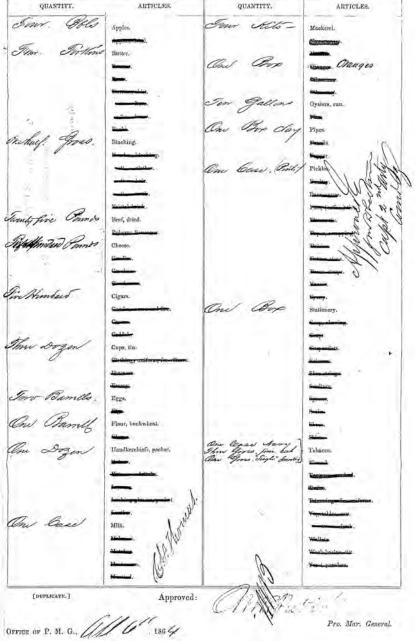


Figure 10. A sutler receipt for goods by A. Foulke. Note approval signature by J.M. Robertson, Capt. 2nd Artillery, written vertically.

A.T. A. Torbert, who will command a division of Calvary, protecting Meade's flank.⁴¹ Among all this top brass in his nine button frock coat is Captain James M. Robertson now Chief of Horse Artillery. He stands between Tyler and Meade, this being his headquarters at Brandy Station.

Brandy Station, Virginia is best known for being the location of the largest cavalry engagement on American soil. On June 9, 1863, about five months prior to the Headquarters photographs, being part of the Gettysburg Campaign, General J. E. B. Stuart's Confederate Cavalry and General Alfred Pleasonton's Union Cavalry fought for about 10 hours with nearly 10,000 troopers from each side engaged. A surprised Stuart managed to stave off defeat and remain on the field. However, this battle established the underrated Federal Cavalry as a match for the Confederates.

How does Andrew Foulke, sutler, fare in all of this? With the unscrupulous reputations of the sutler system and the laws and regulations to govern it, the Volunteer Forces were the focus of attention. The 1st Brigade H.A. and Captain Robertson were Regular Army and these sutlers were officially controlled and more professional. In fact, all of the previously mentioned laws and regulations did not apply to the Regular Army sutlers. In his sutler permits it describes A. Foulke as "being a sutler in the Regular Service." These permits had to do with transporting merchandise on the schooner "Mary and Anna" from Georgetown to Hope Landing, VA.42 (Figure 9) Andrew upon moving to Washington, DC must have found his way politically to be appointed to this, what appears to be an elite reserve unit. Although appointed from higher up by General Henry Hunt, he would have had to have the approval of Captain Robertson. (Figure 10)

With a son in the war effort, we would hope that Andrew would have been an honest merchant, although he does appear to be quite prosperous. It is quite possible he could have been the sutler for the 1st Brigade H.A. prior to the "official" appointment February 1864, reiterating that these sutlers were to be the sole sutler of their units according to the new laws and regulations of 1864.

While this inscribed revolver was the possession of only a military/civilian merchant, and not of some gallant officer with many heroic deeds, it remains a very unique piece, if not one-of-a-kind, inscribed to a Civil War sutler. The search goes on to find out more about "A. Foulke, 1864."

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5. Roy A. Foulke, *Foulke Family* (Bronxville, New York, 1974), p. IX.

6. Ibid., p. 75.

7. Ibid., p. 79.

8. Ibid., p. 151.

9. Ibid., p. 164.

10. Ibid., p. 165.

11. Ibid., p. 166-167.

12. Ibid., p. 167, 176.

13. Ibid., p. 166.

14. A. Merwyn Carey, *American Firearms Makers* (Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1953), p. 54.

15. Foulke, p. 116.

16. Carey, p. 40.

17. James Whiskey, Ph.D., "The Gunsmith's Trade," *Gun Report*, March 1992, p. 48.

18. Foulke, p. 127-128.

19. David M. Delo, *Peddlers and Post Traders* (Salt Lake City, Utah, 1992), p. 2.

20. Ibid., p. 2.

21. Ibid., p. 107

22. Francis A. Lord, *Civil War Sutlers and Their Wares* (Cranbury, New Jersey, 1969), p. 23–24.

23. David E. Schenkman, *Civil War Sutler Tokens* (Bryans Road, Maryland, 1983), p. 7.

24. Lord, p. 71-82.

25. David M. Delo, "Regimental Rip-Off Artist Supreme," *Army* Vol. 39, (January 1989), p. 42.

26. Lord, p. 39.

27. Delo, Peddlers and Post Traders, p. 131.

28. Lord, p. 39.

29. Ibid., p. 25.

30. Ibid., p. 26.

31. Schuyler, Hartley & Graham, *Illustrated Catalog of Arms and Military Goods* (New York, 1864), p. 19.

32. Delo, Peddlers, p. 141.

33. Ibid., p. 148-149.

34. Delo, "Regimental Rip-Off Artist," p. 45.

35. Delo, Peddlers, p. 185.

36. Organization of the Army of the Potomac, November 20, 1863, p. 12.

37. Brig. Gen. Richard C. Drum, Organization of the Army of the Potomac, May 31, 1864 (Washington, DC, 1886), p. 14-16.

38. William C. Davis, *The Image of War: 1861–1865*, "The Embattled Confederacy," Vol. III, p. 48.

39. Francis T. Miller, *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, "Forts and Artillery," Vol. 5, (New York, 1911), p. 37.

40. Davis, "The South Besieged," Vol. V, p. 181.

41. Ibid., p. 179.

42. National Archives, "Sutler's Permits, Army of the Potomac," RG: Entry 469.

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