About the Author

A specialist in the study of the nineteenth century gunsmith, William O. Achtermeier, an educator by profession, is known by many arms students through his articles in *Man At Arms, Gun Report,* and *Arms Gazette.* His work in antique weapons has evolved from his interest in firearms and archival research. His Master's research at Loyola University provided scholars with the first comprehensive analysis of the early archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago.

He is currently writing a history of Johnson Automatics, the last major arms manufacturer in Rhode Island.

Rhode Island
Arms Makers & Gunsmiths
1643 = 1883

by

William O. Achtermier

• *a* man at arms *publication* •

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Forward

Too few of the arms' books published recently have been the product of serious scholarship; rather, the vast majority may be classified as glamourous but shallow photo essays. Fortunately, some students of the history of arms making in the United States exhibit the admirable trait of individuality and have studied areas which are considered unfashionable by most. It is from these students that the truly valuable research studies have come.

The Armsmakers and Gunmakers of Rhode Island is the result of one such student's enthusiasm to discover the true character and scope of armsmaking in one particular area. His tenacity to seek out information, explore the seemingly endless blind alleys of history, and finally sift and classify his findings, is to be commended. Writers such as William Achtermeier illustrate the finest qualities of arms' historians, for their joy comes from not only ferreting out history's secrets but sharing them with fellow enthusiasts.

On the following pages are to be found both well-known makers and those who are known only to the collectors who possess their works. Much of the material has never been published before and Mr. Achtermeier is to be congratulated for his tireless efforts in finding and codifying all the pertinent information. Not only are makers listed, but their effect on the industry in general is documented. The manner of presentation is clear and concise, and in this writer's opinion could not be improved upon. *The Armsmakers and Gunmakers of Rhode Island* is an important contribution to the body of literature concerned with armsmaking in America, and its value will be readily apparent to both present and future collectors and researchers.

Arnold M. Chernoff

Preface

The present work began with a modest investigation of the life and work of Welcome Mathewson, a Rhode Island gunsmith, in preparation for an article in Arms Gazette *magazine. As a corollary to this research, the author began to assemble data on other Rhode Island gunsmiths and arms makers in an attempt to see Mathewson in a better historical perspective. After documentation and style of work had placed Rhode Islander Mathewson more properly in the Worcester-Sutton school of gunsmithing, the ever increasing data on Rhode Island arms makers began to assume a form and direction of its own.*

The terminal date of the present study (1883) was established by the demise of the Providence Tool Company, the largest arms manufacturer in the history of Rhode Island. Although a number of Rhode Island gunsmiths have been treated in scattered secondary sources, the author hopes that the present work will provide a guide under one cover for arms students in establishing the provenance of Rhode Island-made firearms. Although in a few instances birth and death dates have been listed for some makers, the dates provided for the majority of the gunsmiths coincide with the earliest and latest documented years for an individual's working period.

The daybooks of Welcome Mathewson for the years 1805-1815, perhaps the earliest and most complete daily record of a rural New England gunsmith, have also been included in this text. Although the details of the journal are at times trivial and tedious, they provide a hitherto unafforded glimpse into the daily life of a rural American gunsmith at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The author is deeply grateful to the following people and organizations who have been so generous in granting him aid, advice, and encouragement: the late George Anderson, Donald Andreasen, Ted Bacyk, the Bristol Historical Society, Pamela Kenyon Cardin, Arnold M. Chernoff, David Cross, William Gardner, Shirley Greene, Craddock Goins, Ralph Heath, James Hughes, the late Majorie Kenyon, Ernest LaTorre, Daryl and Olga Lewis, Kevin Lynch, the late George Matteson, the late Porter Matteson, Warren Moore, Charles I. Motes, E. Andrew Mowbray, Robert Pearl, the staff of the Providence Public Library, the Rhode Island Department of Health, the Rhode Island Historical Society, the Rhode Island Tool Company, William Rhodes, the embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nat Shipton, Phylis Silva, Florence Simister, Rita Singer, Geoffrey Stewart, Samuel E. Smith, the Swiss Military Information Bureau, Helen Tessler, David Timpany.

A special note of thanks must be given to Madeline Brothers who typed the final manuscript during Rhode Island's notorious blizzard of '78.

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Dedication

To my wife Roberta for her help over the years as we traced the gunsmiths of Rhode Island through poison ivy-covered cemeteries, town halls, libraries, historical societies, archives, public and private arms collections, and gun shows.

Introduction

Reflecting in a smaller way the parallel developments in neighboring Connecticut and Massachusetts, the manufacture of firearms in Rhode Island provides an excellent study of the evolution of an industry from cottage craft to mass production. The study of Rhode Island gunsmiths and their products provides data of interest both to the student of folk art and to the industrial and entrepreneurial historian. Although there are still lacking a number of details relevant to the mass production of firearms in the state during the nineteenth century, there is, nevertheless, a rather clear picture of the makers and the arms they produced. However, an entirely different set of circumstances is encountered when one attempts to analyze the works produced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The majority of the gunsmiths who worked in Rhode Island prior to the end of the eighteenth century were men who balanced their craft, out of simple necessity, with another, usually related, trade such as blacksmithing. Therefore, documentation of an occupation through land evidence and tax records can often offer but little help to the arms researcher. The problem is further compounded by the fact that many of the early makers did not sign their work. Were it not for the few signed specimens that have come down through the years, such as the work of the Mathewsons, there would be a veritable dearth of specimens of definite, eighteenth century Rhode Island provenance.

One should not conclude, however, that few firearms were made in Rhode Island prior to the turn of the century. The receipts in the Providence Town Papers for gunsmithing work done by local craftsmen for the period of 1775-1776 provide a brief but interesting view of a limited but thriving

profession. The work of the state musket contractors of 1798, Tyler, Rhodes, Bicknell, Jenks, Humphrey, and Brown, lends even further support to the idea of a well-established cottage trade in gunsmithing since apparently the manufacture of some of the components was sub-contracted locally.

About the firearms made by such early gunsmiths as John Clark, John Jenkes, Samuel Carr, and Thomas Bicknell, one can make some reasonable conclusions based on the examination of those early arms which are classified as "New England type". Besides the normal maintainance of European-made arms, they produced fowlers and dual purpose hunting and militia arms employing components of their own manufacture, parts of French and English military arms, and trimmings imported for their trade. It is unlikely that they made many highly embellished firearms which, no doubt, some of these men were capable of producing. The affluent Rhode Islander, the one whose patronage would have been the key ingredient in the production of sophisticated arms, would have preferred, as in the case of interior furnishings, the European product.

As to the fate of many of the firearms produced by the early Rhode Island makers, one must bear in mind that they produced a utility gun, a tool for hunting and a weapon for protection, which was used until it simply wore out and was discarded. Those that survived have become part of that wide area of unsigned specimens which are labeled as "New England type" by arms students. Still in its infancy is the painstaking work of isolating and identifying definite area and maker characteristics of firearms of this genre.

A

ALLEN, Bradford (1872)
Providence.[1]

ALLEN, Paul (1775)
Providence. In 1775, Paul Allen sold four gunlocks to the town of Providence.[2] The *Providence Gazette* of April 1, 1775, advertised "A quantity of good gun-locks to be sold by Paul Allen."

AMES, John B. (1853-1869)
Providence, 33 Weybosset Street. In earlier issues of the Providence Directory, John Ames is listed as the owner of a powder store.[3]

ANTHONY, John Brighton (b.1829 - d. 1904)
Born in Fall River, Massachusetts, the son of Daniel and Mary (Borden) Anthony, John B. Anthony moved to Providence at the age of seventeen and took a position with the Fall River Iron Works. In 1853 he became the treasurer for the Providence Tool Company. Anthony was the prime mover in Providence Tool's armaments program involving the Civil War contracts, the Peabody rifle, the Roberts conversion system, and the Peabody-Martini rifle. Following the death of company president Richard Borden, Anthony became president of the tool company. After Providence Tool's bankruptcy in 1883, Anthony briefly held positions with the Rhode Island Tool Company and the Household Sewing Machine Company in Providence before becoming the treasurer of the Cranston Print Works. Active in both the civic and religious affairs of Providence,[4] Anthony was also a shooting enthusiast who was instrumental in founding the Rhode Island Rifle Association and the short-lived "What Cheer" rifle range in Greenwood, Rhode Island.[5]

ARNOLD, Albyn (1859-1894)
Providence. Over the years Albyn Arnold is listed at a number of different locations: 262 Washington Street, 483 High Street, 8 Burgess Street, and 35 Weybosset Street.[6]

ATWELL, Amos (1770-1783)
Providence. Amos Atwell, blacksmith and gunsmith, operated his forge on the west side of the Great Bridge. In 1775, he went into partnership with Josiah Green in the firm of Atwell and Green, blacksmiths.[7] The *Providence Gazette* of April 20, 1776, carried their ad, "They have also a good assortment of files for gunsmith work . . . and a few hand vises and gun barrels." During the Revolution, Amos Atwell did extensive work as a blacksmith for the Brown brothers at their Hope Furnace cannon foundry in Scituate.[8] In the latter part of 1781, Atwell and Green dissolved their partnership. Atwell then began to retail a wide line of specialty steel items, both imported and of his own manufacture.[9]

AUDLEY, John (1667)
Newport. The son of a Boston armorer, John Audley was a blacksmith and gunsmith. On March 28, 1667, the Governor's Council passed the following resolution:

> That the Honoured Governour bee desired to give forth his warrant to Capt. Rich Morrise, Geo. Halsey, John Audly, Emanuell Wooly, Henry Stevens, Gabriell Hick, and others that are skilled therein, to charge them under the penaltie the law hath provided, to sett against all excuses, and forthwith require all such armes, and utensills of warr, belonging to the inhabitants of the towne of Newport as shall be brought to them by order of the Captain or Lieutenant of the Traine band of the said town.[8]

B

BACON, George R. (1863)
Providence. On July 21, 1863, George R. Bacon was granted a patent on a breech-loading rifle (No. 39,270). This patent was later assigned to the Burnside Rifle Company on March 15, 1864.[1]

BADCOCK, James (b. 1612 - d. 1679)
James Badcock is one of the first gunsmiths whose names are mentioned in Rhode Island records. On February 25, 1642, Badcock was admitted as an inhabitant to the town of Portsmough. On October 5, 1643, Portsmouth town meeting passed the following resolution:

> It is ordered, at a Towne meeting in Portsmouth, that Richard Morise and James Badcocke (shall look) up all the armes in the Towne (within) the month above writ; and that . . . . and John Briggs shall go to every house and (see) what armes are defective; and that the men whose armes are (to be handed) in to be mended by the time abovesaid. If the armes be not brought in timely, to forfeit five shillings.[2]

In May of 1650, the Rhode Island General Assembly passed the following resolution:

> It is ordered, that Captaine Richard Morris, George Bliss, James Badcock, Peter Busserole, William Havens, and Gabriel Hick, all excuses sett aparte, shall mende and make all lockes, stockes, and pieces, that by order from the warden of each Towne shall be from any of the inhabitants thearof presented to them, for just and suitable satisfaction in hand payed, without delay, under the penaltie of ten pounds, to be levied by distraint from the head officer to the use of the sayd Towne's militia.
>
> It is ordered that all men that have gunns and pieces to mend, and have need to have them mended for their present defence, shall forthwith, according to order, carrie those pieces to mende, upon paine of forfeiting ten shillings a piece.[3]

BARKER, Cyrus (b. 1787 - d. 1870)
Providence.[4] During the early 1820's Cyrus Barker was a partner in the firm of Peckham and Barker, hardware merchants, at 41 Weybosset Street. Barker later became the sole proprietor of the hardware store. There are extant several fine, halfstocked flintlock rifles and shotguns in the English style marked "Cyrus Barker". It is quite possible that Cyrus Barker was only a merchant who stamped his name on guns which he had purchased.

BARNEY, Christopher (1775)
Providence. In August of 1775, the town of Providence purchased through Benjamin Thurber thirty-six sets of gun trimmings made by Christopher Barney.[5]

BARRY, Daniel (1872)
Providence.[6]

BENNETT, Job (1855-1873)
Pawtucket.[7]

BENNETT, Libbeus (1859-1882
Providence, 46 Dorrance Street.[8] Libbeus Bennett is reported to have made single shot pistols.[9]

BICKNELL, Thomas (b. 1749 - d. 1815)
Providence. In the summer of 1775, the town of Providence purchased through Benjamin Thurber ten gun barrels with bayonets and ramrods which had been made by Thomas Bicknell.[10] Under the provisions of the contract of 1798, Bicknell contracted with the Federal government to produce 2,000 Charleville pattern muskets at $13.40 an arm. He delivered almost three-fourths of his contract by June 10, 1801. Bicknell was advanced $12,725 on his contract by the Federal government.[11]

BLISS, George (1650)
see "Badcock, James".

BOWEN, Andras (1824-1848)
Providence, Charles and Orms St.[12]

BRACK, William (1826)
Providence, Charles and Orms St.[13]

BRAYMAN, Gardner (1828-1856)
Newport. In October of 1828, gunsmith Gardner Brayman petitioned the Rhode Island General Assembly for his release from jail. He had been imprisioned for taking part in a riot.[14]

BRIGGS, John (1643)
see "Badcock, James".

BRISTOL FIREARMS COMPANY (1853-1864)

Bristol and Providence. After the demise of the Jenks gunmaking ventures at the end of the second decade of the century, no other concern in Rhode Island undertook the large scale manufacture of firearms until 1853. In the latter part of that year, Ambrose Everett Burnside entered into an informal partnership with William Bishop of Providence and George P. Foster of Taunton, Massachusetts, ostensibly to "manufacture a new style of rifle invented by Major Burnside."[15]

Burnside had travelled a circuitous route to Rhode Island. A native of Indiana and an 1847 graduate of West Point, he had been stationed at various posts and had served his time in that prep school of the Civil War, the Mexican War. While stationed at Fort Adams, Newport, Rhode Island, he met and married Mary Richmond Bishop,[16] a wealthy woman whose family had important financial connections. Freed by his wife's wealth from the dreary existence of a peacetime garrison officer, he resigned his commission and settled in Bristol, Rhode Island.

Burnside had, of course, seen the Hall breechloader in service during the Mexican War and was familiar with its advantages and disadvantages. After he had resigned from the army, he set about developing his own ideas of what a breechloader should be with the help of his relative through marriage, William W. Bishop, and arms expert George Foster. By all appearances, it was an ideal partnership. Bishop had the money; Foster had the gunmaking expertise; Burnside had the golden idea.

The optimistic trio entered into an agreement for working space with one of Bristol's local entrepreneurs, a Captain Joseph L. Gardner, who owned a "large steam manufacturing establishment . . . used for sawing, planning, blacksmithing, etc. . . ." Adjacent to his mill, Gardner owned a "dwelling house" which he used as the front office for his mill, also renting living space to four families. In this rabbit warren, he made room for Burnside, Bishop, and Foster's gunmaking business. Cramped and humble though the surroundings might be, still they provided space for Foster to work on prototypes of Burnside's ideas, while heavy work could be done at Gardner's mill (for an additional price, of course).[17]

Before the infant business could take its first step, however, it received its first setback. On Christmas Eve, 1853, fire struck Gardner's mill and soon spread to his money-making dwelling house. The fire, one of the worst in years, completely destroyed the building. The flames were so intense that firefighters had to cover themselves with wet blankets in order to approach it.[18]

Though Foster was able to save some of his tools, he and his two partners suffered an almost total loss of $2,700, $2,000 of which was recoverable through insurance issued by the Conway Mutual Office of Fitchburg, Massachusetts.[19]

While the ashes were still warm at the site of Gardner's counting house, a lot was purchased on Summer Street in Bristol upon which the partners planned to erect their own building for the gunmaking business.[20] At this point it seems that the venture was becoming too rich for George P. Foster, and he stepped from the role of employer to employee, a relationship he was to hold throughout the production life of the company as plant manager, chief inspector, and foreman. During the last week of January, 1854, A. E. Burnside and William W. Bishop formed a partnership for manufacturing firearms in the town of Bristol.[21] By the middle of the following April, their plant was in operation.[22] A month later the local newspaper gave an interesting description of the town's newest industry:

> The new firearm manufactory of Messrs Burnside and Bishop on Summer Street is now in full operation and employs 40 men. The building is sixty-six feet long by thirty feet wide. The machinery is operated by a very neat engine of eight horse power. Five hundred rifles and muskets of different descriptions are manufactured per month. The rifles are finished in a superior manner and are as beautiful as any we ever saw. They find a ready market, especially at the West. We notice a number of crates are shipped each week for different parts of the country.[23]

There is no clear indication as to just what types of firearms were being produced by the firm of Burnside and Bishop at the Summer Street address. Obviously, no breechloaders were being sold at this time simply because Burnside's ideas were still in the research and development stage. In the hectic world of firearms design prior to the Civil War, it would have been economic suicide to market an unpatented, workable mechanism. It is the opinion of the author that the firm's products fall into two general categories.

The half stocked, muzzle-loading percussion rifles with an iron forestock marked "George P. Foster/Bristol, R.I." are identical to the rifles Foster had made as an independent maker in Taunton, Massachusetts. He obviously had an established reputation, and there would be a ready market for his guns. Since leaving the partnership of Burnside and Bishop, he, as their plant manager, was no doubt the key person to the whole operation. (Bishop, a financier, lived in Providence. Burnside knew little, if anything, about the mass production of firearms.) Foster, naturally, would have received some reimbursement from sales of firearms bearing his name.

The other category, comprising the bulk of the production, were unmarked percussion muzzle-loading rifles and single barrel shotguns to be sold through

hardware stores and gun dealers, who quite often stamped their own names on the guns. Prior to the Civil War, there was no glut of surplus weapons as there existed after, and families moving West needed some sort of cheap, reliable firearm for food and protection. The factory on Summer Street in Bristol helped fill that need. By October of 1854, Burnside and Bishop's factory had been enlarged and was, reportedly, producing five or six hundred rifles a month.[24]

Besides half- (and probably some full-stocked) percussion, muzzle-loading rifles and shotguns, the firm also made gunsmithing components: gun trimmings, gun locks, and double set triggers. A company letterhead, dated for May of 1856, while illustrating these products, clearly shows both front and back action locks and two muzzle-loading percussion rifles, one of which is a typical iron-forestocked Foster percussion rifle.

During this early period, Burnside worked on the refinement of his breechloader using the prototypes that had been turned out by Foster or one of his best toolmen. Burnside's home on Hope Street and the Summer Street factory were both within a short walk of Bristol Harbor, which was turned into a test range for the new guns. Captain Nat Herreshoff, the Bristol boat builder, would in his later years reminisce about watching Burnside testing his breechloader by firing at a striped buoy, ". . . always missing, but ever coming closer."[25]

Prior to the last enlargement of the Summer Street factory, Burnside and Bishop had purchased on April 8, 1854, certain tracts of land from Mr. and Mrs. Lemuel Richmond for the sum of $4,000.[26] In January of 1855, construction began on a large stone building on the newly acquired lots. Word had been leaked to the press that the new building would be used for making pistols.[27] Whatever purpose that ruse might have served (if indeed it were a ruse or simply one of those misconceptions for which local papers are notorious), it is clear that the new building was intended for the manufacture of breechloaders on a large scale.

The beginning of 1855 marked a turning point in the history of Burnside and Bishop. In the space of one year they had progressed from the back room of a mill counting house to two plants. Providence money was now ready to take a more active part in the affairs of the firm. The previous year had been a period of cautious evaluation for potential investors. What probably had been viewed as the trifling pastime of a man with a wealthy wife was becoming a money-making concern. The Burnside breechloader had evolved from a diletante's bauble to a workable (and possibly very saleable) item. For some time the War Department had been searching for breechloading rifles for service use. Although there was fierce competition from the Sharps, Perry, and Merrill breechloaders, the field was wide open for landing lucrative government contracts. For some time the possibility of a civil war had figured prominently in the minds of many financiers. Money placed in Burnside's breechloaders could easily turn into a blue chip investment.

In late January of 1855, a petition of A. E. Burnside and others for the incorporation of the Bristol Firearms Company was presented to the Rhode Island General Assembly. It was granted the following May. According to the act of incorporation, "Ambrose Burnside, William W. Bishop, and Charles W. Jackson, and their associates, successors, and assigns, are hereby created a body politic and corporate, for manufacturing purposes by the name of the Bristol Firearms Company." The capital stock of the company was not to exceed $144,000, which was to be divided into seventy-two shares of two thousand dollars each. The company was to be located in Bristol, Rhode Island.[28]

With this act of incorporation, Charles Jackson of Providence, lawyer, politician, former governor of Rhode Island (1845-46), and, most important of all, a shrewd entrepreneur, made his first formal appearance in the history of the Bristol Firearms Company. A rather saccharine passage from a late nineteenth century biography of Jackson gives an interesting insight into his *modus operandi:*

> From his earliest manhood he was the enthusiastic patron and friend of inventors and patentees; ever ready with advice and money, offering help and encouragement to the timid and scarcely formed ideas of inventive genius; giving unlimited time and patience to experiements with often but little hope of success.[29]

Jackson was obviously a man who knew a good thing when he saw one. The Burnside breechloader was one such good thing.

On June 18, 1855, the partnership between Burnside and Bishop was dissolved, and Burnside was authorized to settle all outstanding accounts of the firm.[30] The same issue of the *Bristol Phoenix* which carried the legal notice of this termination also carried another: "The subscribers are incorporated under the name of the Bristol Firearms Company and will carry on business of manufacturing firearms at the factory formerly occupied by Burnside and Bishop. Ambrose Burnside is treasurer. Wm. W. Bishop, Charles Jackson, Ambrose Burnside."[31]

By mid January of 1856, the newly organized Bristol Firearms Company employed sixty workmen with a capital investment of $72,000.[32] On March 25, 1856, Burnside was granted a patent for his breechloading rifle and its unique, metalic conical cartridge (No. 14,491.)[33] Less than a month later, the company made its first sale to the government on April 21, 1856, for 200 of the patented carbines at $30 a gun. The Ordnance contract

specified that the carbines be bore rifled and suitable for firing .54 elongated balls. The lock was to be prepared to accept either the Maynard type primary system or the common percussion cap. The Ordnance Department also ordered 100 Burnside Cartridges for each of the 200 carbines at $2.00 a hundred.[34]

On May 13, 1857, Charles Jackson became treasurer of the company when Burnside resigned, ostensibly to travel to Europe to secure additional contracts.[35] Never considered as an experienced manager by the lending institutions,[36] Burnside was nevertheless valuable to the organization as its representative because of his local popularity and his "old school tie" connections from West Point, an attractive asset when dealing with War Department personnel. Within a month Jackson had expanded stock issuance to the limits of the company's charter. Stock issuance certificates clearly indicate that Jackson and Bishop were emerging as the dominant elements in the Bristol Firearms Company, with Burnside ever receding into the background. Jackson owned twenty-four shares (certificates 1-24); Bishop owned twenty-four shares (certificates 25-48); Burnside owned eighteen shares (certificates 49-66); and the Rhode Island Bleach and Cambrie Works owned six shares (certificates 67-72).[37] The Rhode Island Bleach Company of Providence was a concern in which both Jackson and Bishop had a financial interest. However, the lending institutions were now viewing the Bristol Firearms Company with some caution since the bleach company had stopped payment on its loans.[38]

In August of 1857, Burnside was present at West Point as a factory representative at the Ordnance Department's trials for breechloading rifles. Burnside, like a number of other patentees of breechloaders, was eager to secure a portion of the $90,000 appropriation which Congress had voted on August 5, 1854, for the purchase of the best breechloading rifles. After extensive testing, the board voted that Burnside's carbine was the "best suited for military purposes."[39] However, the members of the board also pointed out that they had "seen nothing in these trials to lead them to think that a breechloading arm has yet been invented which is suited to replace the muzzle-loading gun for foot troops."[40]

With a favorable, albeit qualified, report for his breechloader, Burnside wrote the Ordnance Department offering to sell two hundred finished carbines, fifty almost completed carbines, machinery and tools for carbine manufacture, patent rights to the Burnside breechloader, and the inventor's personal service as a consultant for a two-year period. What Burnside asked in return for his unique package proposal was the residue of the $90,000 appropriation, $79,643.50. *His offer was declined.*[40]

Burnside's attempt to divest himself complete of his interests in the breechloader is the first indication that all was not well with his personal finances. There are strong indications that he was borrowing heavily from the company to meet his personal expenses. Within a matter of months after the proposed sale, Burnside, bordering on the verge of bankruptcy, deeded his interests and patent rights to his associates, and, in the fashion of the time, "left town and headed west." In a New York pawnshop, he was forced by circumstances to sell some of his military accoutrements to cover travelling expenses. However, his indebtedness to Bristol Firearms was to plague him for several years, as one can garner from a rough draft of a letter written in late 1859 to one of his former Bristol associates (perhaps James Brown Herreshoff):

> I have always intended to pay you the notes which I owe you and the company, but in all candor I never expected to be called upon to answer for any of the liabilities resting upon the property which I turned over to yourself and Governor Jackson. I gave up all, and certainly had a right to expect a full release. It may be said that what I gave up had no real value . . . . By your own proposition I gave you a deed for the lot, and gave to you and Mr. Jackson all my rights to the property and patents, both here and foreign; and by the way, I will say that the patents which I turned over were for an arm that had met with the approval of all who had examined it and had stood the test of two successful military boards. Had the matter been pushed, I feel sure that at this time both yourself and the governor would have been in better spirits — However, I left the company with but $5.00 in the world, and started out for a living . . . . I sold all we had, as you know, and applied the proceeds to our first debts. I came to the West, succeeded in getting employment, and am now doing well.[41]

The second half of 1857 was to prove rather lean for Bristol Firearms as the firm attempted to win a large contract from the War Department. By November a general recession had idled most of the industry in Bristol, and the company could only maintain a skeleton crew after its general layoff.[42] Local hopes were high that the long sought after government contracts would restore full employment at the company. Since a War Department delegration led by Colonel Beall had visited the plant in September to inspect the breechloaders and their manufacture, there had been some speculation that the Bristol Firearms Company would get the lion's share of a $70,000 government arms appropriation.[43] On November 28, 1857, the *Bristol Phoenix* reported that the Company had secured a government contract for 1,000 breechloaders at $40 a gun,[44] but that account proved to be a premature note of optimism. On November 6, 1857, the Ordnance Department had indeed ordered 1,000

Burnside breechloaders from the Bristol Firearms Company at $40 an arm; however, by the end of the year, the order had been cancelled.[45] On January 11, 1858, Bristol Firearms did secure a modest order from the Ordnance Department for two hundred Burnside carbines with appendages (two hundred extra nipples, two hundred wiping breeches and thongs, two hundred screw drivers and cone wrenches, twenty bullet moulds, twenty spring vises) at a reduced price of $30 an arm. Along with the order for two hundred carbines, the Ordnance Department also purchased 2,000 Burnside ball cartridges at $20 a lot of 400.[46]

On January 26, 1858, an outside credit analyst reported that the company did not pay their workmen very well and was not in good financial standing in Providence. During the following months the plant seems to have been almost totally shut down. In July of 1858, Jackson bought the factory, and, according to a newspaper account, he planned to re-open it in the fall.[47] With Jackson now in complete control, the credit rating of Bristol Firearms progressed from "questionable" to "good to any amount."[48] Jackson and the credit analyst were obviously aware of the contents of an extremely favorable War Department report which had received wide coverage throughout the state:

> Being required by the terms of the law, to select the "best model" of breechloading arms, the Board are of the opinion that among the arms offered for their examination the Burnside carbine is the least objectionable for use in the hands of mounted troops.
>
> The construction of this arm seems to be sufficiently strong: it can be easily and safely loaded and handled on horseback; the movements are simple and easily understood; there is no escape of gas from the joint; the chamber and barrel are kept clean and not subject to be clogged by fragments of the (metallic) cartridge case: its range and accuracy of fire are very satisfactory, with a moderate charge of powder, and no inconvenient recoil.[49]

Although the Company sold another lot of 709 charbines to the government at $30 an arm,[50] the town of Bristol had served its purpose as far as the Bristol Firearms Company and Charles Jackson were concerned. Jackson, obviously aware that a war was inevitable, realized that factory space and a large work force would be key ingredients in securing and maintaining government contracts. Providence offered both of these. In January of 1859, the Bristol Firearms Company, in pursuance of a vote of the corporation, petitioned the Rhode Island General Assembly for a change in its company charter to allow it to have a place of business in the town of Bristol or in Providence.[51] By the beginning of the summer of 1859, most of the machinery had been removed to Providence,[52] and by the end of July, the company was back in limited operation in makeshift quarters on Canal Street in that city.

However, the manufacturing days of the Bristol Firearms Company were numbered. In May of 1860, Jackson and his associates formed the Burnside Rifle Company principally for the purposes of expanding stock issuance ($144,000 for the Bristol Firearms Company versus $500,000 for the Burnside Rifle Company).[53] By May 8, 1861, the Bristol Firearms Company had reached its production peak working night and day.[54] By July production had been legally assumed by the Burnside Rifle Company. The Bristol Firearms Company still remained a legal entity with an office on Canal Street and with Charles Jackson acting as agent and treasurer.[55] On February 12, 1864, Jackson, acting in that role, sold the Bristol plant, consisting of the lots, a factory and other buildings, a dwelling house, a steam boiler, a steam engine, pipes, shafting, and fixtures, to James Brown Herreshoff of Bristol for $5,000.[56] The story of Bristol Firearms had finally come to an end.

No evidence has been found to substantiate the various secondary source claims that the Bristol Firearms Company had gone into bankruptcy. This notion, no doubt, owes its origins to erroneously viewing the financial states of Ambrose Burnside and Bristol Firearms as one and the same. Although the company had never enjoyed anything close to long-term financial success, it had only gone to the brink of financial ruin before Burnside sold out to Jackson and his associates.

One cannot easily dismiss the role of the Bristol company. Although at times the firm was financially unstable, it did lay the foundations for the large profits that the Burnside Rifle Company would garner during the Civil War. During the six-year stay in Bristol, Burnside's breechloader had been developed and brought within the area of perfection at the same time that George P. Foster had been able to train a number of workmen who would later become the technical nucleus of Burnside Rifle.

Of the three original partners, only George P. Foster maintained an important role in the workings of the company. Following the move to Providence, Bishop became more of a minor background figure. After his "resignation" as company treasurer with the entire disbursement of his interests in the breechloader, Ambrose Burnside (who, following his westward move, accepted the position as treasurer of the Illinois Central Railroad) drifted ever further outside the pale of the company to which he was still bound by indebtedness. One does get the impression that with the outbreak of the Civil War, he breathed a sigh of relief, glad, perhaps, that he was temporarily freed from the business world where he had performed in such a mediocre fashion.

It is quite probable that George Foster had more to do with the development of the Burnside breechloader than has previously been supposed. Obviously enjoying a good working and financial relationship with his former partners, he was apparently content to let Burnside garner all the credit on the original patent. However, he seems to have been on less amicable terms with his new boss, Charles Jackson, whose relationship with Burnside had soured considerably as the latter's fortunes plummeted. Foster held the patent on the improved Burnside cartridge (No. 27,791) with a grease chamber around the bullet, and he also patented the locking system on the second model Burnside carbine (No. 27,874), thereby securing a legal claim to some of the revenues.[57]

It is also well within the realm of probability that on these last two patented improvements, the roles were reversed with Burnside becoming the silent collaborator. When he left Bristol Firearms, Burnside still owed some money to his former company. Therefore, any revenues generated from his patents would have reverted back to the firm which, in effect, was Charles Jackson. The new arrangement between Burnside and Foster would have been advantageous to both parties. A recently discovered letter from Burnside to Foster sheds some light on the relationship between the inventor and the technician:

> Your kind letter of the 26th ult, as well as the one of the 15th would have been answered sooner, but for the fact that I have been trying to raise money to pay off the note that I owe the company which would help a little in paying the hands and I thought I would not write until I learned it could do anything —- You can tell the Gov. and Mr. Bishop, or either, that I may be able to get hold of 1200 or 1800 by paying well for it, and if they want me to take up my note due the company at its face without interest that I may be able to forward them the money. If I get it I shall have to pay a good rate for it, and by being allowed to take it up at its face I might make myself about even, but I would not like to lift it, with money for which I have to pay a large interest unless the arrangement was mutual. Please lay it before them —- I am certain of getting the money at any rate, but think I can. Ever since I received your first letter, I have been anxious to try to do something; but you know how poor I am —- God knows you all have my best wishes —- I am very much obliged to you for writing ever so fully, and hope you will write often, for I feel —- great interest in your success, and that of the guns —- The cartridge I got up was not just the thing —- I hope to go in for a while, soon, when I will see you and we can talk the matter over.[58]

Reference has already been made to the muzzle-loading arms made by Bristol Firearms. Of the four basic military models of the Burnside breechloading carbine, only the first and second models were manufactured by the Bristol concern. The first model carbine, which was manufactured only in Bristol, Rhode Island, is easily recognized by its curved locking lever under the hammer and its lack of a forestock. Some specimens are reported to have a tape priming system in the breech, while others are equipped to handle the standard percussion cap. A caliber .54 first model military carbine in the collection of the United States Military Academy at West Point has a barrel length of 22 inches and is marked "Burnside's Patent, March 25, 1856." Just how many first models were produced is still unknown. From the standpoint of the collector, they form the rarest group of the military models.

The second model carbine was made by both the Bristol concern at the Canal Street shop in Providence and later by the Burnside Rifle Company. (The arms bear the stamps of either company.) The most salient feature of the second model is the absence of a forestock (like the first model) and the incorporation of George Foster's patented trigger guard latch which replaced the first model's curved side lever lock. The second model is also stamped on the latch "G.P. Foster Pat./April 10th, 1860." There are also extant some first model military carbines which have been altered to conform to second model specifications.

The one category of the Burnside breechloader about which hardly anything is known, as to sales and number produced, is considered one of the most fascinating by students of firearms. This is, of course, the "Burnside Sporter" or the civilian versions of the first and second models. With superb blueing and casehardening colors, select grades of wood, and engraving, they represent the early models at their best. A caliber .54 first model sporting rifle in the Smithsonian collection has a barrel length of 28½ inches with the same markings as the above-mentioned military model. All second model sporting guns noted by the author bear the markings of the Bristol company. Quite likely, few, if any, sporting models were produced during the war.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the Burnside breechloader is the .54 caliber slightly conical cartridge. A small hole at the base of the cartridge allowed ignition from the tape primer or the percussion cap. The early Burnside cartridge was made from wrapped foil with an uninterrupted taper. Using drawn brass, the improved cartridge had a bulge at the case where it would be at the barrel-breech junction. The improved cartridge of George P. Foster helped solve the problem of escaping gas which could possibly cause injury to the shooter (one of the major problems of the early breechloaders.)

BROWN, Charles F. (1854-1868)

Warren. Charles F. Brown was granted a number of patents related to heavy ordnance: ordnance cartridges (May 29, 1855, No. 12,942); ordnance mountings (July 17, 1855, No. 13,249); gun carriage wheels (July 10, 1860, No. 29,055); ordnance (September 18, 1860, No. 30,045); ordnance projectiles (October 1, 1861, No. 2,374); ordnance mountings (August 26, 1862, No. 36,273); improved ordnance projectiles (September 22, 1868, No. 82,284); and breechloading artillery (November 24, 1868, No. 3,211).[59]

BROWN, Elisha (1799-1801)

Providence. Under the terms of the armaments act of July 5, 1798, Elisha Brown of Providence contracted to deliver 1,000 Charleville pattern muskets at $13.40 an arm. By June 10, 1801, he had delivered 775 muskets.[60] On July 16, 1801, Secretary of War Henry Dearborn sent Brown the following letter:

> From the comparative punctuality with which you have complied with your Contract for furnishing small arms for the United States. I hereby consent to receive from one to two hundred & fifty more of you anytime prior to the first day of December next, on the same terms in point of price and quality, as you heretofore contracted to deliver small arms to the public. The arms hereafter delivered to be accompanied with certificates of inspection as usual under contracts with the public.[61]

There are extant musket locks which are dated "1801" and marked "E. Brown" and "U.S.".[62] Brown might well have been the only 1798 arms contractor who marked his products in Rhode Island. Apart from the few details of his government contract, nothing else is known about arms contractor Brown. (The matter is further complicated by the fact that there were several Elisha Browns at this time.)

BURNSIDE, Ambrose E. (b. 1824 - d. 1881)

Ambrose Burnside was one of the founders of the Bristol Firearms Company of Bristol, Rhode Island. On March 25, 1856, he was granted a patent (No. 14,491) for a breechloading firearm with a unique conical cartridge. He was also granted a patent on May 12, 1857 (No. 17,261), for a "mode of overcoming the windage in firearms."

Burnside was also associated with the Burnside Rifle Company which later assumed the production work of the Bristol Firearms Company. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Burnside, an 1847 graduate of West Point, was commissioned a Colonel of the First Regiment, Rhode Island Detached Militia. He later achieved the rank of Major General.[63]

After the war Burnside had a brief term as president of the Rhode Island Locomotive Works which had evolved from the Burnside Rifle Company. He also served three terms as governor of Rhode Island (1866-1869). During the Franco-Prussian War, Burnside volunteered to act as an intermediary between the French and the Germans during the siege of Paris.[64]

While living in New York City, Burnside became one of the thirty-six incorporators of the National Rifle Association. He served as its first president from November 29, 1871, to July 22, 1872. Burnside was also the first president of the Rhode Island Rifle Association. From 1874 until his death in Bristol on September 13, 1881, Burnside was a United States Senator from Rhode Island. (see also "Bristol Firearms Company," "Burnside Rifle Company".)

BURNSIDE RIFLE COMPANY (1860-1867)

Providence. During its May session of 1860, the Rhode Island General Assembly incorporated the Burnside Rifle Company:

> Charles Jackson, William Foster, G.M. Richmond, Earl P. Mason, William T. Dorrance, G. W. Hallett, John H. Clarke, Daniel Bush, William W. Bishop, and A. E. Burnside, their associates, successors, and assigns, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the "Burnside Rifle Company", for the purpose of manufacturing Burnside's Patent Breech Loading Rifles and other fire-arms . . .[65]

The listing of the incorporating stockholders indicates that Charles Jackson was the principal power in the new concern. Of the three original partners in the firm that had earlier evolved into the Bristol Firearms Company, only Bishop and Burnside had financial interests in the new undertaking. However, their roles in the new enterprise were relegated to the area of passive interest. The control of the new company was to be in the hands of men whose financial and managerial talents were far beyond those of Bishop, Burnside, and, as events were to prove, even Jackson.

Numerous secondary source claims that the Bristol Firearms Company had gone into bankruptcy and had been taken over by its creditors who then formed the Burnside Rifle Company have no basis in fact. A contemporary credit analysis of the Bristol concern for the years 1859-1861 reveals no such transaction.[66] Jackson, it should be noted, was too good a businessman, accoutered with excellent financial connections, to stumble into the pitfall of foreclosure which would have been financially inopportune for all parties concerned. Foreclosure would inevitably have led to lengthy legal battles, especially over the control of the patent rights for

the Burnside breechloader. With war becoming each day an ever-increasing possibility, legal infighting for remuneration might block any possibility of securing lucrative government arms contracts. Following the dictums of "the Bible and Poor Richard", the creditors would have decided to forego the immediate proceeds of a few dollars and to wait patiently for the large profits that would be reaped in the future. However, the possibility that some of Bristol Firearm's creditors became part of the new Burnside concern remains quite viable. Of the principal incorporators of the Burnside Rifle Company, William Foster and Earl Potter Mason might well have held outstanding bills on Bristol. Both Foster and Potter had extensive holdings on Canal Street where Bristol Firearms was operating from rented quarters.[67] They could well have been the lessors for the Bristol shops. The incorporation of the new company gave Jackson a much broader stock base from which to operate and to fund plant expansion. If he had had creditors for his Bristol company, they now became his associates.

Standing in the wings during the incorporation and ready to make his first appearance in the firearms business was Dr. Isaac Hartshorn, who was described by a contemporary as a "money-making man".[68] Isaac Hartshorn, Earl Potter Mason, and Charles Jackson were longtime business associates who together had once formed the Providence Shoe Company.[69] Hartshorn and Mason owned most of the land upon which the Burnside Rifle Company would be built.[70] By October of 1861, these three men, along with Byron V. Sprague and the firm of G. & W. Slater, controlled the company.[71]

During the early summer of 1861, the Burnside Rifle Company officially assumed the production work of the Bristol Firearms Company at Bristol's rented quarters. By this time plans were well underway for the construction of a completely new plant. Ground was broken in July, and by November of 1861, work was almost completed on the new factory, bordered by the Woonasquatucket River, Elm Street, and River Road in what is today North Providence. By May of the following year, the construction was finished, the machinery had been transferred, and contract guns were being completed.[72]

The first wartime contract received by the Burnside Rifle Company came early in the summer of 1861 from the state of Indiana for 1,000 second model carbines with appendages at $37.75 a carbine. At the request of Indiana Governor Morton, the costs of the contract were assumed by the Federal government on September 27, 1861.[73]

In a letter dated July 16, 1861, General James W. Ripley of the Ordnance Department submitted an order for 800 carbines. The letter, addressed to Charles Jackson, Esq., Treasurer of the Bristol Firearms Company, indicates that Ripley was unaware of the recent change in the Bristol concern. In his reply of July 18, 1861, Jackson set the matter straight:

> Sir: I have your letter of the 16th instant, ordering eight hundred Burnside carbines. In reply, I beg to say that, having perfected the arm during the last two years, I have recently reorganized under the name of the Burnside Rifle Company, Isaac Hartshorn, agent. We will take your order for the eight hundred carbines, to be delivered in December next, in whole or in part, probably the whole. This is the earliest moment that we can safely promise them.[74]

The improvements Jackson had mentioned were essentially George Foster's patented catch mechanism and Foster's patented improvements on the Burnside cartridge. After the letter of July 18th, Charles Jackson began to take more of a background role in the affairs of the rifle company. Isaac Hartshorn, agent, became the prime mover in the affairs of contracts and negotiations.

On August 27, 1861, Burnside Rifle received a contract for 7,500 carbines at $35 a carbine with appendages. The contract specified that the carbines were to have twenty-one inch steel barrels and to have a bore of .54 inch. Weighing from 7¼ to 7⅛ pounds, the carbines were to be half-stocked. The first 1,000 carbines were to be delivered in January, 1,200 in February, and 1,500 for each month thereafter until the order was completed. The most salient feature of this contract (which Hartshorn accepted on August 31st) is the specification for a half-stocked carbine.[75] Burnside Rifle at the time was still producing its second model carbine which lacked the wooden forestock.

On August 28, 1861, the Ordnance Department submitted another offer for 1,000 Burnside infantry rifle muskets with angular bayonets, 37 inch barrels, and appendages for $38.50 a musket. On November 21, 1861, yet another offer came from the Ordnance Department for 2,500 Burnside breechloading rifles with sabre bayonets. The rifles were to be of "Harper's Ferry length" with a caliber of .58 inch. The price for the rifle and appendages was $38.50.[76]

Hartshorn accepted these contracts too, but he added a somewhat cautioning note as to the delivery time of the rifles and muskets.[77] One does get the impression that the former Providence physician was revelling in his new role as Burnside Rifle's agent and that he would have accepted just about any proposal from the Ordnance Department.

The infantry rifle musket and the .58 caliber breechloading rifle seem to have been part of a limited or future production plan of the earlier Bristol Firearms Company. No doubt some of Ambrose Burnside's earlier sales trips to Washington for the Bristol Firearms

Company were beginning to show some late results.

Hartshorn's eagerness to secure any and all contracts from the Ordnance Department was a bit premature. Like so many other wartime arms contractors, Burnside Rifle fell behind in its delivery schedule. In a letter to the commission investigating ordnance contracts, Hartshorn outlined the problems facing the Providence concern:

> The same difficulties that have stood in the way of other contractors for the delivery of arms have obstructed our progress. It seems that all have underrated the preliminary difficulties inherent in a new business. We have suffered, and do now suffer, from the failures of contractors in the delivery of machinery, and in many instances could not anticipate our own wants so as to order it in time. When the machines are delivered, the infinite variety of small tools required before they can be successfully operated is entirely beyond ordinary experience in business.
>
> Gun-making is, comparatively, a new business in this country. Competent workmen are scarce, and so great is the demand for them that wages have advanced from two to three dollars per day. Notwithstanding all this, we hope we may have credit for some activity. The first order from the Ordnance department for rifles, dated July 16, 1861, a copy of which is enclosed, was entirely unexpected, and found us unprepared to execute. On the 22nd day of the same we began to excavate for the foundations of our new armory buildings; they are now complete and in successful operation, but will yet require time to perfect them in the details of the several departments.[78]

In the same letter Hartshorn aiso mentioned the introduction of the third model Burnside carbine:

> We have effected great improvements in the simplicity and efficiency of the arm, and are authorized by Captain Rodman of Watertown, to whom they have been submitted, to use his name in reference to them. These improvements, with the permission of the department, will be ingrafted upon the arm in a few weeks.[79]

Two weeks later in testimony before the commission, Hartshorn went into further detail on the model change over. At the same time, he was trying to avoid the possibility of being straddled with an inventory of the older second model carbines which were unacceptable under the terms of the contract of August 27. The commission suggested that the contract price of $35 a carbine was too high when compared to the prices of other breechloading carbines. The conditions were ideal for a compromise. Hartshorn wanted to sell carbines, including the inventory of older second models, and to receive an extension on the delivery schedule. The government needed armaments. Hartshorn appeared again before the commission and agreed to lower the price to $30 a carbine provided that the number of ordered carbines of August 27 be confirmed and that the first delivery not be due until June. The commission accepted the proposals on May 15, 1862.[80] Burnside Rifle had made only one delivery on the August 27th contract, 260 carbines at $35 an arm on March 13, 1862.[81] In effect, the commission's decision revoked the August 27th agreement. The remaining number of contract carbines were then included in the subsequent contract of June 19, 1862.

On the same day the commission re-negotiated Burnside Rifle's carbine contract, it took up the matter of the separate contracts for 1,000 Burnside infantry rifle muskets and 2,500 Burnside breechloading rifles. Obviously, both parties concerned, the Ordnanace Department and Burnside Rifle, desired the cancellation of the two contracts. The Ordnance Department, after re-examining the contracts, found the prices too high and the delivery dates too remote. There were also objections about introducing rifles and muskets requiring special ammunition. Hartshorn, a neophyte in the armaments business, had apparently discovered the high costs of tooling for two relatively small orders. The commission revoked the two orders.[82]

Earlier, William Sprague, the governor of Rhode Island and a shareholder in the Burnside Rifle Company, had requested an allotment of Burnside carbines to arm a Rhode Island mounted unit. His request was quickly granted by General Ripley who told Hartshorn to have 632 carbines ready for Governor Sprague and to place that number on the August 27 contract.[83] Hartshorn requested that the Sprague consignment be placed under the order of July 16 which would allow delivery of the second model. His request was granted.

Although Sprague's actions obviously constituted a conflict-of-interest, there is some redemption for his motives since he was requesting one of the best (indeed, if not the best) carbines to arm his Rhode Islanders.

With a shipment of 320 second model carbines to the state of Indiana on October 5, 1861, Burnside Rifle made its first contract delivery on the Federal contract of September 21, 1861. Another 160 second models followed a week later. The company completed the Indiana contract on June 24, 1862, with a shipment of 520 third models. Governor Sprague's cavalry unit received the last of their 640 second models on February 10, 1862.[84] The shipment of 640 carbines was but a prelude to the large numbers of Burnside carbines which would go into battle in the hands of Rhode Island troops.

With the Indiana order completed, Governor Sprague's initial allotment shipped, and the rifle and musket contracts cancelled, Hartshorn could now concentrate on the profits from volume production. The next large contract which the rifle company received was signed on June 19, 1862, for 7,500 carbines at $30 an arm. This contract was actually a formalization of the decision of the Ordnance Commission relative to the pricing on the August 27 agreement; 1,000 carbines were to be delivered by the end of the month; another 1,000 were expected in July; and then 1,500 a month thereafter until the number was completed. For this contract Byron Sprague and Earl Potter Mason signed as sureties.[85]

On December 29, 1862, Hartshorn signed a contract to deliver as many Burnside carbines as the company could deliver within a nine month span starting in February. Further refined, the contract required Burnside Rifle to deliver at least 2,000 carbines a month with a maximum number of 25,000. The cost of each carbine with appendages was $25. Earl Potter Mason and William S. Slater signed as sureties. (Slater, like Sprague, was shareholder in Burnside Rifle. In the firm of G & W Slater, he also held an interest in the sabre contract work of the Rhode Island firm of Mansfield and Lamb.) On September 30, 1863 another contract was secured for 12,500 carbines at $25 an arm. On July 6, 1864, Hartshorn agreed to deliver 6,000 Burnside carbines at $19 an arm. On December 2, 1864, the company received its final Burnside carbine contract for 4,500 carbines at $19 an arm.[86]

Between October 5, 1861, and February 13, 1865, Burnside Rifle delivered 53,031 carbines on its federal contracts.[87] (In addition to this number, the Ordnance Department also purchased an additional 719 Burnside carbines between July 29 and November 10, 1862, from the New York armaments purveyors Schuyler, Hartley and Graham.)[88] On an order dated July 9, 1862, Burnside Rifle had also sold the Ordnance Department 634 Burnside cartridge boxes and 520 Burnside cap pouches.[89]

Parallel with its work on carbines, Burnside Rifle also secured a series of federal munitions contracts to produce the caliber .54 Burnside cartridge. Between January, 1862, and March, 1865, the company delivered over sixteen million rounds of ammunition.[90] (Production peaks for cartridges and carbines were reached in 1864.) The Ordnance Department also purchased Burnside cartridges from Schuyler, Hartley and Graham and from the armaments firm of Poultney and Trimble, who had received a munitions contract to product two million Burnside cartridges with "Poultney's wrapped metal."[91]

Of the thousands of Burnside carbines produced by the Bristol Firearms Company and the Burnside Rifle Company, most arms students usually designate four basic models. There are also transitional specimens which have characteristics of two distinct patterns, and there is even some evidence for a fifth model.

The first and second model carbines have already been described under the arms of the Bristol Firearms Company.

The third model carbine was essentially the second model, modified to conform to government ordnance specifications. Equipped with a solid breechblock arrangement, the third model was half-stocked with a 9½ inch forestock held in place by a metal band. Absent from this model is the Foster stamping on the trigger guard latch.

The fourth model carbine, the most often encountered specimen of the entire Burnside carbine series, employed Isaac Hartshorn's improved pivoted breechblock design and a number of other modifications.

A dearth of data surrounds the sporting arms produced by Burnside Rifle during the postwar period. Equipped with tang sights, broader stocks, and octagonal barrels, they represent the final evolution of the Burnside system. The postwar sporter model is probably a greater rarity than the prewar model.

Although the author has heard reports of Burnside arms which were ingeniously converted to center or rimfire cartridge systems, he is of the opinion that they are probably the products of "kitchen sink" gunsmithing rather than factory conversions. One such specimen, that was able to be examined, proved to be a crude (and very dangerous) modification to .38 caliber centerfire which employed a rusty nail as a firing pin in a bizarre attempt to copy the Allin system!

The abundance of obsolete Burnside parts gathering dust in Providence warehouses no doubt provided the materials for a considerable amount of experimentation in the workshops of those whose asperations in the gunsmithing field fell far below their expertise. (Most of these parts were sold as scrap in the 1930's and went down the Providence River on Japanese ships to fuel the Imperial war machine.)

Perhaps the most unusual twist in the production history of the Burnside Rifle Company was the acceptance of a government contract on June 27, 1864, to deliver all the Spencer carbines the company could produce up to the thirty-first day of August, 1865. Although the contract had qualified this provision with a delivery schedule set between November, 1864, and August, 1865, with a ceiling of 30,500 Spencer carbines,[92] Burnside Rifle did not begin delivery until April 15, 1865. The government accepted the last Burnside Spencer on October 31, 1865. Burnside Rifle delivered 34,496 Spencer carbines, almost 4,000 more than the original intent of the contract.[93] The company also made an unsuccessful attempt to secure the munitions contracts for the Spencers it was producing.[94]

Of course, it is unlikely that any of the Burnside

Spencers ever saw use in the Civil War although some probably saw use in the hands of Federal troops occupying the South. A number probably saw service during the Indian Wars. However, quite a few remained in unopened crates in government warehouses until they were sold to civilian arms wholesalers such as Francis Bannerman and Sons, who was still selling them at the beginning of the twentieth century.[95] A number of the Burnside Spencers were purchased by the Mexican government either directly or indirectly from United States surplus sales.[96]

The Spencer M-1865 carbine is chambered for the caliber .56-50 rimfire cartridge. Equipped with a seven round tubular magazine in the butt, it is a lever action arm. With a total length of 37 inches and a barrel length of 20 inches, the carbine has rear sights adjustable for 100 to 600 yards. The M-1865 Spencer carbines made by Burnside are marked on the top of the receiver "Model 1865 / Spencer Repeating Rifle Pat'd. March 6, 1860 / Manufactured at Providence, Rhode Island by Burnside Rifle Co." Burnside Spencers are equipped with the Stabler cut-off mechanism which allowed the arm to be used as a single-loading weapon while the seven magazine cartridges were kept in reserve. The Spencer carbine equipped with the 20 inch barrel is usually referred to as a "Baby Spencer" by arms collectors. Burnside Spencer barrels also have 3-groove rifling rather than the 6-groove system found on other M-1865 carbines by Spencer.

Though much of the impetus behind the new contract to make a different (and in many ways far superior) arm was due to Hartshorn's and his colleague's yearnings for additional profits, there seems to be another motive. One encounters certain indications that Hartshorn and Mason were exploring the possibilities of continuing arms production following the cessation of hostilities. Though the Burnside arm was a breechloader, it was inexorably tied to a cartridge system which relied on a separate primer for ignition. As far as arms theorists were concerned, that cartridge system was already obsolete. What was obviously needed was a new product which could successfully vie for government contracts. Burnside Rifle had been assigned George R. Bacon's patent (No. 39,270) for a breechloader on March 15, 1864, and it had also received G. W. Hugh's patent for a magazine or self loading rifle on May 2, 1865 (No. 1,943).[98] The company's contract for Spencer rifles could serve as a good training period for Burnside machinists as they manufactured an entirely different loading system. However, circumstances would determine an entirely different course of action for the company.

In a few months, the company had moved to end its connection with armaments production. The decision was brought about in part by the extremely favorable report that Providence Tool Company had received on the performance of the Peabody rifle (whose patent rights Providence Tool had quickly purchased) in the government tests of 1865.

By the closing of the months of 1865, Burnside Rifle was already making preparations for the production of locomotives. The company petitioned the Rhode Island General Assembly during its May Session of 1866 for a modification of its charter. After the words ". . . for the purpose of manufacturing Burnside patent breech loading rifles and other fire arms," the petitioners requested the addition of the phrase "and for other manufacturing purposes". In February of 1867, the General Assembly granted another petition of the firm which changed its name from the "Burnside Rifle Company" to the "Rhode Island Locomotive Works". The additional phrase which had been added to the charter in 1866 was replaced by more specific wording, ". . . and for the manufacture of locomotives, stationary engines and railroad cars."[99]

The Rhode Island Locomotive Works was funded by the huge profits the Burnside Rifle investors had made on the wartime contracts and by the proceeds they had received from the sale of Burnside Rifle's arms manufacturing machinery.[100] The locomotive company began with mixed economic fortunes. Following the completion of his checquered career as a field commander in the Civil War, Ambrose Burnside returned to serve briefly as company president, a role greatly upstaged by his three terms as governor of Rhode Island (1866-1869). (Burnside succeeded Earl Potter Mason, the last president of Burnside Rifle and the first president of the locomotive company).[101] Following Burnside's resignation as company president, the firm began to show some profit.[102] Operating from the same buildings which had housed the Burnside Rifle Company, the Rhode Island Locomotive Works continued in business until the turn of the century, producing locomotives, steam engines, and, among other items, a burglar-proof safe.

BUSICOT, Peter (1650)
Warwick, see "Badcock, James."

C

CARR, Samuel (b. 1694 - d. 1739)
Newport. Samuel Carr was a Newport gunsmith who also operated the ferry between Newport and Jamestown. In May of 1733, gunsmith Carr petitioned the

Rhode Island General Assembly for permission to increase his fees for transporting animals, etc., from Carr's wharf.[1]

CHACE AND BROWN (1845-1856)
Warren, R.I.[2]

CHILLINGWORTH, Felix (1874)
Providence. In conjunction with ordnance expert Henry Metcalfe, who was in charge of the American inspectors for the Turkish contract at the Providence Tool Company, Felix Chillingworth patented a spade bayonet on May 26, 1874 (No. 151,238). Chillingworth also received a patent for a firearm safety lock on December 14, 1875 (No. 170,988).[3]

CLARK, John (1764)
Newport.[4]

COBB, EBENEZER (1850)
Providence, 95 South Main Street.[5]

COFFIN, Joseph W. (1884)
Providence. Joseph W. Coffin was the treasurer for the short-lived Davenport Arms Company of Providence. In conjunction with gunsmith James Maloney, Coffin obtained a patent for a firearm lock on August 5, 1884 (No. 302,893).[6]

C.R.
In February of 1776, the Rhode Island General Assembly ordered that ". . . that two thousand stand of good fire-arms, with bayonets, iron ramrods and cartouch boxes, be purchased for the use of the colony, which shall be stamped with the colony's arms, and the letters C.R., and distributed to each town, in proportion to the number of polls, upon the alarm list therein"[7]

CROCKER, James A. (1868-1882)
Providence. James A. Crocker was a machinist who worked for the Providence Tool Company.[8] On August 28, 1877, he received a patent for a revolving firearm (No. 194,653).[9] Following Providence Tool's failure in 1883, Crocker apparently moved from the city. A cased cylinder for a 12-gauge revolving shotgun by James Crocker has recently come to light.

CUSHMAN, Mathew Smith (b. 1777 - d. 1811)
Providence. Mathew S. Cushman, a maker of flintlock rifles, operated a gunshop on North Main Street, opposite Meeting Street. In the early 1920's, Asa Cushman, a direct descendent of the gunsmith, presented the Rhode Island Historical Society with a rifle that had been made by Mathew Cushman and one of the gunsmith's business cards (a Hamlin engraving). Although the rifle has long since disappeared from the Society's collection, Charles Cook's description gives a good glimpse of an early Rhode Island rifle:

> The one presented to the Historical Society is of a little later design than those shown on the business card. The lock, which was originally a flint lock, was made by C. Baker, and at a later date was transformed into a percussion lock . . . . The trimmings and patch box are of brass, the brass butt has an accentuated curve, and the barrel is octagonal on the outside and has been considerably shortened. There are eight bands and they are very shallow. This gun is particularly interesting, as it is one of the earliest, if not indeed the earliest, extant rifles made in Providence.[10]

CUTTER, Erastus, W. (1850-1854)
Providence, 25 Broad Street. Cutter engaged in a brief partnership with William R. Pope.[11]

D

DARLING, Benjamin and Barton M. (1836-1846)
Bellingham, Massachusetts, Cumberland and Woonsocket, Rhode Island. Very little primary source data has been located concerning the life and work of Benjamin and Barton M. Darling. The brothers Darling were granted a patent for a rotary pistol on April 13, 1836. They claimed that the cocking of their pistol hammer rotated the pistol's cylinder. Unfortunately, Samuel Colt's patent, dated February 25, 1836, also claimed the same feature. According to one account, Benjamin Darling maintained until his dying day that he, not Sam Colt, was the inventor of the first American revolver.[1]

The Darlings advertised their pistol as the "Darling Patent Rotary Pistol, made and sold wholesale and retail by B. & B. M. Darling, Woonsocket, R.I."[2] Most secondary sources agree that the Darlings enjoyed a short-lived enterprise. Perhaps a hint of the state of their finances can be gleened from their purchase of a small lot from Waldo Earl in the village of Woonsocket, then a part of Cumberland, for $450 on April 3, 1840. Almost one year later they sold the same lot to Henry Brown for $400.[3]

The Darlings' rotary pistols are usually classed by collectors as pepperboxes, a category of multi-barreled pistols. For the better part of this century, it was held that

the Darlings were the makers of a series of brass-framed pepperboxes which had a bewildering collection of initials. However, later research has shown that these brass-framed handguns are of Swedish origin.[4] A few iron-framed Darling pepperboxes survive which are marked "B & B.M. Darling" with a serial number. Some others bear the names of purveyors who had purchased them from the Darlings. The late Jack Dunlap, a noted expert in the field of American and European pepperboxes, estimated that less than a dozen Darling pepperboxes are known to exist.[5] The Darling pepperbox, one of the first American pepperboxes, remains as one of the rarities of American arms collecting.

DARLING, Edmund R. (1877-1921)

Woonsocket. Edmund R. Darling is listed over the years at a number of different locations on Main Street: 129, 131, and 241.[6]

DAVENPORT, William Hastings (b. 1828 - d. 1905)

William Hastings Davenport's first contact with firearms manufacturing came with his employment by the firm of Allen and Thurber in Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1850 Davenport established his own business in Millbury, Massachusetts, for manufacturing rifle and shotgun barrels; however, his first independent venture was destroyed by fire in 1853. An attempt to revitalize the business failed, and he removed to Providence where he worked for the Thomas Hills Machine Company and later for the New England Screw Company.[7]

In 1862 Davenport went into the employ of the Burnside Rifle Company in the firm's barrel making department. Later, with the consent of his employers at Burnside, he also took charge of the gun barrel work for the Spencer Magazine Gun Company of Boston. For a period of two years Davenport supervised the barrel work for both Burnside and Spencer.[8]

When Burnside Rifle left the armaments business in 1866, Davenport went to work for the Providence Tool Company which was already deeply involved in its Peabody rifle program.[9] Davenport's career as a barrel technician with Providence Tool is an excellent indicator of the mercurial fortunes of the tool company. In 1871 when Providence Tool decided to de-activate its armaments program, Davenport became a partner with James G. Chaffee and F. H. Hunt in a grocery and provisions business at 155 Broadway in Providence. (He was just one of the many unemployed gunmakers in Providence during 1871.)[10] When Providence Tool secured its first Turkish contract for the Peabody-Martini rifle, Davenport once again returned to his forte, gun barrel work, introducing, according to his obituary, revolutionary changes in their manufacture at the tool company.[11]

In 1875 when Providence Tool's assets were attached by its creditors, Davenport left the tool company and became a partner in the firm of Cooke and Davenport, manufacturers of jewelry.[12] His second non-gunmaking venture sparked by unemployment was as shortlived as his first enterprise as a grocer. In late 1875 he left Providence, probably to work for some other New England arms manufacturer.

In May of 1880, Davenport and a number of other investors founded the Davenport Arms Company in Providence to manufacture guns designed by Davenport. The treasurer of the company was Joseph W. Coffin, another gunsmith. The firm, which had a capital investment of $25,000, was located at 79-81 Orange Street in Providence and, reportedly, had a work force of forty men.[13] No doubt the personnel were recruited from the growing numbers of unemployed from the Providence Tool Company. The Davenport Arms Company of Providence lasted for less than two years. In all probability, the firm never went into any considerable production.

Following the failure of the Davenport Arms Company, Davenport worked for the Bay State Arms Company of Uxbridge, Massachusetts, and later for the Hopkins and Allen firm in Norwich, Connecticut. In 1890 Davenport established the William H. Davenport Firearms Company in Norwich, Connecticut, which continued in operation until 1909 producing inexpensive rifles and single- and double-barrel shotguns under the Davenport name or under the names of different purveyors.[14]

Davenport held twenty-three firearms related patents: breech-loading and magazine firearms (February 8, 1881, No. 237,432; June 21, 1881, No. 243,223; December 20, 1881, 251,099; December 25, 1883, No. 290,751; June 24, 1884, No. 300,851 and No. 300,752; June 23, 1885, No. 320,637; September 15, 1885, No. 326,276; July 2, 1889, No. 406,031; December 15, 1891, No. 465,354; April 13, 1897, No. 580,679; May 2, 1889, No. 624,187; May 27, 1902, No. 701,158), cocking mechanisms (January 19, 1886, No. 334,570; November 12, 1895, No. 549,706), extractors and ejecting mechanisms (December 9, 1890, No. 442,106; August 11, 1896, No. 565,606; August 11, 1896, No. 565,605; October 26, 1897, No. 592,239; December 13, 1898, No. 615,958; December 5, 1899, No. 638,322), set trigger (October 2, 1888, No. 390,286), a device for fastening barrels to gunstocks (July 2, 1889, No. 406,032), and a firearm locking key (May 27, 1902, No. 701,159).[15]

DICKINSON, George W. (1870)

Providence. 189 High Street.[16]

F

FARROW, William Milton (b. 1848 - d. 1934)

Rhode Island played a relatively small part in the career of W. Milton Farrow. The 1874 issue of the *Providence Directory* lists Farrow as a jeweler, optician, and a purveyor of breechloading guns with a shop at 26 Washington Square in Newport. (There are other listings for this business in 1884 and 1885 with John B. Titcombe listed as store manager.)[1]

Farrow later established a small arms company in Holyoke, Massachusetts, in the mid 1880's. He subsequently moved his business, the Farrow Arms Company, to Morgantown, West Virginia, then to Washington, D.C., and finally to West Palm Beach, Florida.[2]

Farrow was granted a patent on a breechloading rifle on October 14, 1884 (No. 306,391).[3] In addition to manufacturing target rifles, Farrow was also a successful competitive shooter in American and European matches.[4]

FOSTER, George P. (b. 1810 - d. 1874)

Attleboro, Taunton, and Leicester, Massachusetts; Bristol and Providence, Rhode Island; Mohawk, New York. George Pratt Foster was born in Attleboro, Massachusetts, on April 12, 1810, the son of George and Eunice Foster. He began working as a gunsmith in Attleboro during the 1830's. In January of 1840, he moved his business to Taunton, Massachusetts.[5] The first city directory for Taunton, issued in 1850, lists him as a gunsmith with a shop on Market Street.[6]

Foster's work in Taunton is best represented by his iron-forestocked percussion rifles, of varying calibers and barrel lengths, which are marked "G.P. Foster - Taunton, Mass." In his Taunton shop, Foster and his workmen also produced the Klein "bolt action" needle rifles and the Porter turret rifles. Although he had established a reputation for his gunsmithing skill (he received an award from the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania in 1850 for the quality of his rifles), his business failed in Taunton.

In 1853 Foster entered into partnership with Ambrose E. Burnside and William Bishop in Bristol, Rhode Island, to form the company that would later evolve into the Bristol Firearms Company. In a matter of months, Foster withdrew from the partnership, but he remained as the plant manager. Perhaps one reason for his abrupt withdrawal was that his creditors had brought a successful suit against him and his former Taunton associates. On January 5, 1854, all personal and real estate of George P. Foster, James W. Crossman, Stephen Rhodes, and Marcus M. Rhodes, insolvent debtors, was declared forfeited.[7] Obviously, the court order could have had serious consequences for the infant Bristol firm.

Foster seems to have been the key "operations person" in the Bristol enterprise. The iron-forestocked percussion rifles, which are identical to Foster's Taunton rifles and are marked "G.P. Foster, Bristol, R.I.", were apparently made at Bristol Firearms and, in the author's opinion, were part of that firm's regular production run.

Foster moved to Providence in 1859 when Charles Jackson removed Bristol Firearms' manufacturing facilities to that city. In the 1860 city directory, he is listed as a foreman for Bristol Firearms, and in 1861 he is listed as a company inspector.[8] While in the employ of Bristol firearms, he modified the Burnside carbine's locking system and its conical cartridge. He was granted patents on both improvements.

In the 1860 city directory, Foster's only son, George F. Foster, is also listed as an employee of Bristol Firearms.[9] (There is extant one .50 caliber percussion rifle in the style of George P. Foster which bears the barrel signature "G.F. Foster.") Both men later worked for the Burnside Rifle Company when that company assumed the work of the Bristol concern. In 1865 they moved to Mohawk, New York, where they worked as self-employed machinists doing sub-contract work for other gunmakers such as Remington Arms in nearby Ilion. On September 19, 1865, they were granted a cartridge extractor patent (No. 49,994), and on July 17, 1866, they received another patent for a breechloading rifle (No. 56,399).[10] They later assigned both of these patents to Remington.

After leaving Mohawk, George P. Foster lived briefly in Providence before moving to Leicester, Massachusetts, where he died on August 7, 1874.

See also "Bristol Firearms Co.", "Burnside Rifle Co."

FOUSNIQUER, Charles (1880-1886)

Providence, 324 and 356 Westminister Street.[11]

G

GOODREM, THOMAS (1863)

Providence. On March 17, 1863, Thomas Goodrem and Charles Jackson (of the Burnside Rifle Company) were granted a patent on a breechloading rifle (No. 37,937).[1]

GREEN, Josiah (1775-1781)
Providence. See "Atwell, Amos".

H

HALSEY, George (1667)
Newport. Blacksmith. See "Audley, John."

HAMMOND, Henry (1864-1876)
Providence, Rhode Island; Bridgeport and Hartford, Connecticut. While a student in Providence,[1] Henry Hammond patented a breechloading rifle on October 25, 1864 (No. 44,798). Shortly thereafter, he seems to have moved to Connecticut. Hammond also held a number of other patents: a cartridge retractor for a revolving firearm, patented on January 23, 1866 (No. 52,147); cartridge and shot pouches, patented on April 24, 1866 (No. 54,147); a rear sight, patented on January 8, 1867 (No. 61,007); another cartridge pouch, patented on February 26, 1867 (No. 62,415); a cartridge ejector for a breechloader, patented on December 31, 1867 (No. 72,849); a breechloading rifle, patented on March 14, 1871 (No. 112,589); and a gunsight, patented on April 4, 1876 (No. 175,702).[2]

HANCOCK, George (1864)
Providence. On April 26, 1864, George Hancock patented a breechloading rifle (No. 42,471).[3]

HARRIS, Andrew (1883-1930's)
Andrew Harris began his gunsmithing and sporting goods business in Providence in 1883 at 121 Broad Street. By the end of the century, he had relocated to 163 Weybosset Street and was retailing guns, fishing tackle, blasting powder, and Aetna dynamite.[4]

HARRIS, Caleb (1776)
Scituate (?). The state of Rhode Island purchased twenty-four stand of small arms with bayonets and twenty-four cartridge boxes from Caleb Harris. In 1776 the Rhode Island general assembly approved the purchase of five gun locks from Jonathan Pierce which were then directed to be delivered to Caleb Harris.[5]

HARRIS, George J. (1857-1868)
Providence. Over the years, George Harris worked at a number of different locations: 1 McNeal Lane, 220 High Street, and 35 Weybosset Street.[6]

HARRIS, James (b. 1791 - d. 1875)
Burillville and Providence. James Harris was the Burillville apprentice of Welcome Mathewson. Harris later became a gunsmith in Providence.[7]

HART, Abel (1869-1870)
Tiverton.[8]

HART, Lewis B. (1867-1873)
Providence.[9]

HARTSHORN, Isaac (b. 1805 - d. 1877)
Providence. A graduate of Yale Medical School, Isaac Hartshorn practiced medicine in Providence before entering the more lucrative business world. His first venture, processing and selling "india rubber," led him into a partnership with Charles Jackson and Earl Potter Mason in the Providence Shoe Company. Through Jackson and Mason, Hartshorn became financially involved in the Burnside Rifle Company as its first business agent and finally as its president.[10] Hartshorn was an aggressive entrepreneur who provided the major impetus for Burnside rifle's successful government sales program during the Civil War. He also held the patent rights for improvements on cartridge extraction on the Burnside breechloader (No. 38,042, granted on March 31, 1863).[11] See also "Burnside Rifle Company".

HAVENS, William (1650)
See "Babcock, James".

HENRY, Stephen P. (1864-1868)
Providence, 167 and 185 High Street.[12]

HICKS, Gabriel (1650)
See "Babcock, James".

HILL, Byron B. (1870)
Cranston. On February 15, 1870, Byron B. Hill received a patent for a revolving firearm (No. 99.893).[13]

HOPE FURNACE (1765-1815)
Scituate. Following an extensive and meticulously detailed 18th century market research program, the Hope Furnace was founded in 1765 by a group of Rhode Island investors, merchants, and manufacturers. Using technical data from the iron plantations of Pennsylvania, key personnel from the furnaces in Connecticut, and some copper bellows equipment from Boston, the furnace relied principally on ore which was mined and carted in from Cranston.[14]

Though death and investor disinterest would bring about certain changes in ownership in Furnace shares, the major control in the Furnace Company remained in

the hands of that unique group of Rhode Island entrepreneurs, the Brown brothers: John, Nicholas, Joseph, and Moses, who named the Furnace after their mother, Hope Brown. Random samplings of shareholders in the Furnace indicate the steady line of control over the years:

1765	1786	1808
Stephen Hopkins	Stephen and Rufus Hopkins	Rufus & Sylvanus Hopkins
Israel Wilkinson	Gov. Taber Bowen	Jabez Bowen
Nicholas Brown	Brown and Benson	Brown and Ives
Joseph Brown	John Brown	James Brown
John Brown	Brown, Rogers, and Brown	Heirs of Joseph Brown
Moses Brown	Brown and Power	Heir of Nicholas Brown[15]
Job Hawkins		
Caleb Arnold		

Hope Furnace records among the Brown family business negate the popular belief that the Furnace Company was founded primarily to manufacture chains and anchors for the Browns' ships. (Such articles, after all, could be obtained in North Providence from the firm of Stephen Jenks, who had built up a considerable expertise in the manufacturing of these items.) Although anchors *were* cast at the Furnace, the bulk of the production prior to the Revolution was pig iron, "Hope Pigs," with which the Brown brothers built a prosperous business within the colonies and abroad. Although the investors had originally planned a heavy commitment to the casting of hollow ware (kettles, baking pans, teapots, etc.), and had purchased a number of used casting molds, they all but abandoned that enterprise because of poor castings, and later, when the castings improved, because of a poor market for their goods.[16] The furnace company also manufactured nails using metal that had been sent out for processing.[17] Though the Furnace complex was small in comparison to the huge iron plantations in other colonies, it was a busy place which formed a viable part of the economy of Rhode Island prior to the Revolution.

In November of 1775, the Rhode Island General Assembly began its search for cannon. The Browns, cognizant of the possible havoc the war might have on their domestic iron business, were not slow in realizing the potential profits from the armaments business. Although Nicholas Brown was unable to locate a master cannon maker, enough modifications were made at the Furnace to enable him to submit a bid to the General Assembly of £35 a ton for the cannon. He was granted a contract for sixty cannon. At its February, 1776, session, the General Assembly passed the following resolution:

> Whereas Messrs. Nicholas Brown and Company presented unto this Assembly and Petition setting forth, that they had heretofore agreed to make for the Colony Sixty Pieces — of heavy Cannon for Thirty-five Pounds Lawful Money per Ton; that at the Time of making the Contract they were quite unacquainted with the Price of Cannon in England, which they since find by Muller Treastise on Artillery is Thirty Pounds Sterling per Ton; that in making the necessary Preparations, and hiring the proper Workmen, they find the Pay of the Labourers, &c. to be advanced near One Half more than it was when they made the aforesaid Contract; they likewise find by said Treatise, that the lighter Cannon made upon the new Construction are much better than the old heavy Pieces, that the Labour necessary to be used in making the light Cannon is nearly the same as that bestowed upon the heavy Pieces; that Ambrose Page Esq.; one of the Gentlemen appointed by the Assembly to give the Dimensions of the Cannon & C. prefers the lighter Pieces, as being best calculated to answer the End proposed; that they will cost less by Fourteen Hundred Dollars than if made upon the Plan proposed upon original contract; and prayed this Assembly to take the Premisses into Consideration: Wherefore It is Voted and Resolved, That Ambrose Page, John Mathewson, and Ebenezer Thompson Esquires, be a Committee to consider of the Contents of the said Petition, and to agree with the Petitioners for casting the said Cannon upon the best Terms they can.[18]

This contract was shortly followed by another for sixty 12-pounders from the Marine Committee of Congress to arm two frigates under construction in Providence.[19]

A company memorandum dated March 15, 1776, lists the various sizes offered by the Furnace Company:

Weight of Shot	Length	Weight of the gun	Price of one finished gun
½	2-6	1	3.5
1	3	1-2-14	4.18
2	3-6	3-0-8	10.5
3	4-2	4-2-12	15
4	4-6	6-0-16	21
6	5-3	9-1-0	32
9	6-0	13-3-12	48
12	6-7	18-2-0	64.10
18	7-6	27-3	90
24	8-4	37	120
32	9-2	49-2-18	160[20]

One is intrigued by the implications of this eighteenth century business brochure. It hardly bespeaks the generally accepted, almost comic opera, view of a group of iron mongers (led by a Nicholas Brown in the front office in Providence, desperately beating the bushes for a master cannon maker) whose expertise had been limited to relatively simple casting problems, suddenly becoming master cannon makers overnight. It is most tempting to speculate just how long experimentation had been going on at the Furnace with the intricate art of casting artillery. In fact, given the somewhat defiant nature of Rhode Island prior to the Revolution, one wonders about some of the ideas which might have been tossed about among the Furnace owners long before the

outbreak of hostilities, ideas which one would dare not put down on paper.

Given the laws of supply and demand and the instability of monetary systems during the Revolution, the fixed prices of cannon made at the Furnace would soon evaporate. On one occasion, the Furnace's prices would open the Browns to charges of war profiteering.[21]

It is unknown just what casting techniques Furnace manager Rufus Hopkins and his men employed in making the earliest cannon at the Furnace. Although modifications had been made at the Furnace under the direction of Joseph Brown in late 1775 for casting cannon,[22] it is quite possible that the early tubes were core cast, i.e. a core was placed in the mold prior to pouring. However, in late 1776, work was begun at Hope on a new air furnace, smaller than the regular furnaces and easily adaptable for making cannon. The air furnace was not in operation until early 1778.[23] A memorandum dated June 12, 1778, concerning an agreement made between the Air Furnace Company and Thomas Pratt for "cutting off the Heads of Guns"[24] indicates that the cannon makers at Hope were now following the current British practice (the British had begun to abandon core casting after 1750) of using vertical molds and casting a solid cannon with a "deadhead" at the muzzle. When the casting had cooled, the "deadhead" or "head" was cut off and the tube would be bored to the proper caliber.[25]

It is impossible to assign an exact figure for the cannon produced at the Furnace during the Revolution. However, the records which do survive indicate quite a substantial number. In December of 1777, Joseph Fuller was paid for making 1,128 gun patterns at Hope.[26] On May 17, 1780, the owners of Hope Furnace and the Air Furnace paid Seth and James Keith and Company for molding and casting thirteen 9-pounders, thirty-one 6-pounders, eighteen 4-pounders, and eighteen 3-pounders.[27] About the same time Dr. Seth Keith was paid for molding two 9-pounders, fourteen 6-pounders, forty-seven 4-pounders, and ten 3-pounders.[28]

Hope Furnace's cannon buyers were as varied as the divergent elements which constituted the rebellious side during the Revolution. Although the State of Rhode Island and the Continental Navy were customers, the majority of Hope's cannon went into privateering,[29] a venture for which Rhode Island became famous (or infamous).

Hope Furnace made not only cannon but also ammunition[30] — solid iron cannon balls in the different calibers, and various sizes of grape shot, those bags of small iron balls which turned a cannon into a huge shotgun with such devastating effects on infantry formations or seamen in close naval engagements. By 1781 the cannon makers at Hope had apparently reached a high level of sophistication in their trade. A memorandum for that year lists the results of Furnace experimentation with the various sizes of grape shot patterns, i.e. the density of the clouds of the sundry sizes of shot at different ranges.[31]

No proof testing records exist for Revolutionary War cannon among the Furnace papers. However, several notations are extant for powder used in this crucial phase of gunmaking. Seemingly the cost and burden of proof testing was the responsibility of the buyer on many occasions. On November 17, 1777, Mowry Foster was billed for four pair of 6-pounders. Thirty-two pounds of powder were used in the proofing at £6 a pound.[32] The exceptionally high price of powder is indicative of its scarcity throughout the war.

In the post war years, Hope Furnace returned to its more sedate prewar production of pig iron, nails and some cast goods, kettles, bake pans, anchors, etc. However, in December of 1794, the cannon makers at Hope began work on their largest single contract to date. The Furnace's customer was a vexed United States government already involved in an undeclared naval war with France and apprehensive about a possible deeper involvement in the European war. A memorandum dated for December, 1794, lists thirty-four 34-pounders for fortifications, each cannon weighing 5,200 pounds; and sixty 24-pounders for frigates, each weighing 4,800 pounds. The bill for this order was $41,348, which included the additional charges for boring these large tubes.[33] Apparently, some retooling was required by the large caliber bores because up to this time the largest cannon made at Hope were of the 24-pounder class. A notice in the *Providence Gazette* provides a terse description of the government contract cannon:

> The workmen at the Hope Furnace have already cast seventy-six cannon for the frigates and fortifications of the United States. They are ornamented with the American eagle, and are allowed by good judges to be equal to any guns from the foundries of Europe, they are cast solid and bored by water.[34]

The threat of another war with all its potential profit from outfitting privateers might have prompted the backers of Hope Furnace to once again delve into cannon manufacturing following the completion of their government contract. A July 7, 1796, notice in the *Providence Gazette* bespeaks a company once again following the Sirens' call of armaments profits:

> To be sold at Furnace Hope in Scituate, 3, 4, and 6 pound cannon newly and neatly made. Also may be hand cast, and completed at a short notice, any other fixed cannon or swivelguns, by applying to Rufus Hopkins and Sons at said furnace, or Brown, Francis, and Co., in Providence.[35]

The history of the Hope Furnace from 1800-1815 provides a sad denouement to the hustle of earlier days. Although some cannon were cast and proved between

1800 and 1806, transportation invoices indicate that a number of cannon were being hauled back from distributors. Company memoranda list the sale of forty-eight cannon between January, 1800 and December 18, 1806: twenty-four 3-pounders; twenty 4-pounders; two 6-pounders; and two 12-pounders. A memorandum for March, 1803, lists seventy-one cannon as being ready at the Furnace.[36]

In 1806 the Furnace began selling off its properties. The Furnace complex itself, twenty acres of land, a house, the Furnace and boring mill, was offered for sale at $7,000.[37] Though the deal was consumated, it seems that the Furnace Company maintained some sort of a proprietorship claim over the facilities. Evidently there were still cannon cast before 1806 which were unfinished and unproved. David Colvin was paid $10.16 for proving cannon and cutting up one cannon in November, 1808, (seemingly, one had blown up).[38] Another bill for June 13, 1809, covers the cost of proving and removing cannon. The burst cannon were carted off to town and sold to Abraham Wilkinson for $10.38.[39]

The fall of 1812 saw the major disbursement of the Furnace's remaining inventory. Memoranda for October 20, 1812, list sixty cannon as belonging to the company with fifty-one of these being stored at the Furnace. The same memos list six cannon as having burst in proof.[40] On November 10, 1812, the blacksmith's tools at the Furnace along with 325 5-pounder shot, 100 12-pounder shot, thirty-six 6-pounder shot, and seventy-six 4-pounder shot were sold to Abraham Wilkinson for $136.43.[41] By 1815, the Hope Furnace Company did not even exist on paper.

HOPKINS, Jeremiah (1774)

Scituate and Coventry. Jeremiah Hopkins was the brother of Stephen Hopkins, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Esek Hopkins who became the first commander of the Continental Navy.

Born in Scituate, Rhode Island, Jeremiah Hopkins later moved to neighboring Coventry where he and his son Elisha worked as blacksmiths.[42] In early December of 1774, Jeremiah presented the following petition to the Rhode Island General Assembly:

> Jeremiah Hopkins of Coventry humbly sheweth that he thinks he sufficiently understands the Business of a gunsmith so as to make Guns or Small Arms with Advantage to himself and others at this time when Guns are so much wanted and not to be had from England; But that he is unable to furnish himself with such Works, Tools and instruments as are necessary for carrying on the said Business. Wherefore he prays your Honors to Grant to him the Benefit of a Lottery for Raising only Two Hundred Dollars to be appropriated and applyed for the procuring said works, Tools and instruments and for no other purpose; And that Your Honors will please to appoint, Christopher Lippett of Cranston Esq., Jeremiah Olney and George Dorrance, Jr., of Scituate, and John Stewart of Voluntown, to be the Directors and Manager of said Lottery.[43]

Before the middle of the month, Hopkins' petition was granted, provided that there would be no expense to the colony.[44]

HOWE, Frederick W. (1862-1866)

Providence. During the Civil War, Frederick W. Howe was an employee of the Providence Tool Company where he did research and development work on machine tools which greatly expedited armaments production at the tool company. After leaving Providence Tool, he worked for the Brown and Sharpe Company which had manufactured his machine tools.[45] On September 16, 1862, and March 7, 1865, Howe revived patents on breechloading rifles (No. 36,466 and No. 46,671). Howe also patented a rear sight base on January 24, 1865 (No. 46,000).[46] See also Providence Tool Company, footnote no. 32.

HULL, Thomas (1812)

South Kingstown.[47]

HUMPHREY, Hosea (1796)

North Providence, Pawtucket. Hosea Humphrey seems to have been a multi-talented individual. In 1794 he presented the Pawtucket town council with a bill for services rendered as a physician:

> Doctr. Hosea Humphrey Exhibited an account to this council by him charged against the town for doctoring Unes Greenwood from the twenty-sixth of November 1793.[48]

On August 3, 1796, an ad in the *Providence Gazette* listed a variety of dry goods and a "very good assortment of medicines" for sale at Humphrey's store in Pawtucket. Humphrey became a partner of Stephen Janks with Jenks' re-entry into the armaments business under the Act of July 5, 1798. The partners contracted to produce 1,500 Charleville pattern muskets at $13.40 a musket. Humphrey apparently provided some of the working capital for the Jenks family (a procedure they followed on one other occasion with Ames Sweet in 1810).

In February of 1801, Hosea Humphrey, along with Esek Eston and Jesse Salisbury, was appointed by the probate court to inventory the personal estate of Stephen Jenks, Sr.[49] In 1802 Humphrey received a two year liquor

license from the Pawtucket town council,[50] and after this notation he fades into historical obscurity. There is extant one 1798 contract musket with the initials "H.H." on the lock plate. Hosea Humphrey died in Johnston, Rhode Island, on November 30, 1816.

HUMPHREY, John (1775)

Providence. On December 1, 1775, John Humphrey was paid by the town of Providence for stocking sixty-four guns and ". . . finding sundry materials."[51]

J

JACKSON, Charles (b. 1797 - d. 1876)

Providence. Charles Jackson, lawyer, entrepreneur, politican, and a former governor of Rhode Island (1845-1846), made his first contact with firearms manufacturing in 1855 when he purchased shares in Ambrose Burnside's Bristol Firearms Company.[1] Within a short period, Jackson became the dominant figure in the Bristol concern, remaining as its legal agent long after the firm had ceased operations.[2] Jackson was also one of the charter shareholders of the Burnside Rifle Company and became its first treasurer.[3] On March 17, 1863, Jackson and Thomas Goodrem were awarded a patent for a breechloading rifle (No. 37,937).[4] See also "Bristol Firearms Company" and "Burnside Rifle Company."

JACKSON, Daniel (1776)

Providence. Daniel Jackson maintained pistols for the town of Providence.[5]

JENKES, John (1754-1776)

Glocester. John Jenkes, blacksmith, gunsmith, and gun barrel maker, sold the town of Providence twenty-seven gun barrels with ramrods on November 15, 1775. Twenty-two of these barrels came with semi-completed stocks. Deductions were made from the bill by the town for fitting the ramrods and installing sights.[6] It is not evident which John Jenkes of Glocester, father or son, is the gunsmith who dealt with the town. Both men are listed as "blacksmiths" on Glocester town records.[7] It is the opinion of the author that John Jenkes also had affiliations with the Mathewsons and the Jeremiah Smiths. Although the only documented connection with the Smiths is found in the fact that Jeremiah Smith, Sr., was one of the witnesses to the will of John Jenkes.

JENKS (1774-1818)

Pawtucket and North Providence. The Jenks family is an integral part of the foundation of American industrialiam. In 1642 Joseph Jenks established the first significant iron works in America at Lynn, Massachusetts. It is reported that this indefatigable pioneer also invented the two-handed scythe, fabricated America's first fire engine, and fashioned the dies for the pine tree shilling.[8]

Rhode Island is connected with the Jenks family through his son Joseph Jenks, Jr., who established the first heavy industry in Pawtucket. On Jenks' property near the Pawtucket Falls were a forge, a carpenter's shop, a sawmill, and a foundry. Jenks produced axes, hammers, shovels, and other farming implements. In 1763 a water powered trip hammer was erected at the Pawtucket site. With their expanded facilities, the Jenks family was able to manufacture anchors and other heavy iron articles which could not be obtained in Providence.[9]

The Jenks family's involvement with the manufacture of firearms on a large scale, the first such undertaking in the history of Rhode Island, began with Captain Stephen Jenks (1726-1800). Like many other Rhode Island manufacturers and merchants, Stephen Jenks had taken an active part in the early affairs of the Revolution. By 1775 his firm was supplying muskets to local militia companies. Through the firm of Benjamin Thurber, he sold an unknown quantity of guns and twenty gun barrels with ramrods and bayonets to the town of Providence.[10] However, there is no evidence to support the late nineteenth century claims that Jenks also cast a number of cannon at his Pawtucket forge.

In 1776 the Rhode Island General Assembly, acting upon the advice of a committee headed by John Brown, purchased a gun from Stephen Jenks for the sum of £12. The state then presented the firearm as a gift to a visiting chief of the Oneida Indians.[11] Other than the price paid for the gun, no other details have come down concerning the state's first presentation gun, and whether this gun was made by Jenks or was only a fine imported sporting arm in his own possession is simply a matter for conjecture.

No guns have as yet been indentified which were made at the Jenks plant before or during the Revolution. Like the majority of such weapons made by American gunsmiths for the war effort, they would have been unmarked. Quite often such pieces are a medley of foreign and American parts, with the lock usually of foreign origin.

Apart from the few references which connect the Jenks family to the manufacture of firearms during the early phases of the Revolution, nothing else is recorded concerning any possible connection with this type of work until the contract of 1798.

On July 5, 1798, Congress approved an act which

would encourage the civilian manufacture of small arms for the regular armed forces and for the state militias. Rhode Island produced a number of contractors eager for the Federal dollar: Thomas Bicknell, Elisha Brown, William Tyler and William Rhodes, and Stephen Jenks and Hosea Humphrey.[12] Of these six men, only Bicknell and Jenks had any experience with firearms manufacture. Bruwn, Tyler, Rhodes, and Humphrey were merchants and investors.

Under the act of 1798, Oliver Wolcott, the United States Secretary of the Treasury, contracted with Stephen Jenks and Hosea Humphrey to produce 1,500 muskets on the Charleville pattern at $13.40 for each weapon.[13] It is not entirely clear which Stephen Jenks, father or son, was the contracting partner with Humphrey, an entrepreneur, merchant, and sometime physician of Pawtucket. The younger Stephen Jenks (1756-1837) had worked with his father since 1787. By the terms of his will written in 1794, the elder Jenks had bequeathed unto his namesake his one third interest in the blacksmith shop and anchorage.[14] Considering the age of the elder Jenks, it is not unreasonable to assume that Humphrey's partner was none other than Stephen Jenks, Jr.

By June 10, 1801, Jenks and Humphrey had delivered 1,050 muskets to the government. Like the majority of the other contractors in the state, Jenks and Humphrey did not stamp their names on the muskets produced under their auspices,[15] making it almost impossible to assign any specific model 1795 musket to their manufacture.

The next Jenks venture into firearms manufacture resulted from yet another congressional armaments act. The musket to be produced this time was a modified Charleville pattern, sometimes referred to as the Model 1808 musket. By 1808 the Jenks family apparently had no competition in Rhode Island as evidenced by a letter from the Purveyor of Public Supplies, Tench Coxe, to Secretary of War Henry Dearborm:

> Stephen Jenks and Son, Providence, R.I. have made arms before, Col. I.S. Dexter of whom I have official knowledge speaks decidedly of them on all points. As there is no other offer from that state, I set down their contract as advisable (Say 5,000).[16]

The firm of Jenks and Son, who had answered the government's newspaper ad for arms makers and had contracted with the Federal government through Purveyor Tench Coxe, was composed of Stephen Jenks and George Jenks II.[17] Arnold and David Jenks were also connected with the company.

Under the terms of their five year contract, signed on October 26, 1808, they agreed to supply 4,000 Model 1808 muskets for $10.75 a weapon at the rate of 800 a year. Jenks had to produce a bond, backed by certain securities, as surety on the contract. As with the other contractors, the government issued the company an advance on the contract.[18]

Charles Williams, a government arms inspector who would later figure quite prominently in the affairs of the Jenks firm, wrote Tench Coxe giving a description of their gunmaking establishment:

> Messrs Jenks & Sons Requested me to give you Some Information Respecting their Preparations in the Gun Business — They Built a Convenient Shop 30 by 40 foot Four Stores high Encluding the Lower Room where the Boaring and Grinding of the Barrills is Don their Bearing Machien Boars Six Barrills at a time they have two Forging Shops Which to by Water with hammers Convenient for Grinding Mountain and Bayonets All Standing on a Good Mill Provilidge and a Duriable Stream of Water — Their forging tools Buff Wheals and other Apporatus Necessary for finishing is Handy and Convenient Notwithstanding they have bin rother Backward in the beginning the Prospect Appears favorable and my opinion is that they Will Compleat the Arms by the Expiration of the Time and the Contract was to Close.[19]

Williams' description, the only contemporary account of the Jenks gun mill known to the author, contains the somewhat laconic words, "Notwithstanding they have bin rother Backward in the beginning," which is the first indication of a problem which would eventually prove to be the undoing of the Jenks gunmaking profits.

One can well understand why Jenks prompted Williams to write a rather reassuring letter to Coxe. The company was behind in its contractual compliance. Nevertheless, it was in the process of negotiating yet another arms contract in conjunction with Amos Sweet. Technically, Jenks should have delivered his first 800 muskets by October 26, 1809, something he did not accomplish until July 9, 1810. Yet, the government was the first party to violate the contract, which specified that an advance fee equal to one year's production was to be paid to the contractor. In the case of Jenks and Son, this should have amounted to $8,600, but Jenks' advance, paid on February 27, 1809, was only $5,800, $2,800 short.[20] At this point Jenks could have well brought the matter to court and sought a nullification of the contract. Years later he probably regretted that he had not followed that course of action. But in early 1809, Jenks and his sons were probably ecstatic over the fact that they had received the Federal contract and did not want to cause too much commotion with their new client.

The following is a schedule of musket deliveries from the Jenks plant on their 1808 contract. The muskets were packed twenty-five to an iron bound crate with screwed lids.

July 9, 1810,	325 muskets with bayonets delivered to Capt. James House at Newport, R.I.
May 7, 1811,	650 muskets with bayonets delivered to Capt. James House at Newport, R.I.
Sept. 26, 1811,	350 muskets with bayonets delivered to Capt. James House at Newport, R.I.
Feb. 15, 1812,	275 muskets with bayonets delivered to Capt. James House at Newport, R.I.
Mar. 12, 1812,	200 muskets with bayonets delivered to Capt. James House at Newport, R.I.
Aug. 3, 1812,	500 muskets with bayonets delivered to Capt. James House at Newport, R.I.
July 30, 1813,	225 muskets with bayonets delivered to Elisha Tracy at Norwich, Conn.
Aug. 3, 1813,	825 muskets with bayonets delivered to Col. Thomas Coles at Providence
Mar. 12, 1814,	275 muskets with bayonets delivered to Col. Thomas Cole at Providence, R.I.
Mar. 12, 1814,	300 muskets with bayonets delivered to Elisha Tracy at Norwich, Conn.[21]

In a letter dated June 14, 1813, Stephen Jenks had pointed out to Callender Irvine, Tench Coxe's successor at the Commissary General's office in Philadelphia, that Newport was ". . . an improper Place to Deposit Arms for Safty — It Being so much exposed to the Enemy." Jenks suggested that the arms might be deposited in Providence with either Col. Thomas Cole or with Mr. Ebenezor K. Dentor. In the same letter, Jenks had requested that the repayment of the advance fee not be deducted immediately from musket payments as those moneys were needed for completing the contracts.[22] Irvine replied with the grace of an unrelenting creditor:

> I have received your letter dated June 14, 1813. It appears by the late Purveyor's Books that Stephen Jenks and Son entered into contract with the U.S. for 4,000 stands of Arms which contract expires next October; and that $6400 Dollars was paid in advance on said contract. One third of each future delivery must be deducted to go against said advance until the whole amount is paid.[23]

Yet, within two-and-a-half weeks, while approving Jenks' suggestion for the relocation of deliveries, Irvine relented somewhat on the harshness of his earlier directions. Rather than one third of each future delivery, only one fifth would be deducted for repayment on the advance fee.[24] Perhaps Irvine had noted, somewhat belatedly, the error in the amount of the advance fee. Quite possible he only wanted the arrangements to be in line with his directions for repayment of the advance fee on the Sweet, Jenks and Sons contract.

A cursory view of the above mentioned delivery schedule reveals that Jenks was short on his contract for 4,000 muskets by 75 pieces. Therein lies the problem.

In February of 1809, Arnold Jenks had gone to Philadelphia to accept from Tench Coxe the "pattern musket," i.e. the model from which the 4,000 Jenks muskets were to be made.[25] According to the deposition of Joseph Weatherhead, a Jenks employee from November of 1809 to November of 1814 and later an employee at Springfield Armory, the pattern musket given to Arnold Jenks was a Harper's Ferry musket, serial numbered 2119 on the barrel and butt plate, and dated 1803 on the lockplate.[26] In theory, the pattern musket was an almost perfect example of what the United States wanted its arms contractors to produce. In practice, however, the pattern pieces for the 1808 contracts were of uneven quality. Fabricated at either of the two government arsenals at Springfield, Massachusetts, or Harper's Ferry, Virginia, or at Eli Whitney's plant at New Haven, Connecticut,[27] the pattern muskets often had qualities which were below government standards. This lack of good quality control caused a number of problems for certain arms contractors with their Federal inspectors.[28]

Following Arnold Jenks' return to North Providence, the pattern musket was dismantled for the construction of the various gauges, tools, and swedges. The parts were then distributed among the workmen to serve as models against which they could compare their work of filing and forging. Work was apparently progressing quite smartly until the arrival of Charles Williams, the inspector assigned to the Jenks plant. Parts were being stockpiled and a number of muskets had been already assembled when Williams announced to Jenks that there were certain defects in the pattern musket; therefore, the defects had been transmitted to the copies which had been completed. The lockplates and cocks were too thin. The neck of the socket bayonet, along with the blade, was too thin. Besides, the Jenks bayonet was simply too long. In addition to all of these defects, the trigger guard on the pattern was not up to specifications.[29]

Williams then rolled up his sleeves and proceeded to make the proper patterns. According to the Weatherhead deposition, while Williams was filing the trigger guard, Jenks remarked that if Williams had made all of the patterns, they would never have agreed to make muskets at $10.75 a weapon. Williams replied, "There is no stroke of a file about it."[30]

With these matters apparently straightened out for the time being, work proceeded on completing the muskets for the first delivery. Apparently Jenks had already noticed some of the defects in the pattern with regard to the heat treatment of the ramrod and the springs and had corrected these errors prior to Williams' arrival.[31]

With his bill for muskets delivered on March 12, 1814, Jenks submitted yet another bill to the government amounting to $14,276.00 for what can best be described as "cost overruns." By this time Jenks had delivered 4,300 muskets to the government (3,825 on the Jenks and Son contract and 325 on the Sweet, Jenks and Sons contract). Jenks claimed an additional $.90 short pay for each of the 172 crates used in shipping (the government paid $1.10 for each box). Jenks also claimed another charge of $.35

a box for packing expenses. Next, he included a charge of $.02 a flint for each flint sent with the muskets. However, these charges amounted to only $301, an amount which might have been negotiated with the Commissary General's office. The final item on the bill proved to be the major stumbling block for any negotiation. (It would eventually lead to two lengthy petitions from the Jenks firm to Congress for redress.) Jenks claimed an additional charge of $3.25 for each musket over the contract price of $10.75. In his petition Jenks would later assert that the faulty pattern and Williams' modifications had caused the additional costs. Jenks claimed that the muskets his firm delivered to the government were far superior to the pattern piece.[32]

Jenks never completed his first contract. On August 12, 1817, the firm submitted a draft for $107.56 as its final payment on the advance fee.[33]

One may well ask why Jenks did not stop producing muskets once Williams started introducing his modifications. At least a letter to the Commissary General's office seeking a clarification would have been in order. But no such inquiry was submitted by the firm. As with the matter of the short advance fee, Jenks could have sought a nullification of the contract because of his faulty pattern. Jenks would later assert in his 1820 congressional petition that his faith in his government assured him that time that he would receive compensation for any additional expenses occurred at the hands of one of its legal representatives, in this case Charles Williams.[34]

Such naivete, of course, flies in the face of traditional Yankee hardnosed business sense. Jenks had obviously used his advance fees; therefore, repayment might be a problem. Also, it is unknown just what securities Jenks would stand to lose in the event of his bond being forfeited. But the most compelling reason for the lack of objections in 1810 is simply the fact that in 1810 and 1811 Jenks was making a good profit, in spite of Williams' modifications. He had incurred no losses on the muskets which had been rejected. Ironically, given the somewhat mercurial nature of the arms market in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Jenks was getting a higher price in the civilian market for his rejected muskets than he was receiving from the government for his accepted pieces.

Jenks sold his rejected muskets to his agent in Philadelphia, Joseph Henry,[35] a gunsmith who also had a Federal contract for 300 rifles and 150 brace of pistols. Joseph Henry was associated with his relative, John J. Henry, one of the largest gunmakers in Philadelphia, who had contracted to produce 10,000 muskets under the 1808 contract. The Henry concern had two large civilian outlets, the American Fur Company and the South American market.[36] Jenks' rejected muskets probably went through either or both of these channels. A schedule of Jenks sales to Henry clearly indictes that Jenks was not suffering any losses from inspection rejects:

In December, 1811 ..... 76 Guns at $11.50
In April, 1812 ..... 84 Guns at $11.50
In January, 1814..... 225 Guns at $12.00
In June, 1814 .....300[37] Guns at $12.75

In 1814 Jenks apparently was taking a loss due to the higher costs of materials brought on by the War of 1812. He obviously was hoping at least to re-negotiate his Sweet, Jenks and Sons contract to better advantage. The patriotic words of the 1820 petition sound a bit hollow when viewed against the background of the profit machinations of 1814 when there was a critical need for armaments. As events were to prove, however, the government would have the final say in its dealings with Stephen Jenks and Sons, but that final settlement was still fifteen years away.

The Sweet, Jenks and Sons contract was the second and final agreement concluded with the Commissary General's office. Apparently, the Jenks firms had decided that they would like to expand their contractual commitment. On November 13, 1810, they signed yet another contract with the government to deliver an additional 3,000 Model 1808 muskets. In this venture the Jenks family went into partnership with Amos Sweet in the firm of Sweet, Jenks and Sons. As in their earlier contract with Jenks and Son, the government granted an advance fee following the submission by the company of a bond backed by adequate securities.[38]

In their petition of 1820, the Jenks firm claimed that they had not actively sought out this additional contract, but that they had been approached by Enoch Hidden who had planned to enter into an arms contract with Amos Sweet. Hidden, it was claimed, was unable to produce sufficient securities for his part of the required bond and wanted the Jenks firm to assume his portion of the deal.[39]

Under the Sweet, Jenks and Sons contract, the firm delivered 750 muskets to the government at the contract price of $10.75. Following Jenks' submission of his bill for cost overruns, he delivered no other muskets at that price. There was, however, one final delivery by the firm. An agreement was worked out between Colonel Decius Wadsworth of the War Department (which had assumed the armaments function of the Commissary General's office) and Jenks for the sale of 250 muskets at the price of $13.48, $2.73 over the contract price. The 250 muskets were delivered to Colonel John Carlile, Quarter-master General of the State of Rhode Island, on September 30, 1817. These muskets purchased by the Federal government were issued to the Rhode Island State Militia as part of that state's quota of Federal arms allocations. The cost of this transaction, $3,370.60, made the final repayment on the government's advance fee to Sweet and Jenks.[40]

Jenks was not the only arms maker who had encountered difficulties under the 1808 contracts. It was his "misfortune" that of the arms inspectors attached to New England, Henry H. Perkins, Benjamin Moor, and Charles Williams, he was assigned the latter.[41] Tench Coxe was not exaggerating when he described Williams in a form letter sent out to all of the contractors:

> I believe you will meet Mr. Williams a candid and temperate, but a real a faithful judge, and decided inspector of the materials, proportions, workmanship fitting of arms. He will be strict in rejecting really inefficient and inferior muskets or bayonets. It is necessary for you to expect this, and that arms, inferior to the patterns, in any putting together, will not be passed by him.[42]

It is to Williams' credit that he performed his duties as an arms inspector by enforcing strict standards. Some arms inspectors didn't, with the result that by 1813 the government was saddled with $60,000 worth of muskets which Callender Irvine described as ". . . not one arm of the whole is fit for any service, or worth one Cent, but what they may bring as old iron or brass at Auction."[43] A number of regular army officers held the early contract arms to be of such poor quality that they were fit only for resale to Africa or South America. However, the ultimate cause of the poor quality musket was the substandard pattern, a factor which Tench Coxe had realized as early as 1811, admitting as much in a letter to Secretary of War William Eustis.[44]

The Jenks contract muskets were well made and were far superior to the pattern piece the firm had been issued. On November 20, 1817, Roswell Lee, Superintendent of the Springfield Armory, gave the following deposition:

> This may certify that the Troops under my command stationed at Fort Griswold during the late War were armed with muskets made by Jenks of Pawtucket as appeared by the marks on them, Said muskets were of good quality and in my opinion could not be made at that time for a less sum than twelve dollars each.[45]

Some months later Lee had the opportunity to examine at the Providence armory the 250 Rhode Island militia muskets which had been made by Jenks. He compared these to the original pattern piece and found the former far superior to the latter.[46]

It would be erroneous to think that Jenks' move to pay his advance fees and cancel his contracts caused some bitter feeling among certain of the government bureaucrats. The idea received the blessings of Callender Irvine who admitted in a letter to Secretary of War John Armstrong that the contract was founded on an imperfect musket pattern, and for the good of all parties concerned, should be cancelled.[47] The lingering bone of contention between Jenks and the government was his bill for $14,276.00. This one factor, fueled no doubt by Jenks' long delay in repaying the full amount of the advance fees, remained a permanent obstacle in his securing any additional contracts for muskets at a higher price. (In 1815, Irvine turned down an offer from Jenks for the sale of 450 additional muskets.)[48] Had Jenks withdrawn his bill and had he quickly repaid his advance moneys, he might well have secured additional contracts for the next two decades. As events were to prove, however, his Yankee stubborness took him out of the arms manufacturing business permanently. His two lengthy (and most likely expensive) petitions for redress to Congress (1817 and 1820) were both denied.

The denial of the petitions did not signal an end to the problems the Jenks firm would have with the Federal government. Though the firm seems to have prospered in the 1820's with its extended line of manufacturing bolts, nuts, and screws and with Stephen Jenks' ingenious innovations in cotton machinery, it collapsed in the financial panic of 1829.[49] On October 24, 1829, Stephen and David Jenks were jailed in debtors' prison. They owed the government $960.34. To secure their release, they deeded a number of assets to the government.[50]

K

KEENE, Prince (1775-1776)

Providence. In 1775 Keene sold ten gun barrels and thirty bayonets to the town of Providence.[1] Later, on his list of men able to bear arms in the town, Captain Daniel Hawkins reported that Prince Keene was hospitalized,[2] a victim perhaps of an epidemic which had struck the town.

KENNEDY, T.F. (1870-1872)

Providence. Kennedy worked briefly at 4 Meeting Street with gunsmith James Maloney.[3]

KING, John (1775)

Providence. King supplied several musket barrels to the town of Providence.[4]

L

LANGTON, Patrick (1852-1858)
Providence. Langton apparently worked for (or with) Charles T. Little at 95 South Main Street.[1]

LATHROP, C.N. (1870)
Providence, 22 Smith Street. Lathrop specialized in the manufacture of wooden drill rifles for military academies.[2]

LAWTON, Robert W. (1833-1838)
Newport. Lawton patented a "pistol-saber" on November 23, 1837.[3]

LEONARD, James (1645-1670)
Providence, R.I.; Lynn and Taunton, Massachusetts. Leonard was a blacksmith and gunsmith who, at times, repaired guns for King Philip, chief sachem of the Wampanoags.[4]

LITTLE, Charles T. (b. 1805 - d. 1885)
Providence. Along with Welcome Mathewson of Burrillville, Charles T. Little enjoys the distinction of having been one of the longest working gunsmiths in Rhode Island. In 1828 Little opened his Providence shop at 91 South Main Street. His ad in the *Providence Daily Journal* of October 21, 1829, gives an excellent resume of the work of an urban gunsmith in the first quarter of the nineteenth century:

> Charles T. Little
> Gunsmith
> No. 91 South Main Street, a few rods south of the Custom House.
>
> Has for sale, Fowling pieces, Rifles, Muskets, Gun Locks, Iron Wormers Brass capt. do., Iron do, Powder, Shot, Balls, Flints, Cartridges, Spring Vices, Percussion Caps, do. Powder, Screw-drivrs, Ribs, Lead, Gun, cases, etc., etc.
>
> Repairing- Guns and Pistols of all Kinds Stocked Barrels. Breeched up with patent and common breeches; Guns of all kinds Sighted, Ribs fitted to any guns, Flints, Flint guns altered to Percussion order, Gun locks of any description repaired and Keys fitted to any lock, with a good variety of jobbing too numberous to mention.
>
> N. B. New Guns will be exchanged for old ones, or wood, coal, grain, old Brass, do iron, or even cash. All the above articles will be sold cheap, and work shall be done in good substantial order of no pay. Military guns and fowling pieces to be let.
>
> All orders punctually attended to.

In 1836 Little went into business with William R. Pope, another Providence gunsmith. Their shop was located at 74 and 76 South Main Street. This relationship laster until 1841 when Little went into business with Harvey Pinkham, a gunsmith and locksmith. Besides gunsmithing services, the firm of Little and Pinkham also advertised their services as bell hangers. In 1847 Little apparently severed his connections with Pinkham and went into business for himself as gunsmith and bell hander at 95 and 97 South Main Street. In 1860 Little went back into Partnership with William R. Pope at 41 Weybosset Street. Pope's relatives, Charles and Ichabod, were also gunsmiths who worked at the Weybosset Street shop. In 1866 the firm of Charles T. Little and Company was formed at 47 Weybosset Street. E. W. Hall and Charles F. Pope were listed as the proprietors. Evidently, Little's name was used for the firm's masthead because of its long established reputation. In 1868 Charles F. Pope was listed as sole proprietor. However, by 1872 Pope apparently felt confident enough to go into business under his own name, as the firm of Charles T. Little and Company is no longer listed in the directories. Charles T. Little, however, continued to work with the Popes at 47 Weybosset Street until his death on May 1, 1885.[5]

LITTLE AND POPE (1836-1841; 1860-1866)
Providence. The first partnership of Charles T. Little and William R. Pope was located at 74 and 76 South Main Street; and the second collaboration was located at 47 Weybosset Street.[6] See also "Charles T. Little."

LITTLE AND PINKHAM (1841-1847)
Providence. The firm of Charles T. Little and Harvey Pinkham, gunsmiths and bell hangers, was located at 74 South Main Street.[7] See also "Charles T. Little."

LONG, John F.
Providence. On April 4, 1876, Long was granted a patent in the manufacture of butt plates for firearms (No. 175,613).[8]

LYON, Warren (b. 1789 - d. 1824)
Providence, 284 South Main Street.[9]

M

MALONEY, James (1868-1870)

Providence. James Maloney worked briefly at 4 Meeting Street with gunsmiths T.F. Kennedy and M. L. Rollins.[1]

MANSFIELD AND LAMB (1861-1865)

Forestdale, Slatersville (North Smithfield). Although it was organized originally to manufacture cotton textiles, the firm of Mansfield and Lamb switched quite easily to making sabres during the Civil War since it owned a scythe factory built in 1824. On August 28, 1861, the firm of Mansfield and Lamb of Slatersville, Rhode Island, contracted with the Ordnance Department to deliver 10,000 light cavalry sabres at $8.50 a sabre.[2] Although the firm bore the names of both Estus Lamb and Henry Mansfield, only the latter was required to post surety bonds (signed by Moses and Alexander Farnum), and allegiance statements with the U. S. government.[3]

In its initial government arms contract, the firm agreed to deliver 1,000 sabres during the following October, another 2,000 during November, and 3,000 a month thereafter until the contract was completed. If the company did not deliver on schedule, the Ordnance Department was no longer bound by the contract.[4] Unfortunately, the firm did not make its first delivery until December 27, 1861. By April 5, 1862, Mansfield and Lamb had delivered 6,500 light cavalry sabres.[5] Henry Mansfield was then summoned to Washington to appear before the special commission investigating ordnance contracts. He informed the board that his company still had a stock of 2,000 completed and inspected sabres, but since these sabres were of an earlier pattern with malleable iron bands, mouth pieces, and tips, they did not conform with the most recent Ordnance Department specifications. The commission accepted these sabres at a price of $7.00 a piece.[6]

During the Civil War, the firm of Mansfield and Lamb received seven sabre contracts from the Ordnance Department: August 28, 1861; June 19, 1862; July 6, 1863; March 15, 1864; April 11, 1864; June 22, 1864; and January 4, 1865. The firm delivered a total of 37,050 light cavalry sabres, eighty American sabres, and 378 light American cavalry sabres for a gross sales of $248,043.[7] (It is not known whether the company marked all of its sabres. A U.S. 1864 cavalry sabre has been encountered marked "Mansfield and Lamb. Forestdale, R.I.")

Apparently, after the Civil War the firm returned to its original function of manufacturing cotton textiles. In 1871, the firm of G. and W. Slater bought out the shares of the partners.[8]

MARTIN, Edward (1775)

Providence. On August 4, 1775, the town of Providence purchased fifty-four sets of gun trimmings, eighty-eight pairs of swivels, and 119 sets of scabbard hooks and plates made by Edward Martin. Martin worked through the firm of Thurber and Cahoon.[9]

MATHEWSON, G. (18th century)

Rhode Island (?). Although nothing is known about G. Mathewson, he is included in this study because of his obvious connection with Welcome Mathewson. There are two known G. Mathewson arms. Both are "buck-and-ball" guns which were designed for hunting and militia use. The only signed piece is in the collection of the Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont. The other, an unsigned specimen, is in a private collection.

Because of its signature and reported provenance, the Bennington gun is the more interesting of the two. Museum records indicate that the gun was the property of Jesse Jenks of New Providence (Cheshire), Massachusetts, who had used his weapon in the Battle of Bennington. The gun's thumb piece bears the initials "J.J.".

However, Jenks genealogical records show that Jesse Jenks (1734-1827) was a resident of Smithfield, Rhode Island, who moved to Cheshire after 1790. Jesse Jenks was also the brother-in-law of Jeremiah Smith, the father of Jeremiah Smith the gunsmith.[10] By marriage, Jesse Jenks was also related to the Mathewsons.

Extensive research in Mathewson Genealogy has failed to produce one clue as to the identity of G. Mathewson. Considering the remarkable similarity between the two signatures of G. Mathewson and Welcome Mathewson, one is most tempted to conclude that the illusive G. Mathewson is, in fact, none other than John Mathewson (1746-1835), the father of Welcome Mathewson. Taking into account the vagaries of colonial script, the "G" could very well be a "J". However, the essential supporting evidence, i.e. an authentic signature of John Mathewson, has not yet been found.[11]

The raised shell carving and superb barrel work combined with the overall lines of both guns set G. Mathewson apart as a master craftsman.

MATHEWSON, Richard (1776)

East Greenwich. Richard Mathewson was a cartridge maker who also operated a saltpeter mill in East Greenwich.[12]

MATHEWSON, Welcome (b. 1778 - d. 1872)

Burrilville. Welcome Mathewson made flintlock and percussion rifles, pistols, shotguns, bayonets, and spontoons. He was born in Glocester, Rhode Island, on August 15, 1778, the second son of John and Lydia (Jenckes or Jenks) Mathewson. The Mathewsons were a

large and well known Rhode Island family, some of whose members had figured quite prominently in the history of the colony especially during the Revolution. By the time of Welcome's birth, the name of Jenks had already become synonymous with heavy industry in Rhode Island. Further west the name was almost a household word in some corners, as Welcome's uncle Charles Jenks was the Connecticut manufacturer of Jenks' Gin.[13]

Little is known of Welcome Mathewson's activities prior to 1805. All that has survived from this period of his life is a small dated "stash box," which he made at the age of eighteen, and a few bills of credit.

However, based on the style of his rifles and the early entries in his journal, the supposition that Welcome learned his trade in Sutton (later Millbury), Massachusetts, seems most reasonable. Although there is a dearth of documentation concerning his activities prior to his earliest journal entry on January 1, 1805, the author believes that following his apprenticeship, Mathewson worked on a sub-contract basis for a number of gunmakers. The journal entries for July 4, 1807, and October 2, 1807, concerning rifles made or completed for John White, a Sutton gunmaker, seem to be an echo of an earlier mode of business. It is entirely possible that Welcome Mathewson could have worked for the Waters' concern in Sutton or for Nathaniel Whitmore, Jr., (a later partner with the Waters' concern in the 1808 musket contract), or for any of the government contractors in Providence and North Providence.

Whatever his earlier activities might have been, it is clear that following his marriage to Abigail Brown of Thompson, Connecticut, he returned to settle permanently on his father's farm in Burrillville where he practiced the trades of gunsmith, blacksmith, tinker, farmer, and lumberman.

Neither of his two sons, Erastus and David, followed in their father's profession. Erastus seems to have possessed a somewhat shiftless disposition and died penniless. David, however, achieved a high degree of local prominence as a building contractor, lumberman, and as a state representative.[14]

One may now only wonder why Welcome Mathewson selected the trade of gunsmith. Perhaps some vestiges of the law of primogeniture still had influence in his family. Realizing that his future held, at best, only the prospect of working with his younger brother John as farmhands for the eldest brother Peregrine, he may well have looked about for a trade which would allow him to be financially independent. Of course, there is always that most tempting theory that G. Mathewson was really John Mathewson, Welcome's father. If that were true, the career choice would seem most logical.

On July 14, 1843, Justice of the Peace Daniel Mowry certified Welcome Mathewson as the Inspector of Weights and Measures for the town of Burrillville.[15] Welcome Mathewson died at the home of his son David in Burrillville at the age of ninety-four years and eleven days. His death merited but a single comment in a local paper that he had been the oldest man in town.[16]

The journal entries contained in Part III span the years 1805-1815 which, the author feels, cover the most productive period of Mathewson's gunsmithing career. There is still extant an additional journal covering the years 1841-1844; however, it contains relatively few references to gunsmithing, the majority of the entries pertaining to his lumber business. Though he maintained the title of gunsmith to his dying day, it is clear that by 1841 the highly creative part of his work had all but come to a complete end. Perhaps a hint of an explanation for this abrupt decline can be garnered from a letter, dated February 4, 1841, to Welcome Mathewson from his son-in-law Otis Eddy, wherein Eddy referred to Welcome's trembling hands.[17]

Welcome Mathewson's work is best represented by his flintlock rifles. He did not employ any of the raised carving used by G. Mathewson, preferring instead to enter into the field of silver wire embellishments which were so popular with the Worcester-Sutton school of gunsmithing. With the medium of silver wire, he produced some patterns of design which are unique to his guns. In the fashion of G. Mathewson, he employed the ubiquitous Ketland locks and the raised silver thumb pieces. His favored stocking material was cherry, but curly maple and walnut have also been encountered on his guns. When he used patchboxes, he usually favored the horse's head pattern. His rifles have the look and feel of much earlier, late-eighteenth century pieces.

McKENZIE, Andrew W. (1881-1888)
Providence, 9 Randall Street.[18]

MILLER, Nathan (b. 1755 - d. 1804)
East Greenwich. General Spencer excused Nathan Miller, "an excellent bayonet maker," from military service during the Rhode Island campaign.[19]

MORRIS, Captain Richard (1643-1667)
See "Babcock, James."

MOWRY, Smith (1847-1854)
Providence. [20]

P

PAIN, Philip (1775)
Providence. On May 16, 1775, Philip Pain sold a "quantity of gunlocks" to the town of Providence.[1]

PARKS, Joseph (1828-1830)
Providence.[2]

PEABODY, Joseph (?) (1759)
Newport.

> Lost in Newport the first instant, suppos'd to be stolen, a short Fowling Piece, about three feet, and a half Barrel, the Muzzle of which a little bell'd the barrel very bright, a Pair of Swivels affix'd to the Stock for a Slind, which is dark curled maple, and stocked by Mr. Peabody in Newport . . . *Newport Mercury* (April 10, 1759).

PECK, Ambrose (1776)
A cabinet maker by profession, Ambrose Peck turned to stocking and repairing guns with the coming of the Revolution. The Rhode Island General Assembly approved his bills for gunsmithing services.[3]

PECK, Elihu (b. 1750 - d. 1806)
Providence, Elihu Peck was paid by the town of Providence for stocking thirty guns.[4]

PECKHAM AND BARKER (1823-1826)
Providence. Peckham & Barker operated a hardware store at 41 Weybosset Street. In their study of American gunsmiths, Gluckman & Satterlee listed a half stocked, curly maple, brass trimmed sporting gun signed "Peckham & Barker, Providence, Rhode Island".[5]

PERKINS, J.P. (1869-1870)
Exeter.[6]

PHILIPS, EDWARD (1847-1854)
Providence.[7]

PHILLIPS, James (1830-1844)
Providence.[8]

PIERCE, Jonathan (1776)
In its January session of 1776, the Rhode Island General Assembly approved Jonathan Pierce's bill for five gunlocks which were then sent to gunsmith Caleb Harris.[9]

POPE AND CUTTER (1847-1855)
Erastus Cutter and William R. Pope went into partnership in 1847. They are listed at 41 and 25 Broad Street. Apparently the partnership terminated in 1855.[10]

POPE, Charles F. (b. 1834 - d. 1901)
Providence. Charles F. Pope, gunsmith and locksmith, joined his uncle in the gunsmithing business in 1859. Seven years later he and E. W. Hall became the proprietors of the firm of Charles T. Little. In 1872 Charles Pope formed a company under his own name at 33 Weybosset Street. At the turn of the century the firm was still in business at the same address under the proprietorship of Festus S. Rand and Robert C. Rott. Rand and Root continued to offer both gunsmithing and locksmithing services. The Charles F. Pope Company was also the Rhode Island agent for Parker Brothers shotguns.[11] See also "Charles T. Little."

POPE, Ichabod (b. 1796 - d. 1880)
Providence. Ichabod Pope worked with his son Charles F. Pope and with his brother William R. Pope.

POPE, William R. (b. 1804 - d. 1883)
Providence. In 1836 William R. Pope began his partnership with Charles T. Little. The first collaboration terminated in 1841 when Little went into partnership with Harvey Pinkham. Pope operated independently at a number of Providence addresses until 1847 when he became a partner of Erastus Cutter. The firm of Pope and Cutter is listed in the directory until 1855. In that year Pope and his brother Ichabod, also a gunsmith, began working together at 41 Broad Street. In 1857 William Pope established his shop at 41 Weybosset Street. In 1857 his nephew, Charles F., joined his father and his brother in the gunsmithing operation. In 1860 Charles T. Little again became a partner to Pope at the Weybosset Street shop. The formal partnership lasted until 1866. William R. Pope died on May 6, 1883.[13]

POTTER, A. S. (1881)
Carolina, Richmond.[14]

POTTER, William. (1775)
Providence. In August of 1775, William Potter sold twenty guns to the town of Providence. Some time later he also sold the town eight gun barrels with bayonets and ramrods.[15]

PROVIDENCE TOOL COMPANY (1834-1883)
The roots of the Providence Tool Company extend back to 1834 when Jeremiah and Joseph Arnold established a small mill on the Moshassuck River in what is now Saylesville, Rhode Island. Nuts and bolts were the chief products of this small water powered shop. In 1844 Joseph retired, and Jeremiah Arnold became a partner with William Field in the firm of William Field and Company of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. In 1846 they set up a new plant at 95 Wickenden Street in Providence. In 1847 the field company changed its name to the Rhode Island Tool and Machine Company. A few months later the firm became organized under state charter and was renamed as the Providence Tool Company. In 1856 Providence Tool merged with its major competitor, the Providence Forge and Nut Company, in an attempt to reduce the operating expenses of both concerns. The capital stock of the newly amalgamated company was valued at $360,000.[16]

Providence Tool worked through the late 1850's

producing a diversified line of hardware and ship chandlery items. Though the list of the company's products was long and varied, the business operated with indifferent success from its original plant at 95 Wickenden Street and from its other mill at 148 W. River Street, the former Providence Forge and Nut factory. However, the Civil War brought about a radical change in the mercurial fortunes of the tool company.

Following the outbreak of hostilities, Providence Tool expanded its manufacturing lines to include the production of light cavalry sabres and Model 1861 .58 caliber rifled muskets. Under the direction of company treasurer John Brighton Anthony, who was the nephew of the president and major stockholder Colonel Richard Borden of Fall River, Massachusetts, Providence Tool secured six government armaments contracts.

On February 21, 1862, and August 30, 1862, the tool company secured contracts to produce a total of 6,000 light cavalry sabres at $8.50 a sabre. By November 5, 1862, the company had delivered 3,000 sabres at the first rate contract price of $8.50.[17] However, problems seem to have developed in the production of the sabres as the next delivery of 2,700 sabres on June 3, 1863 was rated by the government's inspectors at only $7.00. An additional 300 sabres in the June 3 delivery were rated at $6.50. By early spring of the following year, the company had accumulated an inventory of 4,434 sabres which had been rejected by the inspectors. On April 16, 1863, a third sabre contract was secured by Anthony through which the Ordnance Department accepted the 4,434 rejected, but serviceable, sabres at $4.50 apiece.[18] On January 26, 1863, the tool company tried unsuccessfully to secure a contract for 15,000 light cavalry sabres at a delivery schedule of fifty sabres a day for twenty days and then one hundred sabres a day.[19] On March 14, 1864, Providence Tool submitted bids to the Ordnance Department for contracts for 6,000 and 10,000 sabres. Since the firm's prices were higher than the bids of the Ames Sword Company, the tool company did not receive the contracts.[20] Providence Tool produced a total of 10,434 light cavalry sabres of varying degrees of quality. Considering the high degree of excellence which the tool company maintained in its rifle production, one can probably ascribe the below-standard sabre work to the increasing demands of rifle production and to the inroads the war must have made on company manpower.

Providence Tool secured three government contracts to produce the Model 1861 Springfield rifled musket complete with bayonet and appendages. (Each rifle was to have an extra nipple, a wooden tompion for a muzzle cap, a wiper, and a screw driver-nipple wrench. Every ten muskets were to be equipped with a ball screw, a spring vise, and a tumbler and wire punch.)[21] The contract of July 13, 1861 required the production of 25,000 rifles at $20.00 an arm (25,000 were delivered); the contract of November 26, 1861 called for another 25,000 rifles at the same price (13,000 were delivered); the final contract of May 1, 1864 added an additional 32,000 rifles at $18.00 an arm (32,000 were delivered).[22]

With the work of copying patterns and inspection gauges at the Springfield Armory, subcontracting the gunsight work, and tooling for production,[23] Providence Tool was not able to deliver any rifles until December 18, 1862, with its first shipment of 500 Springfields. From that date until May 25, 1865, the company maintained an average weekly production rate of about 335 rifles. Unlike some of the inferior work done on the sabres, almost all of the tool company's rifles were rated as first class.[24] The company, however, by 1864 was obviously not working at its full production capacity. On October 10, 1863, Anthony had submitted a bid to produce 50,000 additional Springfield rifles.[25] On November 2, 1864, he submitted a bid to produce 25,000 Ball repeating carbines at $25.00 apiece.[26] Along with these two offers, he also tried to secure a contract to produce Spencer rifles.[27] All three of these contracts were rejected by the Ordnance Department. (The Burnside Rifle Company received the Spencer contract.)

Excluding the proceeds of a sale of 1,000 hooks and thimbles to the Ordnance Department, Providence Tool's gross sales to the government for 10,434 sabres and 70,000 Springfield rifles amounted to $1,433,755.10,[28] which gave a profit of about $250,000 to the company coffers.[29] In undertaking its armaments contracts, the company had invested about $350,000 in additional machinery[30] and had also refurbished its Wickenden Street mill into the armory for its firearms manufacturing line. (This factory was often referred to as the "downtown shop" or "Plant No. 1." The "uptown shop" or "Plant No. 2" at 148 W. River Street continued to produce the firm's regular line of hardware and ship chandlery items.[31] In 1862 a telegraph line was installed between the two mills to facilitate production.)[32]

Apparently, John B. Anthony had a little more foresight than other arms manufacturers born of the war boom. In 1864 Providence Tool began channeling its armaments profits into an entirely new line of peacetime products, cotton machinery for textile mills[33] (ring spinning, roving machinery, and looms). Although quite a few arms contractors switched with some degree of success to the manufacturing of domestic items after the war, no such good fortune blessed Providence Tool's new endeavors. A few years after the war, the company abandoned its cotton machinery line and filled the gap with such diverse items as handcuffs and ankle shackles, machinist's tools, and the Reliance clothes wringer.[34]

The end of the Civil War found Anthony pondering the same problems which faced other arms contractors, i.e. what to do with the gunmaking machinery which was relatively restricted in its produce potential. The

company also had an inventory of 9,000 Springfield muzzleloading rifles which the government refused to accept after it had cancelled its wartime armaments contracts.[35] The neighboring Burnside Rifle Company had made the complete break. They had sold their gunmaking machinery and gone into the locomotive business. Providence Tool, however, decided to take the opposite road.

Anthony's decision to remain in the arms business can hardly be judged as rash, even by 19th century standards, although the 9,000 undeliverable Springfields must have given the stockholders much to ponder. The Civil War had demonstrated that the muzzleloading military weapon was fast becoming an anachronism. Even before the end of the war, a number of the major nations had undertaken extensive tests in searching for an acceptable breechloading system. The first priority among nations such as the United States and Great Britain was the adoption of an acceptable system of converting huge stockpiles of surplus military muzzleloaders into breechloaders. Smaller nations, such as Switzerland, were searching for a good breech loading system which would totally replace their obsolete arms. Anthony was far from exaggerating when he noted in 1864 that it was time for the civilized nations of the world to re-arm.[36]

Naturally, there was no shortage of inventions and their "drummers" eager to reap the huge profits from the world's armaments markets. However, thanks to John Anthony, Providence Tool had made some early provisions to compete in that marketplace. Besides channeling some of the armaments profits into domestic production, Anthony had also explored the possibilities of continuing in the armaments field. On October 26, 1864, the tool company had signed a preliminary agreement with Henry O. Peabody for patent rights to his single-shot, cartridge breechloader.[37] On March 15, 1865, a limited manufacturing right was obtained from the owners of the patent for the Ball breechloading repeater.[38] For whatever way the winds at the Ordnance Department would blow, for singleshot or repeater, Providence Tool was prepared.

Patented by Bostonian Henry O. Peabody on July 22, 1862, (#35,947), the Peabody breechloader, originally intended as a conversion system for muzzleloaders, lay in limbo until it attracted the attention of Borden and Anthony. Abandoning the Ball breechloading repeater, Providence Tool signed a final patent rights agreement with the inventor on April 15, 1864.[39] A few weeks earlier, the Peabody rifle had proved its worth in competition with sixty-four other breechloaders at the government's trials at Springfield, Massachusetts. Both the Ball and the Peabody were entered in the tests. In a letter to Richard borden, dated April 7, 1865, Anthony gave an excellent resume of the gun trials.

I returned from Springfield this morning having fairly won the great gun fight, and hasten to give you a report of the doings.

Monday noon on arriving at Springfield, I proceeded at once to the armory, where I found the board engaged in firing the rusty guns. It appears that on the Friday previous, the Spencer gun was again put in the pickle, and on Monday was among the number for trial. It was not however in as bad condition as the rest, and it was fired but little. Either there is much partiality shown this gun and it is not as severely tried as the others are, or it is in effect already decided that the "Ball" is the better gun, and a mere pretense of trial is kept up. Which it is I cannot say. The Ball gun was very rusty and worked hard. It required considerable power to move the lever. Other than this it worked perfectly well. I think some of the moving parts were made to fit too closely, and Mr. Ball not knowing what was to be done, has wiped the oil off thoroughly from every piece, expecting it to be handled considerably. It was evident, that when the Spencer gun was restored to the pickle, it was well covered with oil in every part. The rusty guns were all put through a baking process on Monday morning for about two hours. They were taken up wet and put over steam pipes and covered up. The heat expanded the parts, slit the stocks, and twisted the guns. One of the Peabody guns was bored out for a larger cartridge, and while firing, the brace lever spring was broken, but the gun was so rusty, it could not be taken apart without drilling out the screws, and it was fired some 40 rounds without much difficulty, after the spring broke it not being known what was the trouble. The other Peabody gun worked perfectly well. The Jenks gun, appeared to be thoroughly used up, and the competition among single shooters was brought down to the Peabody, Remington, and Mr. Howe's.

Monday afternoon, several new guns were fired, but the rusty ones did not re-appear. I had a long conversation with Gen. Dyer, during which he told me how to put in proposals for the Peabody gun, but this I do not want to put on paper. I think the Ball gun is the most popular repeater, but repeaters are rather going out of favor, for the reason there is too much machinery in them to stand severe use.

Tuesday The rusty guns were not brought out al all, but it was understood that cartridges were being made with quick powders and heavy charges for further tests. Two new guns were brought out, "Berdan" and the "Cheeck" gun so called, both of similar construction to the Remington. These were fired, and also some of less account. In the afternoon "Berdans" long range gun, and 3 ball cartridges, were tried at the Water-Shops.

Wednesday Morning The board has a secret trial with heavy charges, and it transpired after they got through, that each gun was oiled a little to make it work free, and that the Remington, Peabody, Ball, Berdan and Cheek guns were fired with 60 grains quick powder. The Remington and Ball each stood this, and the Ball seemed to work better and freer than ever, but a screw was bent in the Peabody which holds the lever or bottom block to the breech

frame. The breech and all essential parts remaining perfectly solid. The breech of the Berdan and Cheek guns were blown open at every discharge. In the afternoon the Remington gun was loaded with increased charges until it reached 80 grains and 4 balls when the gun was blown all to pieces. Gen. Dyer left by the train Wednesday morning. Jenks gun was not tried with these heavy charges, but he, wishing to demonstrate that his gun would stand what Remington's had not, appeared *Thursday morning* with cartridges fitted to his gun. (The one which had not been rusted.) The cartridges were the same as those which blew up the Remington, and the first discharge of these broke the breech frame, completely in two, and separated the barrel from the breech of the gun. This was a voluntary exhibition of his own, not made by the board, and the result was not very gratifying to him. Mr. Howe's gun was not tried with heavy charges. There appeared to be no disposition on the part of the board to do so. The only gun now remaining was the Peabody, which was fired with 60 grains quick powder, with no ill effect except to start the lever-block from its place a trifle, as nearly all the cartridge shells burst. The countersink in the barrel being a little too deep and permitting the head of the shell to spring open. This difficulty was not experienced however with any but the fine powder which is never intended for such a use. In the afternoon the Berdan gun was again fired, having during the day, been tinkered up. It was brought out with the full assurance that it would accomplish what the Remington and Jenks had failed to do. 5 charges only were fired with 60 grains quick powder and one ball each and at the fifth discharge the stock was blown in pieces. Nothing now remained but the Peabody. I suggested that further tests be made of this, but Major Laidley and Maj. Benton each told me, they had together been out during the noon and fired it with 75 grains and 1 ball, and no further tests were necessary. I told them we were now prepared to demonstrate that it was a stronger gun than either of the others. We would commence with 60 grains and three balls -- to which Major Maynadier said "If you do, it will be the last time the gun will ever be fired." I asked him what he would say if we were successful. He said he should be much pleased, but if we were not successful, the gun would not be injured in his estimation. The test was made, and the gun stood perfectly well, I then proposed 80 grains and 5 balls, which was one ball more than either of the other guns had had. I asked Major Maynadier what he would say to that, if successful. He said he should be delighted. I told Major Laidley I suppose nothing would be gained by such a trial were it successful. He said yes, there would be a great deal gained, for it would prove the great strength of the gun. No one seemed to believe the gun would stand it except Mr. Peabody and myself. The test was made. The gun was still in perfect order, and was fired many times afterward, and worked perfectly well. I think the field was fully abandoned by everybody to the Peabody gun. The board retired to their room, and after an hour or so, adjourned *sine die.* I then asked Major Laidley if we could withdraw the Peabody gun without detriment to ourselves or them. He said no. Leave the gun fired last to go to Washington with two or three others we shall send. I asked him if we could withdraw the "Ball gun." He said yes. If it was wanted further he would call for it. They would probably let those be tested in the army as some were already ordered for that purpose. Majors Maynadier and Benton told me the doings of the board and the descriptions of the guns had been sent to Washington day by day, also some special statements and opinions of the individuals of the board, and that the closing proceedings would be sent out tomorrow. The members of the board and some others spent an hour in Jenks room before the train left for ---- at 6:00 p.m. As they passed out to the depot and while waiting there, a number of them said to me "The Child is born and his name is Anthony." This was repeated by one of the members of the board. Major Benton told me he could not make known the decision, but I would soon hear.

There was a good deal of joking about the funeral, so many had attended, and about the remains they were carrying off on their shoulders. Jenks said "Peabody ought not only to wear a velvet cap, but that we should buy him a velvet suit." I think no one left Springfield with any idea that they were successful except Peabody and myself, and I feel certain the Peabody gun is adopted.[40]

Obviously Anthony's glowing report, submitted one week before the contract was signed with Peabody, was the factor that convinced Borden that a lucrative future lay ahead with the Peabody rifle. Within a matter of months, the company began retooling for manufacturing the new rifle which hiterto had never been in production,[41] the test rifles being only tool room models.[42]

However, Borden and Anthony soon discovered that better mousetraps do not necessarily herald beaten paths to one's door. The peace established at Appomatox cancelled out any urgency that had existed about the adoption of a breechloader for the U.S. service. On March 10, 1868, yet another board was convened at Washington, D.C. to examine the different breech-loaders. In the tests, Providence Tool's Peabody system produced as equally good results as it had at Springfield, but no government contract was forthcoming. Yet a third board convened at St. Louis, Missouri, issuing its report on June 10, 1870. In these trials Providence Tool submitted no entries, for, as Anthony complained in a letter to the U.S. *Army and Navy Journal,* the company had no notice of the tests. In yet another St. Louis board of Army and Navy Officers, the company submitted five models of the Peabody system. However, none of the models was recommended for adoption.[43] As the government began to lean with increasing favor towards the Allin system of conversion, it must have been

abundantly clear to Anthony that the Peabody would never be the official U.S. service arm. For years afterward, the young entrepreneur believed, perhaps with some justification, that the highly laudatory test results of the Peabody rifle had been pidgeonholed by the machinations of government bureaucracy.[44]

In late 1865, though the prospects of a quick Federal contract had dimmed through the relaxed pace at the War Department, there was still optimism at Providence Tool for garnering some profits from the Peabody. At home, the prospect of selling directly to the individual states, added to the potentials for the foreign market, offered many possibilities. Providence Tool, however, was about to enter a highly competitive market. By the end of the Civil War, the United States possessed not only the largest combat tested army in the world but also the most advanced arms industry. The pressures of the war had pushed the American armaments industry at least ten years ahead of any other nation in design and tooling. On the grim battlefield of contracts and sales, Providence Tool had to meet the highly sophisticated competition of Colt, Remington, and, to a lesser extent, Winchester.

In Providence Tool's 1865 catalog for the Peabody firearms, Anthony gave a brief resume of the Springfield tests along with his terse arguments for the superiority of the single-shot breechloader over any other type of firearm. Three Peabody arms are illustrated: the rifle, the carbine, and the sporting gun. From the standpoint of the arms student, the sporting gun is the most fascinating. Embellished with a cresent rifle buttplate, patchbox, nose cap, tang sight, ornate loading lever and lockplate, and an octagon-to-round barrel, it appears to be an excellent example of the gunmakers' craft, comparable with the best Burnside post-war sporters. No data is given on price, caliber, or dimensions. In Providence Tool's second Peabody catalog, more specific data is given. Equipped with leaf sights, the army rifle has a barrel length of 36 inches. The price of the rifle, offered in both .45 or .50 caliber, is $35.00. The triangular socket bayonet is priced at $3.00. The carbine has a barrel length of 20 inches, and, like the rifle, can be chambered for either .45 or .50 caliber. The sporting rifle was offered in several different barrel lengths ranging from 20 to 28 inches with either sliding rear sights or elevating peep sights. The prices ranged from $38.00 to $44.00, depending on the barrel length and the sights the customer ordered. With the exception of the cresent rifle butt plate and the sight options, all the embellsihments of the 1865 sporting gun are missing. The 1866 catalog also exhibits some influence from Anthony's business trip to Europe in late 1865. Catalogs and price lists in French, German, or Spanish are offered to prospective buyers who will also receive discounts on purchases of rifles or carbines in lots of one hundred or more. The campaign for the foreign market was already underway.

The above mentioned sporting guns were Providence Tool's first attempt to penetrate the mercurial market of civilian sales. An 1866 advertisement extolled the virtues of the new breechloader:

> Peabody Breech-Loading Fire Arms For Infantry and Cavalry use, and for Sporting purposes, adapted to the new metallic cartridge, which carries its own ignition. These arms are unrivalled for simplicity, accuracy, strength, durability, and symmetrical appearance. They are specially adapted to the use of emigrants and miners, or persons residing where the means for ready self-defense are desirable.[45]

Considering the glut of surplus Civil War weapons which were on the market at perhaps one third the price of the Peabody sporting guns, one may well wonder just how many miners and emigrants headed west with a Peabody. No doubt the failure of the Peabody civilian sales program was one of the factors responsible for Providence Tool's loss of $45,000 in 1866.[46] Obviously, only volume sales could return the profits envisioned by Anthony.

The company did not have long to wait for a major buyer. Providence Tool's first contract customer for the Peabody rifle was an apprehensive Canada. Fearing that a series of guerilla raids launched from New York State and Vermont were a prelude to a large invasion of Irish Americans who formed the extremist Fenian Brotherhood which planned to hold part of Canada hostage in exchange for Irish liberation, the Canadians began to update their obsolete armaments.[47] The Peabody rifle had performed well in the Canadian tests held at Montreal on August 24, 1866. In Ottawa on September 20, 1866, John B. Anthony signed a contract with the Canadians to deliver 5,000 Peabody rifles for $25.00 U.S. currency an arm.[48] Providence Tool, therefore, became the first American arms manufacturer to supply weapons to a foreign power after the Civil War.

According to the terms of the agreement, the Canadians had the right to reduce the order to 3,000 rifles upon written notification to the company before the two thousandeth rifle was accepted.[49] On March 15, 1867, Anthony wrote Campbell, the Acting Minister of Militia, that the first 400 rifles were already in transit to Montreal, and that 600 more would be ready in three to four days. Anthony added that the Providence Tool Armory would then turn out 500 a week. "We have," he added, "all the parts in a good state of progress for the full number of 5,000."[50]

Unfortunately for Anthony and Providence Tool, the Canadians exercised their option and reduced their order to 3,000 rifles.[51] It is unknown just what reasons prompted this forty percent reduction. The Canadians had also purchased large number of Spencer repeating rifles, and they had also received shipments of English

breechloaders.[52] Ironically, the Finians are reported to have used Roberts Conversion Breechloader's which were made by Providence Tool.[53]

The Canadian contract Peabody rifle was chambered for the caliber .50-60 Peabody rimfire cartridge. Issued with a triangular bayonet, they had a barrel length of 36 inches and a small rear sight graduated for 100 to 500 yards.[54] There is no record of any Peabody carbines being sold to the Canadian government.

Enjoying a halcyon period following the largest slaughter in its history, the United States offered only a "buyers' market" for the purveyors of breechloaders. Continental Europe presented an entirely different set of circumstances. The crushing defeat suffered by the Austrians, at the hands of Prussians armed with their Dreyse Needle guns, caused considerable apprehension in many European chancelleries about the updating of armaments.[55] European rearmament was a fact which had not been ignored by Anthony. Providence Tool's European representatives, including H. Renard in Belgium and James R. McDonald and Company of Hamburg, began submitting the Peabody to various European governments. During 1866 and 1867, the Peabody rifle, along with a number of other American entries such as the Remington rolling block rifle, were tested by the governments of Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, and Denmark. The results were quite favorable for the Peabody, with the Danes submitting the highest encomiums. The Royal Danish Artillery Commission concluded its report by noting that the Peabody rifle was "... the best single-shot breech-loading weapon with which copper cartridges are used."[56]

Had John B. Anthony ever encountered novelist Henry James, undoubtedly Providence Tool's peripatetic representative would have figured quite prominently in one of James' late 19th century novels which treat of the innocence of a new America as it clashes with the sophistication of a much older Europe. Having a potential of at least 30,000 rifles, the Danish order, so obviously heralded by the laudatory report of the Danish artillery, was scuttled through the machinations of Samuel Norris, a former Rhode Islander. Norris, an agent for Remington, had earlier occupied an unofficial position with the Providence Tool Company. He had brought an unsuccessful suit against that firm for recovering commission fees which he had claimed were due him for his work in negotiating additional musket contracts with the Federal government during the Civil War. Still smarting from his defeat in the court, Norris was able, through his friendship with Danish General Rosloff, to abort the Peabody contract and to secure a contract for Remington for 30,000 rolling block rifles. When speaking of this matter to company stockholders, Anthony bitterly noted that "... kissing goes by favors."[57]

Anthony encountered an equally frustrating situation with the tantalizing prospects of a large Russian order.

In November of 1866, the Tsar's government sent an ordnance commission headed by Colonel Gorloff to the United States to examine American breechloaders and armories. Gorloff was also empowered to place an order up to 100,000 rifles.[58]

Upon his arrival in New York, Gorloff contacted Stoeckel, the Russian consul, who must have gone into ecstacy over the possible profit he might make from the venture. Stoeckel gave Gorloff a letter of introduction to General William B. Franklin, the vice-president of Colt's in Hartford. While Gorloff and his colleagues were touring American armories ostensibly examining breechloaders and covertly taking notes on machinery and production methods for future Russian implementation, Stoeckle was, no doubt, busy auctioning his services to the arms manufacturers as an intermediary. Anthony, obviously naive to the labyrinthine methods of the Byzantine drama forming around the proposed contract, but nevertheless aware of the huge profits that were at stake, was not idle. He had a conference with the Russian ambassador on December 17, 1866.[59]

Within a short time, Gorloff decided on the Peabody rifle with an initial order for 30,000 rifles. Quite likely he had no idea of the full extent of Stoeckle's behind-the-scenes maneuverings. In May of 1867, Stoeckle, acting as a Russian representative, refused to sign the contract with Providence Tool unless he here first granted a large fee. To Stoeckle this was simply a commission. To John B. Anthony this was nothing more than a bribe which he, a staunch New England Episcopalian and Senior Warden of Providence's Grace Church, refused to pay. His adamant position cost Providence Tool the Russian contract which Stoeckle proceeded to maneuver in favor of Colt's Berdan rifle.[60]

The Danish and the Russian experiences provided Anthony with a costly lesson, but it was one he would never forget, especially when he later had to deal with those who had written the manual on under-the-counter negotiations, the Ottoman Turks.

Anthony encountered a different set of circumstances when he dealt with the no-nonsense Swiss who were shopping for good breechloaders to supplement their own Vetterli bolt action rifles which had not yet gone into production. Although Anthony had made overtures to the Swiss as early as 1864,[61] the Swiss Federal Assembly waited until June 14, 1867 to approve the purchase of 15,009 Peabody rifles from Providence Tool, at the price of 95 Swiss Francs an arm without the bayonet.[62] Captain Michel of Swiss Army Ordnance was dispatched to Rhode Island to supervise implementation of the contract.[63]

The Swiss specified that their Peabodys be chambered for their own service cartridge, the caliber 10.4 mm

rimfire (caliber .41 Swiss). In Swiss Ordnance manuals their original contract rifles are referred to as the "Peabody-Gewehr 1867."[64]

Upon their arrival in Switzerland, some rifles were immediately issued to selected army marksmen while the rest were stored in Federal warehouses. Later, the remaining Peabodys were issued to sharpshooting units. When their American barrels became worn, Swiss Ordnance replaced them with tubes of Swiss manufacture. Ordnance also recalled the other Peabodys which still had serviceable bores and shortened them to conform to the length of the newly installed Swiss barrels. The Swiss also introduced minor modifications in the lock design. The rifle was then designated as the "Peabody-Gewehr 1877," with a barrel length of 832 mm and sights graduated for 200 to 800 meters.[65]

In 1867, the French government, extremely nervous over the growing power of the Germans, placed an order for 30,000 rifles based on the Roberts conversion system with the Roberts Breech-Loading Arms Company of New York.[66] Since the Roberts concern was merely a sales and promotional entity without any manufacturing facilities,[67] the New York office subcontracted the order to Providence Tool, giving the company an excellent means of disposing of its inventory of 9,000 obsolete muzzle-loading rifles in manufacturing the conversions. Unfortunately, the French became piqued at the long delays in delivery and cancelled the order. The rifles were eventually sold to Brazil,[68] though there is some evidence that the French received a few of the arms.[69]

Although most secondary sources claim that Providence Tool was the sole manufacturing contractor for the Roberts firm, there is some specimen evidence that the English gunmaker, G. H. Daw, used the Roberts system in converting Enfield rifles. One of the many *tabatiere* or trapdoor systems of loading, the Roberts conversion is found chambered for a variety of military cartridges: .50, .577, and .58 calibers in both rifles and carbine models.[70]

Providence Tool's work on the Roberts system might have provided some extra impetus for Henry O. Peabody to return to the designing tables. On December 10, 1867, he was granted a patent (#72076) for the Peabody conversion of the Springfield musket. The conversion system employed the same principles as the earlier Peabody rifles.[71] Mr. Peabody's conversion system was not the only modification he produced in response to external factors.

In Frauenfeld, Switzerland, Frederich von Martini was experimenting with some modifications of the recently acquired Swiss Peabody rifles. His first alteration did away with the necessity of manually cocking the hammer. His second, and most important, innovation did away entirely with the cumbersome external Peabody lock. In its place he substituted an internal lock system which was cocked when the breech was opened. Although his ingenious improvement increased the "lock time" and rate-of-fire, the Martini system still employed the basic Peabody breech block design.[72] Martini was granted a U.S. patent (#90,614) for his system on May 25, 1869.

The Swiss gunsmith was not slow in attempting to market his design. His system was entered in the British breechloading trials of 1867. Out of these tests emerged the Henry-Martini rifle, a combination of the rifle submitted by Scottish gunsmith Alexander Henry (who also borrowed heavily from Peabody's design) and the Martini rifle. To the British it was an ideal combination, employing the superbly accurate Henry barrel and the streamlined martini lock system. In 1869 the weapon was already being issued to British troops.[73]

On April 14, 1869, Providence Tool's London representative took legal action against the Martini infringement on the Peabody patent, but the suit was unsuccessful.[74]

Providence Tool had not been idle in the design of selfcocking guns, perhaps in response to Martini's innovations. The company's first model was the Peabody self-cocking gun, which was followed by a more streamlined variation, the Peabody self-cocking gun with the Wessely improvement (Peabody-Wessely rifle) which, like the Martini, did away with the external lock and utilized an internal system.[75] Neither of these models went beyond the "tool room version" stage. In 1869, Providence Tool purchased the patent rights to the Wessely improvement[76] which had been patented by Sdeuko Ritter von Wessely on July 13, 1869, (#92,673).[77]

Romania's involvement with the Peabody rifle had its genesis in 1864 when Captain Emanoil Boteanu, a Romanian army officer, was attached to the Army of the Potomac as a foreign observer. Boteanu, whose mission to the United States was "to learn the art of war", was no doubt impressed by the superior qualities of the few breechloading arms he saw in the fighting around Petersburg. His stay in the United States was long enough to allow him to become sufficiently briefed on the outstanding performance of the Peabody at the Springfield tests of 1865. Laudatory reports on the arm submitted by Boteanu to Romanian War Ministry officials, who were investigating various breechloading systems, constituted a major point in their decision to include the Peabody in the army's modernization program.[78]

Under the suzerainty of the Ottoman Turks, the Romanian government found itself in a delicate position with its rearmament program which was part of the master plan to achieve complete autonomy. To avoid any immediate conflict with their Turkish masters, the Romanians developed an indirect system of procuring their arms which obviated any direct contracts between

the government and Providence Tool. An initial purchase of 15,000 rifles was decided upon which would be funded by money channeled through a civilian agent, Theodore Meedinteanu, a banker and entrepreneur who agreed to purchase the 15,000 rifles from Providence Tool and to supervise their safe shipment to Romania. For its part, the Romanian army would handle the inspection of the newly manufactured arms.[79]

Between April 16 and 28, 1868, Meedinteanu negotiated his first contract with Providence Tool through Marshall Benton, the firm's New York agent for 15,000 Peabody rifles (including "Springfield style" bayonets, cleaning tools, spare parts, and muzzle covers) which were chambered for the .41 caliber rimfire cartridge (10.314 mm).[80] What the Romanians were buying was essentially the same rifle which the company had sold to the Swiss; therefore, there was no need for any retooling.

On the following July 14, Meedinteanu, acting with the delegated authority of the Ministry of War, dispatched Colonel Nicolai Dabija from Paris to serve as the Romanian inspector at Providence Tool.[81] By December 18, Dabija had completed his task of inspecting the 15,000 rifles and was dividing his time between the Providence company and the United Metallic Cartridge plant in Bridgeport, Connecticut, supervising the munitions work for the Romanians. (Meedinteanu had also purchased loaded cartridges, empty cartridge cases, and bullets from U.M.C., and loading machinery from Providence Tool capable of producing 35,000 rounds in a ten hour period.)[82]

Earlier, on October 25, Ion C. Bratianu, the Minister of War, had given a verbal order to Meedinteanu to procure an additional 10,000 Peabody rifles chambered for the .45 caliber centerfire Berdan cartridge (11.430 mm).[83] (The Romanians had obviously discovered the economy of a reloadable, centerfire cartridge in contrast to the unusable, spent rimfire cases, in addition to the superior ballistics of the .45 caliber bullet.) A curious twist on this second order was the War Ministry's decision that the 10,000 rifles were to be funded by a public subscription undertaken through all the provinces of Romania.[84]

Apparently Meedinteanu travelled to Providence to negotiate directly with John B. Anthony this additional order, which necessitated modifications in the breechblock and firing pin in addition to re-chambering. Dabija, however, was not informed of the additional order with its caliber change until late December when he received a letter from Meedinteanu which instructed him to extend his mission in Providence to inspect the additional rifles. A career officer who was probably chafing under the routine of following the orders of civilian Meedinteanu, Dabija was mystified by the caliber change and refused to inspect any more rifles until he had heard directly from his superiors in Bucharest.[85] He was replaced in the spring by Lt. Dimitrescu who concluded the inspection work.[86]

The completed rifles and munitions were shipped directly from Providence to Hamburg, and from there to a Romanian port. To avoid any conflict with Turkish customs officials, Meedinteanu had arranged that the arms be transported solely on American ships and that the packing crates carry invoices listing American ownership.[87] By the winter of 1869, the 25,000 rifles were stored in Romanian arsenals.

On January 1, 1870, the Romanian army began a limited distribution of the rifles to certain specialized units. In accuracy and firing tests, Romanian squads were able to achieve a rate of fire of twenty-five shots a minute. Accuracy tests were also satisfactory, with scores ranging from 98% at 100 meters to 66% at 400 meters. However, these preliminary tests also revealed certain weaknesses in the Peabody system, especially in the firing pin, which required ordnance officers to introduce minor modifications in the Peabody design which relieved pressure at stress points.[88]

The outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War found the Romanian army in the logistical nightmare of having to supply rifle cartridges of four different calibers. Of the 58,700 troops Romanis was able to field during its bid for independence (1877-1878), almost half were armed with either the .41 or .45 caliber Peabody while the remaining number were armed with the obsolete Dreyse and Krnka rifles.[89] It was also readily apparent that the Turkish forces, armed principally with the Peabody-Martini rifle and such secondary arms as the Winchester lever action and the Evans repeating rifle, possessed a marked superiority in fire power.

On September 3, 1877, M. Kogalniceanu, a Romanian official, notified Calimachi-Catargi, a member of the Romanian diplomatic mission in Paris, that the French government was interested in disposing of its stockpile of Peabody rifles and carbines which it had purchased from the tool company in 1870. Possessing sufficient funds from a public subscription, the Romanians began negotiations for the purchase of 25,000 Peabodies in French arsenals. However, word of the proposed sale came to the attention of an arms broker, a Mr. Broadwell, who, after having secured permission from the French to act as their agent, raised the price of the rifles in the hope of a larger commission. The higher price forced the Romanians to terminate the negotiations which allowed the Serbians in November 1877, to purchase a number of the surplus French Peabodies.[90]

Reaction to the aborted purchase of the additional Peabodies was swift and severe. Among Romanian soldiers and line officers who had faced Turkish firepower there was a growing disenchantment with the Peabody rifle. A letter from one line officer to the

Ministry of War sums up rather well the attitude of those who had survived the bloody assaults on the Turkish fortress of Plevna. "Don't spend money for nothing. The time for the Peabody has already past. What do we want with this arm? If you must have a Peabody, get a Peabody-Martini — the same as the Turk has!"[91]

In 1879 the Romanian army achieved complete standardization in its service arm with the adoption of the Henry-Martini rifle. The Peabody, however, remained in service until 1911 in the hands of Romanian territorial and militia troops.[92]

The .45 caliber "Roumanian Model" Peabody rifle, which was developed to meet Romanian specifications of the second contract for 10,000 rifles, had a barrel length of 32¼ inches (83.3 cm) with sights adjustable up to 1000 meters.

In 1868, Spain also contracted with Providence Tool for the delivery of 12,500 Peabody rifles in caliber .433 for spanish forces in Cuba.[93] On the tail of the Spanish order, Mexico also signed a contract for 8,500 rifles in the Spanish caliber. However, Mexican authorities were somewhat unhappy with the cartridge extraction problems they encountered with their new rifles.[94]

The "Spanish Model" Peabody had a barrel length of 33 inches with rear sights adjustable for 100 to 1300 yards. It differed principally from the so-called "Roumanian Model" in that it employed a coil return spring in the firing pin mechanism.[95]

Following the completion of the Spanish contract, Providence Tool was presented with yet another French order. Again, it was a subcontracted deal, but this time the contractor was Remington, Providence Tool's biggest rival. The order was the largest that the company had ever received — 35,000 rifles and 16,000 Peabody conversions. Obviously, Remington had more work than its manufacturing facilities could handle. Providence Tool quickly began delivery of its "Spanish Model" Peabody in caliber .433 since the firm was, no doubt, still tooled up in that caliber from the original Spanish contract. The French, near the nadir of their fortunes in the Franco-Prussian War, were willing to accept any good breechloader in any caliber.[96]

Once again the profits from the French contract proved to be most elusive. France's defeat automatically cancelled the contract, and, as a result, Providence Tool was again burdened with a large inventory of undeliverable merchandise. No doubt this unexpected inventory was the last item on the list of shattered expectations for the Peabody and provided the dominant factor in the company's decision to extricate itself completely from the gunmaking business in 1871.[97] Finished rifles, gunparts, and gunmaking machinery were soon placed on the market at prices designed to make the separation painful but quick. Only then did some of Providence Tool's "most-hoped-for-but-never-acquired customers" come to purchase.

Though at first the possibility of sales to local state governments promised to be an acceptable alternative to the now defunct Federal sales, there were a number of factors which militated against the market, not the least of which was the mercurial nature of state finances. Following the Civil War, the National Guard units provided an almost kaleidascope view of the predicament of their Federal counterparts. Saddled with the stockpiles of obsolete weapons from the Civil War, the individual states were looking for means of converting their weapons or of disposing of them in the surplus market and purchasing good, inexpensive breechloaders. In 1871, Providence Tool had made the decision to divest itself of its arms manufacturing line. At least for a few states, the financial condition of the tool company, which now found itself with a large inventory of undeliverable Peabody rifles in caliber .433 following the cancellation of its French contract, supplied an easy answer to some of their armaments problems.

As early as 1868, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had already decided to equip its National Guard with breechloading rifles. The state conducted its own tests at Boston and Lowell in late 1871. On March 18, 1872, a board of officers recommended to Massachusetts Governor William B. Washburne that a special $50,000 appropriation, made by the legislature in 1871 for the purchase of new breechloading rifles for state militia, be applied to the purchase of Peabody rifles.[98] Within a few months the state was able not only to dispose of $4,148.50 worth of its unserviceable ordnance, but also to purchase 2,941 Peabody rifles and 1,000 .433 cartridges.[99] By late 1876, about half of the state militia was equipped with the caliber .433 Peabody rifles which had been originally earmarked to arm the French in their fight against the forces of Bismarck.[100]

On September 23, 1871, the state of New York began conducting its own breechloader tests at the Federal arsenal in Springfield. Although the Peabody rifle did quite well in competition with the twenty-one other rifles, Providence Tool did not receive the state's contract for 15,000 breechloaders since one essential condition of the proposed New York contract was that the arms contractor accept in trade an equal number of the state's obsolete .58 caliber muzzle loading rifles.[101]

In 1871 the state of Connecticut conducted a series of breechloader tests on a scale similar to those undertaken by New York. In its report to Governor Marshall Jewell, the state board gave a unanimous decision that the state militia should be armed with the caliber .433 Peabody rifle. Acting upon this report, Connecticut purchased 2,059 rifles. In a memo to Marshall F. Benton, the New York agent for Providence Tool, dated December 28, 1871, S. A. Dikinson, Connecticut's Quartermaster General, gave a highly laudatory report of the

performance of the state's newly acquired rifles:

> In accordance with your request of this date, I beg leave to say that the Peabody breechloading rifles purchased by this state of the Providence Tool Company have all been received in good order, and a large proportion of them have been issued to our troops, and I am pleased to say are giving very general satisfaction, much more so than I anticipated, the change in this state from a muzzle-loader to a breechloader being a radical one. Since the issue of the arms to our troops they have been subjected to severe trials, to test the liability of danger to the soldier using them, and the result has been such as to confirm Adjutant-General Merwin and myself in our opinion as to the safety and efficiency of the Peabody arm. As to the calibre adopted by this state, .433, I have seen nothing to change my mind that for efficiency and accuracy it is superior to that of 50.[102]

When the tool company offered its rifles at "bargain basement" prices, the states began to show more than a "window shopping" interest in the arm. After selling 5,000 rifles to Massachusetts and Connecticut, the tool company still had a good portion of its French contract arms in stock. On November 27, 1873, Marshall F. Benton offered to sell 4,700 caliber .433 Peabody rifles and 3,200 similarly chambered carbines to the U.S. government.[103] In the atmosphere of this sad denouement, the drama of the Peabody rifle came to an end at the company. Peabody rifles in the hands of Connecticut and Massachusetts militia supplied the nearest instance of that weapon ever becoming an official United States service arm. (In the late 1870's, South Carolina also acquired 350 .50 caliber Peabody carbines in a trade with the firm of Schuyler, Hartley and Graham.)

In 1877, Providence Tool reconditioned 2,000 of the Connecticut Peabody rifles and rechambered them with Peabody-Martini barrels for the .45-70 government cartridge. (The author has noted one Connecticut militia rifle still in its original .433.) The Massachusetts rifles were never converted.

Though Providence Tool had done a considerable business with its Civil War and Peabody contracts, the tool company in 1872 was about to undertake a contract with the Ottoman Turks which would dwarf all of its previous dealings.

An anachronism in the Victorian Period, the Ottoman Turkish government, *la Sublime Porte,* was beset by a host of external and internal problems. Its vast crumbling empire included a number of domains who, touched by the surges of 19th century nationalism, were clamoring for complete autonomy. The weakened condition of the empire provided an irresistable lure for Turkey's long time enemy and land-hungry neighbor, Tsarist Russia.

To remedy its internal problems, the Turks all too often relied on their time-honored tradition of force. However, the Turkish army, the principal instrument of this policy, was in a somewhat decrepit condition. During the reigns of Abdulmecid and Abdulaziz (1839-1876), a series of reforms, known as the *Tanzimat,* were instituted whose principal thrust was army reorganization, most notably in 1842 and 1869. The second army reform of 1869 was spearheaded by the Ottoman Minister of War, Hussein Avni Pasha, an ardent evangelist of the Prussian military system.

Besides restructuring the army, an updating of armaments was urgently needed to bring the Turkish forces to European ordnance standards. Unfortunately time had left Turkey in the backwash not only of political and social reform but also in the area of industrialization. The American Civil war clearly demonstrated the absolute necessity of an industrial base for any widespread military action. With a manufacturing system that had been stunted in the 17th century, the Ottoman Turks had to purchase most of their armaments abroad.

Earlier, in the 1850's, the Turks had purchased large numbers of rifled muzzle loaders from Belgium and France. In the early 1860's they supplemented these arms with an additional purchase of 40,000 Enfields from the British. A few years later the British also sold large quantities of Snider conversion breechloaders. The British also converted large numbers of Enfield and Springfield rifles to the Snider system for the Turks. (The Turks had purchased the Springfield rifled muskets from the Germans, who had captured them from the French, who had bought them from the Americans.)[104] The Snider, however, with its obsolete caliber .577 cartridge, was only an interim arm. What was needed was a good breechloader which would be the equal of the best in western ordnance.

As usual there was no shortage of salesmen eager to secure what promised to be a large Turkish armaments order. One of the first American manufacturers to receive an arms contract of any significance was Oliver Winchester, who sold the Turks a large number of lever action carbines and rifles.[105] However, most western ordnance experts had serious doubts about the military capabilities of the Winchester repeater, due to its elaborate loading system and the limited effectiveness of its caliber .44 rimfire cartridge.

Providence Tool was not idle and submitted a proposal for the Turkish order.[105] Although the company had officially withdrawn from the armaments business in 1871, Anthony apparently still held some sort of limited option to returning once more to that highly risky enterprise. His interest in a possible Turkish order had, no doubt, been first aroused when a Turkish ordnance delegation headed by Colonel Rustem Bey had visited Providence Tool in 1869, part of a fact finding tour relative to the Turkish interest in a new breech-loader.[107]

On February 5, 1872, Anthony authorized William de Saint Laurent, the company's operative in Constantinople, to submit a proposed sale of 20,000 caliber .50 centerfire Peabody carbines at $14.00 an arm at a delivery schedule of 200 carbines *per diem* after 60 days from receipt of the contract; 50,000 carbines at $13.50 an arm at a delivery schedule of 200 *per diem* after 60 days, 300 *per diem* after 90 days, and 400 *per diem* after 120 days.[108]

At the Turkish breechloading trials held in the early summer of 1872, Providence Tool's Peabody was competing with its old rival, the Remington rolling block rifle. The trials were rife with rumour, speculation, and intrigues.[109] On July 8, 1872, the New York arms firm of Schuyler, Hartley and Graham conveyed to Anthony the contents of a letter they had received from Saint Laurent:

> The trial of guns are going on, and will last all this week. 2,000 rounds are fired from each gun. The Peabody is the gun favored by the "Darichoura" which body will decide at last resort. Remington is spending money right and left to secure a favorable report for his gun. Never mind any report made that his system will be accepted because the grand council is dead against it. The 42 caliber had been decided upon, for the new guns — no matter what system adopted.[110]

However, the hopes for a contract for the Peabody or the Remington were soon dashed when the Sultan dismissed the Ordnance Board and announced the adoption of the British Henry-Martini rifle. Although at first the decision might have appeared to have been pure caprice to outside observers, there were two major factors which influenced the Sultan's decision.[111]

In May he had received a gift of 50,000 Henry-Martini rifles from Khedive Ismail of Egypt. Obviously, the Sultan was impressed not only by the generosity of his Egyptian vassal but also by the quality of the arm. The British had also shown a keen interest in Ottoman army re-organization and rearmament, since the Turks would be needed to provide a strong bulwark against Russian imperialism in the ever changing geopolitical gameplan. Since the first purchase of Enfields in the early 1860's, British Ordnance ideas had great influence at the Turkish War Ministry. They could, and probably did, exercise some influence in the selection of an arm which they knew was reliable, their own service rifle.[112]

In July the Turks put out their contract for 200,000 Henry-Martini rifles to the lowest biddger. The two essential engredients were the low bid and the speed of delivery.[113] To Anthony's credit as a businessman, he did not pause for one moment over the rejection of the Peabody but began an earnest negotiation for the Henry-Martini contract with Blaque Bey, the Ottoman Minister in Washington, who, in turn, relayed the messages back to the Ministry of War in Constantinople.[114]

Anthony, it should be noted, had kept in close contact with the Ottoman Minister. In 1871 he had had lengthy discussions over the proposed Peabody contract while the Turkish minister was vacationing at a health spa in Virginia.[115] In a letter to Providence Tool executive William B. Dart, dated July 25, 1872, Anthony noted that he had had a three or four hour discussion with Blaque Bey in New York and that ". . . he expects great results . . . Our interview today has been more free than before, and I have learned better the Turkish way of doing things."[116] Judging from Blaque Bey's enthusiasm for Providence Tool, one is tempted to conclude that Anthony had applied the costly lessons which he had learned from the aborted Russian and Danish contracts.

Earlier, on July 10, 1872, Anthony had notified Blaque Bey that Providence Tool could deliver 100,000 Henry-Martini rifles within six months after receipt of a "pattern rifle," at $15,000 for each rifle without a bayonet, $16.25 for each rifle with an angular socket bayonet, and $17,50 for each rifle with a sabre bayonet. During the next twelve months, the company could deliver 200,000 additional rifles at a discount of $.50 an arm from the above quoted prices.[117] On July 25, Anthony informed Blaque Bey that Providence Tool was agreeable to all the terms of the proposed contract and submitted a bid of 63 shillings for each rifle with the socket triangular or "quadrangular bayonet."[118] Bey, in turn, telegraphed this data to Constantinople. No doubt, at this stage of the negotiations, all of the parties concerned -- John B. Anthony, Blaque Bey, and the Ministry of War -- considered the contract to be in the bailiwick of Providence Tool except, of course, for the signing of the agreement. However, within a week all of the negotiations were tabled when Oliver Winchester underbid Providence Tool's offer by one shilling a rifle and was awarded the contract by the Dari Shoura. Winchester was in Constantinople on business related to his earlier contracts with the Porte. His proximity to the heart of the negotiations obviously gave him the edge needed to upset Anthony's offer.[119] On August 1, 1872, he signed a contract to deliver 200,000 Henry-Martini rifles at 62 shillings a rifle.[120]

Winchester, of course, had no plans to manufacture the rifles at his New Haven plant, which was hardly equipped to handle the huge production of the Turkish contract. He also had no claims on the patent rights for either the Peabody system or the Martini firing pin, two of the essential engredients of the Henry-Martini rifle.[121] At best he could only subcontract the order. At the very least, he could offer the contract to the highest bidder. Considering the risks he was taking in penalties for late deliveries, Winchester was clearly acting in the best traditions of the "American Wildcatter."

On October 12, 1872, John B. Anthony filed a formal protest with the Secretary of State against Winchester's

contract. The protest was followed by a suit. In the fall of 1872, Winchester agreed to sell the contract to Providence Tool. The official transfer took place on January 1, 1873. The tool company was back in the gun business.[122]

The contract signed between Winchester and the Dari Shoura, the central committee of the Ottoman Ministry of War, called for the delivery of 200,000 Henry-Martini rifles chambered for the 11.43 x 55R centerfire cartridge (in British nomenclature, the .450 Turkish Peabody-Martini; in American nomenclature, the .45 Peabody-Martini),[123] the same caliber as the 50,000 Henry-Martini rifles Khedive Ismail had given to Abdulaziz.[124] Each rifle was to be equipped with a quadrangular bayonet having a leather scabbard tipped with brass. Adjustable for windage and elevation, the sights were to be graduated from 1 to 1300 meters and marked with Turkish figures. (The sight adjustments were to be determined by tests using powder of Turkish manufacture.) The side plate of each gun was to be engraved with the imperial cipher and serial numbered with Turkish figures. Stocked in black walnut, the rifles were to be exact copies of the British service arms manufactured at the Enfield arsenal.[125]

The inspection of all materials and parts and the proof testing of the rifles were to be done according to established British practices. The actual inspection was to be done by a combined team of American and Turkish inspectors who were to be appointed by their respective governments. The cost of inspection tools and gauges was to be borne by the manufacturer. In addition to assuming the cost of the powder and test cartridges, the Turkish government would pay for the salaries and expenses of the entire inspection staff.[126]

The final testing of the rifles consisted in disassembling each gun twice, checking each of its sixty parts against pattern gauges, and finally firing six test rounds. The guns were then to be packed in crates of double thickness, which were lined with zinc or tin, and sealed by the Turkish inspectors. The crates were then to be shipped to new York for transportation to Constantinople. (The Turkish government would pay for all cartage and insurance costs.) Receipts for the sealed crates would be issued to the manufacturer, who would use them to make withdrawals on the Turkish contract account in London. Delivery of the rifles was to commence six months after the receipt of three Henry-Martini pattern rifles and two pattern cartridges.[127]

There were initial financial obligations for both parties to the contract. The manufacturer was required to post a surety bond of $186,000 with the Ottoman legation in Washington. This bond would be reduced in proportion to the delivery schedule. The Turkish government would deposit the full cost of the contract with the Imperial Ottoman Bank in London.[128]

Providence Tool's decision to re-enter the armaments manufacturing business represented a triumph for those company directors who were willing to brave the pitfalls of that potentially lucrative enterprise. (Indeed, the company had never completely left the arms business, but had merely let its arms manufacturing line remain dormant. The company was saddled with lots of unsold Peabody rifles and carbines which it had been attempting to sell during 1872.) Reactivation of the gun-line was a personal triumph for John B. Anthony, who had spearheaded the drive for the purchase of the Turkish contract. In 1874 he was appointed President of Providence Tool following the death of Cololel Richard Borden.[129]

However, the board of directors was not in complete accord. A compromise had been reached whereby the company would expand its domestic production in proportion to armaments work. Obviously, the more conservative directors wished to avoid the near disastrous circumstances of the late 1860's when company production and sales had leaned too heavily on the arms traffic. In compliance with the commitment to increase its domestic lines, Providence Tool contracted with the Singer Sewing Machine Company to produce 300 sewing machines a day. This contract alone necessitated an outlay of over $1,000,000 in additional machinery.[130]

On March 11, 1873, Providence Tool contracted the services of the firm of Azarian Effendi Pere et Fils of Constantinople to act as its agent to the Sublime Porte. Founded by the elder Azarian, an Armenian, in the early 1850's, the firm served as an intermediary for American concerns wishing to do business with Turkey. (A few of Azarian's relatives working at his branch office in Boston had already become naturalized U.S. citizens.) Having worked as agents for Colt's and Winchester, the Azarians were no strangers to the labyrinthine ways of Turkish armament contracts.[131]

Acting with the power of attorney granted them by Providence Tool on March 11, 1873, the Azarians procured two additional arms contracts for the company on March 11, 1873, for 300,000 additional Henry-Martini rifles, and on August 23, 1873, for an additional 100,000 rifles.[132] Providence Tool was now committed to the production of 600,000 rifles, at that time the largest single order ever received by an American arms manufacturer from a foreign power.

In meeting the initial financial obligations of the three contracts, Providence Tool was required to increase its surety bond with the Ottoman delegation in Washington to £600,000. In addition to the expenses of securing the surety bonds, the company underwent a capital expansion of $2,000,000 to meet the production demands of the three arms contracts.[133] In a relatively short span of time, Providence Tool became one of the largest armories in the world with over six acres of plant space, 1,700

machines, and 1,800 employees. The company eventually reached a production capability of 6,000 rifles a week.[134] However, the $3,000,000 expansion of costs of the Singer and Turkish contracts had spread the company dangerously thin over the money market. John Anthony was leading his company over precariously thin ice. Success depended almost entirely upon the Turkish payment schedules. As events were to prove, the Porte's financial instability was the tragic flaw in the Greek drama that was beginning to form in Providence in 1873.

Snags began to develop early in that year. Turkish ordnance was late in sending over the three pattern rifles and the specimen cartridges. Therefore, no work could be done on the manufacture of gauges and dies. In the latter part of the year, when the inspection teams arrived in Providence, there was, unfortunately, nothing to inspect. The American team of forty-five inspectors was headed by the noted American ordnance expert, Captain Henry Metcalfe. The twenty-seven Turkish officials were under the direction of a personage no less notable, General Hussein Tevfik.[135]

Urbane and sophisticated, Tevfik belonged to that small clique of Turkish intellectuals who were quite cosmopolitan. Although his assignment was to supervise the inspection of both the rifles in Providence and the ammunition in New Haven, he preferred the less arduous roles of scholar and *bon vivant*. Much of his seven year stay in the United States was devoted to the composition of a text in linear algebra and his enjoyment of the social life of the upperclass New Englander. He became a personal friend of John B. Anthony and an uncle figure to the Anthony children.[136] What was needed, however, was not a polished general but a ferocious sergeant, with a heavy swagger stick to keep the unruly staff of Turkish inspectors in line. Tevfik, obviously, cast a disdainful glance at that aspect of his work.

After travelling to and from Providence Tool as a group on a trolley car, the Turkish inspectors would gather in the bar of a Providence hotel for drinking, gaming, arguing, and, not infrequently, brawling. One inspector shot a woman in a Providence boarding house. Their antics provided a continual source of embarrassment for the company and harrassment for the Providence Police Department. Were it not for Anthony's influence, and the importance of the Turkish arms contract to Providence Tool and thereby to the economy of the city (the tool company was the largest employer in Providence), many of the inspectors would probably have spent a number of sojourns in the city's lock-up. The Porte, however, was not as understanding. One inspector was recalled to Turkey for some infraction and went before a firing squad armed with rifles he had probably inspected. When yet another inspector received a summons to return to Turkey, he chose to commit suicide by leaping from the Crawford Street bridge rather than face the fate of his co-worker. One inspector refused to return home and married the daughter of a Providence innkeeper. As the years passed, his bizarre appearance and demeanor became a conspicuous element of the checkered Providence landscape.[137]

From July to October of 1873, Providence Tool's attorneys were engaged in reaching a settlement with a Mr. Stibbard, who represented the owners of the Martini patent.[138] In the early part of 1874, the Scottish gunsmith Alexander Henry travelled to the United States to claim royalties on his special rifling process. His claim was disallowed, and the irate Scotsman returned home. Perhaps he also believed that injury had been added to insult since Providence Tool was stamping their rifles as the "Peabody-Martini" and not "Henry-Martini."[139]

With the delay in receiving the pattern rifles and cartridges, negotiating for patent settlements, waiting for approval of the Providence Tool model rifle by Turkish Ordnance, and insisting on a £50,000 advance fee from the Porte in December of 1873, production of the contract rifles did not begin until January of 1874. To the tool company's credit, it was able to make delivery of the first 1,000 Peabody-Martini rifles in March of 1874.[140]

The year-long delay in production and the interrupted payment schedule required a special financial settlement between the company and the Porte which was reached on May 3, 1874. The Turks would establish a credit of £300,000 on January 23, 1875, and two others of £450,000 each on July 23, 1875, and January 23, 1876. For its part, the company would deliver 50,000 rifles by April of 1874, and another 150,000 during the next year. Between April 1875 and October 1876, the company would deliver the remaining 400,000 Peabodys at the rate of 25,000 a month.[141]

However, the delicate balance of the agreement was destroyed when the Imperial Ottoman Bank in London withdrew its credit. The financial panic of 1873 had destroyed the thirteenth loan of the Ottoman Turks. The frail condition of Ottoman finances had made the Porte's major expenditures totally reliant upon the state of Turkish treasury bonds. The Turks had been sufficiently successful in their twelfth major loan of August of 1872 to conclude their first Henry-Martini contract with Winchester. The thirteenth loan, of September 1873, had given them the confidence to conclude their second and third contracts with Providence Tool. With their thirteenth loan destroyed, however, the Porte could not open the necessary credits for the contracts.[142]

By mid-1874, conditions had grown from bad to worse as Providence Tool was forced to go to the local money market to secure operating capital. Tevfik notified the Minister of War that Providence Tool and Winchester would be ". . . severely paralyzed in their enterprises for want of credit." The Turks, however, were able to avoid total collapse by negotiating their fourteenth loan on

September of 1874.[143]

On December 9, 1874, John B. Anthony and his family took passage for England and Turkey. Three days later a credit for £450,000 was opened for Providence Tool. By the end of the year the tool company had produced 54,600 rifles.[144]

Arriving in England a few days before Christmas, Anthony conferred with representatives of J.S. Morgan and Company who were the tool company's intermediaries with the Imperial Ottoman Bank. Before leaving for Turkey on January 1, 1875, Anthony was able to inspect several British armories in Birmingham and Sheffield. He was able to place orders for gun metal, rifle barrel moulds,[145] and barrel blanks.

In Constantinople, Anthony was honored by the Porte. From the Grand Vizier he received the highest Ottoman award, the Order of the Osmani Second Class, a distinction shared by only one other Westerner, Alfred Krupp, the German industrialist and armaments magnate. During his stay, Anthony also negotiated yet a fourth contract for another 200,000 Peabody-Martinis and a separate contract for 200,000 sabre bayonets. The rifle contract was never concluded, and the tool company subcontracted part of the sabre bayonet contract to the Ames Sword Company of Chicopee, Massachusetts.[146]

Although Anthony's triumphant visit to Constantinople was undoubtedly one of the highlights of his career, the remaining months were beset with almost insurmountable problems. The credit issued in December of 1874 was only large enough to fund production for the first six months of 1875. At this time John B. Anthony, recipient of the badge of the Osmani, was no doubt embarrassed when he had to issue an ultimatum to the Porte that rifle production would be terminated unless further credits were received.[147]

Providence Tool was not the only one of the Porte's armorers in an embarrassing financial state. Winchester and Providence Tool had chartered the *Mendota* to ship rifles and ammunition to Turkey. The creditors of both companies obtained a court order which prevented the ship from leaving port. Another threat from Anthony produced a payment schedule which would supply an immediate payment of £50,000 and subsequent weekly payments of £12,000. This proposal and another of a similar nature were rejected by the company's bankers.[148]

On November 9, 1875, the company finished the last of the 200,000 Peabody-Martinis called for by the first contract. Since the Porte was in arrears on the first contract and was showing signs of defaulting on the second, Anthony reserved 59,000 rifles as security. However, work began immediately on the rifles of the second contract. Although it had already exhausted its credits, the company continued to draw credits on the Imperial Ottoman Bank. On November 29, 1875, four of these drafts totalling £40,000 were rejected by the Ottoman Bank. The immediate effect of the rejection was near calamity for the company.[149] In December, Providence Tool's creditors attached its assets. In a gesture perhaps unique in 19th century American industrialism, the 1,800 employees of Providence Tool presented Anthony with a petition in which they pledged to forego a month's salary to keep the firm afloat. Although deeply touched by the gesture, Anthony declined the offer.[150]

In early 1876, Anthony was able to temporarily satisfy the company's creditors by securing a loan of £45,000 from Drexel, Morgan, and Company of New York. As collateral for the loan, Providence Tool gave 50,000 Peabody-martini rifles. The Turks, too, were not idle. They secured a credit of £110,000 from the Zarifi brothers of Constantinople and another credit of £44,000 from the Imperial Ottoman Bank. However, these credits provided only a partial relief as the Porte was not able to make his scheduled payment of £416,000 on February 1, 1876.[151]

Once more the trusty Azarians stepped into the picture and presented a solution highly reminiscent of the ad campaigns of present day loan companies. Azarian advocated consolidating the large debts and then arranging small weekly payments. This agreement, outlined in a letter of March 25, 1876, required the Turks to pay £18,000 a week for seven weeks, £20,000 the eighth week, and thereafter £12,000 a week until September of 1878. For its part, the company was not to demand any penalty fees. It was to receive £50,000 as security for eventual payment while reserving 30,000 rifles as security until the £50,000 was paid. This amount would also be kept by the company in rifles.[152]

Providence Tool was slowly stepping into a somewhat bizarre posture. Under the terms of the March 25 agreement, it would hold 46,666 rifles as security in addition to the 50,000 rifles it had already pledged to Drexel and Morgan as collateral. As Geoffrey Stewart so aptly noted, "the company was arming bankers not soldiers."[153]

Not surprisingly, the Turks fell behind in their payments in a matter of weeks. Once more the company's creditors were becoming nervous. Anthony warned the Ottoman Minister in Washington that the company would soon have to sell its inventory of Peabody-Martinis to pay Turkey's arrears. A further warning was sent directly to the Grand Vizier that the Porte would be held responsible for all damages suffered by the tool company for the disruptions caused by non-payment. Anthony faced the greatest pressure from Drexel and Morgan, who informed him on July 8 they were going to sell the 50,000 rifles to secure repayment of their loan. To forestall this action, Anthony had to pledge yet another 20,000 rifles.[154]

Providence Tool was now forced to curtail production

of the Peabody-Martini. Added to the increased costs of overhead, the fluctuations of the world gold market further eroded the company's profits. Anthony notified Aristarchi Bey, the Ottoman Minister, that the tool company would soon have to cease arms production entirely. Turkish Ordnance responded by proposing a modification of the Martini mechanism which would return a greater profit to the manufacturer in reduced costs. (The modification was simply the removal of the sliding bar safety mechanism.) The urbane Tevfik counseled his friend Anthony that he should trust in the good will of the Porte.[155]

By the middle of October, 1876, Providence Tool was producing about 2,700 rifles a week (less than half of their production capacity) while being paid for only 1,100. Anthony informed Tevfik that only 12,400 more "A-Model" rifles (those equipped with the sliding bar safety) would be manufactured before production stopped entirely, which occurred on November 20, 1876, with a total of 369,200 "A-Model" rifles produced. At the time of the shutdown of Providence Tool's armory, there were still 40,000 rifles in storage which had neither been earmarked nor accepted.[156]

In February of 1877, the Porte was able to raise another £108,000 which enabled Providence Tool to begin production of the "B-Model" Peabody-Martini and to release the 40,000 rifles. Under adverse economic conditions, the company was able to manufacture 73,000 rifles in the first six months before it had exhausted its most recent credit. (In the interim, the company had also advanced £8,000 to Tevfik so that he could pay his inspectors.)[157]

Although by this time Anthony and his board of directors probably rued the day that Providence Tool had purchased its first Turkish contract, the Turks were convinced that they had made the best possible choice in their selection of small arms. On July 30, 1877, outnumbered Turkish forces at the Battle of Plevna stopped the massive Russian drive on Constantinople. Armed with Colt Berdan rifles and clumsy Krenka conversion muskets, the Tsar's troops began falling at 2,000 yards (some sources claim 2,200) before the murderous fire of the Peabody-Martinis with their heavy .45 caliber bullets. Then the Russians advanced to 200 yards, the Turks put down their Peabody-Martinis and took up their .44 caliber Winchester lever actions. Their rapid fire raked the Russian ranks and broke the attack. Before the siege was over in the following January, over 30,000 Russians and Romanians had fallen before the rifles of Providence Tool and Winchester. When the Russians had finally completed their Pyrrhic victory at Plevna, they armed their own troops with the captured Peabody-Martinia. Ironically, though the Peabody-Martini proved its military worth at Plevna, the battle sounded the death knell for the military single-shot rifle. Many years would pass, however, before Plevna's bitter lessons would be grasped completely by western and Russian military strategists.[158]

The Turks were in dire circumstances. The Russo-Turkish War was now underway, and the army of the Porte not only owed Providence Tool but also Winchester and the United Metalic Cartridge Company. The Ottoman Minister of War, Mahmoud Pasha, notified Anthony that a credit of £120,000 had been raised. However, only £40,000 went to the company, the remainder being divided between the other two munitions makers. On October 20, 1877, Mahmoud Pasha notified Tevfik that he was to begin loading arms and munitions aboard the steamer *Middleton,* berthed in New Haven. Providence Tool and Winchester quickly procured an injunction which prevented the ship from sailing until they had received payment. A letter of credit for £147,000 released the claim, but the *Middleton* still had to remain in port. In a brief naval engagement on the Danube, the Turkish navy had mistakenly sunk two ships belonging to the *Middleton's* owners who now claimed the carge in New Haven as an indemnity. In a superbly shrewd piece of legal reasoning, the attorneys for the Porte argued that the *Middleton's* cargo belonged to the Azarians and the Providence Tool Company since the Turks had defaulted on the payments and, therefore, had no title to the contents. The frustrated owners allowed the *Middleton* to sails.[159]

Although it had successfully lifted the claims of Anthony and Winchester on the *Middleton's* cargo, the credit of November 24, 1877, could not fund continued production. In the following January, production was again halted, leaving an unaccepted inventory of 16,000 rifles and 20,000 bayonets. Once again Anthony resorted to the threat of putting the rifles up for sale. In short order the indefatigable Azarians came up with yet another scheme for the Porte. In a letter of April 29, 1878, the Azarians laid out the details of a payment plan quite similar to their earlier one of March 25. Funding was to be had from such diverse sources as fees collected from those Turkish citizens who wished to avoid conscription, proceeds from the sale of possessions of soldiers who had been killed in action, and moneys which had been earmarked for railroad expansion in Rumelia. Providence Tool would release 15,000 rifles and 25,000 sabre bayonets after receiving an initial payment of £37,346. Thereafter for each weekly payment of £4,000, it would release another 2,000 Peabody-Martinis for thirty weeks. If followed to the letter, the Turks would have satisfied their obligations to the company by November 21, 1878. To no one's surprise, the Turks defaulted on the initial payment.[160] However, further complications were still to come.

In September, Winchester had chartered a ship to transport 70,000 rifles to Constantinople. Though at first

the vessel, the steamer *John Bramhall,* was blocked by temporary injunction from Providence Tool, it was finally able to leave port. However, it soon ran aground on Gull Island outside of New Haven. A total of 25,600 Peabody-Martini rifles were damaged in the accident. Although there was some compensation from the underwriters, Providence Tool lost over $100,000 in production costs to replace the damaged guns.[161]

It was now left to the new Ottoman Minister of War, Osman Pasha, lionized for his defense of Plevna, to work out the final payments. Osman Pasha made arrangements for credits to release the 79,000 rifles and 55,000 bayonets which were sitting unaccepted in company warehouses. Under the Minister of War's instructions, Tevfik had the first lot of 59,000 rifles, all the bayonets, and a consignment of cartridges loaded aboard the steamer *Norman Monarch.* The remaining rifles and another munitions consignment were placed aboard another carrier.[162]

On May 7, 1879, Providence Tool resumed production of the Peabody-Martini, and on December 24, 1879, the last of the contract rifles was completed. In addition to the 600,000 rifles it had made for the three Turkish contracts, the company also had to manufacture another 25,000 rifles to replace those that had been lost on the *Bramhall,* 5,000 additional rifles for the mother of the Sultan, and 717 rifles for Turkish citizens who had ordered them through Tevfik.[163]

Though it had completed its contractual commitments, Providence Tool had yet to feel the full impact of its fatal Turkish agreements. The Financial Panic of 1873, the fluctuating price of gold on the world market, and the Turkish defaults had inflicted mortal wounds on the company. On April 19, 1882, Anthony issued a statement inviting all of the company's creditors to attend a special meeting at the West River Street plant on the following Saturday at 11:00 A.M. to hear statements from the company "upon the present condition of its affairs." What the creditors heard was that Providence Tool could no longer meet its financial obligations.[164]

This time there was no salvation for the company as there had been in 1875. A committee of creditors was quickly established to dispose of as much of the assets as would be required to meet obligations. In short order a virtual avalanche of attachments descended. Among those claiming payment was inventor Henry O. Peabody, making an almost biblical appearance, who brought an attachment on December 20, 1882. (He released his claim on February 15, 1883.) The creditors agreed to continue Providence Tool's line of commercial and domestic sewing machines.[165]

On July 1, 1882, the tool company put up for sale its entire inventory of gunmaking machinery. Somewhat laconically the sale flier advertised the machinery as "low prices in consequence of changes in the company's business."[166] A survey of the proferred machinery indicates that Providence Tool had not only one of the largest armories in the workd, but also one of the best equipped. Anthony's statement that Providence Tool could equal or surpass the peak Civil War production records of the government's Springfield Armory was no idle boast.

On August 1, 1882, the Wickenden Street plant, Providence Tool's armory, was sold with some machinery to the Putnam Machine Company, which was owned by William J. King and Associates. King and his fellow investors set up the Household Sewing Machine Company in the Wickenden Street mill. On March 19, 1883, the West River Street plant, complete with its hardware manufacturing machinery, was sold to the Rhode Island Tool Company.[167] Providence Tool ceased to exist as a legal entity in 1885 when the company suspended payments and liquidated its liabilities at fifty cents on the dollar.[168]

However, there still remained the unsettled problem of the rifles which had been pledged as security to Drexel and Morgan. Even though the Turks had paid for these Peabody-Martinis, Providence Tool had repeatedly refused to release them on the grounds that the Turks were liable for the damages which the tool company had received through the many defaulted payments. John Anthony had even gone to the extreme of secreting the rifles in three Providence warehouses so that Hassan Basseri, Tevfik's successor, could not locate them. In the fall of 1882, the American National Bank of Providence received the warehouse receipts for the rifles after it had paid $165,000 to Drexel and Morgan. Within a matter of weeks, the Sultan filed suit against Providence Tool and the American National Bank for title to the rifles. In the summer of 1883, the suit was dismissed.[169]

Dame Fortune seems to have been somewhat fickle in her treatment of the principals involved in the rise and fall of Providence Tool. Tevfik, who apparently weathered the experience quite well, rose to the post of Turkish ambassador to the United States. Though he had made sizeable profits from the Turkish munitions contracts, Oliver Winchester's death in 1880 prevented him from seeing the full blossoming of his New Haven firm. Sultan Abdulaziz, who had made the decision to re-arm with the Henry-Martini, committed suicide with a pair of scissors in 1876. John B. Anthony worked briefly for the Rhode Island Tool Company before becoming treasurer and later vice-president of the Household Sewing Machine Company. He subsequently accepted the post of treasurer at the Cranston Print Works, a position he held until his death in Providence in 1904. During his job changes after Providence Tool's bankruptcy, he seems to have been financially strained. To heat his house, he was forced to burn Peabody-Martini gunstocks,[170] a pragmatic action whose symbolism must have given him

much to ponder. Lost in the shadows of Providence's automated post office, the Rhode Island Tool Company is still in business at the somewhat reduced River Street mill. Henry O. Peabody and Alexander Henry have faded into obscurity, their names familiar only to serious arms students and cartridge collectors. Herr Von Martini, however, has achieved a certain degree of immortality. A perennial favorite of European custom gunsmiths, the Peabody-Martini action is still being manufactured for hunting and target rifles and is known simply as the "Martini." Providence Tool's Peabody and Peabody-Martini rifles saw military service well into the twentieth century.[171]

Up to this point little has been said about the specifications of the Peabody-Martini military arms which were offered in both rifle and carbine lengths. Both A and B Model rifles were 49 inches long with a barrel length of 23¼ inches. Although company brochures advertised the rifle as being chambered for the .45 Turkish (11.43 x 55R); the .45 American (.45-70 government); and the .45 English (477/450 M.H.), one can only assume that the non-Turkish chamberings are quite rare and were probably only sales samples to stimulate other contracts which were never forthcoming.

The rifle was offered with either a quadrangular bayonet (with a total length of 23¼ inches and a blade length of 20¼ inches) or the sabre bayonet (total length of 28-7/16 inches and a blade of 22-15/16 inches).

With a total length of 38½ inches and a barrel length of 22 inches, the Peabody-Martini carbine is usually encountered with the A-Model action. The carbine cartridge is a reduced Turkish .45.

Hardly anything is known about the specific details of the 5,000 Peabody-Martinis made for the Sultan's mother and the other 716 arms made for private Turkish citizens. There are some indications that these rifles might have been brass plated and that a few with their bayonets were even gold plated. This group of Peabody-Martinis, along with Providence Tool's second series of sporting arms, constitute a most desireable item from the standpoint of the collector.

Providence Tool's second series of sporting guns are based on the Peabody-Martina A-Model actions. Along with the earlier Peabody sporting guns, they constitute the most desirable tool company guns from the standpoint of the collector and the arms connoisseur. No data have survived as to the number of Peabody-Martini sporting guns produced. A broad estimate of the production period would be between late 1875 and early 1881. As with all of Providence Tool's armaments programs, John B. Anthony provided the principal impetus. No doubt he wished to capture part of the market in specialized target rifles enjoyed by other makers such as Ballard, Sharps, Remington, Maynard, and Stevens. However, acceptance by civilian shooters of the Peabody-Martini system would also enhance its military salability.

Numbed by immersion in the era of spectator sports, the layman today would, no doubt, find it difficult to comprehend the popularity of target shooting in the United States during the second part of the 19th century. Introduced by German and Swiss immigrants, the *Sheutzen Verein,* or shooting club, provided an excellent form of recreation for a Sunday afternoon. More formal national and international competition (of which Olympi shooting is but a faint reflection) merited front page coverage.

Anthony approached the civilian sales program with the same sharp acumen that marked his other endeavors. In late July of 1874, a notice was placed in a Providence paper requesting that all Rhode Island shooters interested in forming a rifle club were to gather at the First Light Infantry Regiment's Armory in Providence on the night of the following August 4th. Attended by over 150 sportsmen, the meeting was called to order by John Anthony. Committees were set up to investigate the possibilities of building a rifle range and forming a club based on the rules of the newly formed National Rifle Association.[172] The first president of the new Rhode Island Rifle Association was General Ambrose E. Burnside, who was also the first president of the N.R.A. he had helped to organize.

By the fall of the next year, the Rhode Island Rifle Association had completed the work on its "What Cheer" Rifle range in Greenwood near the Stonington Road. A contemporary account provides an excellent description of the range, which had been built within the space of a month:

> What Cheer Range is at Greenwood, on the line of the Stonington road, some seven miles from Providence, and can be reached in twenty minutes by the cars from the city. The grounds are 1,400 yards long by 400 feet wide, and there is some room to double this handsome space if necessary. The field is a perfectly flat one, having required but very little grading at the extreme ranges, and is surrounded on two sides by a low range of hills some half mile distant. Four targets are in position, with well-constructed traps for markers, and back of them is a blindage some thirty feet high, built of double timbers, filled in with stone. What Cheer Range, from position and extent, has every advantage, and with but little expense can be rendered one of the finest schools for rifle practice in the United States.[173]

The First Annual Match of the Rhode Island Rifle Association was held at the What Cheer Range on October 25, 26, and 27, 1875. Three teams were in competition: the American Team, the New England Team, and a Rhode Island Team. Anthony took the occasion to make the formal debut of Providence Tool's new Peabody-Martini target rifles.[174]

In the short range matches (150 and 200 yards), shooters equipped with the Peabody-Martini mid-range rifles took second, third, and sixth places. In the Rhode Island Military Matches, the military model Peabody-Martini (which was probably chambered for the .45-70 government cartridge) won six out of the ten prizes, including first place. In the long range matches (600, 800, and 1000 yards), none of the shooters used the new Providence Tool rifles, relying instead on the time-honored Remington and Sharps rifles. However, a long range Creedmore rifle (which could well have been a Peabody-Martini) was presented as a second prize.[175]

Providence Tool's Peabody-Martini long range and midrange match rifles were offered in several patterns with some relatively exotic chamberings such as the 40/90 What Cheer, the 40/70 What Cheer, and the 44/100 cartridges. (The cartridges for these rifles are almost as scarce as the arms themselves, and they command a premium price among collectors.)

Advertised as equipped with a 32 inch octagon-to-round barrel and stocked in premium grade black walnut, the long range rifle was offered in three grades. Creedmore Grade No. 1, the most expensive rifle of the series, was engraved on both sides of the breech and stocked with a pistol grip with checkering on the grip and fore-end. Providence Tool equipped their target rifles with one of the best sighting systems of the period. The peep rear sight, with a vernier scale, was interchangeable for positioning on the wrist and the heel, providing elevation for 1,500 yards, or 1,100 on the heel. The front sight arrangement consisted of an interchangeable globe, open bead, front sight with wind gauge and spirit level. The No. 2 grade Creedmore was a less embellished version of the No. 1. The No. 3 grade long range was stocked in the What Cheer pattern which employed the straight grip.

The Midrange rifle was offered in two grades. The No. 1 grade midrange rifle had an octagon-to-round barrel, the pistol grip of the Creedmore pattern, a vernier scale peep sight with wind gauge and spirit level. Breech engraving was found on this model. The No. 2 grade was the What Cheer straight grip pattern. It should be noted that variations from catalog descriptions do exist — due, no doubt, to the custom-made nature of this entire series. At the time of this writing, there has been little research done on the superb engraving one encounters on a number of the Peabody-Martini match rifles. (Some of the embellishment is easily the equal of the work of Louis Nimschke or the Ulrichs.)

Providence Tool's economy grade hunting and target rifle was the "Kill Deer" pattern Peabody-Martini which was designed for big game hunting on the plains and for informal, off-hand target shooting. Equipped with an octagon-to-round 28 inch barrel, the "Kill Deer" rifle was chambered for the .45-70 government cartridge. The rifle was equipped with interchangeable globe and peep and open sights. (Tool company brochures claimed that the sights could be changed while the game was in sight.)

The simple Peabody-Martini hunting arm was the "Rough and Ready" rifle. Like the "Kill Deer," it was chambered for the .45-70 cartridge, but it did not have the Kill Deer's sight options and was manufactured with a round 30 inch barrel. It should be noted that no genuine specimen of the "Rough and Ready" has as yet been identified, at least to the author's knowledge.

Although Providence Tool's target rifles received some very favorable reviews and turned in some superb scores in formal competition, the company was never able to make any considerable inroads in the marketplace of specialized match weapons. Perhaps, as one writer has observed, the target rifle line arrived too late on the highly competitive shooting circuit to overtake Remington, Sharps, and Maynard.[176]

The "Kill Deer" found a warmer reception among western hunters who were no doubt impressed by the simplicity and reliability of its action and its superior accuracy and hard-hitting at extreme ranges, proven qualities of its combat-tested Henry rifling system. Shortly before Providence Tool finally terminated its arms production in 1882, only the Long Range Creedmore No. 1 and the "Kill Deer" were being offered.

The Peabody-Martini rifle remains today as a lasting tribute to the skill of Providence Tool's engineers and workmen. No accident occurred during the firing of over three and one half million test cartridges at the tool company. As a demonstration of its mechanical excellence, one rifle was even fired over 20,000 times without mishap or noticeable breech wear. Perhaps, as company advertisements often claimed, Providence Tool had made the best single-shot military rifle in the world.

PUSEY, J.G. (1865)

Providence. In conjunction with G.W. Hughes, J.G. Pusey received a patent for a magazine breechloader on August 15, 1865 (No. 49,409).[177]

R

RHODES, William (1798-1801)

Providence. Under the terms of the Act of July 5, 1798, William Rhodes and William Tyler contracted to produce 2,000 muskets of the Charleville design at $13.40 an arm.[1] On January 1, 1799, they acknowledged receipt of their pattern musket:

> Received of John S. Dexter, Supervisor for the District of Rhode Island, One Musquet, with

> Bayonet complete, of the Charleville Pattern, marked E.F. and sealed on the breech, as a Model for those which we have by Indenture with the Secretary of the Treasury contracted to make for the United States; one other Musquet of the like Pattern and marked and sealed in the same manner, as a counterpart, is placed in the possession of the said John Dexter.[2]

By June 10, 1801, they were behind in their deliveries (as was every other Rhode Island 1798 contractor with the exception of Thomas Bicknell), having completed only 950 muskets.[3] Neither Rhodes nor Tyler were gunsmiths. Both were Providence merchants[4] who probably subcontracted the work and operated an assembly shop for the finished muskets.

ROLLINS, M.L. (1868)
Providence, 4 Meeting Street.[5]

S

SABIN, Henry (1733-1736)
Newport.[1]

SHEFFIELD, Jeremiah (b. 1729 - d. 1803)
South Kingstown. In March of 1777, the Rhode Island General Assembly passed the following resolution:

> It is voted and resolved, that it be, and hereby is, recommended to the independent company of the Kingston Reds that they excuse George Tefft and Jeremiah Sheffield (who are employed in making and stocking guns) from doing any service in said company in the third division of independent companies.[2]

Sheffield apparently spent most his life in the town of South Kingstown. He was born there on May 8, 1720, the son of Deborah Sheffield, He rose to the rank of captain in the militia, a title he held until his death in South Kingstown in March of 1803.[3] Some authors classify both Sheffield and Tefft as gunmakers to the Committee of Safety. To the author's knowledge, no arms signed by either Sheffield or Tefft have ever been discovered.

SCHUBARTH, C.C. (1866-1871)
Providence. C.C. Schubarth assumed control of his brother's 6 North Main Street gunshop in 1866[4] and shortly thereafter removed its location to 84 Weybosset Street. His advertisements stressed that "Special attention is paid to the manufacture of First Class Rifles of the latest improvement."[5] His business failed in 1871.[6]

SCHUBARTH, Casper D. (1855-1866)
Providence. In 1850 or 1851, Casper Schubarth emigrated to the United States from his native Norway, where he had worked as a gunsmith.[7] His name first appears in the *Providence Directory* in 1855, listed for his gunshop at 6 North Main Street.[8] A contemporary credit analysis described him as having little means. His original establishment on North Main Street consisted of two rooms: a work area and a salesroom. Within a few years, he had prospered to the extent that he had a small but well-equipped machine shop for his gunsmithing work.[9]

On July 23, 1861, Schubarth patented a breechloading rifle (No. 32,895).[10] Within a few months, he had also found potential partners in the firm of Amos D. and J. Y. Smith of Providence with whom he wished to secure a Federal contract for his breechloader. In the following October, Schubarth travelled to Washington armed with a letter of introduction from the Smiths to Rhode Island Senator James F. Simmons.[11] What Schubarth wanted was a contract for 10,000 of his patented breechloaders ($35 for the carbine version and $37.50 for the rifle model with bayonet) and an additional order for 20,000 Springfield rifled muskets.[12]

Later, in testimony given to the ordnance commission investigating armaments contracts, Senator Simmons would verify that he had introduced Schubarth to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, General Ripley of the Ordnance Department, and Captain Harwood of the Navy. The Ordnance Department was not interested in Schubarth's breechloader; however, he was offered a contract on October 6, 1861, to produce 20,000 Springfield rifles. Schubarth then returned to Providence to face the Smiths who informed him that the offer was too small to warrant the purchase of the required extra machinery.[13] Schubarth returned to Washington and, with the help of the ever-obliging Senator Simmons, secured an additional contract on November 26, 1861, for an additional 30,000 Springfield rifles. During his tours of the capital, Schubarth had promised Simmons a five per cent commission on whatever contracts were secured. Schubarth now owed Simmons $50,000, a handsome figure for a few days' work. (Under oath, Schubarth later claimed that the Smiths had told him that such remuneration was an acceptable practice in America.)[14]

Possessing limited facilities, Schubarth subcontracted almost all of the manufacturing work on the rifles:

> Barrels — I propose to have them made in Middletown, by Mr. Ashton. He is to finish the barrels; they are to be furnished in the rough by Mr. Washburn, and by the Trenton company. Mr. Ashton makes the bargain for them. He superintends the work and supplies the barrels; we have to provide the machinery. . . . The barrels at first received were not good, but lately are getting better;

the borer found but three in one hundred defective, and they look as if they would finish well. I made an arrangement for 1,000 barrels to be rolled by the Trenton Iron Company, and finished by Field & Horton of Trenton. I have seen about 600 of these and they promised well. These are for the first delivery. The stocks are to be made in New York, at the Empire Works, at the foot of East Twenty-fourth Street.

The locks — we are to get 3,000 from Jenks and the rest from Williams, having agreed to accept to the number of 50,000, less what we may be required to buy before he is ready to deliver.

Mountings — Pecksmith Manufacturing Company, of Suddington, Connecticut, is to make bayonets, butt-plate, and tip. Guard bow and trigger are to be made by Bieglow, of Hartford. The parts are to be delivered at Providence, to be assembled, and I am to attend to that part.

Implements are to be made in Providence under my supervision.[15]

Because of the potential variables in his widespread sources of supply, Schubarth was engaging in a somewhat risky enterprise considering the penalties for late deliveries. The Smiths, soured no doubt by the potential failure of the two contracts and Simmons' large commission fee, severed their connections with Schubarth at the end of 1861. Schubarth, however, found other financial backing in the persons of Frederick Griffing and James M. Ryder who, with the gunsmith, formed the firm of C.D. Schubarth and Company on February 15, 1862. Senator Simmons lost no time in contacting the two new partners and securing notes for an additional commission fee of $10,000. Schubarth was of the opinion that in accepting this fee Simmons was reducing his claim to the original fee of $50,000. The senator, apparently, was of the opinion that his fee was now $60,000.[16]

On May 2, 1862, Schubarth was summoned to Washington to appear before the commission on ordnance contracts. On June 2, 1862, Schubarth was cleared:

> We are satisfied that Mr. Schubarth is personally innocent of any illegal or immoral purpose, and of all consciousness of violating the policy of the government. He is a foreigner, not very intimate, it may be assumed, with our institutions; and in offering compensation to Senator Simmons, he only did what he was assured by intelligent businessmen (Americans by birth) was customary. His conduct is chargeable to a vicious system of administration, which, in abandoning the law, forces the citizen to seek the patronage of his government by purchase through mercenary agencies, instead of obtaining it by open and honorable means.[17]

As for Senator Simmons, the commission could find no evidence of a violation of the law on his part; however, it left no doubt that his work for Schubarth was quite irregular:

> Senator Simmons, also, we doubt not, regards his action in accepting his compensation as strictly legal and we cannot, in the present condition of the legislation of Congress upon this subject, contest his opinion. That, however, the receipt of a large moneyed reward by a member of the United States Senate for such services rendered for one of his constituents is in harmony with the spirit of our institutions we cannot but deny.[18]

Schubarth's extended rifle contract was judged to be non-binding. However, because of the funds he had already spent in good faith, the commission granted him a confirmation of an order for 30,000 rifles from which 1,000 were to be deducted for late delivery on the November 26, 1861 contract.[19] Schubarth never completed even this reduced contract. Between December 19, 1863, and October 14, 1863, he delivered 9,500 Springfield rifles with appendages for a gross sales of $189,305.10.[20] On December 14, 1863, Schubarth offered the Ordnance Department 2,000 Springfield rifles at a reduced price of $19 an arm. In his offer he also stated that he had a production capacity of 2,000 rifles a month. His bid was not accepted.[21]

In 1865, Casper Schubarth was still advertising his usual wares and services from his North Main Street shop. "C.D. Schubarth manufacturer and dealer in guns, pistols and sporting apparatus. Special attention is paid to the manufacture of rifles and fowling pieces." By this time Schubarth had also expanded his line to include surgical, dental, and surveying instruments.[22] In February of 1866, his business was taken over by his brother C.C. Schubarth.[23]

SMITH, Jeremiah (I). (b. 1733 - d. 1818)

Smithfield. Although the author does not consider Jeremiah Smith, Sr., to be a gunsmith, he is included in this study because of the many misconceptions surrounding him. Charles Cook, the first student of Rhode Island gunsmiths, "discovered" Jeremiah Smith, Sr., when he had interviewed in the early 1920's some of Smith's descendants who still had memories of Jeremiah

Smith's son's gunshop. Cook was aware of a number of long, graceful fowlers which were in the Smithfield area. Because these fowlers were well out of the younger Smith's working period, he apparently concluded that Jeremiah Smith, Sr., was their maker because the younger Smith ". . . had doubtless been taught by his father."[24]

Cook provided an excellent description of the fowlers which he thought were made by the elder Smith. (The reader's attention is called to the fact that no mention is made of any maker's signature on these arms.)

> Five guns made by the elder Jeremiah are still in existence and show marked peculiarities of workmanship together with a high degree of technical skill . . . .
>
> To the practiced eye of the connoisseur in arms, the Jeremiah Smith guns have a recognizable style of their own, a characteristic graceful curve to the stock, a curiously emphasized sheer to the side of the stock, and individuality of workmanship in the barrel. The barrels generally have a pronounced ridge running almost their entire length, somewhat after the fashion of some of the nicer French arms; and often this ridge is shouldered near the lock. The stock and other wood work, Smith wrought from his most available material — local fruit wood, such as apple and pear trees. The example of his work, which is preserved in the museum of the Rhode Island Historical Society, is the most elaborate specimen of his handiwork yet located.[25] The stock has the remains of very highly executed carving about the furniture; and the trimmings, the ramrod pipes, and the screw plate are of bone. The rest of the furniture is of brass, and the workmanship is of a high grade. This gun, as well as the other three, have locks marked, Ketland and Company, and they were probably made during the early days of the Revolution.

A strong factor which first militated against Cook's theory was the absence of Jeremiah Smith's name among the many gunsmiths who were engaged in the armaments business for the Colony of Rhode Island during the frantic period of 1775-1777. Bound by neither Quaker nor Tory principles, Jeremiah Smith, had he been a gunsmith, would have found lucrative employment "down the pike" in Providence.

As time went on, Cook's error became firmly entrenched and grew with each retelling. Jeremiah Smith evolved into a Revolutionary War musket maker; he was the teacher of Welcome Mathewson, etc.

A thorough search of all extant primary source records relevant to Jeremiah Smith, Sr., has forced the author to conclude that although Smith obviously knew the Mathewsons and John Jenks, he had no connection with gunmaking. Smith was a farmer, land speculator, and perhaps, like his gunsmith son, a processor and dealer in limestone. For the time and the area, Smith left a sizeable estate of $17,301.51.[27]

SMITH, Jeremiah (II) (1770-1854)

Limerock. Gunsmith and barrel maker. It is fitting to allow Charles Cook to speak here as he considered Jeremiah Smith to be his greatest "find" in researching the gunsmiths of Rhode Island, judging by the space he gave him in the essay.

> Jeremiah Smith lived in and inherited his father's house at Lime Rock, Smithfield, R.I., where he carried on the trade of gunsmith, which he had doubtless been taught by his father. He died in 1854 and his inventory shows that he possessed, among other things, a blacksmith's bellows, an anvil, a turning lathe, a boring machine, two rifling machines, several steel augers, an iron square and other tools.
>
> His great granddaughters remember his house and his old workshop, with its wall filled with shots, where Jeremiah had tried out his guns without bothering to go out of doors. They remember also that the base boards in the old house had all worked loose owing to the continual jar of the gunsmith's lathe throughout the passing years.
>
> None of the guns made by Jeremiah, the younger, have as yet been identified . . . .[28]

Smithfield probate records confirm Cook's survey of the inventory of Jeremiah Smith's estate:

> Part of a turning lathe - $5.00
> 1 Boring machine - $5.00
> 2 rifling machines - $1.58
> 1 lot of steel augers - $3.00
> 6 gun barrels - $3.00[29]

The low assessment of Smith's gunworking tools indicates that even by 1854 they were considered long obsolete.

Like many other country gunsmiths, Jeremiah Smith had another occupation. His principal work was that of a processor and dealer in limestone[30], a mineral which is still abundant in this area. It is the author's opinion that although Smith probably did make some guns (he had purchased a trigger guard and a butt plate from Welcome Mathewson in 1808),[31] his principal concern in gunsmithing was barrel work, something he was well equipped for. He also could have purchased unrifled barrel "blanks" from Nathaniel Whitmore as Welcome Mathewson had done. Barrel fabrication and rifling would be an ideal winter occupation when the snow was too deep or the temperature too low for quarry or farm work.

One must now return to the great-granddaughters' comments about Smith's bullet-riddled workshop. It should be kept in mind that one does not sight in a gun within the confines of a shack. It is the author's opinion that Smith's ventilated walls were caused by the proof testing of his barrels.

It should be pointed out that the Limerock area of what is now the town of Lincoln is one of the coldest areas in a Rhode Island winter. Smith, acting with good Yankee common sense, probably thought it was "too damn cold" to work in the outdoors. However, his barrels had to be tested, hence, the perforated walls.

It is not too difficult to imagine Jeremiah Smith in his proof testing work. At the end of the day, he would have clamped his barrels down securely and then loaded them with a heavy proof charge and the traditional two patched balls. Next he would have used some simple form of delayed detonation which would allow him enough time to make a discreet exit before the potentially dangerous ignition. Returning in the morning to a workshop cleared of the smoke, he would have discovered a salable item or a worthless exploded tube.

What, then, was Smith's market? It is the author's opinion that he sold his barrels to the various small gunmakers in Providence such as Lyon, Cushman, Little, and Pope. He could well have taken his orders in the summer and the fall and made his barrels during the winter. When the roads were clear, he would have delivered his merchandise in Providence.

Smith was not as financially secure as his father had been. He had sold some of the property he had inherited from his father, and he had been involved in several local banking ventures which do not seem to have been too lucrative in their returns. At the time of his death his estate was quite small.[32]

However, the problem of provenance still remains with those long graceful fowlers which had been described by Charles Cook. Though some experts are of the opinion that they date from the period of 1760-1780, it is not unreasonable to assign them the later date of 1795-1810. In that case they could well be the work of the younger Smith. Two signed fowlers, whose whereabouts today are unknown, bearing the inscription "J.Smith-Lime Rock, R.I." have been reported to the author. Whether these signatures are authentic or merely the work of a well known Providence forger who specialized in counterfeiting antique arms, has yet to be proved.

The reader should also keep in mind the fact that there were quite a few "J. Smith's" who were engaged in gunsmithing work in western New York and Ohio during the period 1800-1860. From time to time, one will encounter half stocked percussion rifles marked "J. Smith". However, their style and furniture place them out of the realm of New England gunsmithing.

One other candidate could be advanced as the maker of those fowlers — barrel maker John Jenks of Glocester, who probably was the instructor of the younger Smith (or even Welcome Mathewson, for that matter). The elder Smith had been a witness to Jenks' will and might have even purchased Jenks' equipment for his son.

SPENCER, JOHN (b. 1737 - d. 1815)
North Kingstown.[33] A pair of brass barreled, flintlock pistols by John Spencer is known.

STERRY, ROBERT (1755)
Robert Sterry was the armorer for Colonel Christopher Harris' Rhode Island regiment in the French and Indian War.[34]

STEVENS, Charles (1777)
Providence. In April of 1777, Charles Stevens submitted a bill for cleaning and repairing guns for the town of Providence.[35]

STEWART, George (1878-1886)
Providence, 50 Richmond Street.[36]

STOCKBRIDGE (1824)
Providence. [37]

T

TAYLOR, SYDNEY W. (1885)
Newport.[1]

TEFFT, George (1775-1780)
South Kingstown. See "Sheffield, George."

TEW, Thomas (1775)
Providence. Thomas Tew was paid for cleaning and repairing fifteen small arms for Rhode Island.[2] Tew also owned a Providence building where Elisha Brown was a tenant.[3] This Elisha Brown could very well have been the same Elisha Brown who became a government arms contractor under the Act of 1798.

THURBER, Benjamin (1775-1776)
Providence. Benjamin Thurber was assigned to supervise the repair and assembly of muskets for the town of Providence. He also seems to have been the agent who procured the services of the various gunmakers for the town. His bill from June 28, 1775, to February 22, 1776, includes the services of Thomas Bicknell, Edward Martin, Stephen Jenks, Elihu Peck, Prince Keen, Christopher Barney, Martin Thurber, and John Humphrey.[4]

THURBER, Martin (1775-1776)
Providence. Martin Thurber made cartridge boxes, bayonet belts, scabbards, and gun trimmings for the town of Providence. There is extant one of his bills for fifty-one cartridge boxes and 102 Bayonet belts.[5]

TUCKERMAN, Isaac (1776)
On February 25, 1776, Isaac Tuckerman submitted a bill to the town of Providence for repairing forty-seven arms belonging to the town.[6]

TYLER, WILLIAM (b. 1731 - d. 1816)
Providence. William Tyler was a Providence merchant who, with William Rhodes, another Providence merchant, became arms contractors under the Act of 1798.[7] This activity seems to have been the only venture for these two gentlemen in the armaments field. See also "Rhodes, William."

V

VAUGH, Daniel (1756)
In September of 1756, gunsmith Daniel Vaugh submitted a petition to the Rhode Island General Assembly for an increase in salary.[8]

W

WEHOSKEY BROTHERS (1877-1884)
Providence. In 1877 C. A. Wehoskey and F. O. Wehoskey are listed as working together at 20 Dorrance Street. From 1878 to 1884, only F. O. Wehoskey is listed as working at the Dorrance Street address.[9]

WELLS, John (1777)
Providence. Paper cartridge maker.[10]

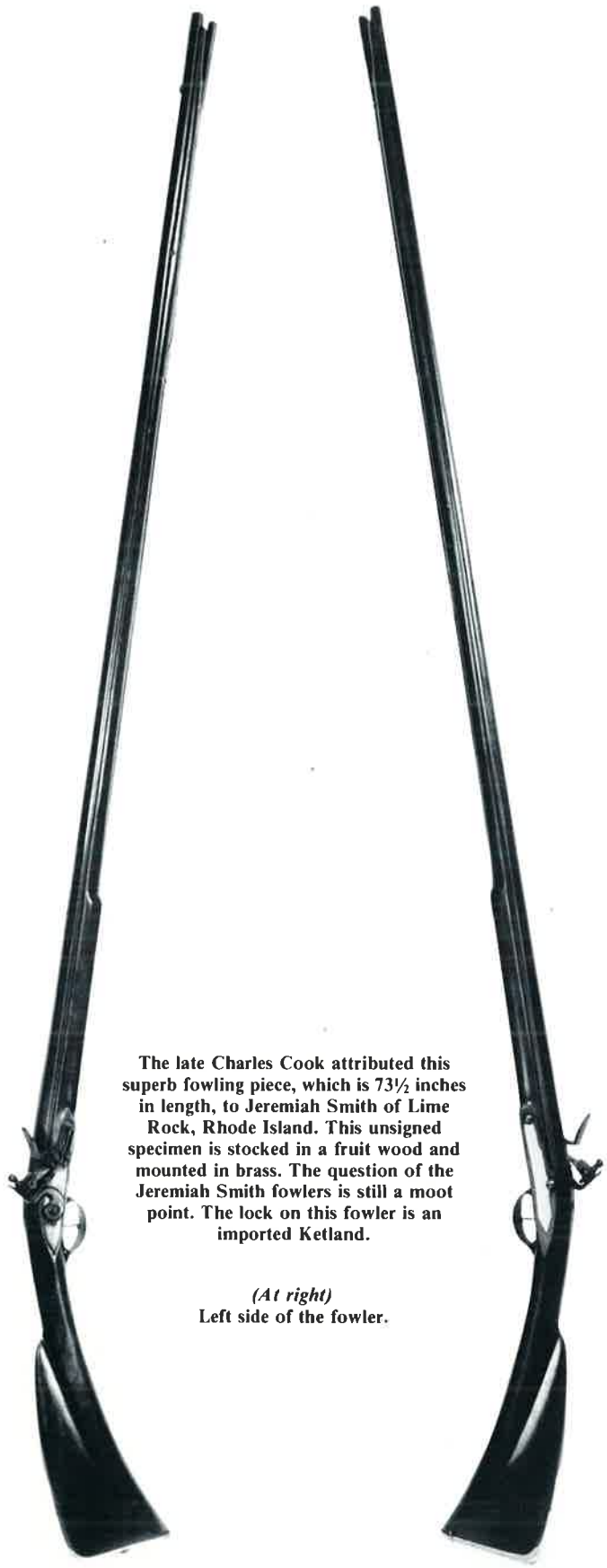
WILLIAMS, Waterman (1777)
Providence. Paper cartridge maker.[11]

WOOLEY, EMANUEL (1667)
See "Audley, John."

Y

YORK, Sanders (1854-1857)
Westerly.[12]

A close-up view of the lock and trigger guard of the Jeremiah Smith fowler which is placed next to two items of Revolutionary War vintage: a leather hat of the Newport Light Infantry and a carved powder horn of scenes of Providence in 1777. The powder horn, which was made by Charles Hewit in Providence and dated February 19, 1777, is quite rare since there is only one other carved horn known which relates to Providence during the Revolutionary War.
(Warren Moore Collection)



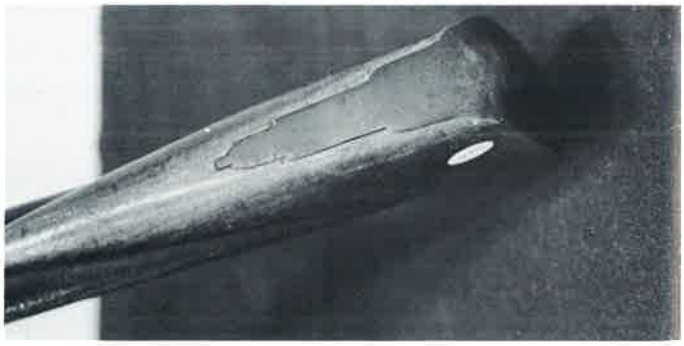
The late Charles Cook attributed this superb fowling piece, which is 73½ inches in length, to Jeremiah Smith of Lime Rock, Rhode Island. This unsigned specimen is stocked in a fruit wood and mounted in brass. The question of the Jeremiah Smith fowlers is still a moot point. The lock on this fowler is an imported Ketland.

(At right)
Left side of the fowler.

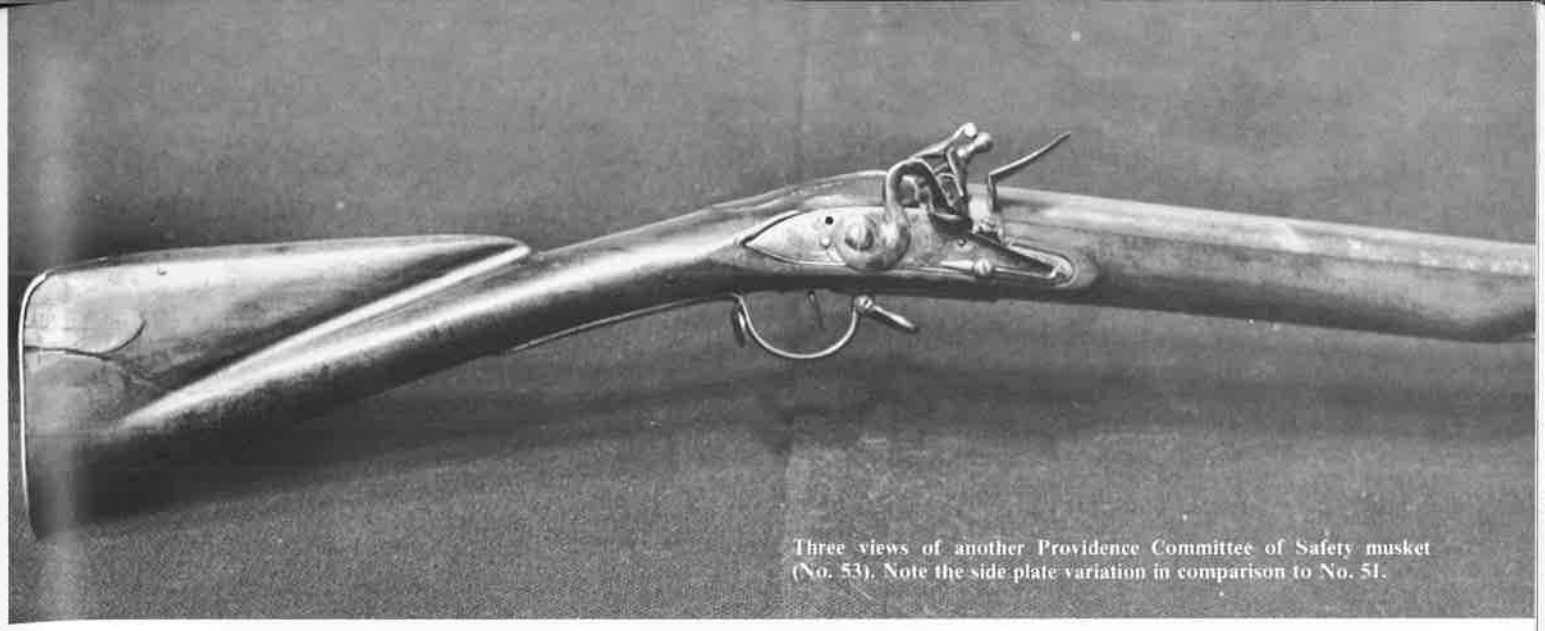
(a)

(b)

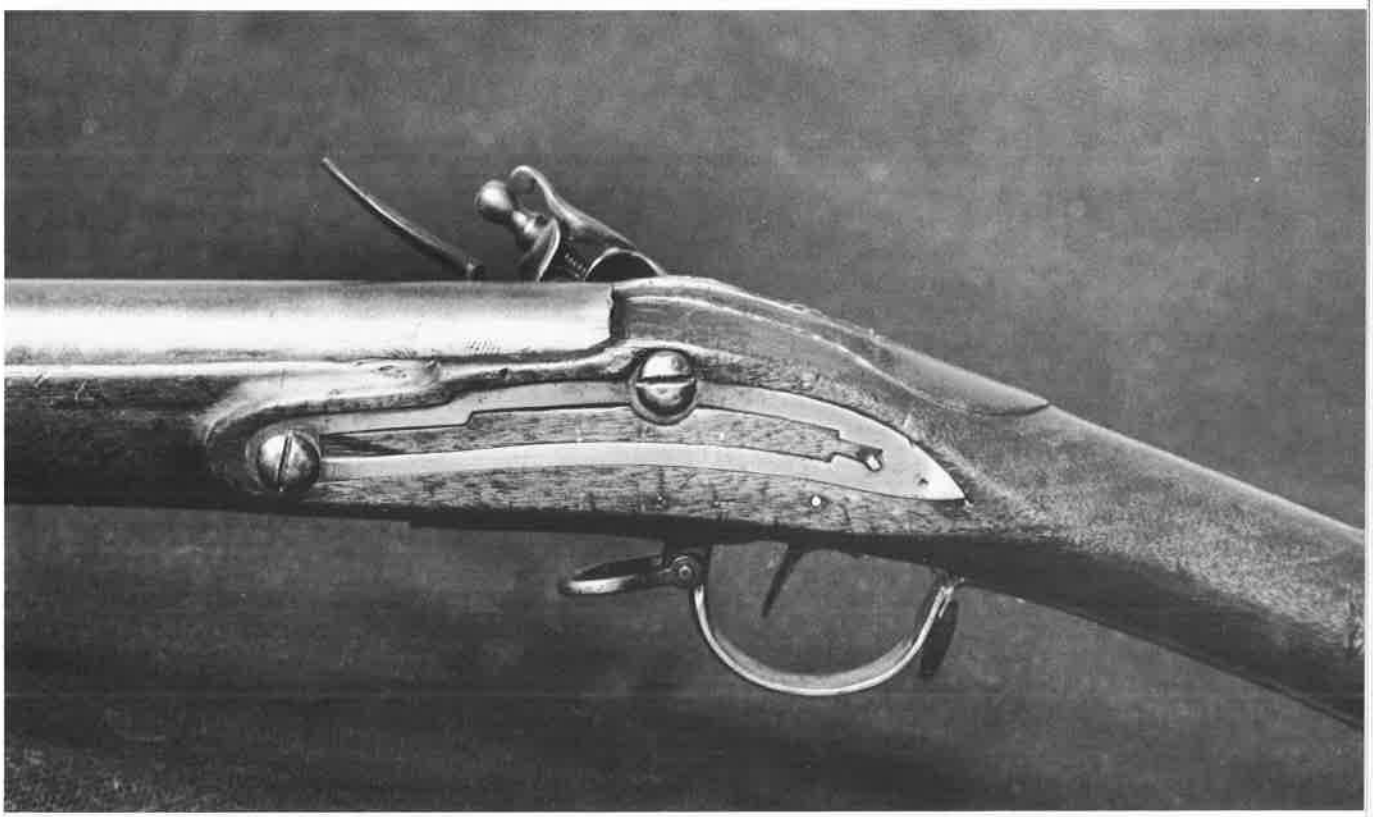
(c)

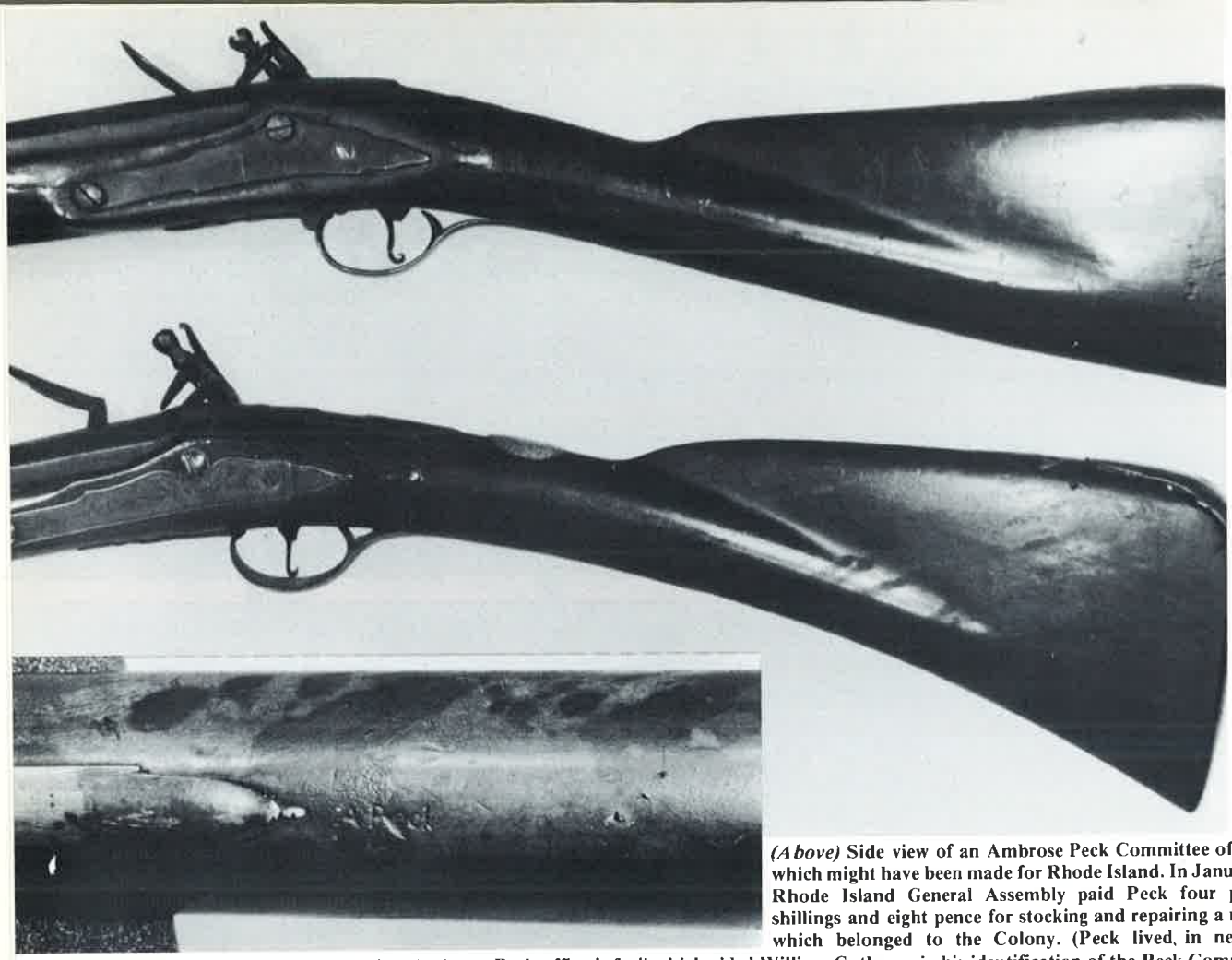


(a) **All factors indicate that this specimen is a Providence Committee of Safety musket manufactured in Providence during the period of 1775-1776 under the supervision of Benjamin Thurber. (Thurber's bills are still extant in the Providence Town Papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society.) Note the French sporting lock.** (Al Thompson Collection) ***(b)*** **Sideplate of the Committee of Safety musket.** (Al Thompson Collection) ***(c)*** **The inscribed "Prov D N° 51" on the musket's buttplate probably indicate town property. In 1926, Charles Cook described two similar pieces (N° 53 and N° 83) in his unpublished notes.** (Al Thompson Collection)



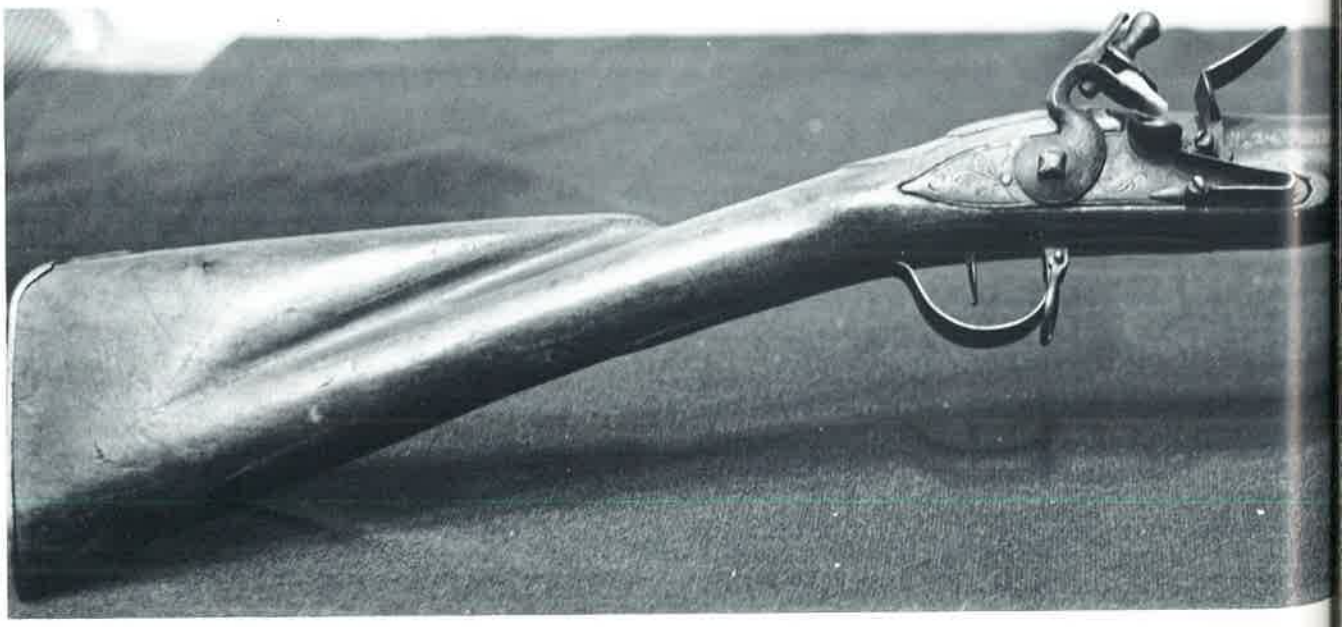
Three views of another Providence Committee of Safety musket (No. 53). Note the side plate variation in comparison to No. 51.





(Above) Side view of an Ambrose Peck Committee of Safety Musket which might have been made for Rhode Island. In January of 1776, the Rhode Island General Assembly paid Peck four pounds, twelve shillings and eight pence for stocking and repairing a number of guns which belonged to the Colony. (Peck lived, in nearby Swansea, Massachusetts.) *(Below)* Side view of an Ambrose Peck officer's fusil which aided William Guthman in his identification of the Peck Committee of Safety specimen. (Guthman Collection) *(Insert)* The name "A. Peck" impressed behind the trigger guard of the Ambrose Peck officer's fusil. This same impression, stamped twice, is in the same location on the cherry stocked, 46 inch barrel, musket. (Guthman Collection)

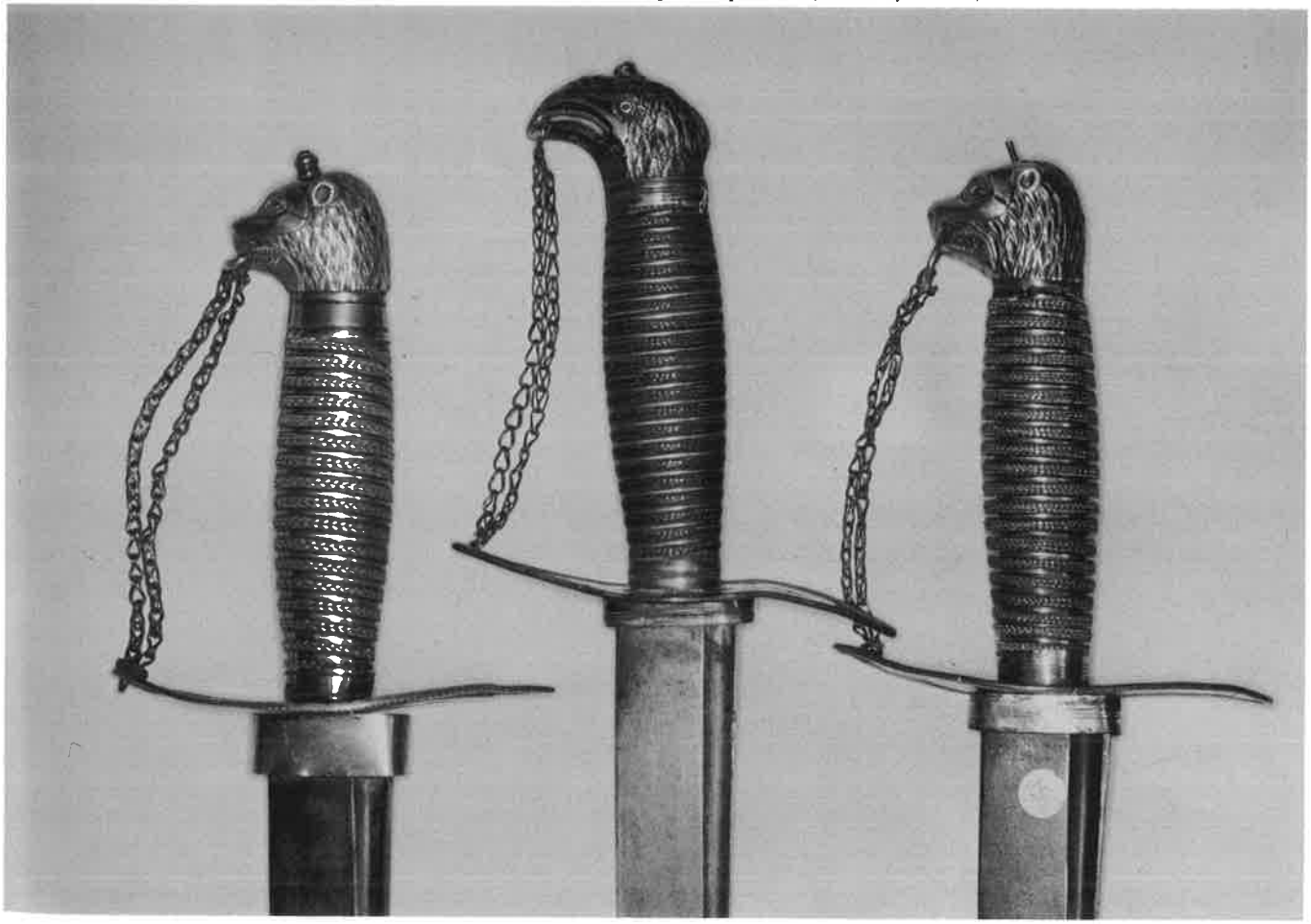
Providence Committee of Safety Musket; Overall length - 59½ inches; Bore - about .75 caliber; the barrel length - 44 inches. The lock is signed on the inside of the plate with "E. Homer". The bayonet for this specimen bears the same number (51) as is stamped on the buttplate.

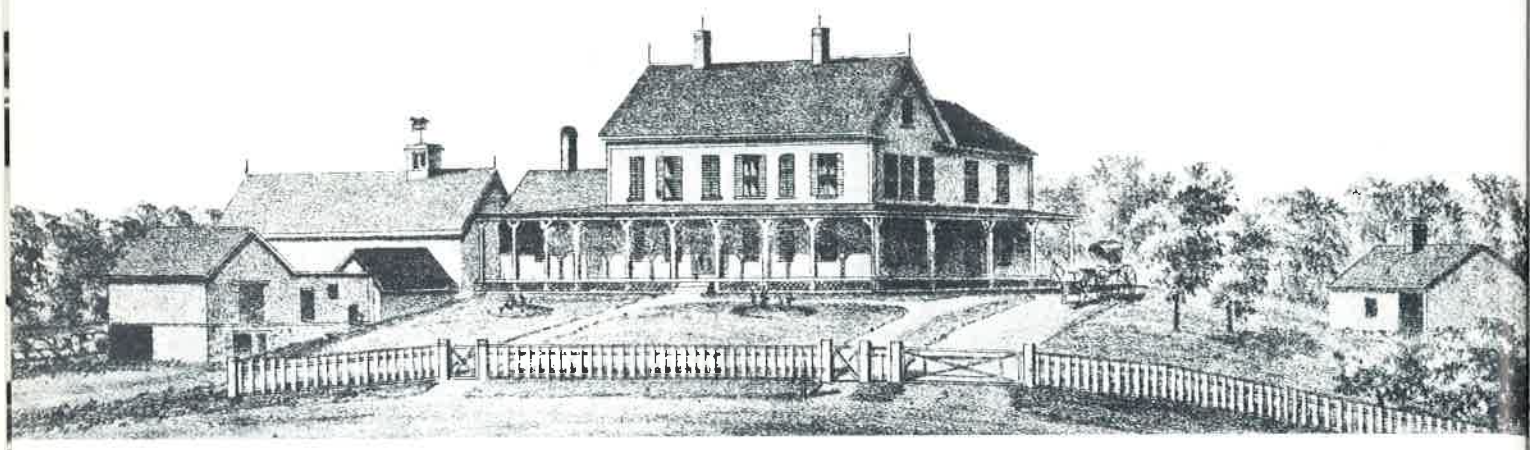


Cartouche on 4 pound *Hope Furnace Cannon.*

A business card of Providence gunsmith Matthew S. Cushman (1777-1811) engraved by the noted Providence engraver William Hamlin (1772-1869). (Rhode Island Historical Society)

While the exact geographical origin of these distinctive military hangers is yet unknown, nearly every specimen uncovered to date traces its roots to the immediate Rhode Island area. The identifying characteristics are not necessarily unique-individually however, in combination, there is little doubt but that they indicate the work of a single maker. An additional point of interest is the early use of sheet silver fused to copper, particularly on the guard. This technique, later called *Sheffielding,* was still the closely held craft of English cutlers — rather than silversmiths — in the 1760's. It was employed on sword hardware for its functional attributes and was not a ruse to cheapen the product. (A. Mowbray Collection)

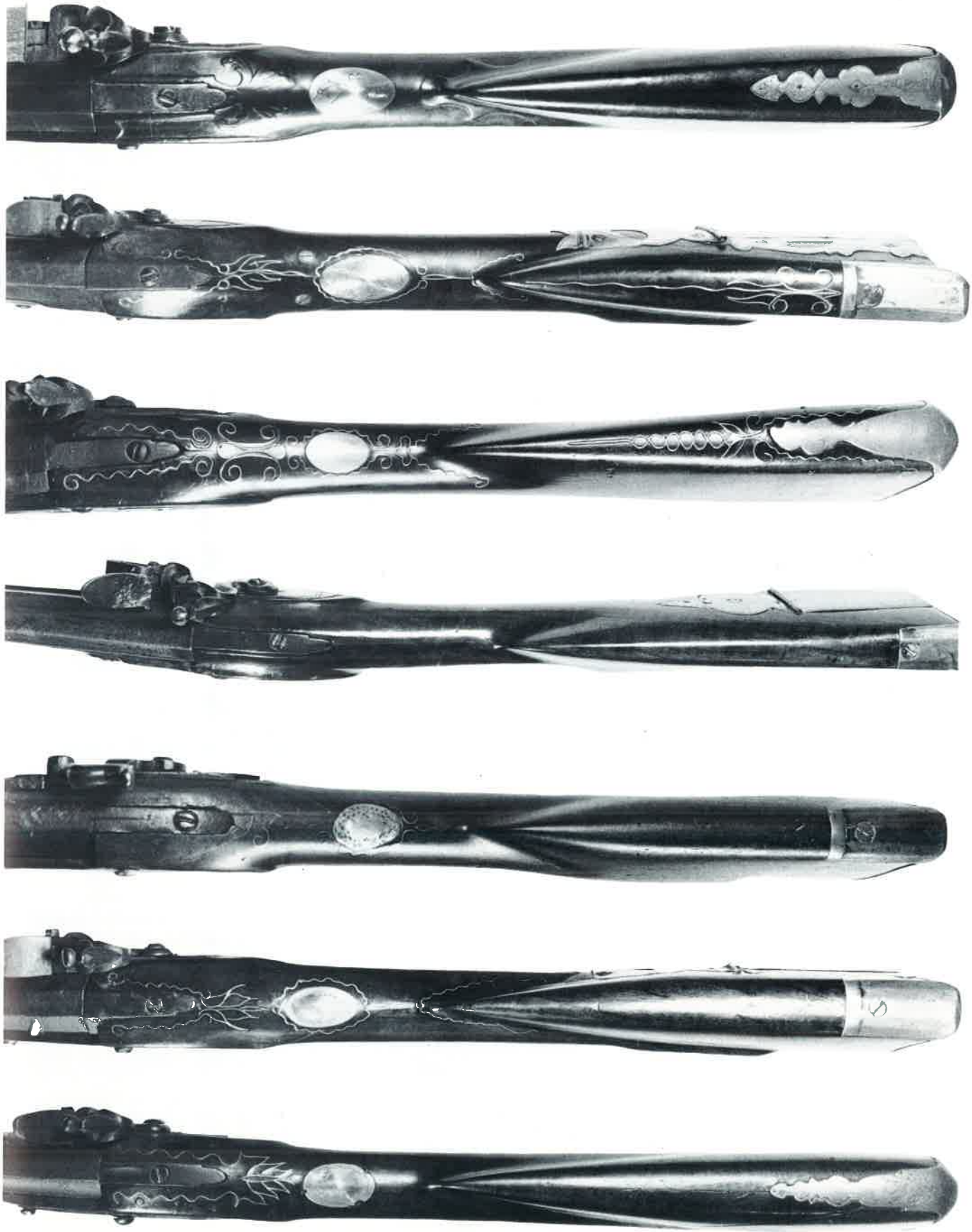




A late nineteenth century illustration of Welcome Mathewson's home in Burrillville, Rhode Island. His small gunshop, razed in the 1930's as an eyesore, is to the extreme right of the photograph.

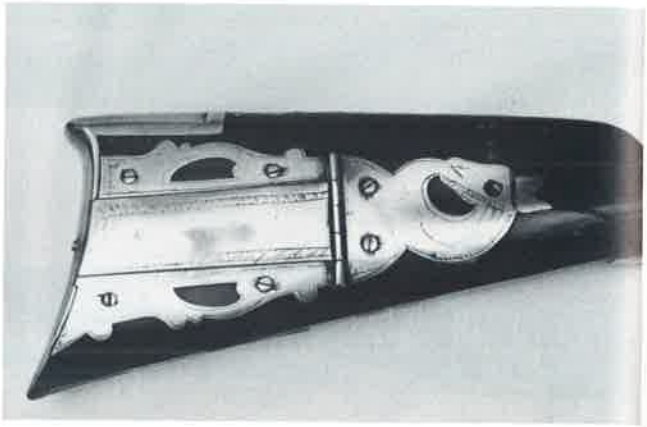
Welcome Mathewson's signature on a legal document.

Welcome Mathewson's personal rifle and horn. Both pieces are signed. This .54 caliber rifle is, without a doubt, one of the finest New England flintlock rifles known.



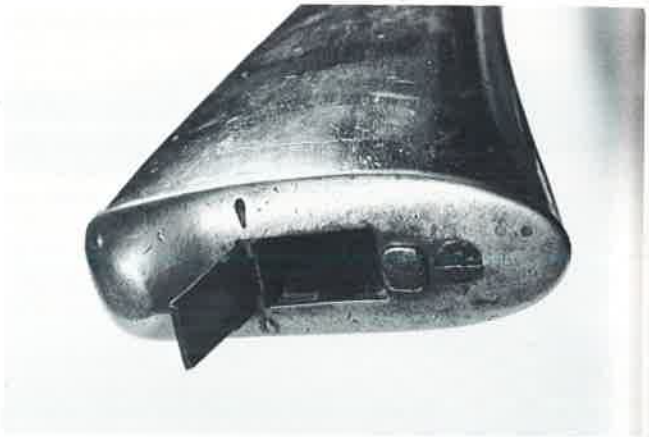
An overview comparison of six Welcome Mathewson rifles and a G. Mathewson buck-and-ball gall

Barrel signature of Welcome Mathewson.



(Right) Welcome Mathewson's favorite patchbox design. The two dimensional limitations of the photograph hardly do justice to the craftsmanship of the inlay work.

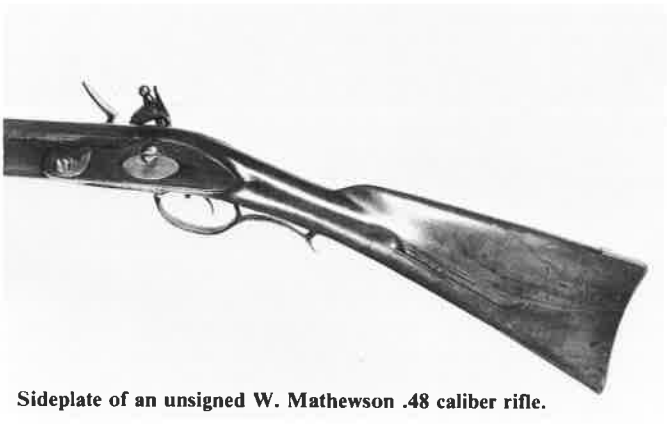
(Below) Raised silver thumb piece and raised shell carving around the tang of the G. Mathewson gun. (Photo courtesy of the Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont)



(Right) A unique feature of a G. Mathewson 'buck-and-ball' gun. What appears to be a butt compartment for cleaning tools is actually a compartment for the gun's triangular socket bayonet!

An unsigned .48 caliber Welcome Mathewson rifle.

Sideplate of a G. Mathewson "buck-and-ball" gun.



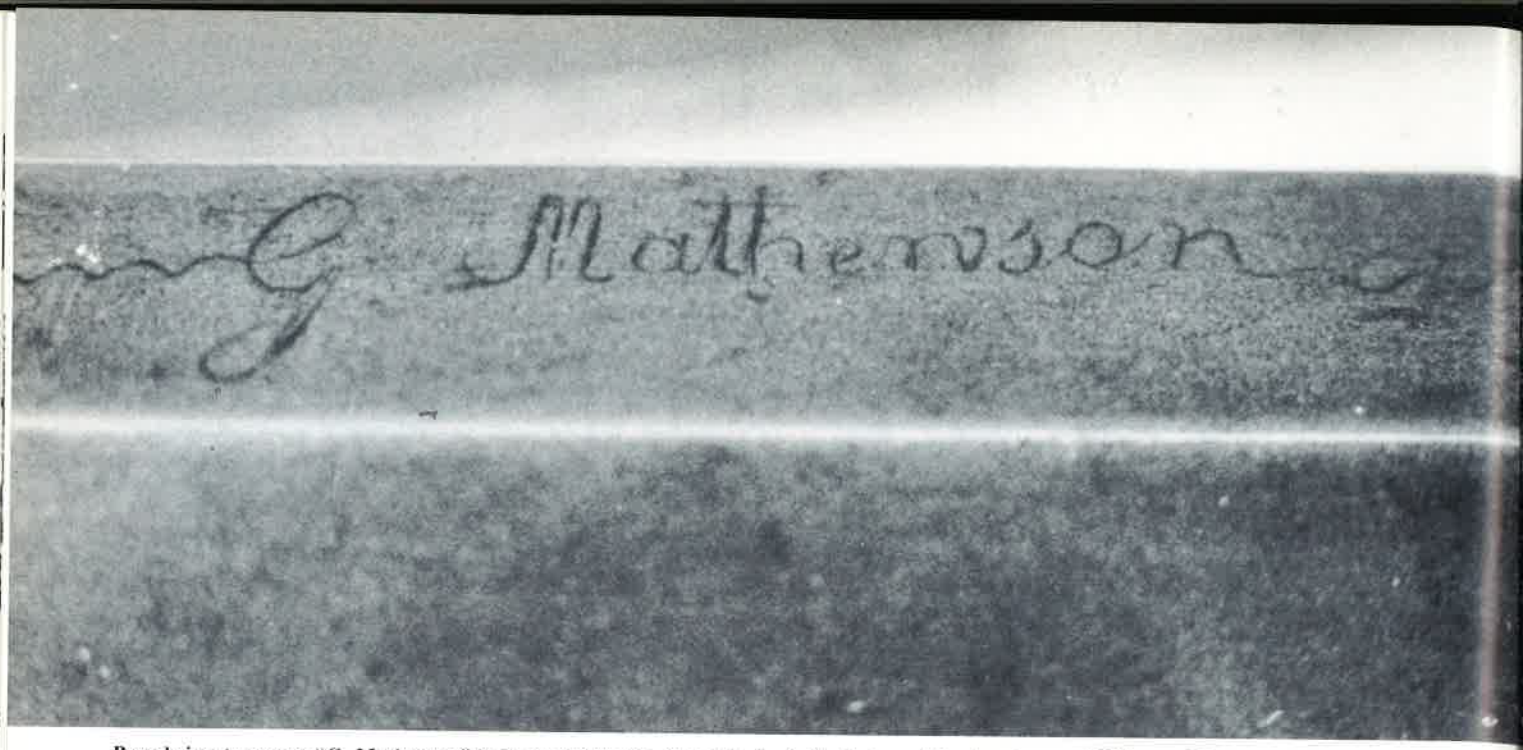
Sideplate of an unsigned W. Mathewson .48 caliber rifle.

Sideplate of an unsigned W. Mathewson fowler.

Sideplate of a W. Mathewson fowler (signed).

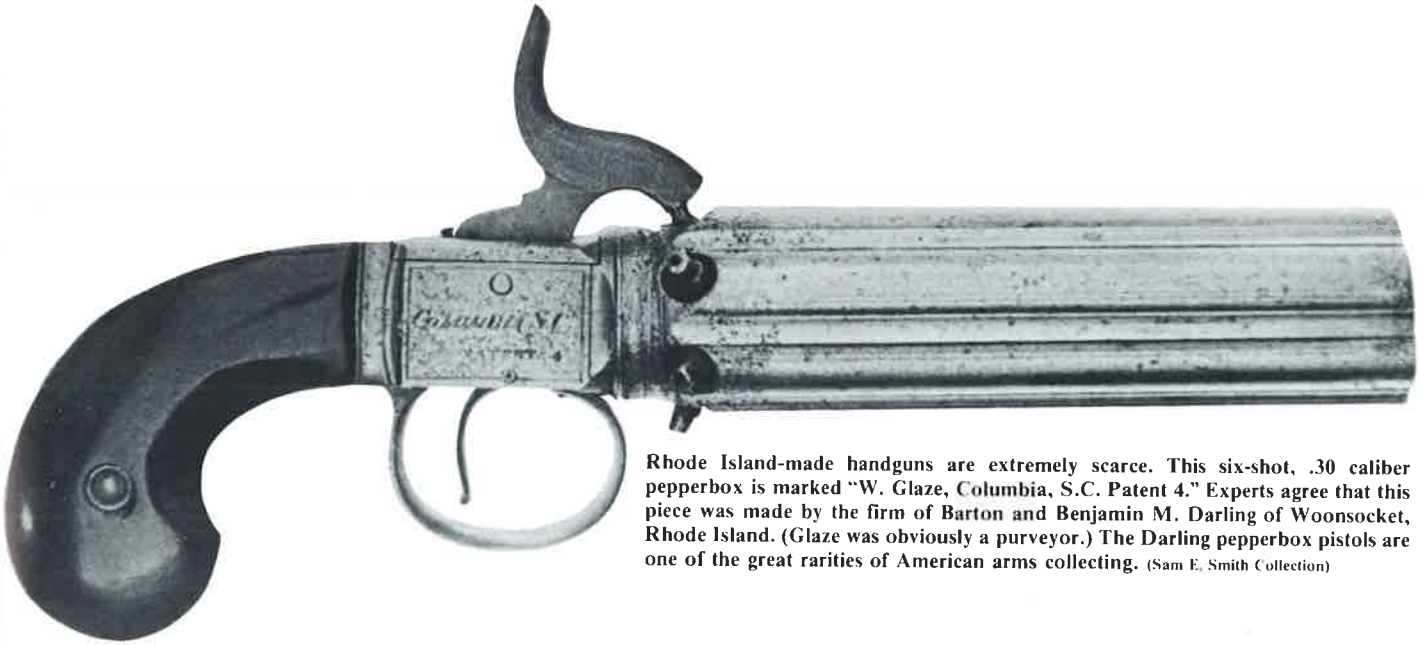
Sideplate of a .55 caliber W. Mathewson rifle (signed).

Two examples of the unique geometric designs executed in silver wire on two signed Welcome Mathewson rifles.



Barrel signature on a "G. Mathewson" Buck-and-Ball gun. Note the similarity between this signature and Welcome Mathewson's.

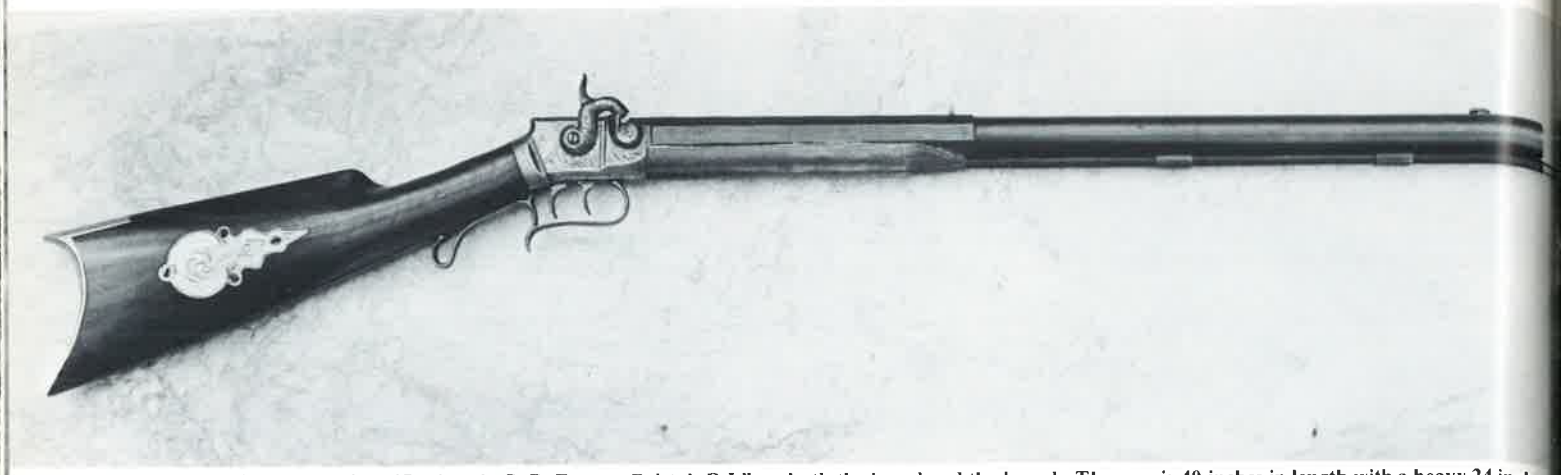
Close up of the lock of a Jenks musket. Some Jenks muskets are also dated on the lockplates.



Rhode Island-made handguns are extremely scarce. This six-shot, .30 caliber pepperbox is marked "W. Glaze, Columbia, S.C. Patent 4." Experts agree that this piece was made by the firm of Barton and Benjamin M. Darling of Woonsocket, Rhode Island. (Glaze was obviously a purveyor.) The Darling pepperbox pistols are one of the great rarities of American arms collecting. (Sam E. Smith Collection)

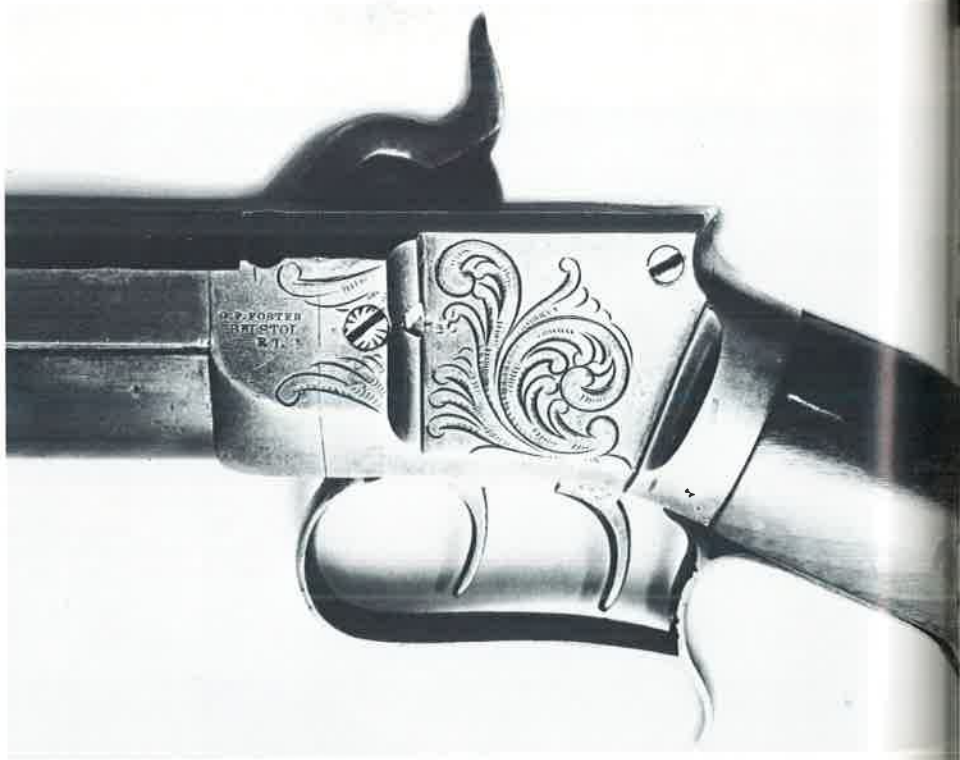
A sporting gun, half-stocked in curly maple and signed "Peckham and Barker." Peckham and Barker operated a hardware store in Providence from 1823 to 1826.

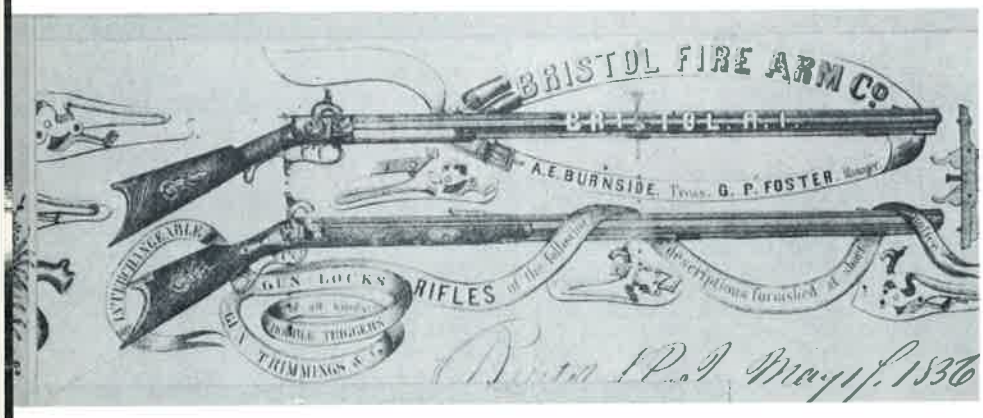
(A. Mowbray Collection)



(Top) A .40 caliber percussion rifle signed "G. P. Foster - Bristol, R.I." on both the barrel and the breech. The arm is 40 inches in length with a heavy 24 inch octagon-to-round barrel. The lock mechanism and the iron forestock are features found on most Foster rifles from both Taunton, Massachusetts, and Bristol, Rhode Island. This specimen bears all the marks of a production gun with serial numbering of major components (including the stock). In the opinion of the author, this rifle, and all other Foster - Bristol rifles, were made under George Pratt Foster's auspices at the Bristol Firearm Company by the same workmen who made the first model Burnside breechloaders.

(Right) George Pratt Foster's stamp on the breech of one of his Bristol rifles.





(Left) Part of the letterhead of the Bristol Firearm Company on an invoice dated May 1, 1856, which lists Ambrose Burnside as company treasurer and George Pratt Foster as plant manager. The illustration gives a good idea of the varied products of the Bristol firm which many writers have restricted to the production of the early Burnside breechloaders. The top rifle is quite clearly a typical, George Pratt Foster iron-forestocked arm. (Riling collection)

A period photo of the Burnside Rifle Company on Hemlock and Valley Streets. The same building housed the Rhode Island Locomotive Works, the firm which evolved from Burnside Rifle. (Rhode Island Historical Society)

Charles Jackson (1797-1876), politician and entrepreneur, was the revitalizing agent in the faltering Bristol Firearms Company. He later became one of the founders of the Burnside Rifle Company.
(Rhode Island Historical Society)

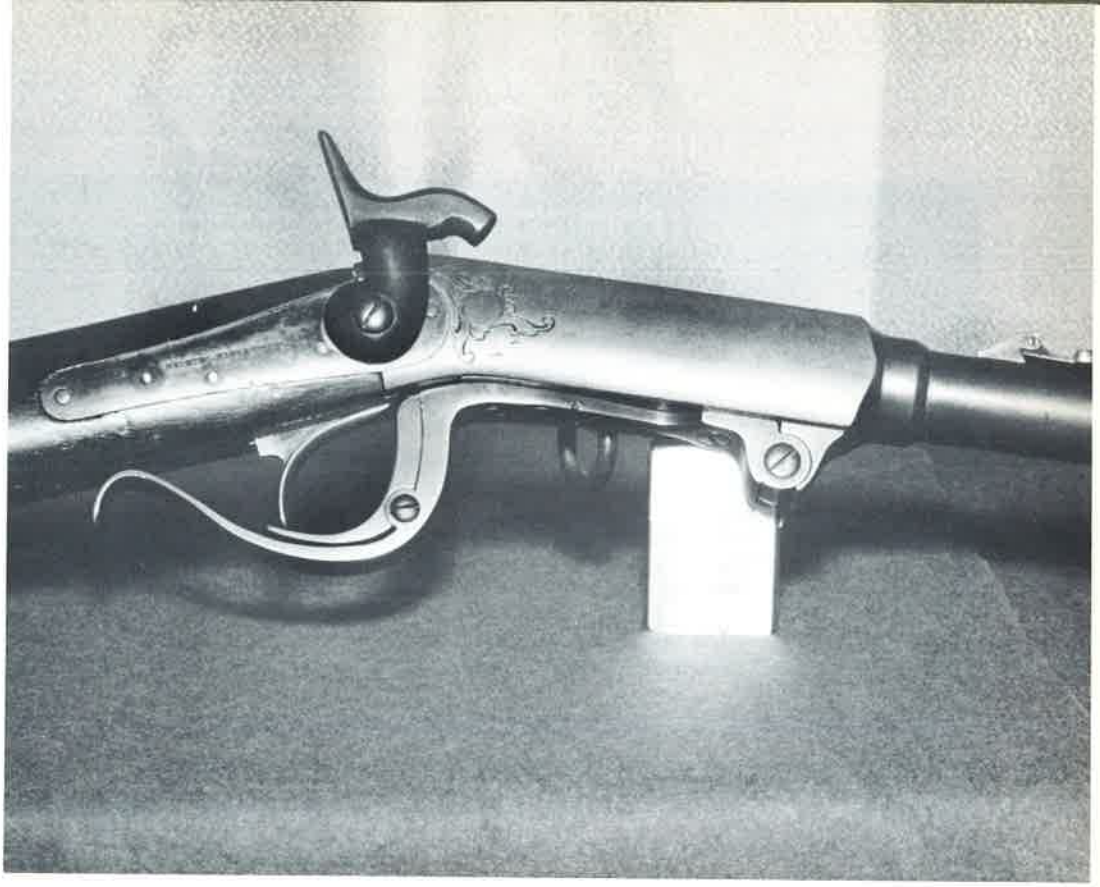
A postwar photograph of Ambrose E. Burnside (1824-1881). To the author's knowledge, there is no known photograph of Burnside holding one of his carbines.

Post-War Burnside Sporter (Bristol Preservation Society)

The patent model of the Burnside breechloader. (Smithsonian Institution)

A fourth model carbine with the breech open demonstrating the pivoted block — the patented improvement of Dr. Isaac Hartshorn.

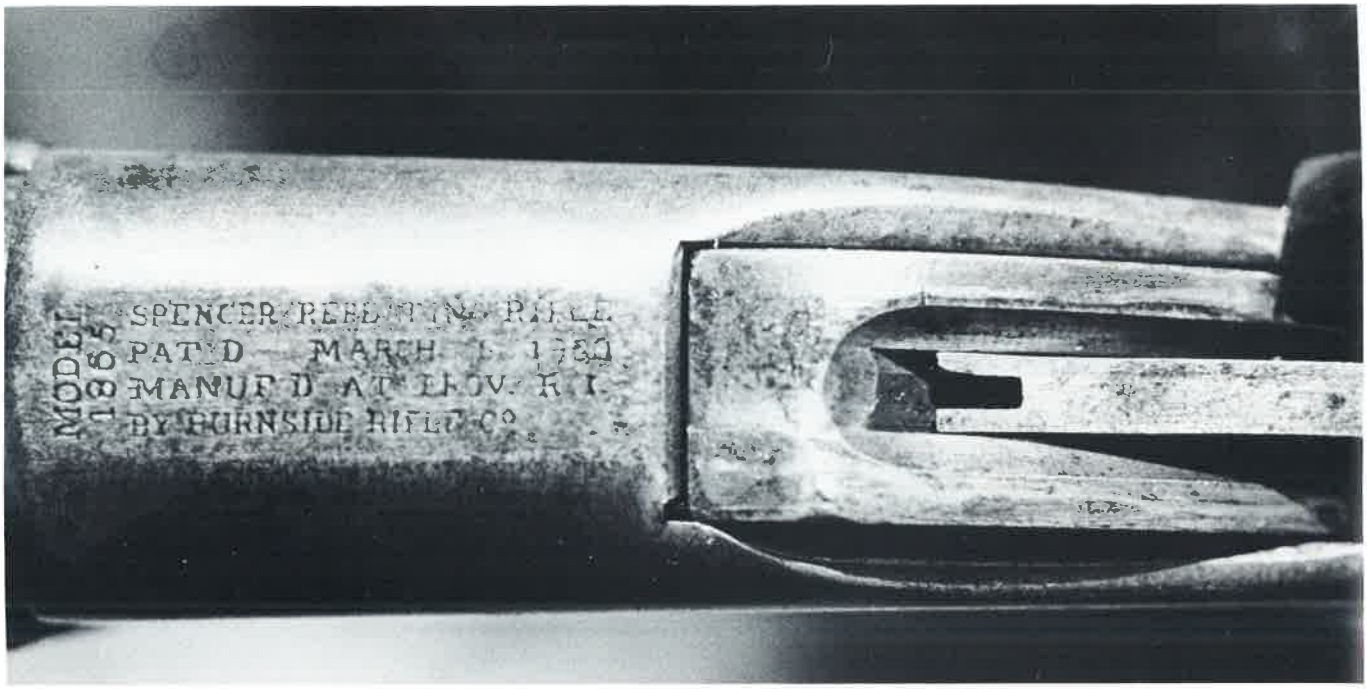
The stamping of the Foster patent on the locking mechanism for the Burnside breechloaders, second, third, and fourth models. The stamping is found on the second model.



A first model military carbine which has been converted to second model specifications. Note the engraving which borders the filled hole left by the removal of the first model locking lever. (Jack Molloy Collection)

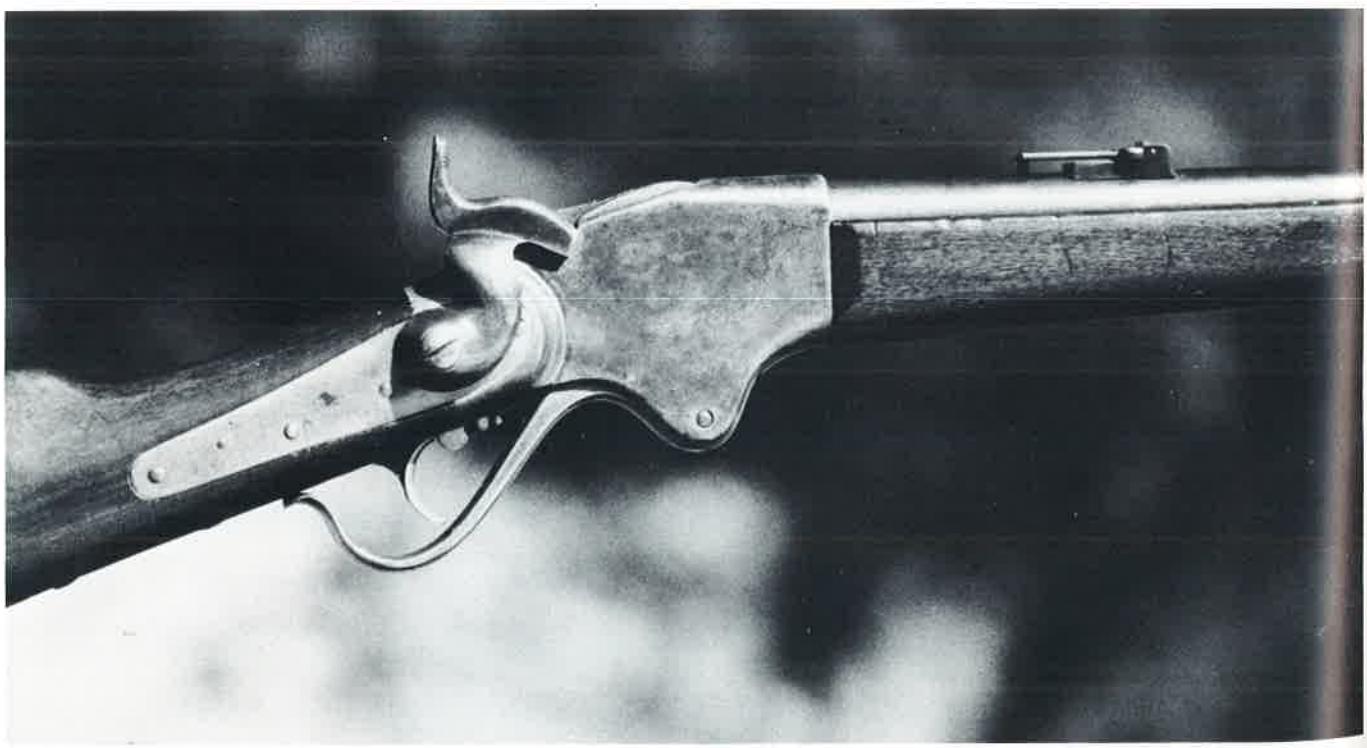
A superb example of the First Model Burnside breechloader, sporting model. (Smithsonian Institution)

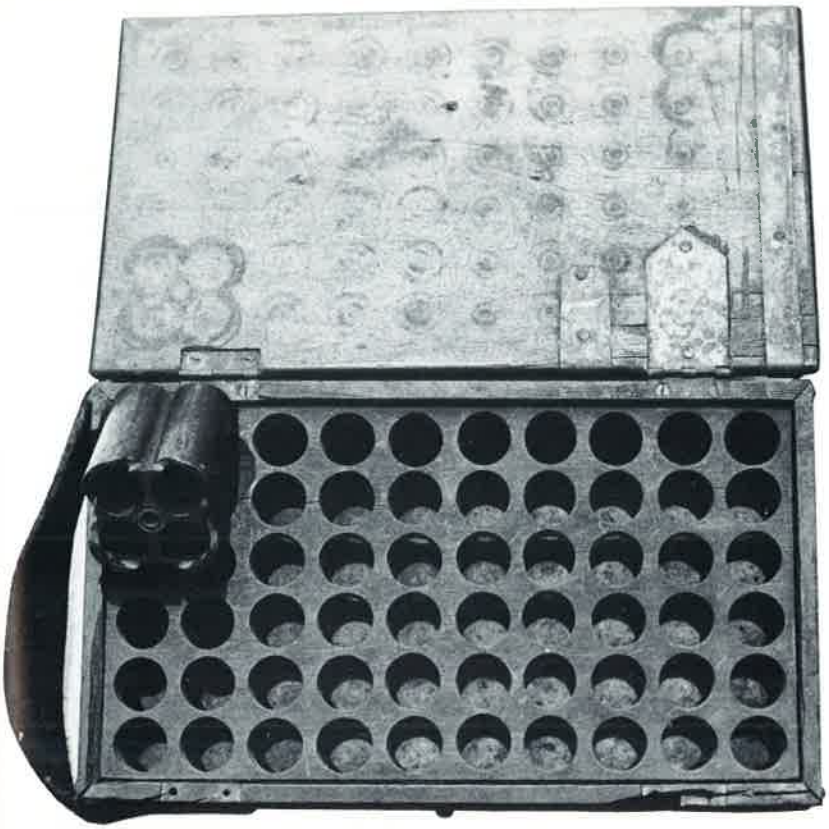
A first model Burnside carbine, military model, manufactured by the Bristol Firearm Company in Bristol, Rhode Island. The author is of the opinion that the early models of the Burnside carbine were a product of the collaboration of Ambrose Burnside and George Foster. (West Point Museum Collection)



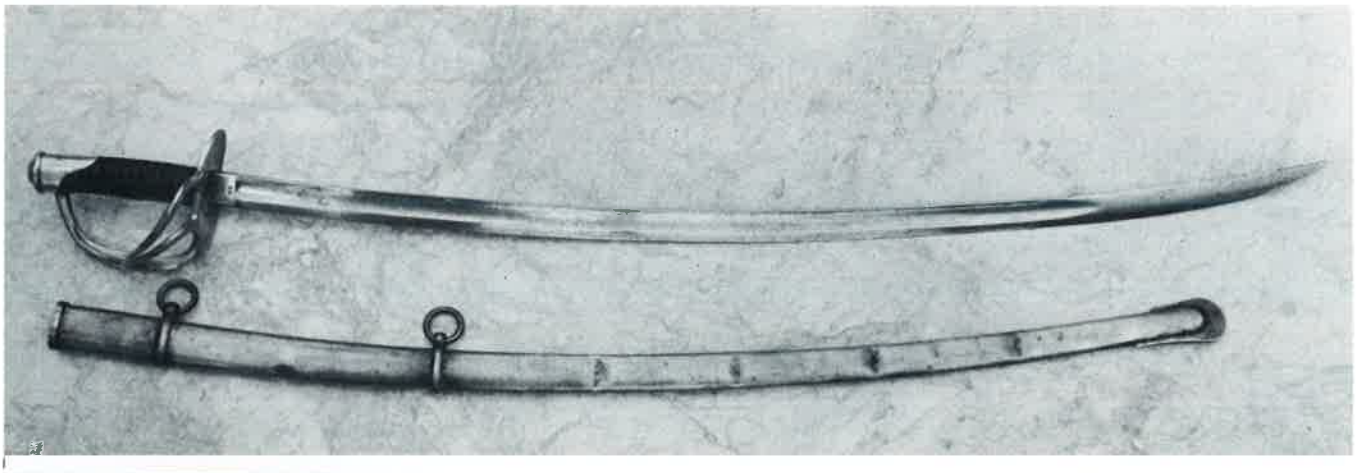
Burnside Rifle Company stamping on the top of the receiver of a Spencer carbine that was altered to a rifle musket at the Springfield Armory. Such stampings on these conversions are usually somewhat light since the metal was often refinished in the conversion process.

A Burnside Spencer that was converted to a rifle musket at the Springfield Armory. Between July 1870 and June 1872, the Armory converted 1109 Burnside Spencer carbines.



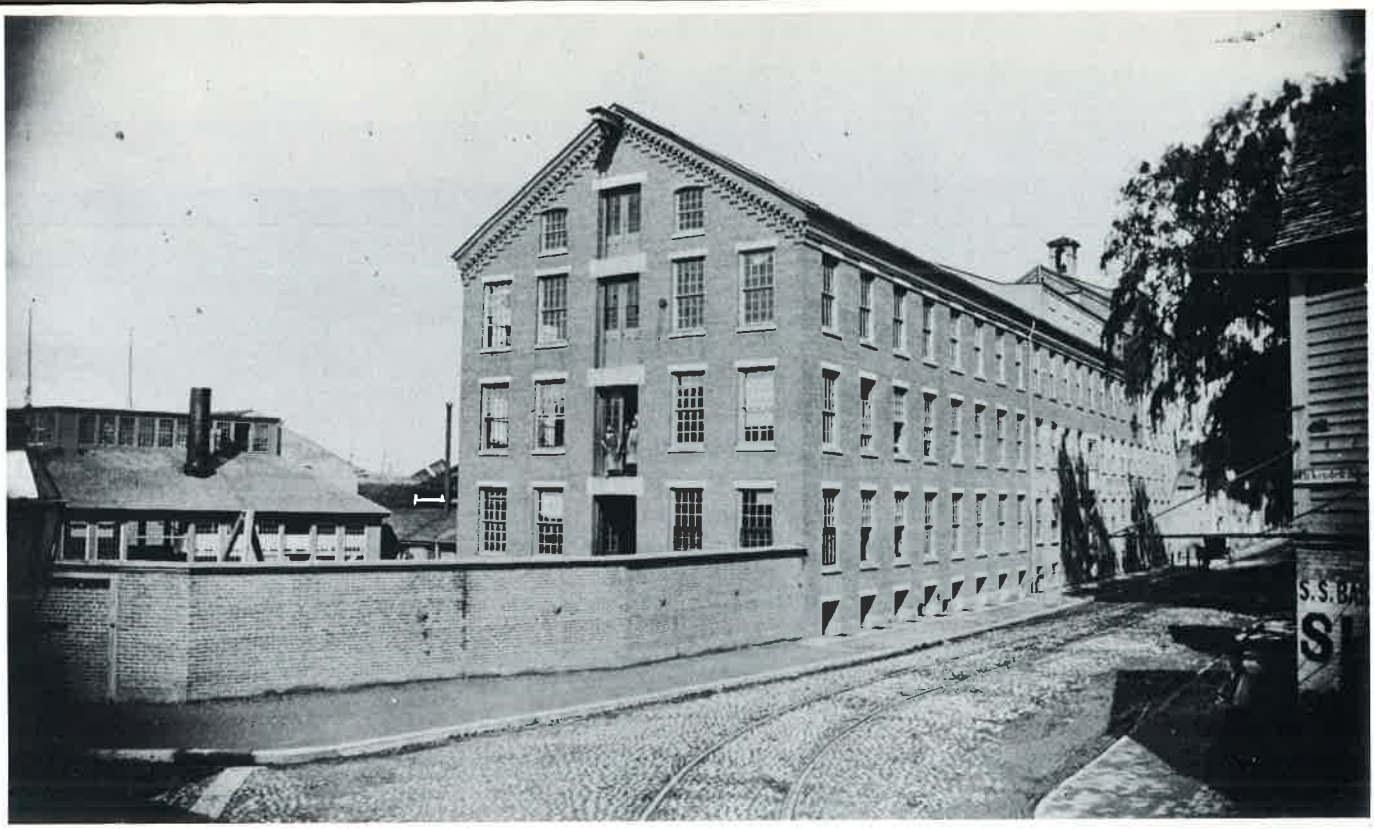


Close up detail of an unmarked cylinder for 4, 12 gauge shotgun shells. Although it is unmarked, the piece is quite close to the patent specifications of Providence gunsmith James A. Crocker's revolving shotgun which, apparently, never went into production.



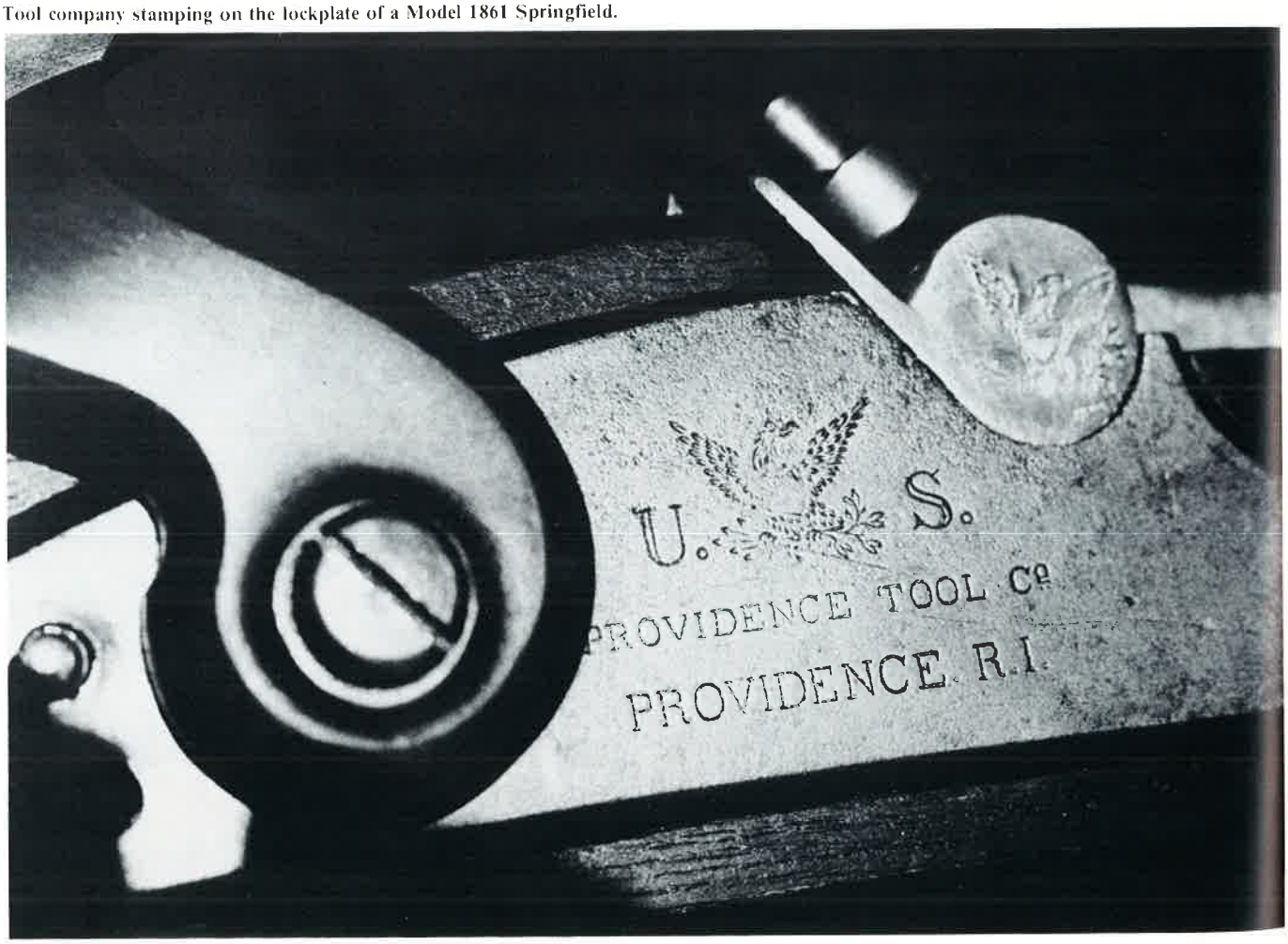
(Above) Model 1860 light cavalry saber produced in northern Rhode Island by Mansfield and Lamb.

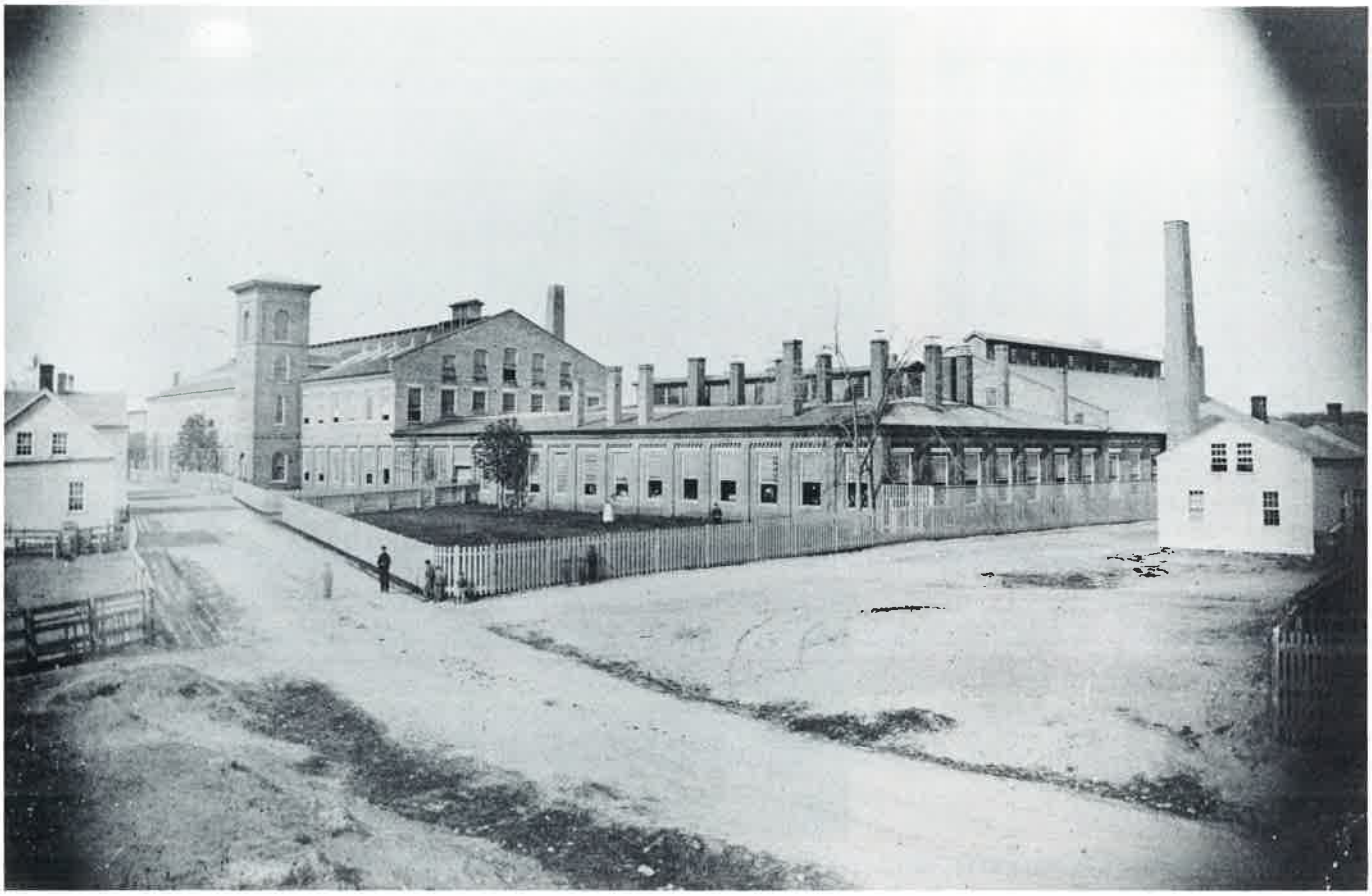
(Left) The Mansfield and Lamb marking on a light U.S. cavalry sabre. The firm in Forestdale, Rhode Island, sold 37,500 sabres to the federal government during the Civil War.



Providence Tool's Armory (circa 1878), the Wickenden Street Mill, was also called the "downtown shop" or Plant No. 1. (Rhode Island Historical Society)

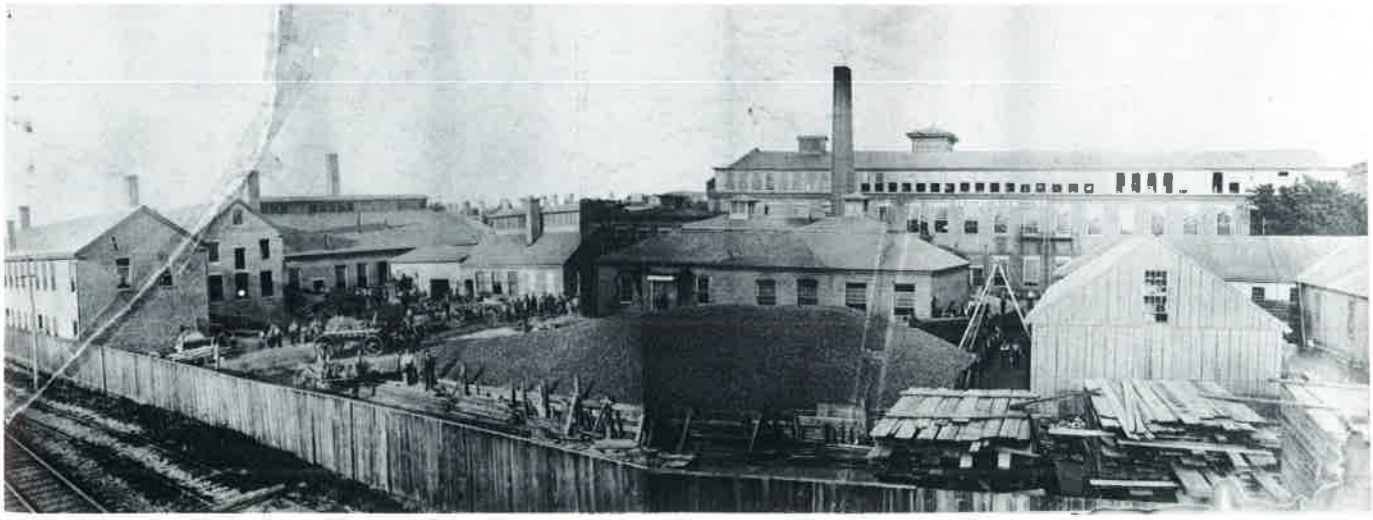
Tool company stamping on the lockplate of a Model 1861 Springfield.





A front view of the Providence Tool West River Street mill. The photograph dates from the Civil War when the tool company was in the midst of its wartime contracts. (Rhode Island Historical Society)

Prov. Tools West River Street plant — rear view 1860's.

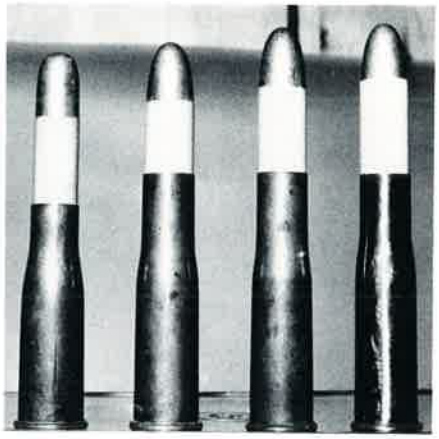


Deer hunting scenes adorn the breech of this Peabody-Martini mid-range rifle in the *What Cheer* pattern. (J. Cairns Collection)

Left side of the same rifle. Engraving work on Providence Tool match rifles, a far cry from routine production work, is quite fascinating. Although the rifle is stamped on the reverse side with the name "Wolcott", which appears to be the name of the engraver, a number of arms students have remarked on the similarity between this engraving and the work of arms engraver Louis Daniel Nimschke (1832-1904).

Right side of the breech of a No. 2 Peabody-Martini Mid-Range Pattern Rifle. (Note the signature of the engraver on the cocking indicator.) The mid range rifles were offered in two grades in the company brochures: "No. 1. Half octagon steel Barrel. 28 or 30 inches long. Caliber 40/100. Weight 9 to 9½ lbs. Pull of trigger, 3 lbs. Stock, hand made from selected black walnut, highly polished, with pistol grip; grip and fore end handsomely checked; hollow butt plate. Peep rear sight, with vernier scale; globe and open bead front sight, with wind gauge and spirit level. Price, $75.00. No. 2 same as above, except it has no pistol grip. Price — with spirit level — $65.00 — without spirit level — $60.00. Note, there are also extant mid range rifles which are not engraved.

Comparison of the Peabody-Martini B-Model rifle (length - 49 inches) and the carbine (length - 37½ inches).



Cartridges for the Providence Tool arms often command premium prices from collectors. No. 1 - .40-90 *What Cheer* cartridge by U.M.C. No. 2, 3, and 4 are .44-95 *What Cheer* cartridges.
(Randy Long Collection)

A Spanish Model Peabody rifle originally manufactured for the French government. French Ordnance notes for April of 1874 list an inventory of 30,000 Peabody-type rifles in French arsenals. (A year earlier the French government had sold almost 9000 Peabody rifles to foreign governments.) Because of the numerous variations in contract models, the Peabody represents an interesting collecting area which has up to this time evoked only a mild response from the American arms student. From the point-of-view of the collector, the most desirable items in the Peabody series are the carbines and the sporting guns.

A superb example of Providence Tool Company craftsmanship, this Peabody-Martini rifle may have been originally ordered by a wealthy Turkish private citizen through Colonel Tevfik, or it could have been intended for the Sultan. It is stocked in select grain black walnut, with a checkered grip and forearm. The metal surfaces are engraved with various hunting scenes and the imperial Ottoman cipher and gold plated. It is fitted with a quadrangular socket bayonet, also gold wash. The engraver is unknown, but is possibly the Gorham Company, Providence silversmiths. The barrel bears the Providence Tool Company name and address, a feature found only on the firm's best arms.

The rifle apparently never left the United States. It hung for many years in John Anthony's home following the demise of the Tool Company. There have been rumors of a few other gold plated Peabody-Martini rifles in Turkey, but to date these reports have not been substantiated.

John B. Anthony (1829-1904), president of the Providence Tool Company, was photographed in Constantinople in February, 1875. Shortly after he had received the Order of the Osmani Second Class for his work in the Turkish re-armament program.

Illustrations from one of the last Providence Tool catalogs.

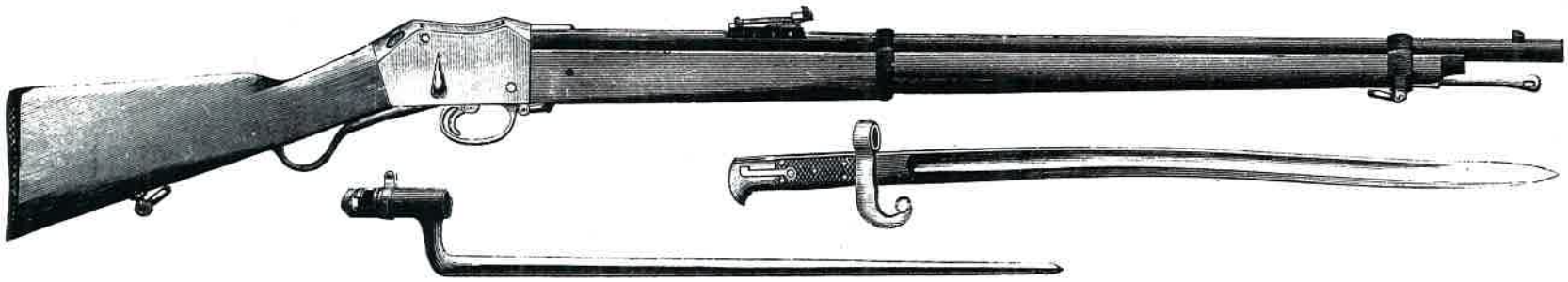
PLATE No. 4.

PEABODY-MARTINI MILITARY RIFLE.

WITH QUADRANGULAR AND SABRE BAYONETS.

3,300,000 SHOTS FIRED.

From 550,000 of these Rifles, by United States Government Inspectors, at the Providence Tool Company's Works, WITHOUT ACCIDENT.



200,000 SERVICE CHARGES have been fired from a regular Military Rifle, Turkish Model,
without injury to the breech mechanism,
and without impairing the efficiency or accuracy of the Rifle.

Entire Length of Peabody-Martini Military Rifle, ... 49 inches.

Length of Barrel, ... 32½ inches.
Weight, without Bayonet, ... 8½ pounds.
Length of Quadrangular Bayonet, ... 23¼ inches.
Length of Blade of Quadrangular Bayonet, ... 20¼ inches.

Weight of Quadrangular Bayonet, ... 15 ounces.
Entire Length of Sabre Bayonet, ... 28-7/16 inches.
Length of Blade of Sabre Bayonet, ... 22-15/16 inches.
Weight of Sabre Bayonet, ... 2 pounds.

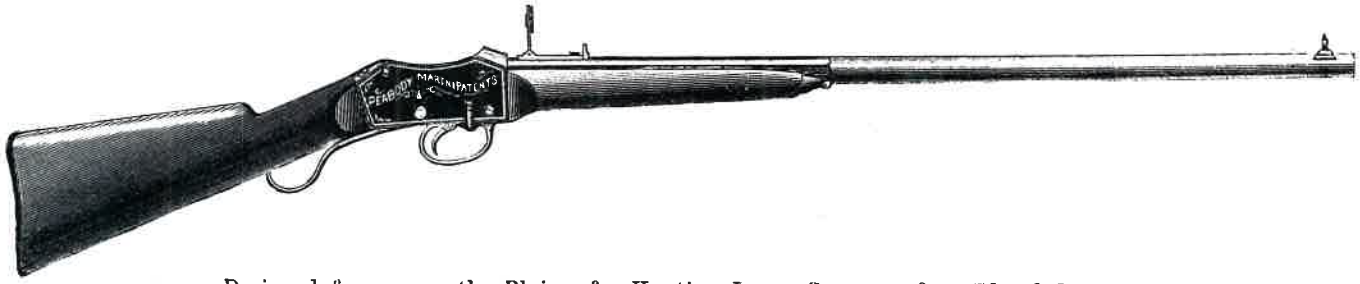
CALIBRE, $\frac{45}{100}$ INCH.

Illustrations from one of the last Providence Tool catalogs.

PLATE No. 7.

PEABODY-MARTINI HUNTING AND SPORTING RIFLE.

"KILL DEER" PATTERN.



Designed for use on the Plains, for Hunting Large Game, or for off-hand Practice

AT 100 TO 600 YARDS.

Half Octagon Steel Barrel, 28 inches long. Calibre, 45/100. Weight of rifle, 8 to 9 pounds. Pull of trigger, 3 pounds. Stock, hand made, from first class black walnut. Broad flat butt-plate. Interchangeable globe and peep and open sights.

SIGHTS CAN BE CHANGED WHILE THE GAME IS IN VIEW

CARTRIDGE USED IN THE "KILL DEER" RIFLE.

CALIBRE .45.

This cartridge is the same model as used by the U.S. Government in its Military Rifles and Carbines. Powder, 70 grains. Bullet, 3 cannelures. Weight, 405 grains.

Illustrations from one of the last Providence Tool catalogs.

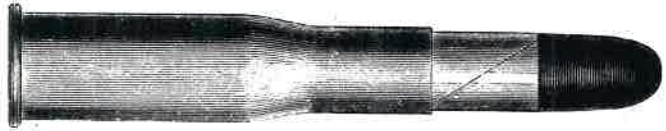
PLATE No. 6.

PEABODY-MARTINI MATCH RIFLE.

LONG RANGE "CREEDMOOR" PATTERN.

Half Octagon Steel Barrel, 32 inches long. Calibre, $\frac{44}{100}$.
Weight, just under 10 pounds. Pull of trigger, 3 pounds. Stock, hand made, from extra choice black walnut, with pistol grip, highly polished; grip and fore end checked; sides of breech frame handsomely engraved.
Peep rear sight, with vernier scale, interchangeable from wrist to heel, giving elevation for 1500 yards on wrist, or 1100 yards on heel.
Interchangeable globe and *open bead* front sight, with wind gauge and spirit level.

CARTRIDGE USED IN THE LONG RANGE "CREEDMOOR" RIFLE.



.44 CALIBRE, LONG RANGE.

Shell, 2 $\frac{5}{16}$ inches long, holding 100 to 115 grains powder. Bullet, long, smooth, patched.
Weight, 550 grains.

Notes on Sources

A

[1] *Providence Directory.*
[2] *Providence Town Papers,* No. 974.
[3] *Providence Directory.*
[4] *Providence Journal,* (December 8, 1904).
[5] *Forest and Stream;* (August 12, 1875) p. 10.
[6] *Providence Directory.*
[7] Franklin S. Coyle, *Survival of Providence Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era (1770-1785)* unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of History, Brown University, 1960, p. 41.
[8] *Hope Furnace Papers* (1781). John Carter Brown Library.
[9] Coyle, *op. cit.*
[10] John Russell Bartlett (ed), *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England* (Providence: Crawford Green and Brother, 1857) Vol. 2. pp 196-197 (R.I.C.R.).

B

[1] Gradner, *op. cit.,* page 10.
[2] R.I.C.R., *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 77.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 221.
[4] *Providence Directory.*
[5] *Providence Town Papers,* No. 934, No. 974.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.,* and *Pawtucket Directory.*
[8] *Providence Directory.*
[9] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 19.
[10] *Providence Town Papers,* No. 934, 864.
[11] James E. Hicks, *United States Ordnance* (Mount Vernon, New York: 1940) p. 20. Arcdi Gluckman, *Identifying old U.S. Muskets, Rifles and Carbines* (New York: Bonanza).
[12] *Providence Directory.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Rhode Island State Archives, *Petitions to the General Assembly,* Vol. 56, p. 72.
[15] *Bristol Phoenix* (December 31, 1853). In this present work, the author has relied on the plural form *Firearms* - a spelling which is found in the official state charter. The singular form was used on company letterheads and die stamps. The exact official name of the Bristol concern is a somewhat moot point: *Bristol Fire Arm* or *Bristol Fire Arms* (*Fire Arm* is found also as a combined word.). Company die stamps and letterheads utilized the singular while the official state charter gives the plural. For the puroses of this text, the author has relied on the state charter version.
[16] *The Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Rhode Island* (Providence: National Biographical Publishing Company, 1881) pp 466-467.
[17] *Bristol Phoenix* (December 31, 1853).
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Bristol Phoenix* (January 7, 1854).
[21] *Bristol Phoenix* (January 28, 1854).
[22] *Bristol Phoenix* (April 22, 1854).
[23] *Bristol Phoenix* (May 20, 1854).
[24] *Bristol Phoenix* (October 28, 1854).
[25] George Howe, *Mount Hope - A New England Chronicle* (New York: Viking Press, 1959) p. 251.
[26] Bristol, Rhode Island. *Record of Deeds,* Vol. 23, p. 440.
[27] *Bristol Phoenix* (February 3, 1855).
[28] Rhode Island State Archives, *Charter,* Vol. 19. p. 12.
[29] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op.cit.,* pp 133-134.
[30] *Bristol Phoenix* (June 30, 1855).
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Bristol Phoenix* (January 19, 1856).
[33] Stockbridge, *op.cit.,* p. 92. The patent was reissued on March 10, 1863, (No. 1,429). *Ibid.* The reissue of the patent on the cartridge received No. 1,428 on March 10, 1863. W.A. Bartlett and D.B. Gallatin, *Digest of Cartridges for Small Arms Patented in the United States, England, and France* (Washington: 1878) p. 1. Reprinted by Museum Restoration Service, 1977.
[34] National Archives, Ordnance Department, *Statement of Contracts.* Vol. 7, p. 118.
[35] *Bristol Phoenix* (May 16, 1857).
[36] Harvard University, Baker Library, Credit Ledgers of the R.G. Dun & Company, "Rhode Island" Vol. 10 p. 9.
[37] Bristol, Rhode Island. *Record of Deeds,* Vol. 28, p. 150.
[38] R.G. Dun & Company Credit Ledgers, "Rhode Island" Vol. 1, p. 36.
[39] Claude E. Fuller, *The Breech-Loader in the Service* (New Melford, Connecticut: N. Flayderman and Company, 1965) p. 126.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Bristol Preservation Society, Bristol, Rhode Island. Unpublished copy book of Ambrose E. Burnside.
[42] *Bristol Phoenix* (November 14, 1857).
[43] *Bristol Phoenix* (October 24, 1857), (November 14, 1857).
[44] *Bristol Phoenix* (November 28, 1857).
[45] National Archives, Ordnance Department, *Statement of Contracts* No. 7. p. 285.
[46] *Ibid.,* p. 118.
[47] R.G. Dun & Company, Credit Ledgers *op. cit.*
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Bristol Phoenix* (August 21, 1858).
[50] Gluckman and Satterless, *op. cit.,* p. 25.
[51] Rhode Island State Archives, *Charters* Vol. 20, p. 44.
[52] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers, *op. cit.*
[53] Rhode Island State Archives, *Charters* Vol. 19, p. 12, and May Session, 1816 p. 116.
[54] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers, *op. cit.*
[55] *Providence Directory.*
[56] Bristol, Rhode Island, *Record of Deeds,* Vol. 31 pp 148-150.
[57] Stockbridge, *op. cit.,* p. 95.
[58] Bristol Preservation Society, Bristol, Rhode Island. Unpublished copy book of Ambrose E. Burnside.
[59] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 26.
[60] Gluckman, *op. cit.,* p. 55.
[61] Hicks, *op. cit.,* p. 20.
[62] Gluckman, *op. cit.,* p. 55.
[63] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op. cit.,* pp 466-467.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] Rhode Island State Archives, *Charters,* May Session, 1860, p. 116.
[66] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers, *op. cit.*
[67] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op. cit.,* p. 297.
[68] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers, Vol. 9, p. 298.
[69] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op. cit.,* p. 338.
[70] Pawtucket, Rhode Island (North Providence Records) *Deeds.* Vol. 28, p. 173, Vol. 33, p. 255.
[71] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers. Vol. 9, p. 298.
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Proceedings of the Commission on Ordnance and Ordnance Stores,* Executive Document No 72, 37th Congress, Second Session. p. 320, *Ordnance Contracts,* Executive Document No. 99, 40th Congress, Second Session. p. 82.
[74] Ex. Doc. No. 72, p. 321.
[75] *Ibid.,* p. 322.
[76] *Ibid.,* p. 322-323.
[77] *Ibid.,* p. 323.
[78] *Ibid.,* p. 324. The commission had been set up by Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to investigate the flood of Ordnance contracts entered into by the War Department in the early months of the Civil War.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.,* pp 325-326.
[81] Ex. Doc. No. 99, p. 722.
[82] Ex. Doc. No. 72, pp 325-326.
[83] *Ibid.,* p. 321.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.,* pp 82-83.
[86] *Ibid.,* pp. 82-85.
[87] *Ibid.,* pp 722-724. N.B. This figure is based on a tabulation of the delivery schedules contained in Executive Document 99.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] National Archives, Ordnance Department. *Ledger of Receipts on Ordnance and Contracts,* No. 2, p. 56.
[90] The figure is based on tabulation from Ordnance Department receipts. However, most secondary sources, such as Colonel Gluckman, give a total of twenty-two million cartridges, a figure which apparently includes the purchases from other munitions makers.
[91] National Archives, Ordnance Department, *Register of Proposals and Offers, 1864.* p. 173.
[92] Ex. Doc. No. 99, p. 85.
[93] *Ibid.,* pp 723-724.
[94] National Archives, *Register of Proposals and Offers,* 1864, pp 172-173.
[95] Some years ago the author examined a "mint" Burnside Spencer which had been purchased "right out of the crate at Bannerman's."
[96] James B. Hughes, Jr., *Mexican Military Arms, The Cartridge Period 1866-1967* (Houston: Deep River Armory, Inc. 1968) p. 4.
[97] John W. Walker, "A Primer for Spencer Owners," *Gun Report* (September, 1966) pp 13-14. Ralph E. Arnold, "Christopher Spencer's Civil War Repeater," *Gun Report* (April 14, 1973) p. 22.
[98] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 10 and p. 97.
[99] Rhode Island State Archives, *Charters,* Vol. 25, p. 14.
[100] R.G. Dunn and Company, Credit Ledgers, *op, cit.,* Vol. 12 p. 57.
[101] Biographical Cyclopedia, *op. cit.,* p. 298, and pp 466-467.
[102] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers, *op, cit.,* Vol. 9, p. 299.

C

[1] Rhode Island State Archives, *Petitions to the General Assembly,* Vol. 2, p. 126.
[2] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 35.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 37.
[4] *Newport Mercury* (June 11, 1764).
[5] *Providence Directory.*
[6] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 40.
[7] Rhode Island State Archives, *Acts of the General Assembly* (February, 1776). Charles Cook held that the *C.R.* was really *G.R.* (Georgius Rex). At the request of the author, the Rhode Island State Archivist, Phylis Silva, checked the original documents and confirmed that the initials are definitely *C.R.* and not *G.R.*
[8] *Providence Directory.*
[9] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 45.
[10] Cook Essay.
[11] *Providence Directory.*

D

[1] H.J. Dunlap, *American British & Continental Pepperbox Firearms* (San Francisco: Recorder-Sunset Press, 1964) p. 16.
[2] *Ibid.,* p. 17.
[3] Cumberland, Rhode Island, Land Evidence Book, Vol. 17, p. 85 and p. 197.
[4] H.J. Dunlap, "The So-Called Brass Frame Darling Pepperbox," *Gun Report,* (June, 1966) pp 17-20.
[5] Dunlap, *American, British & Continental Pepperboxes, op. cit.,* p. 16.
[6] Woonsocket Directory.
[7] Eugene L. Lyon, "Davenport Firearms Company, *Gun Report* (September, 1972) pp 56-59. *Cooley's Weekly, Norwich, Connecticut,* (December 15, 1905). The reader should be aware that a conflict exists between the dates reported for Davenport's arrival in Providence (1855), given in his obituary in *Cooley's Weekly* and Davenport's first listing in the Providence Directory (1850).
[8] *Cooley's Weekly, Norwich, Connecticut* (December 15, 1905).
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Providence Directory.*
[11] *Cooley's Weekly, op. cit.*
[12] *Providence Directory.*
[13] Lyon, *op. cit.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 48.
[16] *Providence Directory.*

F

[1] *Providence Directory.*
[2] Gerald O. Kelver, *Schuetzen Rifles, History and Loadings,* (Boulder: Paddock Publishing, Inc., 1972) pp. 89-91.
[3] Gardner, *op. cit.,* p. 62.
[4] Kelver, *op. cit.*

[5] Foster Family Records (unpublished). As of the time of this writing, the author has not found any *primary* source documentation to link Foster with the Porter turret rifles. However, there is a report that, well into this century, a descendant of George P. Foster still had possession of a wooden model of the turret rifle that had belonged to the Taunton gunsmith. According to this same story, this full-scale model was destroyed.
[6] Taunton, Massachusetts - *City Directory*.
[7] Taunton, Massachusetts - City Records, Book No. 215, p. 147, February 7, 1854.
[8] *Providence Directory*.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
[11] *Providence Directory*.

G

[1] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

H

[1] *Providence Directory*.
[2] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[3] Stockbridge, *op. cit.*, pp 118.
[4] *Providence Directory*.
[5] John Carter Brown Library, Hope Furnace Papers, R.I.C.R. (1776) p. 418.
[6] *Providence Directory*.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op. cit.*, pp 337-338.
[11] Stockbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[12] *Providence Directory*.
[13] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[14] James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantations, The Colonial Years*, (Providence: Brown University Press, 1968) pp 124-135.
[15] Hope Furnace Papers.
[16] Hedges, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[18] Rhode Island State Archives, *Rhode Island Colony Records*, Vol. 9, p. 346.
[19] Hedges, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
[20] Hopkins and the Browns were using standard ordnance specifications of the period. The weight of the gun is often found chiseled by the vent or over or under the cascable (the breech-end of the cannon). The weight specifications are given in groups of three representing hundred weights (cwt.), quarters of hundred weights, and pounds. S. James Gooding, *An Introduction to British Artillery in North America* (Ottawa, Ontario: Museum Restoration Service, 1965) p. 21, Hope Furnace Papers.
[21] Hedges, *op. cit.*, p. 271.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 272.
[24] Hope Furnace Papers.
[25] Gooding, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[26] Hope Furnace Papers.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Hedges, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
[30] Hope Furnace Papers.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Providence Gazette*.
[35] *Ibid.* (July 7, 1796)
[36] Hope Furnace Papers.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Coventry, Rhode Island, Records, *Deeds and Land Records*, Vol. IV, pp 255, 263, 379. Vital Statistics, Vol. I, p. 206.
[43] Rhode Island State Archives, Petitions to the Rhode Island General Assembly, Vol. 15, p. 126.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Morton D. Cross, *Rhode Island Tool Company History*, (unpublished) 2 pages, R.I.T.C.O. files.
[46] Gardner, op, cit., p. 96.
[47] Rhode Island State Archives, *Petitions to the General Assembly*, February Session, 1812, Vol. 41, p. 77.
[48] Records of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, *Town Council and Probate*, Vol. B, p. 451.
[49] *Ibid., Probate*, No. 1, p. 56.
[50] *Ibid., Town Council and Probate*, No. 2, p. 54.
[51] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 895, No. 934.

J

[1] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op. cit.*, pp 133-134.
[2] *Providence Directory*.
[3] Rhode Island State Archives, *Acts of a Private Matter* (May Session 1860).
[4] Stockbridge, *Digest of U.S. Patents*, p. 37.
[5] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 864-1210.
[6] *Providence Town Papers*. No. 886.
[7] Glocester, R.I., *Record of Deeds* Vol. 8, p. 606.
[8] *The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1920) pp 530-531.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 531. *Report of the Centennial Celebration of the Twenty-fourth of June, 1865 at Pawtucket of the Incorporation of the Town of North Providence*, (Providence: 1865), p. 26. Slater Trust Company, *Pawtucket Past and Present* (Pawtucket: 1917) pp 34-35, Hedges, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124.
[10] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 934 and No. 945.
[11] *Rhode Island Colony Records*.
[12] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Pawtucket City Records, *Probate*, Vol. 1, pp 50-51.
[15] In his study of the Jenks muskets contracts, Arthur Nehrbass lists 1,275 muskets completed by June 10, 1801, Arthur F. Nehrbass, "Stephen Jenks and Sons, Contractors Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
[16] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] National Archives, Old Army and Navy Records, Documents and Correspondence relative to Contracts and Petitions of Stephen Jenks and Sons. (Jenks Contract Documents, *J.C.D.*). Letter of Charles Williams to Tench Coxe, July 3, 1810.
[20] *Ibid.*, Petition of Stephen Jenks and Sons.
[21] *Ibid.*, "The United States in Account Current with Stephen Jenks and Sons." p. 1.
[22] *Ibid.*, Letter of Stephen Jenks and Sons to Callender Irvine, June 14, 1813.
[23] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] National Archives, *J.C.D.*, Petition of Stephen Jenks and Sons.
[26] *Ibid.*, Deposition of Joseph Weatherhead, October 26, 1819.
[27] National Archives, *J.C.D.* - Petition of Stephen Jenks and Sons.
[28] Hicks, *op. cit.* p. 32.
[29] National Archives, *J.C.D.* - Petition of Stephen Jenks and Sons.
[30] *Ibid.*, Deposition of Joseph Weatherhead, *op. cit.*
[31] *Ibid.*, (unsigned copy) Deposition of a government inspector assigned to Stephen Jenks and Sons after reassignment of Charles Williams.
[32] *Ibid.*, The United States in account with Stephen Jenks and Sons, March 12, 1814.
[33] *Ibid.*, *J.C.D.* — Petition of Stephen Jenks.
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.* Joseph Henry also sold six hundred dollars' worth of musket stocks to Jenks which were used in manufacturing the guns for the Sweet, Jenks and Sons contract. *Ibid.*, Letter of Stephen Jenks and Sons to Tench Coxe, May 10, 1811.
[36] Arcadi Gluckman and L.D. Satterlee, *American Gun Makers*, (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1953) pp 94-95.
[37] National Archives, *J.C.D.* Memorandum of Guns, S. Jenks and Sons sold to Joseph Henry, Philadelphia.
[38] *Ibid.*, Petition of Stephen Jenks and Sons.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*, Letter of Amos Sweet and Stephen Jenks and Sons to Callender Irvine, January 14, 1818.
[41] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[45] National Archives, *J.C.D.* Deposition of Roswell Lee, November 20, 1817.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 119. National Archives, *J.C.D.*, Letter of Stephen Jenks and Sons to Collender Irvine, December 12, 1817.
[49] *The History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, op. cit.*, p. 532.
[50] Pawtucket City Records, *Record of Deeds and Mortgages North Providence*, Vol. 61. p. 519.

K

[1] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 934 and 880.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 1059.
[3] *Providence Directory*.
[4] *Providence Town Papers*.

L

[1] *Providence Directory*.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Gardner, *op. cit.*, 0. 113.
[4] *Bailey's New Plymouth*, Vol. II, p. 268.
[5] *Providence Directory*.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
[9] *Providence Directory*.

M

[1] *Providence Directory*.
[2] Ex. Doc. No. 99, p. 248.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp 250-251.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 248.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 827.
[6] Ex. Doc. No. 72, p. 255.
[7] Ex. Doc. No. 99, pp 827-828.
[8] *Biographical Cyclopedia, op. cit.*, p. 414.
[9] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 916, No. 934. R.I.C.R. (1776) p. 418.
[10] William B. Browne, *Genealogy of the Jenks Family of America* (Concord, New Hampshire: Rumford Press, 1952) p. 70.
[11] Another opinion put forth to explain the *G* is that it is an abbreviation for Glocester, R.I. where the Mathewsons lived.
[12] Edward Field, *Revolutionary Defenses in Rhode Island* (Providence: Preston & Rounds, 1896) pp 14-42.
[13] *Representative Men and Old Families of Rhode Island* (Chicago: J.H. Peers and Company, 1908) pp 1109-1110.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Mathewson family papers (private ownership).
[16] *Woonsocket Patriot* (September 13, 1872).
[17] Mathewson family papers. Letter of Otis Eddy to Welcome Mathewson, February 4, 1841.
[18] *Providence Directory*.
[19] Field, *op. cit.*
[20] *Providence Directory*.

P

[1] *Providence Town Papers* No. 937 and 974.
[2] *Providence Directory*
[3] *R.I.A. & R.* (January, 1776) pp 222-223.
[4] *Providence Town Papers* No. 920.
[5] Gluckman and Satterlee, *op. cit.*, p. 164.
[6] *Providence Directory*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *R.I.A. & R.* (January, 1776) pp 222-232.
[10] *Providence Directory*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 949 & 953.
[16] Rhode Island Tool Company, (untitled pamphlet, 1941). Morton D. Cross, "Rhode Island Company History," 2 page typed sheets, Rhode Island Tool Company files. A good portion of the author's data on the Providence Tool Company is based on the unpublished papers of John Anthony which include his unpublished "Quarter Century Report of Providence Tool" written in 1879 and a journal of his European trips of 1873-1874. Unfortunately, the author was repeatedly denied access to these invaluable documents, which are currently in private ownership. In 1941, *Providence Journal* reporter Robert L. Wheeler examined the "Anthony papers", then in the possession of Anthony's daughter, and used the information as a basis for his *Providence Journal* article "When Rhode Island Armed the Turk" (February 16, 1941). Attorney Geoffrey S. Stewart also examined the Anthony papers as part of his research for his Master's Thesis, *The American Small Arms Industry: Its Search For Stability, 1865-1885.* (unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, Brown University, June, 1973.) The author is indebted to Mr. Stewart for his boundless generosity in allowing the author unlimited access to his notes *(G.S.N.)* and his thesis material *(G.S.T.)* Without Mr. Stewart's aid and advice, the section on Providence Tool would never have been completed.

[17] Actually, Providence Tool's sabre contract had been negotiated at an earlier date. Along with the tool company's rifle contract, the sabre contract was investigated by Edwin Stanton's Commission for approval or rejection. (see Burnside Rifle Company, footnote 78). On January 31, 1862, John B. Anthony wrote Stanton stating the circumstances of the early agreements:

> About the middle of November General Ripley gave the writer a verbal order for what "light cavalry sabres" we could make by the 1st of January, instant, price some as paid for the best article, $8.50 each. On the 1st instant the writer called upon General Ripley and reported that about 1,000 were ready, and the general proposed to send an inspector to our works. He gave us an additional and verbal order for 5,000 and then to continue the manufacture until further order. A written order to this effect we expected by mail, which is not yet to hand.
>
> We have stock for all these sabres, and more; have a large number in process of manufacture; have about 2,000 completed, and some seventy men engaged in this branch. The quality of the article was highly spoken of by General Ripley, (a sample having been inspected by him) and his letter of the 24th instant advises that an inspector had been ordered here.

Ex. Doc. No. 72, p. 166.

[18] Ex. Doc. No. 99. pp 315-317, pp 861-862.

[19] National Archives, Ordnance Department Records, *Register of Manufacturers or Parties Applying for Orders or Such as have Stores for Sale, January*, 1862-August 1863.

[20] National Archives, Ordnance Department Records, *Register of Proposals and Offers - 1864.* p. 100.

[21] Ex. Doc. No. 99. p. 317.

[22] Gluckman and Satterlee, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

[23] Anthony explained the reasons for the delay in delivery in his statement before the Stanton Commission on April 12, 1862:

> We have a contract for 50,000 Springfield guns. None are yet delivered. We are preparing to make the whole arm, except the sights, in our own shop at Providence. We have a set of rolls in operation for barrels. We have had about 4,000 or 5,000 chiefly of Washburn's iron. We found Washburn's iron bad; nearly every barrel being imperfect. We have suspended its use until we can succeed in improving his iron, as we have secured 200 tons of Marshall iron. Our turning and boring machines are all ready. Rifling and milling machines not quite ready. Tapping for cone-seat ready. We are to have a full suit of stocking machines, and we should have been ready before this, but other have disappointed us. Our machines are being made in Pawtucket, in Windsor, and in our own shops. We have made engagements with Redfield, of New York, to furnish us with 3,000 to 5,000 stocks. I have been to his shop (some two months since) in New York, and there saw stocks in the third and fourth stage. Our own machines should produce finished stocks by the 1st of June; if we get none from Redfield, we will be obliged to wait for our own.
>
> We have on hand, either complete or nearly so, full sets of milling machines and tools for every part. We have also machines for appendages. Our sights are made by contract at Freetown, Massachusetts. Some are already finished, and 11,000 are forged. This shop is under our control, and cannot make for others without our permission. Every part of our locks is being forged. Some of the parts are ready in large numbers. Our milling tools for lates are running, and our cones are forged. The bayonets and ramrods are made in our second shop in Providence. Forgings are going on, but neither milling nor grinding has yet been commenced. The gauges are being made by our men at Springfield. We have hired a shop there, and verify the work by the armory gauges. Our delay in delivering has been due mainly to our inexperience, not well understanding at first what such a job required. We have to teach our workmen, as but few experienced men can be had. The pattern guns given out at Springfield are not model guns suitable for making the gauges by, and therefore we have had to start a shop at Springfield, and get opportunities to verify our work by the true models as we could. Our foreman is an old hand at government work, and knows how to inspect. We understand that our first contract declares forfeiture of monthly deliveries if not made in the stipulated time, not impairing our right to make deliveries subsequently due.
>
> Our business heretofore was making bevel tools - ship chandlery hardware. We have taken a separate shop for this work, and we have spent for building, engine, and shafting $73,000, and for tools, machines, and materials, we have disbursed $165,000. We have contracts beyond this for materials and machines to the extent of $180,000, and for iron to the extent of $48,000.
>
> We have an order for 6,000 sabres, which are in process of manufacture. No time for delivery of them fixed.

Ex. Doc. No. 72, p. 169.

[24] Ex. Doc. No. 99. pp 861-863.

[25] National Archives, Ordnance Department *Register of Manufacturer or Parties Applying for Orders or Such as have Stores for Sale,* January, 1862, to August, 1863.

[26] National Archives, Ordnance Department, *Applications of Manufacturers of Carbines or of Parties Applying for Orders to Fabricate Them or Who Have Such for Sale, January 4, 1864,* to July 2, 1864. p. 61.

[27] Anthony Papers, (G.S.N.).

[28] Ex. Doc. No. 99, p. 863.

[29] Anthony Papers (G.S.N.).

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Wheeler, *op. cit.*

[32] Anthony Papers. (G.S.N.) Partial credit for the increased production capabilities of Providence Tool during the Civil War should be given to Frederick Howe, an employee of the company. Working with Joseph R. Brown, he designed a machine tool which would cheaply and quickly manufacture twist drills sued for borings on rifle lockplates. This machine took, the first ever made by the Brown and Sharpe Company, was delivered on March 14, 1862. In 1863 Howe also designed an improved bed-type milling machine to cut the curved corners of the plates. In 1868 this latter device became the Brown and Sharpe No. 12 Plain Milling Machine. Morton D. Cross. *op. cit.*

[33] Anthony Papers. (G.S.N.).

[34] *Providence Directory* (1870). Full page ad for Providence Tool Company, p. 424.

[35] Anthony Papers (G.S.N.). These 9,000 rifles were part of the uncompleted contract of November 26, 1861.

[36] Anthony Papers (G.S.N.).

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Rhode Island Historical Society Library "Providence Tool Papers". Letter of John B. Anthony to Richard Borden. April 7, 1865.

[41] Anthony Papers (G.S.N.).

[42] John B. Anthony. *Providence Tool Company Catalog, 1866* (Providence: George H. Whitney, 1866) p. 15.

[43] Norton, *op. cit.*, pp 4-7.

[44] Wheeler, *op. cit.*

[45] *Providence Directory.* (1866) p. 7. Tool company ads also appeared in journals such as the *Army and Navy Journal.*

[46] *G.S.T.*, p. 8.

[47] Charles J. Purdon, "The Canadian Breech Loading Rifle Trials of 1866, *"Canadian Journal of Arms Collecting".* (May, 1863) p. 1.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[51] Upper Canada Historical Arms Society, *The Military Arms of Canada.* (West Hill, Ontario: Museum Restoration Service, 1963) p. 32.

[52] Purdon, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[53] J. P. Rehling, "The Roberts Rifle, *Gun Report* (May, 1959) p. 16.

[54] *The Military Arms of Canada, op. cit.*, p. 5.

[55] At the Battle of Koniggratz on July 3, 1866, Prussian infantry, armed with breechloaders were able to fire from prone positions at Austrian infantry, armed with muzzle loaders, who were forced to stand while reloading. Anthony gave considerable space to this battle account in his introduction to Providence Tool's second Peabody Catalog (1866).

[56] Norton, *op. cit.*, pp 10-14.

[57] *G.S.T.* pp 18-19.

[58] *G.S.T.* pp 10-18.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] Anthony Papers. *(G.S.N.)*

[62] Swiss Federal Military Department, Information and Documentation Section, Letters to the author, September 20, 1977, and November 2, 1977.

[63] W.H.B. Smith, *Small Arms of the World* (9th edition revised) (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1969) p. 50.

[64] Swiss Federal Military Department, *op. cit.*

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *G.S.T.* p. 25. The Roberts system was patented (#52887) on February 27, 1866, by General Benjamin S. Roberts, (1810-1875). A graduate of West Point, Roberts led a highly checquered career: an army officer with extensive combat service, the state geologist of New York, a railroad construction engineer in Russia, an attorney in Iowa and Washington, D.C., and, at his retirement, an instructor in military science at Yale. At the time of his death, Roberts was involved in a lengthy legal battle with the United States over alleged patent infringements on his conversion system. His New York stock company which had subcontracted the Roberts work to Providence Tool was unsuccessful.

[67] Gluckman and Saterlee, *op. cit.*, p. 182, Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

[68] *G.S.T.*, p. 25.

[69] Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[70] Rehling, *op. cit.*, pp 16-17.

[71] Calude E. Fuller, *The Breech-Loader in the Service* (New Milford, Connecticut: Flayderman and Company, 1965) p. 265.

[72] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[73] *G.S.T.* pp 25-26.

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] *Providence Tool Company Catalog,* 1870 (Providence: Hammond, Angell and Company, 1870) pp 9-11.

[76] *G.S.N.* Chambered for the caliber .42 Russian Berdan Cartridge.

[77] The Peabody-Wessely Rifle is one of the rarest military rifles made by Providence Tool. Only one specimen has been discovered in recent years. Robert Pearl, "Peabody-Wessely Rifle," *Gun Report* (May, 1974) pp 61-63. The Peabody self-cocking gun, also chambered for the caliber .42 Russian, is another great rarity.

[78] Cornel Scafes, "Din Instoricul Dotarii Armatei Romane," *Studii Si Materiale De Muzeografie Si Istorie Militara,* (1977), No. 10, p. 189.

[79] *Ibid.*, pp 189-190.

[80] *Ibid.*, Romanian State Archives (Bucharest) File No. 23 (1867) f. 3-4.

[81] Scafes, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[82] Romanian State Archives, File No. 74 (1868) f. 1-2.

[83] Scafes, *op. cit.*, p. 190. Romanian State Archives, File No. 23 (1867) f. 3-4.

[84] Romanian State Archives, File No. 55 (1870) f. 3.

[85] *Ibid.*, File No. 74 (1868) f. 1-2.

[86] *Ibid.*, File No. 169 (1868) f. 405.

[87] Scafes, *op. cit.*, pp 190-191.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] *Ibid.*, pp 193-194.

[91] *Ibid.*

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 194.

[93] Anthony Papers *(G.S.N.).*

[94] James B. Hughes, Jr., *Mexican Military Arms, The Cartridge Period 1866-1967.* (Houston: Deep River Armory, 1968) p. 6.

[95] *Ibid.*

[96] *G.S.T.* pp 37-38.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] Norton, *op. cit.*, pp 16-17.

[99] State of Massachusetts, *Adjutant General's Report* (January, 1872) p. 40.

[100] *Ibid.*, (January, 1876) p. 10.

[101] Norton, *op. cit.*, pp 15-16.

[102] *Ibid.*, pp 14-15. Figures for the state of Connecticut purchase are based on the number of rifles sold to Massachusetts subtracted from the number of Peabody rifles (5,000) sold to Connecticut and Massachusetts. Anthony had compiled the two sales into one figure. *Anthony Papers (G.S.N.).*

[103] National Archives, Ordnance Department, *Register of Proposals and Offers, 1864* p. 73.

[104] *G.S.T.*, pp 84-85.

[105] Harold F. Williamson, *Winchester* (New York: A.S. Barners and Company, 1952) pp 55-58. G.S.T., p. 91.

[106] *G.S.T.*, p. 96.

[107] Wheeler, *op. cit.*

[108] Rhode Island Historical Society, "Providence Tool Papers," Letter of John B. Anthony to Williams de Saint Laurent, February 5, 1872.

[109] *G.S.T.*, p. 94.

[110] R.I.H.S., "Providence Tool Papers," Letter of Schuyler, Hartley and Graham to John B. Anthony. July 8, 1972.

[111] *G.S.T.*, p. 93.
[112] *Ibid.*, pp 93-94.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[114] R.I.H.S., "Providence Tool Papers," Telegram (copy) of Blacque Bey to the Ottoman Ministry of War, July 25, 1872.
[115] Wheeler, *op. cit.*
[116] *R.I.H.S. "Providence Tool Papers." Letter of John B. Anthony to William B. Dart, July 25, 1872.*
[117] *Ibid.*, Letter of John B. Anthony to Blaque Bey, July 10, 1872.
[118] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1872.
[119] *G.S.T.*, pp 95-96.
[120] R.I.H.S. "Providence Tool Papers" Contract between the Dari Shoura and Oliver Winchester.
[121] *G.S.T.* p. 96. Anthony was of the opinion that Winchester wanted to buy Providence Tool's patent rights to the Peabody. *G.S.N.*
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] John T. Amber (editor), Frank C. Barner, *Cartridges of the World* (Northfield, Illinois: Digest Books, Inc., 1972) p. 200.
[124] *G.S.T.*, p. 94.
[125] R.I.H.S. "Providence Tool Papers" (1st Turkish contract).
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] *Ibid.*
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] *G.S.T.*, p. 105.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 105.
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[136] Wheeler, *op. cit.*
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] *Ibid.*
[139] *Ibid.*
[140] *G.S.T.* pp 107-108.
[141] *Ibid.*, p. 108
[142] *Ibid.*, pp 108-109.
[143] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[144] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[145] *Ibid.*, and *G.S.N.*
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] *Ibid.*, p. 111.
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *Ibid.*, p. 112.
[150] Wheeler, *op. cit.*
[151] *G.S.T.* pp 112-113.
[152] *Ibid.*, pp 113-114.
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[154] *Ibid.*, p. 116.
[155] *Ibid.*, p. 117.
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] *Ibid.*
[158] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[159] *G.S.T.*, pp 118-119.
[160] *Ibid.*, pp 119-120.
[161] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[162] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[163] *Ibid.*, pp 121-122.
[164] R.G. Dunn and Company, Credit Ledgers, Vol. 11.
[165] *Ibid.*
[166] Providence Tool Company, *Catalogue of "Surplus" Machinery or Machinery" not now in Use* (Providence: July 1, 1882).
[167] R.G. Dun and Company, Credit Ledgers, *op. cit.*
[168] *G.S.N.*
[169] *G.S.T.*, p. 123.
[170] Wheeler, *op. cit.* In conversations with a former employee of the Rhode Island Tool Company, the author learned that as late as the 1940's, R.I.T. Co. employees where still using "Civil War gunstocks", which were stockpiled in outbuildings, to kindle the company's coal burning boilers.
[171] The Peabody-Martini saw service with the Turkish forces in Palestine during W.W. I. Some Peabody-Martini rifles have been examined with Japanese Ordnance markings.
[172] *Forest and Stream*, (August 12, 1875) p. 10.
[173] *Ibid.*, (October 28, 1875) p. 186.
[174] *Ibid., Providence Journal* (October 26-27, 1875).
[175] *Ibid.*
[176] Gerald O. Kelver, *Schuetzen Rifles, History and Loadings* (Boulder: Paddock Publishing, Inc. 1972) p. 4.
[177] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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[1] Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
[2] Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[3] *Ibid.* Gluckman, op. cit., p. 60.
[4] Providence, Rhode Island, records. Various entries in land evidence books (1800-1810).
[5] *Providence Directory.*

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[1] Rhode Island State Archives.
[2] *Records of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, (1773) p. 149.
[3] Town Records, South Kingston, Rhode Island. Vol. I, p. 12. *Providence Gazette* (March 19, 1803).
[4] R.G. Dunn and Company, Credit Ledgers, Vol. 9, p. 272.
[5] *Providence Directory.*
[6] R.G. Dunn and Company, Credit Ledgers, Vol. 9, p. 272.
[7] *Report of the Commission on Ordnance and Ordnance Stores*, Ex. Doc. No. 72, 37th Congress, Second Session. p. 511, 517.
[8] *Providence Directory.*
[9] R.G. Dunn and Company, Credit Ledgers, Vol. 9, p. 272.
[10] Stockbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[11] Ex. Doc. No. 72, pp 515-516.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 509.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 517
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 516-517.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 515.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp 515-517.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 519.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 520.
[20] Ex. Doc. No. 99, pp 962-963.
[21] National Archives, Ordnance Department, *Register of Proposals and Offers, 1864*, p. 71.
[22] *Providence Directory.*
[23] R.G. Dunn and Company, Credit Ledgers, Vol. 9, p. 272.
[24] Charles Cook, untitled essay on early Rhode Island gunsmiths.
[25] Unfortunately, this arm attributed to Jeremiah Smith has long since disappeared from the Rhode Island Historical Society's collection.
[26] Cook, *op. cit.*
[27] Old Smithfield Records (Part of Central Falls, Rhode Island Records), *Wills and Inventories*, No. 3, pp 715-716. Smith's estate inventory also listed 1 gun, 1 shot pouch, and 3 powder horns. *Ibid.*, p. 701.
[28] Cook, *op. cit.*
[29] Smithfield, Rhode Island Records, *Book of Wills and Inventories*, Vol. 9, pp 140-142.
[30] Rhode Island State Archives.
[31] Welcome Mathewson, *Journal.*
[32] Steere, *History of the Town of Smithfield* (Providence: 1881, p. 64. Smithfield, Rhode Island, Town Records, Probate - Vol. 9, pp 140-142.
[33] *Providence Gazette* (August 19, 1815).
[34] *Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in King George's War.*
[35] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 1210.
[36] *Providence Directory.*
[37] *Ibid.*

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[1] *Newport Directory.*
[2] *Providence Town Papers.*
[3] Henry R. Chace, *Descriptive List of Houses in the Compact Part of the Town of Providence, R.I., 1779* (typescript) Rhode Island Historical Society Library.
[4] *Providence Town Papers*, No. 934.
[5] *Ibid* No. 878.
[6] *Ibid* No. 948.
[7] Hicks, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 23.
[8] Rhode Island State Archives, *Petitions to the General Assembly*, Vol. 9, p. 138.
[9] *Providence Directory.*
[10] *R.I.C.R.*, Vol. VIII, p. 147.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

The Welcome Mathewson Daybook

The daybooks of Welcome Mathewson are a transcription of records which were located in 1975 among family papers by a descendant of the gunsmith. Mathewson's phonetic spellings and frequently cramped script oftentimes rendered the task of transcription into one of translation. (The limbo of a jury selection room provided for a time the odd atmosphere in which the author solved a number of the more puzzling passages.) To provide a record which could be utilized in various areas of nineteenth century New England studies, it was decided that the daybooks be published in their entirety rather than delete those sections which have no direct bearing on gunsmithing.

WELCOME MATHEWSON — HIS PROPERTY
SUTTON, MASSACHUSETTS 1805

June 11, 1806	- JOHN WALLEN	
	- To one smooth bore gun worth	$29.00
	- Contrary to one silver watch worth — Settled	20.00
January 28, 1806	- DAVID LASUER	
	- Gunsmith work — Credit	1.50
March 27, 1806	- NATHAN ARNOLD	
	- To stocking and mounting a gun settled	4.57
December 28, 1805	- JOSEPH PUTNAM	
	- To gun work	6.16
	- Contrary to cash	3.00
	- To stocking timber	1.25
	- To bench plank	1.45
	- To one black walnut stock	.75
	- To copper	.16
	- To one cherry stock	.25
	- To one set of mountings	6.50
	- Settles all account	8.36
August 19	- JOSEPH PUTNAM	
	- Due on book seventy cents	.70
June 16, 1805	- NATHANIEL WHITMORE (Sutton)	
	- To one skein of silk	.08
	- To one dozen gun flints	.14
	- To twelve cents of silver solder	.12
	- To cash	1.67
	- To one stock	1.00
	- To half pound of powder	.50
January 1.	- JOHN WALING	
	- Gun to be made in April of 1806 to be worth	20.00
April 6, 1805	- NATHANIEL WHITMORE (Sutton)	
	- To cash paid	22.00
	- April 12	.92
May 15	- Cash paid to Arch Campbell for halter and bridle	3.00
May 16	- Paid to Warren Snow for one pair of leather fetters	.75
	- To boot mending by E. Gould	.50
June 1	- To cash paid	10.00
June 16	- To cash paid to Aron Trask	2.00
June 23	- To one tailor goods - 12 pounds	2.00
July 4	- To cash paid	.84
July 21	- To cash paid	.75
	- Paid for one pair of Calf skin shoes to Carter Ellet	2.25
		$44.84
August 4, 1805	- NATHANIEL WHITMORE (Sutton)	
	- To cash	22.00
	- To horse keeping thirty-one days	8.32
	- To making one vest coat	.50
	- To one rifled barrel delivered to John White	10.00
September 29, 1805	- To one pound of powder	
	- To finishing gun barrel	2.62
	- To stocking and mounting one gun	8.00
	- To taring March horse keeping	5.50
	- To footing boots	2.83
	- To shoeing a horse	.83
December 28, 1805	- JOSEPH WILMOT	
	- To mending a rifle gun lock	.40
	- To one rifle screw stick	1.25
	- To mending a charger	.06
	- To mending one pounder flask	.50
January 12	- To stocking a hunting gun	4.79
February 4	- To store articles	1.50
	- Credited by cash	4.00
	- To one gun lock ..... settled	1.00
November 5, 1805	- Gloucester November 1805	
	- NATHANIEL WHITMORE	
	- To one gunlock	5.00
	- To one ditto	3.00
	- To one pound and one quarter of powder	1.25
December 28	- To lead/3 lbs./ .16¢ per lb.	.50
	- To 8 pounds of brass	1.60
November 21, 1806	- To one gunstock	.50
	- To two days work	1.50
January 3, 1807	- To cash paid	30.00
	- To one Black Walnut gunstock	.50
May 26	- To one gunstock	.50
		$44.35
November 25, 1805	- Gloucester	
	- X Contrary X	
	- To one gun barrel	4.33
December 28	- To one gun barrel	4.33
	- To a piece of a gun barrel	.08
February	- To one Rifle Barrel*	8.00
	- To one Rifle Barrel*	4.33
	- To one Rifle Barrel*	4.33
	- To two Barrels for Smoothbore at four dollars and 33 cents each	8.66
June 7	- To gumping a chamber on to an old barrel	2.50
	- To form turning lathe	17.00
November 26, 1806	- To one shot barrel	4.33
	- To three rifle barrels @ $4.33 per barrel	12.99
January 3, 1807	- One rifle Barrel	5.00
		$75.88
March 10, 1806	- ANGEL PAINE	
	- To repairing a rifle gun	.50
April 22, 1806	- To stocking and mounting a gun ..	5.33
April 22, 1806	- ISRAEL THAYER	
	- To stocking - 2 dollars	2.00
	- Mounting - $1.50 cents	1.50
	- To a lock - $1.16 cents	1.16
	- To one Wormer	.16
	- Settled	$4.82
April 22, 1806	- Contrary to one old gun lock / .50¢	.50
October 8	- To one dollar and fifty cents	1.50
	- All settled	
April 22	- JEREMIAH BATCHELOR	
	- To mending a saw	.41
April 22	- DANIEL MATHEWSON	
	- To one gun lock	2.00
	- To boring and straightening a gun and brazing the barrel	1.00
April 22	- DANIEL SMITH	$3.00
	- To stocking a gun	2.08
	- Cash	1.00
April 28	- DANIEL MATHEWSON	
	- To one old gun lock	.16
	- To cash	1.50
		.33
		3.00
April 28, 1806	- ROBERT CURTISS	
	- To boring and straightening a gun	1.00
	- To one ramrod	.33
	- To part rifling a gun	.50
	- To repairing a lock	.33
	- Settled	$2.16
April 28	- JEREMIAH SMITH OF SMITHFIELD	
	- To one rifle heal plate and guard	1.00
June 27	- THOMAS SMITH	
	- To mending a gunstock	
	- Settled	.25
May 17, 1806	- Richard Aldrich	

	- To stocking a gun	2.00
	- To one wormer	.17
	- To mending a heal plate	.08
	Settled	
May 17, 1806	- THOMAS INCKES	
	- To stocking a rifle	3.00
	- To one wormer and other work	.75
	Settled	
June 27	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
	- To repairing gun lock	.33
	Settled	
June 27	- JEREMIAH THARENTON	
	- To hardening a gun hammer	.12
August 9, 1806	- PALETION WHITE	
	- To one gun lock	2.00
	- To one set of gun mountings	2.00
	- To stocking a gun	2.00
	- To straightening a barrel	.58
	- To one wormer	.12
	- To one trigger	.20
	- To one screw pin	.06
	Settled	$6.96
January 1807	- ESTEN OWEN	
	- To mending a gun lock done by NATHANIEL WHITMORE order	.50
July 21, 1805	- (Sutton)	
	- WELCOME MATHEWSON to JOHN WHITE to one brass ribbed barrel	6.00
	- To CLARK FISK	.32
	- To JONAS GAITE	1.00
	- ELISHA WATERS for making new shoes and setting	1.00
April 20, 1807	- JOHN WHITE	
	- In balance	3.32
	- To finish of one rifle gun	6.00
	- Carried forward	9.32
September 2, 1806	- To PERIGRENE MATHEWSON to mending a bayonet	.17
	- SAMUEL BOTNITS to mending a gun lock	.08
	- RUBEN WALLEN to fix a bayonet	.20
	Settled	
	- ELISHER QANTING to repairing a lock fixing a bayonet	.22
	Settled	
	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON to one dollar by HERNES BATS and Samuel Lam	1.00
August 29, 1806	- GEORGE WALL to a shoe stamp	.20
August 29, 1806	- DAVID BOLSTER	
	- To repairing a gun lock	.33
	- Contrary sixteen cents	
	- JOSEPH LASUER	
	- To case hardening a hammer	.12
	- ELIZEBETH MALTEN	
	- To mending a tea poit	.12
	Settled December 14	
September 2, 1806	- SOLOMON SMITH	
	- To rifle a gun	1.00
September 3, 1806	- ZEBENIAH KEECH	
	- To brazing a gun barrel	.25
	Settled	
September 4, 1806	- ASEL KEECH	
	- To repairing a lock & fixing a bayonet	.20
September 8, 1806	- JOSEPH EMERSON of Douglas	
	- To repairing a pair of trooper's pistols	1.00
	Settled	
September 12, 1806	- JOSEPH EMERSON	
	- To repairing a gun	1.00
	Settled	
September 21, 1806	- WILLARD SMITH	
	- To straightening a gun	.50
	Settled	
	- EMOR SMITH	
	- To repairing a gun settled	.67
September 12, 1806	- Cash lent to Perigrene Mathewson four dollars	4.00
	- SALEM HERENDEN	
	- gunsmith work	9.00
September 27, 1806	- EBENEZOR CRAGGIN	
	- To one rifle gun	35.00
September 27, 1806	- Cash lent to Perigrene Mathewson one dollar & twenty cents	1.20
September 29, 1806	- THOMAS SHIPPE	
	- To stocking a gun	3.00
	- To one set of mounting	3.00
	- To straighten the barrel	.67
	- To stoneing the barrel and lock	.67
	- To one gun barrel	4.00
	- Contrary to Cash	.30
	- To one pound of brass	.20
	- To a Brass Kettle weight 14-1/3 pounds at twenty cents per pound	2.95
		$7.95
October 1, 1806	- RUBEN WALLEN	
	- To gunsmith work (settled)	.50
October 2, 1806	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To mending a frying pan	.20
	Settled	
October 20, 1806	- HARRIS BATES	
	- To straightening a gun	.50
October 20, 1806	- DAVID BURLENGONNE	
	- To gunsmith work	.58
November 11, 1806	- DUTY SALSBURY	
	- To gunsmith work	2.17
	- To stocking & mounting	6.50
		$8.67
January 3, 1807	- Contrary	
	- To six gunstocks	2.17
	- By Cash	3.00
	- By Cash	2.00
	- To Cash	.50
		$7.67
November 21, 1806	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- By gunstick lumber	.33
November 21, 1806	- DAVID SHIPPE	
	- To repairing a rifle gun	1.25
	Settled	
November 21, 1806	- THOMAS WOMSLEY	
	- To repairing a rifle gun	2.20
December 1, 1806	- DAVID TAFT	
	- To mending bridle bits	.20
	Settled	
December 23, 1806	- JOHN WOOD	
	- To one gunstick and wormer	.37
December 8, 1806	- DAVID LASUER CREDIT	
	- Towards a bayonet	.52
	Settled	
December 13, 1806	- JOHN COOPER CREDIT	
	- By six pounds of iron	
	Settled	
December 14, 1806	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To mending copper tea kettle	.33
	Settled	
December 22, 1806	- JOHN CARROL OF THOMPSON	
	- By sheet lead 6 pounds at 12 cents per pound	.72
	- To one iron ramrod	.12
June 10, 1807	- To stocking and britching and bushing the barrel three pipes, a wormer, three screwpens, all carried out	3.14
December 22, 1806	- ANDREW BROWN Burrilleville at Gloucester	
	- To one rifle gun barrel	12.00
	- To one pair of Brass bullet molds	.50
	- Contrary	
	- To Black Walnut stocks thirty-four at twenty-two cents per stock	8.50
June 9, 1807	- One rifle barrel to be made for ANDREW BROWN - three feet six inches 50 balls to the	

	pound - to be done by 1st of June next.	
May 23, 1807	- Due to WELCOME MATHEWSON two dollars and seventy.	
December 22, 1806	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To mending a bayonet	.17
	- To cash lent	1.00
	- To cash lent	4.00
	- To cash lent	1.20
	- To fifty cents	.52
	- (all settled)	6.87
		$15.62
December 22, 1806	- Credit Burrilleville	
	- By peas 5 lbs. @ .17¢ per lb.	.85
	- By gunstick lumber	.33
	- To eight bushels of oats at 42 cents	3.36
February, 1807	- To one bushel of corn	1.00
	- To one bushel of corn	1.00
June 15	- To ten pounds of bar lead	1.00
	- To one peck of salt	.29
October 1	- To two bushels of corn	2.00
	- To one bushel of corn	1.00
	- To one bushel and a half of corn	1.50
	- To two bushels of corn	2.00
	- To one peck of salt	.29
	- To one bushel of corn	1.00
	All Settled	$15.62
January, 1807	- JOHN PUTNAM	
	- To britching a gun and other articles	.75
February 10, 1807	- EBENEZER CRAGGINS	
	- To one pair bullet molds which run seven bullets	1.17
March 10, 1807	- THOMAS WOMSLEY	
	- To boring and straightening a gun	.83
April 8, 1809	- CONTRARY TO CASH	2.00
	- To cash	.06
	- To cash	1.50
		$3.56
April 7, 1807	- THEODORE MILLARD	
	- To repairing a gun lock	.75
November 28, 1807	- THOMAS WOMSLEY	
	- To repairing one gun	.42
November 10	- To repairing a rifle gun	2.20
March 26, 1807	- To boring and straightening a gun	.83
	- To one penknife blade	.25
	- To mending a pair of shears	.08
May 8, 1807	- WILLIAM PUTNAM/ BURRILLVILLE (Due)	
	- To one half bushel of rye	.50
	- To one half bushel of rye	.50
	- To one half bushel of rye	.50
	- To one half bushel of rye	.50
	- To one half bushel of rye	.50
	- To Christmas articles	.42
	- To one peck of corn	.21
	- To one peck of corn	.21
	- To one peck of corn	.21
	- To one gallon of rum	1.17
	- To articles for Stafford	.50
	- To four bushels of oats	1.33
	- To two bushels of corn	2.00
	- To 13½ lbs. of mutton	.81
		$14.36
February 13, 1808	- WILLIAM PUTNAM (Credit)	
	- To repairing a padlock	.12
	- To mending two Iron Shovels	.67
	- To iron LB 22½	1.57
	- To mending one hoe	.12
	- To mending one shovel	.12
	- To a balance I met on rye meal ...	.37
	- To one dollar in cash	1.00
		$3.97
December 28, 1808	- To two bushels of rye	1.83
	- To mending one iron	.25
	- To fifty bushels of coal	2.75
January 13, 1809	- To ten and a half pounds of iron	.80
April 14, 1809	- To eighty bushels of coal @ six dollars per hundred	4.80
		$14.36
February 25, 1807	- AMISSA EDDY	
	- To one rifle gun	40.00
(April 17, 1808)	- To one shotgun	29.00
	- To one saddle knife	.33
		$69.33
July 2, 1808	- To one dollar and thirty-three cents by the order of William Young in Gloucester	1.34
November 25, 1808	- To one rifle barrel and lock and bullet molds	13.83
		$84.50
February 25, 1807	- Contrary	
	- To one pair of port bags	5.00
	- To one saddle	14.00
	- To one bridle	2.41
	- To one note by Comfort Johnson five dollars and sixty-six cents	5.66
May 9	- To one pair of seaman's boots	6.00
August 29, 1808	- To one order by DAVID BROWN	16.00
		$49.07
May 9	- To 3½ lbs. of sole leather	.87
June 20	- To one side saddle	20.00
	- To one saddle delivered to JOHN WALLEN	13.00
		$82.94
		1.50
		$84.50
April 7, 1807	- GEORGE WALD	
	- To sheet iron for a bellows pipe wt.=9½ at seventeen cents per pound	1.50
November 5	- To seventy-seven pounds of old Sals(bury) iron at seven dollars per hundred	4.62
November 19	- To eighty one pound of old Sals(bury) iron at seven dollars per pound	4.86
		.32
	This is all settled and carried forward	$11.30
April 7, 1807	- Contrary	
	- To two pairs of shop tongs at thirty-three cents each	.66
	- To one hand hammer	1.00
	- To one boring rod	.75
November 12	- To making and selling one pair of horse shoes	
	- To one stake for a swedge	.80
	- To one hand hammer	.62
	- To one stake for swedging gun cocks at fifty cents a lb.	
	- To twenty-one and three quarter of iron	
January 12, 1808	- To blister steel one pound and a quarter	
	- To new laying three pair of tongs	.92
April 4, 1807	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To work	2.58
	- To mending a frying pan	.20
	- To one gunlock	2.00
June 15	- To stocking one gun	2.00
	- To repairing the barrel and	

	finding part of a set of mountings	1.96
June 21	- To mending one coffee pot	.10
July 14	- To one pair of out soles	.25
July 15	- To mending a grass scythe	.60
	- To mending one stock lock - one skewer bayonet	.17 .12
		$9.58
April 4, 1807	- Contrary	
	- To cash paid	6.42
	- To shoemaking and mending	1.33
	- To one old gun lock	.50
	- To shoemaking	.44
	- To one sheep worth	2.67
	- To tanning and finding leather	.50
	- To one sheep worth	4.00
	All carried forward	$15.86
May 20, 1807	- ANGEL PAINE	
	- To one bayonet to a double barrel gun	1.00
May 23, 1807	- DAVID LASUER	
	- By work	.83
May 30, 1807	- JOHN WOOD	
	- To one gun delivered to their door at Millbury	17.00
May 30, 1807	- ZEBDEE YOUNG	
	- By charcoal — thirty-two and one half bushels	2.50
	- To one gun lock	.12
		$2.62
June 10, 1807	- ZEBDEE YOUNG	
	- To stocking and mounting and finding a lock. Britching and straightening.	
	- The charge carried out	4.00
December 29	- Contrary to twenty-eight bushels of charcoal	1.12
	- To thirty bushels of coal	1.20
		$2.32
June 14, 1807	- NATHANIEL WHITMORE	
November 21	- To one note given up against EBENEZER CRAGGIN	6.12
	- Due to one dollar	1.00
January 6, 1808	- To one pair of pocket pistols	11.00
	- To one order against ELANSON BATS in DUDLEY to be paid in rye	10.00
	- To one gun lock	6.00
	- To nine days' work	10.00
	All Settled	$44.12
June 21, 1807	- Contrary	
	- To four gun barrels at four dollars thirty-three cents ea.	17.32
July 23, 1807	- To one ditto	4.00
	- To two gun barrels at five dollars each	10.00
	- To one rifle barrel	5.00
August 14, 1807	- To two shot barrels	8.64
November 21, 1807	- To one rifle barrel	5.00
	- To one press drill stock	1.50
January 6, 1808	- To one hath rake	.25
	- To one fluten plain	.74
	- To one rifle barrel	5.00
	All Settled	$57.45
June 14, 1807	- JOHN WHITE	
October 2	- To stocking and mounting	9.32
	- An finishing a brass rifle gun	12.50
		$21.82
August 12, 1808	- To stocking and mounting one gun and one lock the whole amount	11.00
September 17, 1808	- To repairing one old shotgun	2.32
July 4, 1807	- To stocking and mounting and finishing up one rifle gun	12.00
		$14.25
June 14, 1807	- JOHN WHITE / Contrary	
	- To thirteen yards of cotton cloth for a bed tick	9.75
October 15	- To one pair of pocket pistols	10.50
August 12, 1808	- To cash paid	12.57
May 24, 1809	- To two gun locks at four dollars and seventy-five cents each lock	9.50
	- To cotton yarn	10.19
		$19.69
June 14, 1807	- BENJAMIN NEWELL	
	- To one rifle gun barrel	12.00
	- To one best finished lock	8.00
	- To one pound of gun powder	1.00
	- To tapping one pair of shoes	.33
June 15	- To one pound tenn 5-10 of Bar Lead	.16
September 18	- To one rifle gun barrel	11.00
	- To stocking and mounting one rifle gun	10.00
September 25	- To one quarter of gun powder	.25
		$42.74
September 25, 1807	- BENJAMIN NEWELL	
	- 2¾ yd. Patent worsted cord at 14 shillings per yard	6.42
		$49.16
June 29, 1807	- GEORGE WARE	
	- To one rifle gun barrel	10.00
	- To one stamp	.33
November 3	- To stocking a gun	2.75
April 16	- To one rifle patch box	1.00
		$14.08
October 15, 1808	- To short pay towards a gun lock	1.58
		$15.66
June 29, 1807	- Contrary	
	- To one pair of MOROCCO SHEEP	1.17
	- To tapping one pair of shoes and finding the taps	.33
	- By cash	6.63
	- To making two pairs of shoes	1.17
April 13	- By two pairs shoes	1.96
	- To one pair of shoes	2.25
May 11	- To one ditto morocco	1.08
		$14.59
	- By cash	1.07
		$15.66
July 10, 1807	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To repairing a gun	1.67
	- To other articles	1.33
	- Contrary to bell metal, 16 lbs. and 14 ounces @ 17¢ per lb.	1.12
July 20, 1807	- JOSIAH KINGSBURY of Oxford Southgore	
	- To stocking and mounting and finding the lock	5.67
September 4	- DAVID LASUER	
	- To rifle a gun	2.00
February 18, 1808	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To repairing a gun	.58
	- To repairing a gun	.33
	- JOSEPH WALL	
	- To one main spring	.41
September 18, 1807	- ESACK PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending a grass scythe	.20
	- To one cock screw pin	.20
	- To repairing the tumbler and sear	.17
	- Contrary to work	.25
	All Settled	
October 2, 1807	- JESSE WOODARD	
	- To making a tumbler and	

	cock to a gunlock	1.47
	- JOSEPH EMERSON	
	- To repairing a pair of pistols	1.67
	- To repairing one old training gun	.17
	- CAPTAIN NATHAN TAFT	
	- To repairing a sword	.67
	- To money spent	.25
		$.92
	- Contrary to cash paid 20 cents	.20
	All Settled	
October 17, 1807	- ABRAM SALSBURY	
	- To one rifle gun worth twenty dollars	20.00
	- Contrary to French watch worth ..	11.00
	- To old brass	1.00
	- To cash delivered	4.00
		$16.00
		4.00
		$20.00
November 11	- NATHANIEL JENCKS	
	- By one quarter of veal 20½ lbs. ...	1.23
	- To carting coal	.30
	- To one bushel and a half of round turnips	.62
		$2.15
November 3, 1807	- DAVID LASUER	
	- By work at harvest	1.33
November 12, 1807	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one gun hammer	.20
December	- BENJAMIN MATHEWSON	
	- To hardening one gun hammer	.12
	- DAVID LASUER	
	- To one pork barrel	1.50
	- To one butter tub	.50
	- To one sauce tub	.42
	- To one fat tub	.58
		$5.16
	- Contrary to one gun wormer	.12
November 12, 1807	- STUKLEY STAFFORD	
	- To one silver watch	9.00
	- To one silver watch	5.00
	- By Esach Page moving your family from Brimfield to Burrilleville	8.00
	- To five lbs. and a half of mutton @ .05¢ a pound	.28
	- To one quart of soap	.02
November 16, 1807	- To one dollar of cash	1.00
	- To half a bushel of potatoes	.21
	- To one bushel of corn	1.00
	- To six candles	.12
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.33
	- To two pounds of pork	.25
	- To two pounds of mutton	.12
		$25.35
November 29, 1807	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
December 1, 1807	- To twelve dollars in cash	12.00
	- To one quarter of mutton wt. 10½ @ .06¢ a pound	.66
December 3, 1807	- To articles delivered by Setphen Branch	.92
	- To cash	.06
December 7, 1807	- To weaving one web	.50
December 10, 1807	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.60
	- To one shot delivered by Joseph Mathewson wt. 68 lbs. @ six cents a lb.	4.08
December 11, 1807	- To half a peck of salt	.15
		$19.47
December 13, 1807	- To one bushel of corn	1.00
	- To one pair of shoes delivered by Job Armstrong	1.75
December 21, 1807	- To cash delivered	1.29
	- To a half a dozen candles	.12
December 25, 1807	- To cash delivered	.08
December 26, 1807	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
	- To one order against Josiah Brown for one half bushel of corn	.41
	- To one half dozen candles	.12
	- To one cheese delivered by Andrew Ellet Sutton	.49
January 9, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	2.00
	- To one order against Josiah Brown for one half bushel of corn	.46
		$8.77
January 16, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.75
January 22, 1808	- Articles delivered by Stephen Branch	1.62
	- To two cords of wood	2.00
	- Joseph Brown to one bushel of corn	1.00
January 23, 1808	- To other articles	.33
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
February 11, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.75
February 13, 1808	- To articles delivered by Daniel Brown	1.19
February 14, 1808	- Articles delivered by Stephen Branch	.54
	- To one half bushel of corn	.46
	- To taping and finding the taps by John Wallen	.50
		$10.14
November 12, 1807	- By work at twenty dollars per month	$
	- February 1, 1808 begin to set down last time for Stafford work	
	- This account is all settled	82.33
December 10, 1807	- To sundry articles	1.00
	- To a bid made on parts of gunlocks	3.00
	- To one gunlock	1.33
January 22, 1808	- Articles delivered by Stephen Branch	1.62
January 28, 1808	- To half a bushel of corn	.50
		$2.12
February 20, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.75
February 25, 1808	- To cash delivered	.25
	- Articles delivered by Esach Page	.93
March 2, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
	- To half a bushel of corn	.46
	- To one peck of rye	.22
March 5, 1808	- To articles delivered by Stephen Branch	.67
		$3.78
March 5, 1808	- To one lb. of cotton yarn no. 8 ...	.80
March 9, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.75
March 11, 1808	- To one order against Esach Page	.200
	- To one cord of wood delivered by Peregrene Mathewson	
March 12, 1808	- To fifty cents	.50
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.75

March 24, 1808 - To articles delivered 1.19

$6.99
All Settled $76.61
5.72

$82.33

November 28, 1807 - THOMAS WOMSLEY
- To repairing one gun ..... .42
December 7, 1807 - PEREGRENE MATHEWSON ... 9.88
- All Settled 9.88
- To one bushel of corn 1.00
- To one pound of lead (10) oz. ..... .16
- To half a bushel and five quarts of salt ..... .80
December 12, 1807 - To one bushel of corn 1.00
December 27, 1807 - To two bushels of corn 2.00
- To one bushel and a half of corn 1.50
January 28, 1808 - To one half bushel of corn ..... .46
- To half a bushel of corn ..... .46
- To one cord of wood 1.00
- All settled 9.88
December 10, 1807 - JOSEPH MATHEWSON 9.00
- To mending a brass kettle 1.12
- To cash delivered 4.00
April 23, 1808 - To cash delivered ..... .67
- To mending a brass kettle 1.12
December 28 - To cash delivered 5.00
May 4 - To 2½ days at haying 2.50
- To one quarter of powder ..... .33

$23.74
December 10, 1807 - Joseph Mathewson 15.86
June 18, 1808 - To taping one pair of shoes ..... .25
- To cash delivered 4.25
June 29, 1809 - To cash by Stafford hay ..... .50

$20.86
- To 18 pounds of pork at 12 cents a lb. 2.25

$23.11
.63

$23.74

December 21, 1807 - DUTY SALSBURY
-
- Towards a rifle gun 16.00
March 4, 1807 - To one gun hammer ..... .22
March 25, 1807 - JOHN COOPER
- To cutting one large screw pin .... .25
- For a saw mill vise ..... .33
December 7 - WILLIAM STEERE in Gloucester
- To one hunting gun 15.00
August 17, 1807 - DAVID EDDY
- To twenty-two pounds and three quarters of old sable iron at seven dollars a hundred 1.59
January 6, 1808 - TIMOTHY MACKLEMARY
- By forge work 6.08
- Contrary to one gunlock 6.08
- JOSEPH INMAN of Smithfield
- Four pounds of brass ..... CREDIT
January 22, 1808 - RADMAN FULLER of Thorton
- To one rifle gun 24.00
January 30, 1808 - DUTY SALSBURY
- To repairing guns ..... .33
January 12, 1808 - NATHANIEL WHITMORE (Sutton)
- To one horse sleigh 19.00
- To one set of harness for a sleigh 14.00
- To one screw plate and taps 4.00
- To repairing two gunlocks ..... .33
March 29 - To one gunlock 2.80
- To one gunlock 4.00
April 6 - To work by Stukley Stafford 5 days 6.00
May 11 - To four gun stocks 1.67
May 12 - To finish one soldier gunlock 1.67
May 25 - To one gun cock ..... .75
August 4 - To one gun cock ..... .95
- To three days' work 3.00
- To three gunlocks lent 9.50
January 26, 1808 - To boring and grinding one gun barrel 2.00
March 16 - To one rifle barrel 5.00
- To a half a pound of glue .....
- To one rifle barrel 5.00
May 20 - To four rifle gun barrels @ $5.00 per barrel 20.00
- To turning lathe arbor ..... .50
- To one order by Noadiah Cummens 1.50
August 28 - To one rifle barrel 5.00
- To three bayonets 2.75
- To boring and grinding 2.00
- To five rifle barrels 25.00
- To boring one gun barrel ..... .75
- To one shot barrel 4.00
- To seven rifle barrels at five dollars each barrel 35.00

$108.50

The account below this month settled
December 28 - To two pounds of gun powder 2.00
March 7, 1809 - In balance of a note 2.57
November 15, 1809 - To one rifle gun 26.00
- Contrary to one rifle barrel 5.00
- To finishing up one rifle barrel for Caleb Mowry 8.00

$41.57
The above account settled below the month
May 9, 1809 - To one rifle barrel 5.00
July 13 - To one shot barrel 3.33
- To one rifle barrel 5.00
October 12 - To the company — one bayonet ... .67
- To one 4-foot barrel 4.00

$18.00

September 10, 1808 - OTHANIEL YOUNG
- For one best finished rifle gun barrel 11.00
December 18 - To cash 5.39
- Superior credits 5.50
- By cash 1.00
January 28, 1808 - ZEBEDEE YOUNG
- To one main spring ..... .42
March 9 - To one rifle gun 20.00
April 1, 1809 - BURRILLVILLE
- This day reckoned and settled all accounts from the beginning of the world unto this day
As witnessed my hand Zebedee Young
Othaniel Young
February 11, 1808 - ZEBEDEE YOUNG
- By coal 106 bushels @ $5.00 a hundred 5.30
- By coal 112 bushels 5.60
July 30 - To one coal bushel ..... .65
December 28 - To nine days' work at tending a coal pit ..... $
- ABRAHAM SMITH
- To one brass kettle 4.00
February 12, 1808 - GEORGE WADE
- To 8½ lbs. of steel 1.06
April 18 - To one note against Asa Bondish .. 2.76
June 11 - To old files 8½ lbs. @ .12¢/lb. 1.03
June 14 - To Iron 22 lbs. @ $8 per 100 ..... $
November 29 - To ten pounds of old files @ .12¢ a pound 1.20

$6.05
March 13, 1809 - To one shot rifle gun 17.00
February 12, 1808 - By one sledge 8½ lbs. 2.12
- To one crank, one pair of hoops, the weight 12 pounds 2.00
- To one pair of arc tongs wt. 8½ @ .17¢ a pound 1.37
May 18 - To Russia Iron (34 lbs.)
June 30 - To Russia Iron (11 lbs., 3 ozs.)
June 11 - To 1 hoe ..... .92
June 18 - To 1 hoe 1.00

September 16	- To twenty lbs. and one quarter of Russia Iron	
	- To repair 2 axes for James Harris	
February 18, 1808	- NATHAN GLEASON	
	- To mending one pair of Kitchen Tongs	1.00
February 18	- JAMES WALLES	
	- To boring and straightening and rifling the barrel and one pair of bullet molds	5.00
February 28	- NATHANIEL JENCKS	
	- To cash delivered	2.00
March 5, 1808	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one straight rifle gun	12.72
	- To one gun hammer	.20
June 17	- Contrary to cash	4.00
	- To work at .50 cents per day	8.25
	- To two days' work at haying	1.67
		$13.67
		$14.21
June 11	- ENOCH THAYER	
	- To repair a gun	.42
	- ADAM STEER	
	- To one screw pin	.08
June 17	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one broad hoe	.92
	- Two brass ferrels	.20
		$1.12
		$14.04
March 11, 1808	- ABRAHAM MASON	
	- To boring and straightening and britching a rifle barrel	2.00
	- Contrary to cash	2.00
March 19	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To mending one quart pot	.12
	- To cash delivered	.21
March 11, 1808	- NATHANIEL JENCKS	
	- To one bushel of rye	.22
	- To wiring linen wheel "fliers"	.12
	- To one half days work at weeding corn	.25
		$1.29
	- Contrary to cash	2.15
	- Cash paid to John Mathewson, Jr.	.56
May 7, 1808	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To Antipass Daniels' order for shillings	.67
	- To mending a scythe for Daniel Cooper	.33
September 4	- To stocking and mounting and finding a lock for a gun — all carried out	5.50
	- To repairing bitstock for Ephram Crimpton	.67
	- To rifle a gun for Ruben Tourtellot	.67
	- To two quarts of rum to finish haying	.58
	- To sole leather for a pair of boots	.33
	- To one rifle gun barrel	5.00
		$13.75
March 18, 1808	- To 4 files 1/10 delivered by Gideon Mowry	1.20
May 25	- To one cord of wood	1.00
February 13, 1809	- To one half bushel of white beans	.50
	- To cash delivered	5.13
		$8.43
	- To one bushel of rye	1.00
		$9.43
	- Lost days set down by work	
March 24, 1808	- STUKLEY STAFFORD	
	- To job work	1.49
April 23	- To 8 cents for work	.08
	- To one rifle barrel	7.00
September 3	- To one gun barrel for shots	2.50
	- To job work	5.80
	- To job work	5.09
October 11	- To cash by George Wall	.92
	- By George Wall for a gun lock	1.58
	- To job work	1.37
		$25.83
March 25, 1808	- To one order against Isaac Page	3.00
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.60
April 6	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
	- To one due bill against Henry Rhodes	1.83
April 11	- To cash delivered	.33
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
April 13	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
April 16	- Articles delivered by Stephen Branch	.47
		$8.13
April 22, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.33
	- To four pounds of pork	.22
	- To one peck of corn	.21
April 25	- To cash delivered	.25
May 1	- To articles delivered	.37
	- To cash delivered	.25
	- To one peck of corn	.21
May 2	- To articles delivered by Stephen Branch	2.00
	- To the pig at 5 weeks old	1.00
	- To the milk of one cow at five months	8.50
	- To Job Armstrong's order	1.17
		$15.71
May 7, 1808	- To cash delivered to Josiah Brown for house rent	10.00
	- To one order against Job Armstrong	2.00
May 14	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
May 15	- To cash delivered	.20
May 25	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
	- To one cord of wood	1.00
	- To one half bushel of corn	.41
May 28	- To articles delivered by Stephen Branch	1.57
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
June 1	- To one day's work at planting corn by James Harris	.50
		$17.28
March 29, 1808	- STEPHEN EDDY	
	- To repairing a gun lock	.25
April 18	- STEPHEN KING	
	- To repairing two lugs	.50
April 19	- EPHRAIM WIMPTON	
	- To one center bit and repairing the bit stock	.83
April 2, 1808	- ELIGER SMITH, JR. of Douglas	
	- To repair a gun	.83
April 25	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- To repair a rifle gun	.40
	- Contrary to cash	1.00
	All Settled	
April 25	- DAVID DUDLEY	
	- To repairing a gunlock	.83
May 3	- ELIGER SMITH	
	- To repair a soldier gun at Douglas	1.00
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By one half day's work at	

	calf killing	.41
	- To one half day's work at haying	1.25
	- To making one pair of shoes	.25
	- Contrary to sole leather for a pair of shoes	.50
May 3, 1808	- HARRIS BATES	
	- To one bitstock ferrel	.20
	- To one penknife blade	.25
	- To one bushel and a half of rye	1.62
February 14, 1809	- To one bushel of rye	1.00
		$3.07
	- To mending one spur	.25
September 2, 1810	- To repairing a gun	.75
		$4.07
February 18, 1808	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To repairing a gun	.58
	- To repairing a gun	.33
	- Feb. 10, 1810 to one screw pin	.08
		$.99
May 3, 1808	- Contrary	
	- To one soap tub	2.00
	- To one twisted whip stock	.41
February 11, 1809	- To one fat tub	.50
		$2.91
February 11, 1809	- To washing tub	.50
		$3.41
February 26, 1810	- To one lye tub and repairing a pail	1.00
		$4.41
June 7, 1808	- STUKLEY STAFFORD	
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
	- To cash delivered	.62
	- To articles delivered by Stephen Branch	.77
June 8, 1808	- To cash delivered to Josiah Brown for house rent	10.00
	- To three pecks of corn	.53
June 14	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
June 18	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
June 23	- To one order against Stephen Branch	2.00
June 27	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
July 1	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.50
	- To cash delivered	.25
July 12	- To one order against Stephen Branch	3.00
		$20.71
July 30	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.50
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.25
August 3	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.88
August 4	- To 3 lbs. 11 ozs. of pork	.36
	- To 2 doz. candles	.50
	- To 4 quarts of meat	.11
August 24	- To cash delivered	.67
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.75
September 3	- To articles delivered by Stephen Branch	1.00
September 4	- To cash delivered	2.00
September 14	- To one bushel of corn delivered by Stephen Brown	.96
		$9.98
September 14, 1808	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.60
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
September 19	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.00
	- To one order against Stephen Branch	.58
September 28	- To one order against Stephen Branch	1.50
October 1	- To cash delivered	.30
	- Settled for Anen Evens	.62
	- Settled for Cyrus Cook	.62
	- Settled at Cyrus Cook's	.33
		$6.55
	- Superior Credit	159.89
		$159.89
December 11, 1808	- CYRUS STEERE	
	- To twelve days' work at Chopping wood at .50¢ a day	6.00
	- JOSEPH HARRIS	
	- To chopping wood at .50¢ a day	$ Settled
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To chopping wood at .50¢ a day	Settled
	- To one partridge	.06
November 10, 1808	- To one bullet flask	1.67
February 22, 1809	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To cash	1.08
May 11, 1809	- To one order against George Wall	1.00
November 14, 1809	- To cash delivered	20.91
		$22.99
	- To one note against Jean Kimball	20.00
	- To Ruben Tourtellot order	.75
		$43.74
	- Bought up	13.75
		$57.49
May 12, 1809	- Contrary	
	- To corn bushels	6.36
	- Bought up	9.43
		$15.79
		41.70
	Settled	$57.49
July 13, 1808	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To rye bushels (10)	
	- Contrary to corn bushels (10)	
August 5, 1808	- WELCOME BALLOU	
	- To work	.08
September 17, 1808	- To stocking and mounting and finishing one rifle gun	8.00
September 25, 1808	-	11.45
		.34
		$11.79
September 26, 1809	- To 4 days' work hoeing	2.17
August 2, 1808	- By 11½ days' work haying	9.54
	- To 3-2/3 days at .50¢ a day	1.83
September 25, 1808	-	11.45
	- Superior credit	.34
		$11.79
August 30, 1808	- JOSEPH WARD (WALL)	
	- To one gunlock	2.00
	- To repairing a gun	.81
	- Contrary to cash	1.00
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To repair a gun	.37
	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To repair a gun	.15
	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To repair a gun and two augers	.33
	- JESSE WOODARD	

	- To repair a gun	.33
	- To one Ragton for a ladder back ..	.17
	- To repair a gunlock	.50
		$1.00
August 30, 1808	- JOHN WALLEN	
	- To cash	.12
	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To one bayonet delivered to Oney Inman	1.00
	- JACOB GINEY	
	- To gunsmith work	4.73
	- Credit	.08
September 3	- JEREMIAH GINEY	
	- To repair a gunlock	.25
	- JOSEPH PUTNAM	
	- To repair an auger	.25
September 3, 1808	- ELANSEN BOTS	
	- To one gunlock	4.75
	- To repair a gun	.75
	- Contrary to one old gunlock	1.00
	- EBENEZER BURREL	
	- To a ferrel for a table	.20
	- ELIZER SMITH	
	- To repair a gunlock	.25
	- ROBERT CURTIS	
	- To repair a gun	.54
	- To one silver set	.10
	- Credit by Israel Thayer cash delivered	.57
September 16, 1808	- DANIEL BROWN of Douglas	
	- To mending a sword	.17
	- JOSEPH WALL	
	- To repair a gunlock	.25
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending a pair of shoes	.08
	- ENGLISH TAFT	
	- To repair a gun	.54
	- WILLARD TAFT	
	- To rifle a gun	.50
	- To one pair of bullet moulds	.50
October 6, 1808	- JOHN COWEN	
	- To stocking and repairing a gun all carried out	5.36
October 11	- JACOB GINEY	
	- To cash	3.00
	- JEREMIAH THORNTON	
	- To one bayonet	1.33
	- RUBEN TOURTELLOT	
	- To repair a gun	.67
	- NATHAN THAYER	
	- To repair a gun	.25
	- RUFUS BAKER	
	- To repair a gunlock	1.00
October 12, 1808	- THOMAS OWEN, Jr.	
	- To stocking a gun	2.00
	- To one gunstock	2.00
	- To brighten the barrel and boring and straightening	.91
	- Other repairs	.37
		$5.28
October 12, 1808	- DAVID EDDY	
	- To one stamp	.33
	- DAVID LAPHAM	
	- To one pair of bullet moulds	.50
	- ENOCK INMAN	
	- To repairing one bayonet	.25
October 12, 1808	- ENOUGH STEERE	
	- To one gun wormer	.12
	- STEPHEN CLEMMEY	.08
October 14, 1808	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To cash	10.00
	- To 3 bushels of rye	3.00
	- To one blow pipe	1.00
	- (This is in part payment for a cow-price carried out)	17.00
	- Credit to one dipper	.50
March 28, 1809	- JOHN WALLEN	
	- To one brass skimmer and one brass ladle	3.00
	- DAVID LASUER	
	- To one main spring for a gunlock	.41
October 15, 1808	- JOHN CAREL	
	- To repair one gunlock	.25
October 29, 1808	- TIMOTHY CRAGGIN	
	- To stocking and mounting and repairing the barrel	7.50
	- MOSES TAFT	
	- To making one gun cock and hardening the hammer	1.12
November 6	- DUTY SALSBURY	
	- To two gun wormers	.25
	- To mending one auger	.20
November 10	- DAVID KNIEGHT	
	- To repairing a gun delivered to Joseph Eston	1.00
	- OLLEY BROWN	
	- To repairing a gunlock	.25
	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To repairing a gun	.50
	- JOHN WHITE	
	- To mending a pair of tongs	.50
January 26, 1809	- JOHN CAREL	
	- To twenty-nine lbs. of new milk cheese at .08¢ a lb.	2.32
	- Contrary to cash	2.00
	- To cash delivered Feb. 21, 1811 ...	.32
		$2.32
November 26, 1808	- JOSEPH HARRIS	
	- To cash delivered interest to a loan	4.00
	Settled	
November 28, 1808	- Received ten dollars in David Arnold in part for a gun delivered said gun and received pay in full	
December 4, 1808	- ZEBEDEE HOPKINS	
	- To repair an old gunlock	.33
December 11, 1808	- JOHN MATHEWSON, JR.	
	- To cash delivered	2.00
	- To cash delivered	.56
	- To cash delivered	.25
	- To cash delivered ..... $	
	- To cash delivered by Perigrene Mathewson	5.00
		$8.81
December 28, 1808	- To one rifle gun barrel	12.00
	- To one gunlock	6.00
		$8.81
	- CYRUS STEERE	
	- To one rifle gun barrel	11.00
	- ISAAC RASS	
	- To one day's work at chopping wood by Joseph Harris	.50
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To cash delivered	.56
	- To cash delivered	.75
	- To gumping one axe by George Wade	1.00
	- To one pair of shoes	1.33
February 3, 1809	- JOSEPH HARRIS	
	- To gumping an axe by George Wade	1.00
January 3, 1809	- LEMUEL MOFFET	
	- To repairing a gunlock	1.21
January 3, 1809	- ALFRED HUSE	
	- To shoemaking and mending	4.12
	- Contrary to cash	1.57
	- 33 cents to be paid to Benjamin Twing	.33
	- To cash by Richard Colburn	2.12
	- To cash delivered	.10
	Settled	$4.12
	- JOHN COOPER	
	- To the use of his sleigh to go 18 miles	

January 13, 1809 - JAMES HARRIS
- To 6 yards of India cotton cloth 2.00
- To ¼ lb. of gun powder ..... .25
- To 4 skeins of thread ..... .08
- To one chest lock ..... .25

FEbruary 22, 1809 - To cash delivered 3.09
- To one order against William Armstrong 1.00

March 28, 1809 - To one quarter and half quarter of patent worsted cord .... .93
- To one jacket back ..... .17

June 7, 1809 - To ¼ lb. of powder ..... .29

July 6 - To one pair of shoes delivered by Job Armstrong 2.00

$10.08

January 10, 1809 - To sundry articles 2.42
- To gunsticks twenty-two at .06¢ a stick 1.32

February 2, 1809 - To one day of shucking ..... .50

February 22, 1809 - To cash delivered 1.08
- To one day's work ..... .50

March 28, 1809 - To cash delivered ..... .37
- To one bushel of white beans 1.08
- To cash ..... .20

May 31, 1809 - To work ..... .75
- To work 2.25
- To hoeing beans ..... .50

July 6, 1809 - To one day's work on the road .... .50

July 16, 1809 - To 2½ days' work on hoeing 1.25

$12.72

January 13, 1809 - THANKFUL SMITH the wife of Daniel
- To one brass kettle the weight 11 lbs. 3 ozs. to be paid by first day of next April 3.70
- MOWRY SMITH
- To repair a gunlock ..... .10
- RUBEN PURCHAS
- To repair a gun ..... .66
- Contrary to one basket ..... .41

$ .25

January 28, 1809 - DAVID RICHARDSON
- To repair a gunlock ..... .41
- JAMES CARPENTER
- To repair a gun ..... .75
- STEPHEN THOMPSON
- To stocking and repairing a gun ... 2.44
- JOHN COWEN, JR.
- To repair a gun and bullet moulds 3.41
- Contrary to cash 1.00
- CYRUS STEERE
- To cash 2.00

Februar 28, 1809 - ISAAC RASS
- To one penknife blade ..... .17

February 3 - WILLIAM INMAN
- To cash delivered 2.00
- Contrary to stocking and mounting and finding a lock 6.06

February 25 - JEREMIAH THORNTON
- To one order against Stephen Wade 2.00

February 27 - SILAS COMSTOCK
- To repair a gun 1.33
- To other articles in gunsmith work ..... .54

$1.87

February 28, 1809 - BENJAMIN TWING
- To repair a rifle gun 4.50

March 28 - DANIEL SAYLES
- To one old gunstock lock and mountings ..... .75
- BENJAMIN MATHEWSON
- To one old gunlock ..... .75
- MOSES COOPER'S wife
- To one brass ladle ..... .75
- DANIEL COOPER
- To one penknife blade ..... .40

March 28, 1809 - ALLEN THAYER
- To repair a gun ..... .67
- CHARLES EDDY
- To one penknife blade ..... .25

April 6, 1809 - SOLOMON SMITH
- To one saw plate ..... .17
- NATHAN WILLIAMS
- To repairing one stock lock key ... .25
- DAVID BROWN
- To cash ..... .25

April 11, 1809 - ANTIPAS DANIELS
- To mending a pair of shoes ..... .10

April 12, 1809 - STEPHEN BROWN
- To one bushel of clams 1.23
- Contrary to riding my horse 8 miles ..... .33
- To cash delivered ..... .30
- To cash ..... .10

$ .73

- To one journey with my horse to Thompson ..... .50

Settled $1.23

April 6, 1809 - IRA EVANS
- To mending a pair of kitchen tongs 1.00
- WILLIAM RHODES
- To tinkering ..... .12

April 6, 1809 - THOMAS OWEN
- To cash ..... .16

April 29, 1809 - ASA BURDIN
- To making one gun barrel well finished 8.00
- ANDREW YOUNG
- To repair a gun ..... .67
- Contrary to cash ..... .50
- WELCOME BALLOU
- To repair a gun ..... .75
- CAPTAIN NATHAN TAFT
- To repair a gun 1.02
- JOSEPH CURTIS
- To one pair of bullet moulds ..... .50
- JOSEPH BOWEN
- To mending one box ..... .10
- GEORGE ALDRICH
- To stocking a soldier gun 2.00
- To two screw pins ..... .08

$2.08

April 26, 1809 - LUTHER TWING
- To hilting one sword 4.00

April 29, 1809 - ALLEN THAYER
- To one lime cask ..... .20
- Part of a hand saw plate ..... .17

May 8 - SILOS COMSTOCK
- To cash 1.31

November 11, 1806 - DUTY SALSBURY
- To gunsmith work 2.17
- To stocking and mounting a gun .. 6.50

December 12, 1807 - To part of a rifle gun 16.00
- To one gun hammer ..... .42
- To repairing guns ..... .33

November, 1808 - To 2 gun wormers ..... .25
- To mending one auger ..... .20

$25.87

July 30, 1809 - To repairing a pair of shears ..... .08
- To one well finished rifle gun and moulds 35.00

$60.95
.47

$61.42

- To one rifle gun 28.00

January 3, 1809 - Credit
- To 6 gunstocks 2,17
- By cash 3.00
- By cash 2.00

	- By cash	.50
		$7.67
	- To cash delivered	6.00
	- By one pen and ground in Burrilleville Meeting House No. 27	25.00
	- By a note of hand signed by John Whipple	8.90
		$38.67
	- By note	22.75
		$61.42
May 12, 1809	- JOHN COOPER	
	- To one walnut tree for gunsticks	1.00
May 28	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To mending one broad hoe	.10
June 8	- MOSES HUMES, JR.	
	- To mending one gunstock	.60
	- GEORGE BAKER of Douglas	
	- To mending a bayonet	.50
June 9	- ELIJAH BROWN	
	- To mending one pair of sheep shears	.17
	- JONAS SMITH	
	- To cash	1.00
May 8, 1809	- CAPTAIN BENJAMIN DUDLEY	
	- To one shotgun	20.00
May 10	- DANIEL SAYLES	
	- To stocking and mounting and one lock for a gun	5.00
July 9	- To mending one iron square	.40
	- To one soldier gun	12.00
	- Contrary to one gun barrel	3.33
May 12, 1809	- TAYLOR WATSON	
	- To repair a gun	.67
June 12	- SABEN OWEN	
	- To repair a gun	7.50
June 22	- To stocking and mounting and finding one lock and other repairs for a training gun all carried out	6.08
	All Settled	$6.58
May 28	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To plowing and planting	7.50
	- To cash by Betsy Putnam	1.17
	- To flax 17 lbs. 10 ozs.	2.93
May 17	- To one peck of rye	.29
		$11.89
June 15, 1809	- To 80 bushels of coal at $5.00 a hundred	4.80
June 17	- To cash delivered to nine lbs. and one quarter of shingle nails	7.50
June 19	- To seventy bushels of coal	4.20
	- To coal six bushels at .40¢/bu.	2.40
August 25	- To mend one bush scythe for Antipass Daniels	.41
	- 16 bushels of coal	.96
		$11.163
	- 60 bushels of coal	1.09
		$12.72
June 16, 1809	- LINDEN SMITH	
	- To repair a rifle gun	.41
	- STEPHEN EDDY	
	- To repair a rifle gunstock	.25
June 16, 1809	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To half bushel of flax seed	.75
July 9	- JOSEPH WHITE	
	- To mending a scythe stick	.12
	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To cash	1.00
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To cash	1.00
July 18, 1809	- JOSEPH EMERSON	
	- To repairing a pair of pistols	1.50
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To wiring a pair of linen wheel fliers	.12
July 19, 1809	- BENJAMIN MATHEWSON	
	- To stocking and mounting and one lock and repairing the barrel all carried out	6.75
	Settled	
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To one brass ferrel	.17
July 25, 1809	- ANTHONY PLACE	
	- To repairing a gun	2.00
	- DANIEL COOPER	
	- To help for two days' work at haying	.50
July 26, 1809	- ISAAC RASS, JR.	
	- To cherry boards	1.31
July 29, 1809	- CYRUS STEERE	
	- To one gun cock	1.00
August 13, 1809	- To cash	.10
August 5, 1809	- JOHN JEFFERSON, JR.	
	- To stocking and repairing a gun	3.00
August 6, 1809	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To cash	.15
August 8, 1809	- HENRY BARNS	
	- To mending two grass scythes	.50
August 25, 1809	- JOHN JEFFERSON, JR.	
	- To cash delivered	2.60
August 26, 1809	- JOSEPH EMERSON	
	- To cash	1.00
	- Contrary to cash	5.00
	- One shotgun to be made for Joseph Emerson December 25 price $15.00	15.00
	- To cash	5.00
	- Contrary to cash	1.00
August 19, 1809	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one pair of ton shirts	3.00
August 24, 1809	- To cash delivered	2.00
	- To tailor work — B. Putnam	2.33
August 25, 1809	- To cash	.25
October 13, 1809	- To 30 yds. of (?) sheared and pressed all wool cloth	4.17
November 28	- To one note against Zebedee Young dated March 11, 1809	3.12
	- To making one pair of shoes	.41
	- To cash delivered	.12
	- To gunsmithing work delivered to Jeremiah Harris	2.75
	- To a note against James Harris	3.01
		$21.56
August 19, 1809	- To cash	2.00
	- To cash	.60
	- To 14 days' work at .83¢ a day	12.03
	- To making shoes for Ebenezor Burrill	$1.00
	- To digging 30 bushels of potatoes	.60
	- To making one pair of shoes	.49
	- ISAAC RASS, JR.	
	- To one iron stack wt. 36 lbs. January 25, 1810	3.33
August 23, 1809	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To repairing one auger	.20
	- Contrary to cash	4.00
August 25, 1809	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- To brass	2.00
August 25, 1809	- ADEN STEERE	
	- To desk balls	.06
August 27, 1809	- ELISHA MITCHEL	
	- To repair a gun	1.50
	- STEPHEN THAYER	
	- To rifle a gun	.50
August 29, 1809	- NATHAN GLEASON	
	- To repair a gun	2.00
September 22, 1809	- JOSEPH WHITE	
	- To 4 days' work at haying	3.75
July 26	- WELCOME BALLOU	
	- To 3 days' work at haying	2.92

	- To 4 days' work at hoeing	2.17
		$5.09
April 29	- Contrary credit	
	- To repair a gun	.75
	- To articles delivered by William Armstrong	1.08
		$9.83
September 7, 1809	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To mending one brass kettle	1.52
	- To one warming pan	.25
		$1.77
September 10	- STEPHEN SMITH	
	- To repair a wheel	.25
October 6	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To making a pair of shoes by James Harris	1.00
	- To repair a gun	1.25
October 10	- To two bushels of potatoes	.58
	- To repair one auger	.20
November 8	- To one order against George Lee	2.00
		$5.03
October 8, 1809	- STEPHEN EDDY	
	- To repair a gun	.95
October 2, 1809	- MOSES TAFT	
	- To repair a rifle gun	1.33
October 10, 1809	- ISAN KILLEY	
	- To repair a gun	.10
	- WILLIAM COOK	
	- To repair a gun	.25
	- JOSEPH STEERE	
	- To repair a gun	.75
January 13, 1807	- JOHN WALLEN	
	- Journey with my horse to Wallem Pond	
	- To one journey 3 miles	
	- To one journey 3 miles	.12
	- STEPHEN MAYER	
	- Gun to be made February next worth $15.50/ 4/0 barrel square chamber	
	- EBENEZOR CRAGGIN	
	- Gun to be finished for $20.00	
	- PENUEL CURTIS	
	- One rifle gun to be made in a good style	
	- This gun is to be made the first of May at 1807 worth $25.00	
November 7, 1809	- ASHEL SHERMAN	
	- To 4 barrels of cider at $1.50 a barrel	6.00
	- To 4 bushels of apples @ .17¢ a bushel	.67
	- Contrary to one brass skimmer	.75
	- To two brass skimmers	1.50
	- To springing one steel trap	.75
		$3.00
June 17, 1810	- This above account is all settled and made even	
October 12, 1809	- LABEN TAFT	
	- To one soldier gun	11.00
	- SAMUEL BLACKMAN	
	- To repairing a gun	.25
	- To mending one flask	.30
November 4, 1809	- JOSEPH NEWEL	
	- To mending one sawmill saw	.83
November 31, 1809	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To Welcome Mathewson in settlement	2.86
January 23, 1810	- To one two heads of tobacco	.13
	- To 5 yds of cotton at 7 S a yd.	5.84
	- To gunsmith work	2.00
February 14	- To 6 and a half	.36
	- To making of one great coat	1.00
		$12.19
June 11	- To one order against Cyrus Cook	2.00
	- To one day's board	.25
	- To one gunstock	.50
June 23	- To one blown barrel	.06
	- To one gun barrel and lock	2.50
September 13	- To one old bad gunstock	.12
		$17.62
	- To three tin cups	.42
November 6	- To leather for one pair of boot feet	1.00
	- To one half bushel of corn	.50
	- To powder	.25
		$19.79
December 7, 1809	- To making two pairs of shoes	.75
	- To work at coal pit	.33
	- To tapping and heal tapping one pair of shoes	.33
January 23	- To cash delivered	1.00
	- To cash delivered	.33
February 12	- To cash delivered by Perigrene Mathewson	.70
	- To mending 2 pairs of shoes	.58
May 10	- To bottoming 6 chairs	1.50
		$5.52
May 10	- To 3 days' work plowing	1.50
June 23	- To 1 day's work weeding	.50
July 6	- To three days' work weeding	1.50
	- To one month's work and one day 14 dollars a month	14.53
		$23.55
December 6, 1809	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To mending one brass kettle	2.01
	- Contrary to one old rusty bayonet	.17
	- To cash delivered by George Lee ..	1.00
December 6, 1809	- DANIEL COOPER	
	- To two bushels of Turk's iron salt	2.00
	- To mending one trunk lock	.12
December 14, 1809	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To one carving knife and fork	3.00
	- To mending one tin oven	.41
December 12	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To repairing one rifle gun	1.00
December 14	- WILLIAM ARMSTRONG	
	- To gumping one cast steel axe	1.17
	- LUTHER TWING	
	- To cash	.17
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To mending one auger	.25
	- WILLIAM INMAN	
	- To cash by John Wallen	2.00
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To cash	3.00
	- Contrary credit to cash	1.50
	- To 10 oil hats	.28
		$2.48
December 23	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To two journeys with my horse to Thompson	1.00
December 28	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- February 14, 1810 to one book	1.00
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
		$2.00
December 23, 1809	- GEORGE WILLARD	
	- To Welcome Mathewson to repair one rifle	1.67
	- SIMEON BROWN	
	- To cash delivered	6.00
	- NATHANIEL WHITMORE	
	- To Welcome Mathewson to straightening and rifling one barrel	3.00
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To cash delivered	1.00

August 30, 1808	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To repair a gun	.37
July 18, 1809	- To wiring butt wheel pliers	.12
May 9	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To mending one pair of sheep shears	.17
September 7	- To mending one brass kettle	1.52
	- To mending one warming pan	.25
December 14	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To mending one auger	.25
		$2.68
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
February 2, 1810	- To repair one saw	.25
	- To mending one sleeve button	.06
May 6	- To mending one coffee pot	.08
June 25	All Settled	$4.07
November 2, 1809	- To one bushel of quinces	1.00
	- To 3 pecks of quinces	.75
June 28, 1810	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To one quarter of veal 19½ lbs.	1.15
	- To wintering sheep	1.17
	All Settled	$4.07
July 16	- STEPHEN EDDY	
	- Due to Welcome Mathewson for Amissa Eddy order	1.80
	- To one screw pin in the tumbler of gunlock	.12
	- To repairing a gunstock	.25
March 22, 1808	- To repairing a gun	.25
October 8, 1809	- To repairing a gun	.25
October 8, 1809	- To repairing a gun and making a whip stock	.97
		$3.39
January 13, 1810	- STEPHEN WILLARD	
	- To 3¼ of brass	.82
	- TIMOTHY WILMOT	
	- To repair a gunlock	.20
	- DANIEL SMITH	
	- To stocking one gun and repairing the barrel	3.00
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To cents	.06
December 26	- ASEL KEECH	
	- To gumping one axe with cast steel	1.25
January 9	- JOHN MATHEWSON, JR.	
	- To one axe	1.67
February 14, 1810	- To gumping one axe	1.77
	- To cash delivered to James Harris .	.70
	- Perigrene Mathewson to the above account	
January 22, 1810	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
February 14	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To upsetting one axe	.20
	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- To one pound of rice	.05
	- BENJAMIN MATHEWSON	
	- To cash	.25
March 21	- WILLIAM COOK	
	- To mending one iron	.20
February 14	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To one quart of spearmint distilled water	.17
	- To one brass skimmer	1.00
	- To repair one stock lock	.12
February 17, 1810	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
	- To repair a saw	.20
March 2	- WILLIAM BALLOU	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
	- ELESOR BAKER	
	- To new laying and gumping an ax .	1.25
March 5	- BENJAMIN MATHEWSON	
	- To one brass skimmer	.75
	- Contrary to cash	.25
March 21	- WILLIAM COOK	
	- To mending one iron skewer	.20
March 5, 1810	- SILVANUS THAYER	
	- To one shotgun	15.00
March 11	- DARIUS MITCHEL	
	- To one truss	1.50
March 5	- ZEBEDEE YOUNG	
	- To one basket	.33
	- STEPHEN ONEY	
	- To mending one pair of kitchen tongs	.33
	- To repair one gun	1.42
March 10	- ISAAC RASS	
	- To mending one coffee pot	.08
March 21, 1810	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To one bushel of oats	.62
March 22	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To one French watch in part for a gun	10.00
April 3	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To turning one set of warping bar pins	.46
	- To mending one auger	.10
	- SIMEON STEERE	
	- To new laying and gumping one axe with cast steel	1.50
	- DAVID LASUER	
	- To one brand and one knife blade .	.75
April 3	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- To stocking and mounting and repairing one gun and bayonet and bullet moulds	6.00
	- Contrary credit to one set of old gun mountings	.67
	All Settled	
August 28, 1810	- MOSES TAFT	
	- To cash	1.00
	- OTIS ALDRICH	
	- Gun to be made worth $28.00 February next 1810	
January 9, 1810	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To Welcome Mathewson 77 days' work of lost time in apprenticeship	
	- To lost days' work 80 days	
November 1, 1810	- RUSSEL ALDRICH	
	- To mending one brass kettle 44 nails	.61
November 10, 1810	- To mending one tea kettle and candlestick	.25
November 3, 1810	- DANIEL COOPER	
	- To repairing a gunlock	.25
November 5, 1810	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To mending a brass kettle (78 nails)	1.17
December 5	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To 12 oz. of steel	.24
December 29	- To repairing one tea kettle	.17
December 10, 1810	ARNOLD HUNT	
	- To Welcome Mathewson to one carving knife handle and one steel handle	.42
December 12	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To repairing a gun	.50
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To repairing a harness	.25
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
	- To boot a change of axes	.25
June 23, 1810	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To mending one brass key	.12
July 3	- To mending seven locks and keys and other articles	2.25
November 3	- To 2 blades and one spring for a penknife	.75
November 5	- To mending one brass kettle 2 oz. nails	1.63
December 10	- To repair three padlocks	.37
March 17, 1811	- To mending one pair of brass andirons	.75
	- To one ticket in gun lottery	1.00
September 29	- To mending two tin coffee pots ...	.20

October 20	- To repairing 1 soldier gun	.75
	- To mending one fan for Polly Slack	.12
	- Settled and made over	$7.94
July 12, 1810	- To one key	.20
November 1	- To one old padlock with no key ...	.12
December 1	- To half a bushel of rye	.67
	- To half a bushel of corn	.50
March 22, 1811	- To one pair of bullet moulds	.50
	- To one peck of lime	.25
	- Paid to James Harris	2.19
July 13	- Paid to James Harris	.50
	- One bushel of corn paid to James Harris	1.00
September 29	- By one bushel of corn delivered to James Harris	1.00
	- Settled and made even	$6.93
October 30, 1810	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To two yards of wire	.04
December 10	- To one pound and 5 oz. of steel	.17
January 23, 1811	- To whetting and setting a cross cut saw	.25
March 29	- To one shot rifle gun	13.00
		$13.46

Burrilleville March 29, 1811
Reckoned and settled all book accounts and found due to Elisha Brown ten cents
Elisha Brown
Welcome Mathewson

July 20, 1810	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To one ham	1.83
August 5	- To six and half lbs. of veal at 6 cents a lb.	.39
September 4	- To one quarter of mutton weight 12 lbs. @ .06¢ a lb.	.85
	- To one ham price	2.00
September 27	- 12¼ lbs. of pork @ .16¢	2.00
	- To one barrel of cider	.84
	- To cash delivered	2.00
December 26	- To one pound of wool	.50
	- To two quarts of milk	.08
		$10.49
	- To one new milk cheese weight 15½ lbs. @ .12½¢	1.94
	- To 16 lbs. of force meal cheese @ .07¢ a lb.	1.13
		$13.56
October 7, 1810	- JOHN WALLEN	
	- To one order against Wood and Hunt	.83
January 19, 1811	- To gumping one axe	1.00
	- To one ticket No. 9	1.00
January 30	- To one chopping knife	.75
	- To gumping one axe cast steel	1.33
	- To one silk handkerchief delivered Wood and Hunt	1.25
March 15	- To gumping one axe cast steel	1.33
	- Articles delivered by Cyrus Cook on Muster Day Oct. 1810 ...	2.63
		$10.12
March 15	- Above these lines drawn across is settled	1.71
		$11.83
October 7, 1810	- To articles delivered	11.83
March 16, 1811	- This day we the subscribers have reckoned and settled all book accounts from the beginning up to this above date and journal due to John Wallen	
	Welcome Mathewson	
	John Wallen	
May 7, 1810	- DUTY SALSBURY	
	- To repair sawmill stirrups	1.00
June 23	- To repair a gun	.12
September 29	- To repair a rifle gun	.33
	- To stocking and mounting and finishing a rifle gun	12.00
November 23, 1811	- To one gun lock	.75
April 19	- To 2 tickets in gun lottery	2.00
		$16.20
September 19, 1810	- To 23 lbs. of iron at .06¢ a lb.	1.38
August 4, 1811	- To 8 gun stocks	2.67
July 30, 1812	- Ten dollars in cash	10.00
		$14.05
June 13, 1810	- AMISSA EDDY	
	- To Welcome Mathewson to one shotgun well furnished	22.00
February 11, 1812	- To a one-horse sleigh worth	20.00
	- To repairing Laton Owen's gun ...	7.50
		$49.50
	- To cash delivered	.26
	Settled	$49.76
1810	- Contrary to Amissa Eddy	
June 13	- To one well finished saddle	14.00
January, 1811	- To repairing a side saddle	1.50
	- To one small piece of deerskin	.16
	- To repairing a pair of saddle bags	.75
	- To one man's saddle	15.00
	- To one side saddle	17.75
	- To one pair of suspenders	.20
	- To one knapsack for a rifle gun ...	.50
		$49.76
	This above account is all settled	
1810	- WELCOME MATHEWSON	
	- To James Harris to 17-1/3 lbs. of beef and 8½ lbs. of beef	4.50
January 12, 1811	- To one note against John Burden bearing a date of November 16, 1809	2.12
January 28	- To one note against John Burden bearing a date of	
	- To one pair of taps	.25
	- To powder at the turkey shoot	.25
	- To the use of tools and board to stock and repair a gun	1.28
	- Need of William Rhodes	2.19
		$10.59
	- To articles delivered by William Rhodes	.50
		$11.09
	- Contrary to James Harris	
December 6, 1810	- To a balance due on settlement ...	3.76
March 8, 1811	- To 13 days' work at .50¢ a day	6.50
	- To 1 lb. 6 oz. of brass	.33
		$10.59
	- To one day's work	.50
		$11.09
January 6, 1811	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To Welcome Mathewson to gumping one axe	1.00
January 8	- JAMES STONE	
	- To new laying and gumping an axe	1.25
January 19	- STEPHEN EDDY	
	- To one ticket	1.00
	- DUTY SALSBURY	
	- To two tickets	2.00
	- ARNOLD HUNT	
	- To one knitting needle	.25
January 23	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To mending a pair of gumpers	.25
	- HARRIS BATES	
	- To repairing a gun and rifling it	2.00

- Contrary to that to one bushel of salt ..... .92
- HALIS WOOD
- To one cast steel axe 1.90
- RUSSEL HILLEY
- To repair a still ..... .12
- DEXTER RICHARDSON
- To one order from Nathan Arnold to be in repair of pistols 1.00
- ELISHA SAYLES
- To one padlock key ..... .33
- JOHN PHETTEPLACE
- To manding one auger

January 23, 1811 - WILLIAM LAPHAM
- To gumping one axe 1.00

January 30 - EBENEZOR BURRILL
- To gumping one axe cast steel welding pole 1.33

February 3 - WILLIAM BALLOU
- To brazing one axe pole ..... .33
- To brazing one iron pot ledge ..... .33

February 4 - JOSEPH NEWELL
- To mending a coffee pot ..... .12

February 4 - ARTIMUS CRUFF
- To mending a teapot ..... .06

February 4 - JOHN HARRIS
- To cash delivered to Wm. Harris ..... .50

February 6, 1811 - OLBY WHITE
- To one pair of bullet moulds 1.00
- To one pair of drumsticks ..... .17

March 16 - JOSEPH NEWELL
- To two dollars and 25 cents paid
- STEPHEN ONEY
- In gunsmith work 2.25

March 19 - STEPHEN COOPER
- To repairing a gun ..... .84
- ELEASER COVILL's wife
- To mending one whip ..... .20

March 19 - WILLIAM BALLOU
- To half a bushel of rye ..... .66

February 28, 1811 - JOSEPH NEWELL
- To mending a sawmill saw ..... .60
- HARRIS BATES
- To mending a crosscut saw ..... .50

March 3 - DAVID BROWN
- To manding a silver hook ..... .08

March 4 - JOHN LASUER
- To mending an umbrella ..... .20

March 6 - ALLEN THAYER
- To mending one box rule ..... .08

March 7, 1811 - JOSEPH WHIPPLE
- To 4½ lbs. of brass 1.12
- EZECHIAL PHETTEPLACE
- To one pair of bettle rings ..... .25

March 18 - WILLIAM WHITE
- To repairing pistols and steel trap, half to James Harris 2.00

March 23 - RUBEN WALLEN
- To mending a brass kettle to 172 nails .01½¢ a nail 2.58
- LABEN TAFT
- To a balance due on settlement ... .51
- Contrary credit to one quart of lamp oil ..... .25

March 23, 1811 - ISAAC RASS
- To one short stock of cherry boards
- Contrary to that — to one journey with your horse to Thompson
- WILLIAM PUTNAM
- To one journey with your horse to Sutton 1.00

March 30 - STEPHEN COOPER, Jr.
- To mending a crosscut saw which was broken 1.50
- ALLEN THAYER
- To one 2-inch sickle ..... .42

April 10, 1811 - ARTIMAS CRUFF
- To 110 lbs. of old "sable" iron at 7 dollars a hundred .....
- SMITH BRITTAN
- To turning and ferreling one file ..... .33
- To 2 center bits, 2 shillings per bit ..... .66
- ASA AMES
- To repairing one pistol ..... .42
- JOSEPH NEWEL
- To cash paid for iron ..... .50

April 11 - TYLER WATSON
- To repair a gun ..... .28

April 11 - NATHANIEL JANCKS
- To wiring a pair of fliers ..... .12
- JAMES HARRIS
- To Welcome Mathewson to one pig 4 weeks old 1.00

April 13 - To articles delivered by Cyrus Cook ..... .98

April 20 - To 5¼ lbs. of veal ..... .29

April 21 - To one note of hand 54 cents ..... .54
- To one pair of shoe taps ..... .25

April 22 - To half a bushel of potatoes ..... .17

April 25 - To store goods delivered at Slatter's factory in Smithfield 4.00

May 25 - To six dollars in chash 6.00
- To one calfskin delivered by A. Cruff (wt. 5-1/3 lbs.) ..... .80
- To one plain ..... .18
- To articles delivered by Simeon Steere 2.66
- To 9½ lbs. of veal ..... .47½

$17.35

- To upper leather for one pair of shoes ..... .50

July 26 - JAMES HARRIS TO WELCOME MATHEWSON
- By .67¢ by Antipass Daniels ..... .67
- To 12 lbs. of veal ..... .60
- To one bushel of corn delivered William Rhodes 1.00
- To butter ..... .10
- To nine dollars eighty-four took up Chapin's store in Uxbridge on order against Uriah Thayer 9.84
- To 13 lbs. of veal at .06¢ a lb. .... .78
- To one order upon William Rhodes for bushel of corn 1.00
- To cast steel ..... .12
- To one bushel of corn delivered by William Rhodes 1.00
- To one gun lock 3.33
- To one bayonet 1.00
- To .20¢ ..... .20

$19.64

- To four old files ..... .17

April 13, 1811 - SIMEON STEERE
- To mending one iron skewer ..... .33
- AUGUSTIA STEERE
- To one cast steel axe 2.33
- ANTIPASS DANIELS
- To one pig 1.00

April 14 - WILLIAM BATES
- To one pig 2 months old 1.00

April 15 - ARAD LAPHAM
- To repairing stocking and mounting a gun 5.50

April 18 - JOSEPH MATHEWSON
- To one staple for a yoke ..... .50

April 18, 1811 - DEXTER RICHARDSON
- To stocking and mounting a pair of pistols 4.00

April 19 - CHAD SALES
- To stocking and mounting and finding a lock for a gun 7.50
- WILLIAM BATES
- To 2 days' work at hoeing ..... .92

- ANTIPASS DANIELS
- By James Harris (cash) ..... .66

April 18, 1811 - JOHN WALLEN TO WELCOME MATHEWSON
- To one staple and ring delivered by John Wood 1.25
- Cash delivered W. Wood & Hunt ..... .12
- To one pair of beetle rings two iron wedges - 11½ lbs. 1.92
- To one bad inch chisel ..... .25
- To 2 bushels of potatoes ..... .75

May 25
- Goods delivered at Slater factory in Smithfield 8.60
- To one note and cash against William Inmon 3.18
- To tinware 3.00
- To two bushels of salt delivered by Wood and Hunt 2.66
- To upper leather for two pairs of shoes ..... .92

$22.65

October 1, 1811 Burrilleville - This day we the subscribers have reckoned and settled and made even all book accounts from the beginning of up to this above date

Welcome Mathewson
John Wallen

- To balance due on old settlement 1.94

August 27, 1811 - PEREGRENE MATHEWSON
- To .71c paid for Isaac Phetteplace ..... .71

May 15 - To 2 dollars cash 2.12
July 16 - To 4 dollars and 20 cents cash 4.20
- To stocking and mounting one gun and one lock for William Harris 6.12

July 31 - To one penknife blade for William Harris ..... .25
August 22 - To 3 dollars cash 3.00
October 19 - To one rifle gun delivered to Isaac Phetteplace 27.00
- To one rifle gun delivered to Stephen Handy 26.00

October 21 - To order on account at Slater
September 19, 1812 - Factory delivered to E. Phetteplace 3.12

$79.52

May 25, 1811 - To cash ..... .83
- To 14 days' work at weeding corn 7.15

June 16 - 15½ days' work 7.95
- By 6 barrels of cider 8.70

August 7
- By 7 lbs. 6 oz. of sole leather 1.82
- By one quarter of veal of 24 lbs. at .06c per lb. 1.44

September 14 - To 5½ days' work cutting stalks 2.44
- To one barrel of cider 1.50

October 28 - By one sheep lamb ..... .92
- By 23 days' work at 3/0 day 11.50
- By one sheep lamb 1.16
- By one barrel of cider 1.50

$47.33

May 12, 1811 - ARTIMUS CRUFF (Burrilleville)
- To 16 lbs. of iron ..... .96
- To sharpening plowshare ..... .25

May 15 - THOMAS WHEATON
- To repairing his gun 1.33
- Credit to one scythe 1.16
- ALLEN THAYER
- To cutting 16 wagon (?) 1.27
- HENRY ESTER
- To repairing a gun lock ..... .17
- SIMEON PHETTEPLACE
- To mending one pair of shears 8.00

- JOSEPH MATHEWSON
- One sharpening ploughshare and new laying cutter ..... .67

June 11, 1811 - EBENEZOR WAKEFIELD
- To Welcome Mathewson to five files ..... .75

Settled

- EPHRAIM HIMPTON
- To whetting 2 hand saws ..... .25

May 25, 1811 - WILLIAM ALMIA & JOHN SLATER (Burrilleville)
- In company to Welcome Mathewson to one order against A. S. Lucus 25.50
- To one order against Amariah Ballou to weaving three wheels about 60 yards each wheel, .06c per yard, 2 wheels about 60 yds., .12c a yard.
- WILLIAM ALMA, JOHN SLATER
- To one 40 reed for a seigh 1.66
- To one lb. of blue yarn
- To one lb. of white yarn
- Store goods delivered to the amount of twenty-eight dollars and ninety cents 28.90
- To store goods 12.69
- To goods 4.00
- To store goods 3.71

June 1, 1811 - SKYLER BURRILL (Burrilleville)
- To 50 brads ..... .12
- DAMON BURRILL
- To one pair of drumsticks ..... .12

June 1, 1811 - JOSEPH NEWELL
- By one gallon of rum 1.33
- ELISHA BROWN
- To mending coffee pot ..... .06
- George, to boot in knives ..... .45
- To mending key ..... .06
- COLLIN ALDRICH
- To stocking and mounting a gun .. 4.80
- WILLIAM WHITE
- To one reamer ..... .17
- JOHN EDDY
- To mending one square ..... .17
- JOSIAH BROWN
- To making a fetter ..... .75

June 23, 1811 - STEPHEN BROWN (Burrilleville)
- To one order against Slater 5.00
- Credit to plowing 2.33
- To one day's work at weeding ..... .50
- To one quarter of veal 22 lbs. 12 oz. at .05c a pound 1.14

July 15 - ASA AMES
- To repairing 3 pocket pistols 2.00
- To mending one gun lock ..... .33

July 3, 1811 - JAMES PAINE (Burrilleville)
- To mending one 2-inch auger ..... .50
- JOHN MATHEWSON
- To grass scythe 1.17

July 10 - JERIAH WITLOCKS
- To gumping 2 axes and mending one auger 2.66
- EBENEZOR BURRILL
- To mending one chain ..... .08
- To mending one grass scythe ..... .25
- To 2 days' reaping .....
- DAVID BROWN
- To helping about Cradle ..... .26
- To one cradle scythe delivered by Artimus Cruff 1.33

July 18, 1811 - WELCOME BALLOU (Burrilleville)
- To steeling one iron bar and repairing one gun 1.50

July 18, 1811 - WILLIAM WHITE
- To one main spring ..... .25
- EBENEZOR BURRILL
- To mending one pair of scissors .08
- To mending 2 steel traps ..... .25
- WILLIAM PUTNAM
- To mending 1 pair of still yards ... 1.00
- ISAAC RASS

	- To horse to go to Slater factory	
	- By horse to go to Chapin's	
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- By one yard of calfskin	.80
	- By one auger	.08
July 20, 1811	- JOSEPH NEWELL (Burrilleville)	
	- To mending one rule	.12
August 11	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- To stocking and mounting a gun ..	4.12
September 14	- Credit by cash	1.67
August 18	- WELCOME BALLOU, JR.	
	- In settlement	.21
	- ESACK PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 1 grass Rake	.33
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To cash	6.00
August 22, 1811	- AUGUSTA STEERE	
	- To 3 iron wedges	.16
	- SAMUEL BLACKMAN	
	- To repair a gun	1.20
	- NATHANIEL JENCKS	
	- To mending 1 bush scythe	.33
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To 3 yards of wire	.06
	- SYLANUS THAYER	
	- To cash	.92
	- BENJAMIN TWING	
	- To stocking and mounting 1 gun ..	3.53
August 22, 1811	- ZEBEDEE YOUNG	
	- To 6 iron and steel wedges	.38
August 22, 1811	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- To 4 oz. of best powder	.16
August 28, 1811	- J. BENET	
	- To tinware	9.16
	- To tin and brass ware to the amount of	24.20
August 29	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To tinware	1.22
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- To gutter work	.08
September 20	- PELEG YOUNG	
	- By coal 9 bushels	
	- ARON BUTLONE, JR.	
	- To 1 gun lock	1.00
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To stocking and mounting 1 gun ..	
	- To repairing lock to said gun	
	- To repairing 2 drills	6.33
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To sharpening ploughshare	.12
September 29, 1811	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- To 3 center bits delivered to Samuel Wilson	1.00
	- TIMOTHY WILLARD	
	- To repairing 1 gun lock	.12
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To one bushel of rye	1.00
October 4	- THOMAS OWENS	
	- To repairing 1 gun cock	1.00
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To one old bad gun lock	.25
	- PALETION WHITE	
	- To upsetting a stone hammer and 2 drills	.33
	- To 1 steel wedge -- 14 ozs.	.42
	- To 1 stone hammer	10.55
October 6, 1811	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To upsetting 1 stone sled	
	to sharpening 3 drills	
	to making 3 wedges	.45
	- PELEG YOUNG	
	- By 43 bushels of coal	
	- JOHNATON BENNETT	
	- One rifle gun and shot barrel to it, well finished	40.00
October 8, 1811	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- To boring and straightening and rifling a gun and other small repairs to it	4.16
	- To 2 days' board	.67
	- Contrary credit to cash	3.00
October 22, 1811	- ISRAEL YOUNG	
	- To 1 bayonet	1.33
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 1 gunstick and wormer	.42
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To making 3 wedges	.12
	- DAVID BURLINGONE	
	- To hardening 1 gun hammer	.12
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- By 1 lamb	1.16
	- To repairing 1 gun	4.29
	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To mending 1 coffee pot	.08
	- To 1 lb. of old files	.12
	Settled	
October 28	- To 1½ bushels of Quinces	1.50
	- By 3 barrels of beer at .06¢ per gallon	2.25
	- By 1 barrel of cider	1.50
	- By bringing it to my house	.33
		$5.58
November 9, 1811	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To 1 bushel of corn	1.00
	- To 1 order on Cyrus Cook	1.50
	- To cash 22 cents	.22
December	- To one axe	2.00
	- To paying Cyrus Cook	2.17
	- To 3½ lbs. of butter at .20¢ per pound	.70
	- To one glass of bitters	.05
	- To 2 lbs. of butter	.40
	- To 2 quarts molasses	.36
		$8.40
December 11	- This day balance the book	
November 9, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- JAMES HARRIS — Cr.	
	- By 2 days' work	1.16
	- By 2½ days' work	1.25
		$2.51
December 11, 1811	- This day balance the book	
November 10, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- DAMON BURRILL	
	- To one steel trap spring	.33
	- JOHN WHITE (of Preston)	
	- By 2½ lbs. of brass	.83
	- JOHN WALING	
	- To 2 files	.28
	- STEPHEN PAINE	
	- To repairing one gun	.51
	- DAVID BATTY	
	- One knife blade	.50
	- To 2 lamb skins	
	- JOHN WALING	
	- To one wheel spindle	.33
November 11, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To repairing one gun	.50
	- THOMAS GLEASON	
	- To one main spring	.33
	- BENJAMIN TWING	
	- By one dollar cash	1.00
November 14	- NATHANIEL YOUNG	
	- By 104 bushels of coal	
November 16	- NATHANIEL JENCKS	
	- By 2 bushels of turnips	
	- THOMAS WHEATON	
	- To repairing one gun	1.00
	- Credit by 2 grass scythes	2.00
November 21, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- STEPHEN COOPER, JR.	
	- By cash	1.31
	- ZEBEDEE YOUNG	
	- To repair one gun lock and unbritching	.30
	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To cash	.50
	- To mending one sawmill saw	.33
	- ASA AMES	
	- To repairing one gun lock	.33
	- PALTIAH WHITE	

	- To repair one gun lock	.12
	- DAVID BROWN	
November 23, 1811	- To repair 2 stone hammers (Burrilleville)	.20
	- NATHAN ARNOLD	
	- To mending one spruce	.25
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To making one arm shackle	.75
	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- To making one pair of crane eyes	.33
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- By 17½ lbs. of mutton	.96
November 24, 1811	- EBENEZOR WAKEFIELD (Burrilleville)	
	- To one leather apron	.67
	- To one grass scythe	1.00
December 9	- To 6¼ lbs. steel at .45¢ a lb.	2.81
	- To cash 25 cents	.25
	- To one axe	2.00
January 1812		
	- To 2 dollars value of tinware	2.00
	- To one cast steel axe	2.00
	- To 50 cents cash	.50
	- To one dollar in cash by William Putnam	1.00
January 1812	- To repairing a gun for Joseph Solinsby your order bill delivered to you	9.75
January 25, 1812	- To one pair of calfskin boots	
	- For leather and making	5.00
November 24, 1811	- EBENEZOR WAKEFIELD (Burrilleville)	
	- To 18 days' work	
December 21	- By 18 days' work	
January 25, 1812	- By 24 days' work	
February 4, 1812	- To tapping one pair of shoes	.16
March 1, 1812	- This day we the subscribers have reckoned and settled all book accounts from the beginning up to this date	
	Welcome Mathewson	
	Ebenezor Wakefield	
November 29, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- By 30 lbs. of mutton	1.65
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To one axe	2.00
	- Credit to iron and cast steel	9.22
	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To 4 spikes	
	- To repairing one raised wheel iron	.42
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- By 19¼ lbs. beef	1.36
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending one pair shears	.12
	- To cast steel knife	.25
May 30, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- PALTIAH WHITE	
	- To making one key	.25
December 10	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To gumping one axe	.50
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- By 18 gunstocks at .24¢ per stock	4.50
December 10	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To mending one umbrella one spring to knife for Zebalon Rhodes	.85
	- EDWARD CASS	
	- To finishing one rifle gun	18.25
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To grinding one razor	.12
December 30, 1811	- (Birrilleville)	
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To grinding one razor	.12
	- To 58 feet of board	.87
	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- By 12 sing needles and ½ swarm of bees	2.08
	- IRA STEERE	
	- To one screw pin	.08
	- NATHAN MAZER	
	- To one staple and ring and iron keys	1.92
January 6, 1812	- JESSE BATTY	
	- To one shoe knife	.25
December 9, 1812	- (Burrilleville)	
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To mending one bitstock broke wire	.60
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To one penknife blade	.25
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To one cast steel axe	2.00
	- PALTIAH WHITE	
	- To one cast steel axe	2.16
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To cast steel axe	2.00
	- To one tin trunk	.75
	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- Credit to one dollar in cash by Ebenezor Wakefield	1.00
December 31, 1811	- PEREGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To 9½ lbs. of sole leather	2.31
	- To boards at .07¢	.87
	- To one gallon of molasses	.63
	- To one barrel of cider	3.00
	- To half of a bushel of beans	.50
	- To ½ barrel of cider	1.13
		$8.37
September 19, 1812	- This account is all settled	
January 25, 1812	- (Burrilleville)	
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending one pair of kitchen tongs	.58
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one cast steel axe	2.00
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To cast steel 14 cents	.14
	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- To mending one shovel	.08
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 3 pounds of lead	.38
January 28, 1812	- (Burrilleville)	
	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To one brass skimmer handle	.25
	- URIAH HARVY	
	- To one penknife blade	.25
	- To one key for your order	.25
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To mending one pair of curling tongs	.17
	- DANIEL MATHEWSON	
	- To repairing one gun lock	.52
	- JESSE BATTY	
	- To 3 shoe knives	.75
	- SAMUEL WILSON	
	- To making chisel and bit	.25
February 3	- To mending one tin tea pot	.12
January 30, 1812	- JOHN WHITE	
	- To finishing up a rifle gun	16.00
	- Credit to one magnet	5.00
	- Credit to one gun lock	3.00
	- By 2½ lbs. of brass	.83
February 1, 1811	- (Burrilleville)	
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To one order on Edward Cass	1.80
	- EDWARD CASS	
	- To one order paid to Stephen Brown	1.80
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one axe	2.00
February 5	- To half a moracco skin	.57
	- ELFORD SMITH	
	- To stocking and repairing a gun	2.33
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- 28½ lbs. of iron	
February 8, 1812	- (Burrilleville)	
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To mending one bitstock	.33
	- To one gun wormer	.14
February 9	- GEORGE BROWN III	

	- To whetting and setting a saw	.25
February 10	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To 14 lbs. of flour	.92
	- To 2 lbs. of coffee	.44
	- AMERIAH BALLOU	
	- To one copper pipe	1.00
February 11	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To one brass skimmer	1.67
	- To mending on sleigh bell	.25
February 14	- To one axe handle and grinding ...	2.50
		$4.42
February 14, 1812	- (Burrilleville)	
	- SMITH BRITTAN	
	- To one duck bill bit	.33
	- URIAH WOMSLEY	
	- To repair a gun lock	.17
February 14, 1812	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To one dollar in cash which he was to give me credit on a note he held against me	1.00
February 12	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one good walnut broom	.33
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To mending a silver hook	.06
	- ARTIMUS SMITH	
	- To stocking and mounting a gun and repairing a lock and barrel	7.12
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To repairing a very bad gun	2.00
February 22	- ESAU SILSBY	
	- To one man's saddle	15.00
	- AMARIAH BALLOU	
	- To repairing one sawmill saw	1.33
	- DANIEL MATHEWSON	
	- To one metting ladle well made ...	.50
February 20	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To a journey of a sleigh	.48
March 12, 1812	- (Burrilleville) This day we the subscribers have reckoned and settled all book accounts from the beginning up to this day and found due to Welcome Mathewson eighty-one cents	.81
	Welcome Mathewson	
	Stephen Brown	
	- ANPHILOS MATHEWSON & AMEY MATHEWSON	
	- To one side saddle cost seventeen dollars and 75 cents ..... (Made even on May 5, 1813)	17.75
April 25, 1812	- ANPHILOS MATHEWSON	
	- To weaving 31 yards	3.72
August 8	- To weaving one wheel 59½	7.08
	- To weaving one wheel 59 yards. ... (Made even on May 5, 1813)	4.16
March 8, 1812	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To repair a gun	.17
March 10	- ANGEL PAINE	
	- To one sucker spear	1.00
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To half a bushel of rye	.50
March 11	- DAVID BATTY	
	- To finish up spring sheet irons	.80
March 21	- OTHANIEL YOUNG, JR.	
	- To stocking and mounting a rifle gun	10.12
March 23, 1812	- ORARAMILL JONES	
	- To making one handcuff	.50
	- CHARLES EDDY	
	- To mending one auger and	.33
	- Chisel to cash	.41
April 2	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- To one rifle gun	24.00
	- ELISHA SMITH	
	- To repair a gun lock	.12
	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- To one shotgun	28.00
	- AHAB SMITH	
	- To repair a crosscut saw	1.50
April 4	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one breast plate	1.50
April 25, 1812	- A. B. & SLATER'S	
	- To weaving one wheel	7.44
	- By Aron Busetone	1.00
August 8	- By weaving wheel 59½	7.08
	- By weaving one wheel 60	7.20
November 2	- By weaving one wheel 59½	4.16½
January 22, 1813	- To weaving one wheel 50 yds.	4.13
March	- Paid by Smith Phetteplace	1.33
		$32.34
May 5, 1813	- Settled with A. B. & Slater's	
March 25, 1812	- Credit to A. B. & Slater's store articles amount	3.73
	- Due bet one on book	.09
April 25	- To store articles delivered	5.57
April 8	- To store goods delivered	.89
August 4	- To store goods delivered	2.79
August 12	- To one quarter of flour	1.58
October 8	- To store goods amount	5.66
November 2	- To store goods amount	3.50
November 19	- To one order .50¢	.50
January 23, 1813	- To store goods	4.71
	- To store goods to the amount of ..	3.63
		$32.65
May 5, 1813	- Settled with Slater's Even the book	
April 4, 1812	- JOHN W. WOOD	
	- To repair a sword	.33
	- LABEN TAFT	
	- To boring one gun	2.00
	- BENNIE PHILLIPS	
	- To mending one factory wheel shaft	.45
April 8, 1812	- ELISHA OLNEY	
	- To cash	10.00
	- (In payment for a gun not received said gun to be $18.00 settled)	
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, JR.	
	- To cash	3.00
	- PHILIP HANDY	
	- To repair a gun	.67
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To one shovel handle	.33
April 8, 1812	- STEPHEN INMAN	
	- To repair a gun	.17
	- WILLIAM INMAN	
	- To repair 2 guns	.25
	- LABEN TAFT	
	- To boring a gun	2.50
April 9, 1812	- NATHAN ARNOLD	
	- To repair a gun	2.00
	- ALED PAINE	
	- To repair a gun lock	.83
	- DEXTER	
	- Gun	14.25
April 15	- SILAS COMSTOCK	
	- To repair a coffee mill	.42
April 25	- JOHN W. WOOD	
	- To one breast plate	3.00
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To mending one auger delivered to Stoulin Paine	.25
May 1, 1812	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To one bushel of rye	1.00
	- To 12 lbs. of veal	.60
	- To plow plate work	.08
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- To 28 lbs. of iron	2.80
	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To mending shovel	.08
	- To mending a brand hoe	.33
	- PHILIP HANDY	
	- To one bayonet	1.50
	- Credit to 2 grass scythes	2.00
	- ELROLE OLBEY	
	- To 1 grass scythe	1.00

	- ESAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending a gun lock	.25
	- Credit to horn flowering powder	.75
May 7, 1812	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To 13 lbs. of veal	.65
	- To gunsmith work	.39
	- To 2 notes on hand delivered to me by the hand of Arnold Hunt the amount on said note and in trust	13.87
	- To articles delivered by Benjamin Bowen	.44
	- To 3 lbs. of sugar	.41
	- To cash	.06
	- To one umbrella socket	.25
	- To one order on William Rhodes ..	1.00
	- To sole leather	.50
	- To one grass scythe	1.17
	- To one rifle barrel and lock	14.00
	- To one quart of rum	.33
	- To half a pound of powder	.75
March 4, 1813	- (Burrilleville)	
	- Settled and made the book even	
	- Credit to work beginning April 17 at $18.00 per month (Days of work set down)	
May 23, 1812	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To one well finished bullet gun	35.00
	- Credit for one old rifle gun	26.00
	- SAMUEL BOTNITS	
	- Credit for mending a pair of shoes	.20
	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To mending a brass kettle, 53 nails	.80
	- NATHAN TAFT	
	- To mending a dung fork	.42
	- To mending one pair of kitchen tongs	.58
	- LABEN TAFT	
	- To one cider barrel	.33
	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To finish up one iron square	1.00
May 24, 1812	- ANTHONY SPRAGUE	
	- To stocking, mounting, and one lock for a gun	7.00
	Settled	
May 24, 1812	- ISAAC SILSBY	
	- Credit to one hoe	1.00
	- ADEN ALDRICH	
	- To 2 fife whistles	1.00
May 30	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- To rifle a gun	2.00
	- To one patch box	1.00
	- JOB ARMSTRONG	
	- To repair a gun	1.37
June 2, 1812	- NATHAN THAYER	
	- To 2 days' work plowing	2.00
	- To one iron spoon	.41
June 1	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To cash	1.00
	- To 5 days' work	2.50
	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To one day's work plowing	1.00
June 4, 1812	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one grass scythe	1.00
	- ADEN ALDRICH	
	- To cash	.67
	- ENOCH THAYER	
	- To one brass ink stand	.75
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To steeling an iron bar	.17
	- To one clevis and pin	.59
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To repair a gun	1.25
June 14, 1812	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To 3 nails for plain stocks	.26
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To one journey with your horse of 13 miles	.54
June 24	- HENRY BARNES	
	- To mending a teapot handle	.33
	- JESSE BATTY	
	- To mending a flat iron	.25
June 24	- JOHN HARRIS, JR.	
	- To cash	.08
	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- To one grass scythe	1.06
July 1, 1812	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one bit — 2 ferrels	.42
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To mending one hoe	.30
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To mending one cradle scythe	.33
	- NATHAN BENNETT	
	- To one magnet	1.00
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To half a bushel of corn	.50
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To one order delivered James Harris	1.00
July 2, 1812	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To cash	.25
	- DAMON BURRILL	
	- To repair a gun	.20
	- Credit to 5 days' work	2.50
	- STEPHEN HANDY & E. PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 3 working days of weeding and to 1 day and a half of hilling corn	1.50
	- ESAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one grass scythe	1.17
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To repairing 2 saws	.25
July 10, 1812	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending tie on	.08
	- SKYLAR BURRILL	
	- To repair a gun	.83
	- To one day's work	.50
	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To mending one scythe	.25
	- To one screw pin	.20
	- Credit to one day's work	.50
July 10, 1812	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To 5-1/3 days' work	
July 23, 1812	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To 2 grass scythes	2.33
	- ASA INMAN	
	- Mending one pair of shears	.12
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To one rifle steel	.06
	- SMITH BRITTAN	
	- To spring shackle irons	.50
	- ESAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending scythe and stick	.50
	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- On silver thumb piece	.75
August 3, 1812	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To mending a flat	.25
	- AMARIAH BALLOU	
	- To mending one stirrup (iron)	.20
	- IRA STEERE	
	- To one gun stock ferrel	.08
	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To mending a handkerchief pin ...	.08
	- DEVIAS DARLING	
	- To mending a scythe	.25
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending a scythe	.25
August 12, 1812	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To cash	.33
	- To repairing 2 locks	.25
	- To one quart of rum	.33
	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To paying Smith Brittan for a note	7.00
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, JR.	
	- To one knife	.50
	- To one scythe	1.00
August 12, 1812	- SIMEON BROWN	
	- To repairing a sword, one pair of holsters	2.12

	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To cash	1.00
September 18, 1812	- (Burrilleville)	
	- SMITH BRITTAN	
	- To loom irons	.33
	- To repair a gun	.41
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- By tanning 3 skins	.15
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one penknife and lay work on sheeting	
	- AMERSA ALDRICH of Douglas	
	- To repair a gun	.50
	- JAMES JONES	
	- To 2 butcher knives	.45
	- COOK	
	- To repair a gun	1.12
	- SKYLAR BURRILL	
	- On old account	.20
	- Credit to part of a day's work at topping stocks	.20
October 1, 1812	- ARTIMUS SMITH	
	- To cash delivered	4.00
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To one old bad soldier gun	6.00
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To part of a day's work by your 2 boys at topping stocks	.58
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To himself and boy, one day to topping stocks	
	- To 2 shoe knives	.50
October 3, 1812	- To making one pair of shoes	.25
	- ELISHA BROWN	
	- To mending one iron pot	.50
October 3, 1812	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To repair an old gun	.12
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one spontoon	3.00
	- DUTY SALSBURY	
	- To repair a gun	2.00
	- JOHN WALING	
	- To one shotgun well finished	30.00
October 13, 1812	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To 3 pecks of corn	.75
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one old man's saddle	3.50
	- RUEBEN WALING	
	- To mending a brass kettle	.40
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To hardening a gun hammer	.12
	- THADIUS THAYER	
	- To repair a gun	.33
	- JOHN BAKER	
	- To one pair of bullet molds	.50
	- To repair a gun	.17
October 16	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 2 days' work	1.00
	- 1½ days' work	.75
October 16, 1812	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one day's work	
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one day's work	
	- WILLIAM HANDY	
	- To one day's work	
	- ARNOLD HUNT	
	- To repair a gun	.33
November 2	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To 3½ lbs. of lead	.30
	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To mending a stock and lock	.25
November 2	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To repair a gun	.12
November 4, 1812	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To repair a gun	.12
	- SKYLAR BURRILL	
	- To repair a gun	.17
	- TOURTELLOT INMAN	
	- To one key for a trunk	.20
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 2½ days' work	1.15
	- To repair a gun	.12
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To 1/3 of a lb. of tobacco	.08
	- OTIS TAFT	
	- To repair a rifle gun	.25
November 5, 1812	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To one sheep	1.67
	- To mending a pair of shoes for myself	.50
November 21	- EBENEZOR WAKEFIELD	
	- To one rifle gun (barrel)	5.00
	- Contrary credit to work	6.00
	- To one pair of pistol heal plates	.25
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one head of tobacco	.08
	- STEPHEN THOMPSON	
	- To repair a gun	.77
November 11, 1812	- JYRAH BALLOU	
	- Mending a brass kettle (172 nails)	2.50
	- PALTIAH WHITE	
	- To repair a gun	3.87
	- Contrary credit to one old gun lock	1.00
	- ARGAL MAN	
	- To one hundred weight of iron	7.00
	- To repair a gun for your apprentice	3.00
November 11, 1812	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- Spring sheet work	.50
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To cash lent paid to J. Harris	.83
November 25, 1812	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending one brass kettle	.46
	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- Head of tobacco	.06
	- 2½ days' work	1.25
	- To repair a gun	.34
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE & STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one shotgun barrel	12.00
	- JOHN WALDEN	
	- To repair a lock	.20
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To smith work	.72
December 14, 1812	- JOHN BAKER	
	- To one pair of bullet moulds	.50
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending an iron pot	.10
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To one old padlock	.41
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To smith work	.12
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To weaving a wheel	.58
	- Superior credit to making 2 pairs of small shoes	
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one pair of boot vamps	.58
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one gun delivered to John Harris	9.00
	- To stocking a gun for yourself	1.00
	- To cash delivered	.93
	- To one axe	.25
	- To work	.25
	- To one head of tobacco	.08
	- To 1 note of hand given to Smith Britton	7.00
	- To one note of hand given to W. Mathewson for four dollars and eighty-seven cents interest	4.87
	- To 3 ounces of powder at .09¢ an ounce	.28
	(March 4, 1813 settled and made even the book)	$23.76 .99
		$24.75

	- To 10 days' work	
	- To 5½ days' work	
January, 1813	- By 3½ days' work	
	- By ½ days' work	
March 1, 1813	- By 3 days' work	
March 4, 1813	- Credit by the above members work at .67¢ per day	19.09½
	- Credit by balance due on John Harris' bill	.46
	- Settled and made even the book ...	$19.55½
December 14, 1812	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To one pair of boot vamps	.58
	- DANIEL KILLEY	
	- To mending one pair of shears	.17
	- ELISHA BOWEN	
	- To stocking a gun	4.00
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To mending skate iron	.12
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To 1½ yards of all wool cloth	4.37
	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- To one gun wormer	.12
December 23, 1812	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To stocking and repairing a gun ...	3.33
	- BENJAMIN BOWEN	
	- To repair a gun	.50
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- In change of boots	1.50
December 23, 1812	- OTHANIEL YOUNG, Jr.	
	- To 82 bushels of coal	
	- NATHANIEL JANCKS	
	- To 95 bushels of coal	5.70
	- EBER ALDRICH	
	- To repair a gun	1.00
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To ½ bushel of salt	.58
January 4, 1813	- To mending a sawmill saw	1.00
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To 100 weight of beef	4.00
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- To mending your wheel shaft	.75
	- To grinding 13 gun barrels on your grind stone	2.17
July 1, 1812	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one bit and two ferrels	.42
	- SKYLAR BURRILL	
	- To repair a gun	.17
April 8, 1812	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To repair a gun	.17
June 2	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- Credit by one day's work plowing	1.00
June 4	- ENOCH THAYER	
	- To one brass ink stand	.75
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To mending one hoe	.30
January 8, 1813	- BENJAMIN BOWEN	
	- To part of a calfskin	2.50
January 15	- ELISHA SAYLES	
	- Credit to six gunstocks	2.00
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To one penknife blade	.17
	- SIMEON STEERE	
	- To mending a tea kettle	.42
	- WILLIAM LAPHAM	
	- To gumping one axe cast steel	1.50
January 15	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To one knife blade	.25
January 25, 1813	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To one set of spring sheet irons ...	.75
	- To new laying two chisels	.33
	- SALRY SMITH	
	- To mending a brass kettle	.87
	- JONATHAN BATTY	
	- To two knife blades	.45
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To gumping one axe cast steel	1.25
	- GEORGE BROWN III	
	- To 2 pairs of sleigh chains and whippletrees and irons	4.00
January 6, 1813	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To loom irons	1.00
	- To pin machine	1.00
	- BENJAMIN SOUTHWICK	
	- To stocking one gun	3.00
	- TIMOTHY SWEET	
	- To repair one gun lock	.60
	- OTHANIEL YOUNG	
	- To mending one draw bail (?)	.12
	- MAJOR FISK	
	- To 3 dollars in part toward one gun	3.00
	- SIMON PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one screw pen	.08
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To boot leather	.08
January 15, 1813	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To $3.37 paid to David Batty	3.37
	- JONATHAN BATTY	
	- To one knife spring	.12
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To hardening one axe	.17
	- EBER BURRILL	
	- To boot in axes	.50
January 15, 1813	- AHAB SMITH	
	- To repair a crosscut saw	.50
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To fixing sleigh and making cooper tool	.75
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- To calfskin for a pair of shoes	.75
	- NATHANIEL JENCKS	
	- To cash delivered	3.00
	- To three pecks of rye	1.13
	- To tinker work	.67
February 16, 1813	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To two calfskins	5.00
	- JESSE INMAN	
	- To repair a gun	3.30
	- To two shots	6.10
	- ELANSON BATES	
	- To repair a gun lock	.56
	- ELISHA SAYLES	
	- To mending a brass kettle ..... (105 nails rimming it)	3.23
	- To mending one flat	.25
	- To one truss	1.50
		$4.98
February 25, 1813	- CALVARY MITCHEL	
	- To stocking and repairing a gun ...	4.00
	- Contrary to one due bill on Slaters Store	1.00
	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To mending a teapot	.20
	- Contrary to two brooms	.67
	- ENOCH THAYER	
	- To smith work	1.25
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To one padlock	.33
	- AMARIAH BALLOU	
	- To gumping an axe	1.50
February 26, 1813	- PETER ALDRICH	
	- To one pair of keys	.50
February 26, 1813	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair a coffee mug	.50
	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To repair two chisels	.30
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- Cutting a rag wheel iron to a loom	.50
	- ARIEL MANN	
	- To stocking a gun	4.47
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one wormer	.25
	- JETHRO LAPHAM	
	- To mending a worming pan	.42
March 12, 1813	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To gumping one axe cast steel	1.50
	- ADEN STEERE	
	- To gumping one axe cast steel	1.50
	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To iron	2.19

	- JAMES PAINE	
	- To repair a gun lock	.33
	- JOHN WALING	
	- To one padlock	.67
	- PETER ALDRICH	
	- To one pair of keys	.50
	- AMARIAH BALLOU	
	- To one wing blow bit	.42
March 15, 1813	- WASHINGTON	
	- To repair a gun	2.75
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To repairing two saws	.25
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To ½ bushel of potatoes	.21
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- To calfskin	1.12
	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To one iron stake	3.00
April 3, 1813	- To ironing a plow	2.65
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To mending a frying pan	.25
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To straightening a gun	.41
	- BENJAMIN BAILEY	
	- To mending an auger	
	- ADEN STEERE	
	- To gumping one axe	1.50
March 24, 1813	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To tobacco	.18
	- To boot in axes	.25
	- To ½ bushel of corn	.67
	- To one peck of rye	.38
April 3	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To loom iron and mending a key ..	.37
June 6	- To mending a gun lock	.25
	- To double loom irons	1.00
	- To loom irons 83 cents	.83
March 24, 1813	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- By 6 days' work	
April 10	- 4 days' work	
April 15, 1813	- BENJAMIN BOWEN	
	- To repair a lock	.10
	- DANIEL COOPER	
	- To mending a cury loom	.14
	- DAVID BATTY	
	- To shackle irons	.20
April 24	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To boot in swoping (?) guns	3.00
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To cash	6.00
May 1, 1813	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To mending sheep shears	.20
	- To repairing still yards	.75
	- Credit by half bushel of clams	.41
	- Credit by 6 small fishes	
May 1, 1813	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To 12¾ lbs. of iron	
	- To 1½ lbs. steel	
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- 95 cents cash	.95
	- BENJAMIN THOMPSON	
	- To gunsmith work	1.50
June 1	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To one fish net and rake	4.75
April 5, 1813	- By one dollar in cash	1.00
	- By two bushels of potatoes	
May 20, 1813	- DAVID AND STEPHEN BROWN	
	- 3 days' work	
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- Credit by 2 days' work	
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- 2 days' work by the hay	
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To 10 lbs. of iron	
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To use of your horse	.50
	- ISRAEL ROSS	
	- To 1 gross of screws	1.40
	- SHADRIAH STEERE	
	- To one grass scythe	1.16
April, 1813	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To repair one gun	.14
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To twenty-five cents	.25
	- ENOCH THAYER	
	- To repair a gun	.92
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To two rifle sticks	.12
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To one bucket	.42
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To 2 days' work at hoeing	1.00
April, 1813	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To cash	.60
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending one skillet	.20
	- Two-inch chisel	.42
	- MARTIN SALSBURY	
	- To repair one gun	1.00
May 3, 1813	- ISRAEL HARRIS	.15
	- To repair one gun	2.50
	- To grass scythe	1.00
June	- To one grass scythe	1.17
September 23	- To one shotgun	19.25
February, 1814	- To rifling a gun	2.00
		$25.92
	- To 2½ bushels of potatoes	.25
March 1	- To one patch box for a rifle	1.00
		$27.17
	- To one main spring	.42
	- To repair a gun	.83
	- To repair a gun	.50
		$28.92
	- To cash	.44
		$29.36
October 4, 1814	- This day we the subscribers have reckoned and settled all book accounts from the beginning up to this date as witness our hand.	
	Welcome Mathewson	
	Israel Harris	
May 3, 1813	- Credit	
	- By 3½ days' work at .50¢ per day	1.75
June	- By one day's work for David Brown	.50
July 10	- By 4 days' work hoeing corn	2.67
September 4, 1813	- By one note of hand signed by Smith Britton	6.01
	- By 132 bushels of coal	6.60
		$17.53
January 6, 1814	- By your account against Peregrene Mathewson for labor done for him	8.00
		$25.53
	- By 3 days' work	1.50
		$27.03
	- By Jeremiah Harris' order	.83
	- By 2 days' work	1.50
	All Settled	$29.36
May 3, 1813	- PEREGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To 3½ days' work done by Israel Harris at .50¢ a day	1.75
	- To one day's work done by Jesse Balster	.50
	- To plowing by Wm. Lapham	1.50
	- To six bushels of oats	4.50
May 9, 1813	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- By ½ lb. of brass	.05
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To spool and wire	.08
	- S. HANDY	
	- To powder	
	- BENJAMIN BAILEY	
	- To penknife blade	.25

	- To one main spring	.42
	- GEORGE SHIPPLE	
	- To using screws	.25
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 2 days' work your boy	
	- BARNEY BUCK	
	- To repair your gun	2.00
May 15, 1813	- SKYLAR BURRILL	
	- By one day's work	
May 15, 1813	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To loom irons	
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- By 1 dollar and 34 cents	1.34
	- ALLEN STEERE	
	- To handling two flats	.50
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To calfskin and (?)	.58
	- By 2½ days' work	
	- To one order on Cyrus Cook	.67
	- JOHN PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending sheep shears	.20
	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To ½ bushel of seed corn	1.00
	- WM. PUTNAM and NATHAN TAFT	
	- To one bushel of seed corn	2.00
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To mending one skimmer	.08
	- To repair a coffee mill	1.00
	- JAMES SPRAGUE	
	- Repairing a gun	6.50
	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To mend one auger	.33
	- FLINT PORTER	
	- To repair one gun lock	.50
June	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- By 3 days' work	
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By one day's work by Orramel Jones	
	- To 4 days' by the boy	
June, 1813	- By one day's work done by Rueben Brass	
July 10	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- By one day's work	
July	- NATHAN GLEASON	
	- To one grass scythe	1.19
July	- PEREGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To one grass scythe	1.17
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To one grass scythe	1.17
	- CYRUS COOK	
	- To repair one gun	2.75
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By 3 days' work by boy	
	- PALTIAH WHITE	
	- To making a plumio	.12
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- To one grass scythe	1.17
	- To mending scythe stick	.20
	- Credit by one day and a half hoeing	
	- JOHN WOOD	
	- To repair one gun	4.67
	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To 7¾ lbs. of veal	.46
	- AUGUSTUS LORRY	
	- To repair instruments	.75
	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
	- To repair a gun	.25
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To mend one iron square	1.00
	- WELCOME BALLOU	
	- To settlement 21 cents	.21
September 11, 1813	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To $1.25 cash lent	1.25
	- To making one breast plate	2.00
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- To one breast plate	3.10
	- To one spontoon	3.00
	- URIAH WOMSLEY	
	- To penknife blade	.25
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To one washing tub	.50
September 11, 1813	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To 2 butcher knives	.50
	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- To repair one handsaw	.75
	- JOHN WALDEN, Jr.	
	- To repair one gun lock	.12
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one drawing knife	1.00
October 1, 1813	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To repair one gun by order of Stockling Paine	1.00
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- By 13½ lbs. of iron	
	- JOHN PHETTEPLACE	
	- Making 2 butcher knives	.20
	- ISAAC ROSS	
	- To mending one auger	.25
	- JERA WILCOX	
	- To smithwork	1.08
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To repair one hammer	.12
	- HENRY RHODES	
	- To 3 knife blades	.75
	- To mistake in settlement	.75
	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To one pair of lathe spindles	1.00
October 22, 1813	- THOMAS SLOCK	
	- To one spindle	.25
	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To repair one gun lock	.20
	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To gumping one axe	1.50
	- DANIEL COOPER	
	- To repair 2 drills	1.00
October 27, 1813	- NATHAN ARNOLD	
	- To repair one gun lock	.50
October 27, 1813	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- By five dollars cash	5.00
October 29	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- Account beginning in this book to one day's work	.51
	- Credit to David Brown to one dollar and twenty-five cents cash	1.25
November 3, 1813	- JOHN WALING	
	- Paid to cash	5.00
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To one pound of wire	.32
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To harden one gun hammer	.14
	- By 3 days' work	
	- FENNER BALLOU	
	- To repair a gun	1.08
	- WELCOME BALLOU, Jr.	
	- To 3 days' work	1.50
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To 4½ days' work	1.50
	- By 3 days' work setting coal wood	
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To cash	.04
	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To one axe	1.00
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To one washing tub	.50
	- JOHN WALDING	
	- To set of measures	1.25
	- JOHN MATHEWS	
	- To 5 days' work chopping	
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- By one day's work chopping	
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- By one day's work chopping	
	- PEREGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- By 5 days' work done by E. Phetteplace	
November 12, 1813	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To one screw pin	.10
	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00

	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
	- OLIVER OWENS	
	- To 121 bushels of coal	8.47
	(Credit by iron 137 lbs. net)	
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- By job work	7.75
	- WELCOME BALLOU, Jr.	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- To repair one hammer	1.00
	- JOHN WHITE	
	- To one set of mountings	1.00
Burrilleville, 1813	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- To 9 days' work	
	- HARVEY THAYER	
	- To 70 cents	.70
	- JOHN MATHEWSON	
	- To 2 lbs. of tea	.33
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- By 5 days' work	
	- ARTIMUS CRUFF	
	- Gumping one axe	.67
	- ELISHA SMITH	
	- To repair a gun	.50
	- DAVID BROWN	
	- To one screw pin	.06
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- For sawmill irons	.500
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To 76 bushels of coal	3.42
	- POLLY SLEUTH	
	- To mending an umbrella	.33
December 24, 1813	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By a balance due on an old settlement of 2 dollars and 5 cents	2.05
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- To shingle work	.12
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To 20 bushels of coal	1.75
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To gumping one axe	1.25
	- To mending a candlestick	.10
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To shingle work	.25
Burrilleville	- RUSSEL MILLER	
	- To repair a gun	.50
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To gumping an axe	1.25
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- To one pound of powder	1.00
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To cash	.12
	- Credit for work 3 days	
	- ELISHA SMITH	
	- For one wormer	.25
	- WILLIAM ARNOLD	
	- To repair a gun	.58
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- By 6 days' work	3.00
January 1, 1814	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- To finishing up a gun	6.75
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To repair a gun	.25
	- GEORGE SMITH	
	- To 20 bushels of coal	
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To gumping one axe	1.00
January 1, 1814	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To gumping one axe	.75
	- To one goose	.35
	- NATHAN GLEASON, Jr.	
	- To upsetting one axe	.33
	- ZEBOY HOPKINS	
	- To repair a gun barrel	1.25
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To 12 lbs. of flour	1.33
	- To gumping one axe	1.50
	- EPHRAIM THAYER	
	- To blading one penknife	.50
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To mending one bit stock	.25
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending one fork	.06
	- To upsetting one axe	.33
	- HIRAM SALSBURY	
	- To repair a gun	.25
	- THOMAS WHEATON	
	- To mending a vise	1.00
January 21, 1814	- GEORGE BROWN, III	
	- To one axe	2.00
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- Job work	.08
	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- To one axe	2.00
	- Contrary credit 4 days' work	2.00
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- To one pair of taps	.25
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- Credit by 3 days' work	
	- BENJAMIN PHETTEPLACE	
	- To gumping one axe	1.25
February 1	- JOHN WALLEN	
	- To one chain	2.00
	- AHAB SMITH	
	- Credit by 8 lbs. of flux	1.60
February 1	- THOMAS STACK	
	- To one penknife blade	.33
February 10, 1814	- RUFUS BROWN, Jr.	
	- To one axe	2.50
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By 4 measures	.70
	- By shoe mending	.33
	- GEORGE WALL	
	- To stocking a gun and repairing a lock	8.00
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To one key	.33
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one razor	.17
	- ISAAC RASS	
	- To 3 sheets of glass paper	.12
	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- Credit by James Harris	1.00
Burrilleville	- NATHAN GLEASON, Jr.	
February, 1814	- To gumping one axe	1.25
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one pair of hand iron wt. 22-1/3 lbs. at .20¢ a lb.	4.55
	- To upsetting one axe	.25
	- Credit to Seth Phetteplace by John Mathewson	.25
	- SETPHEN BROWN	
	- To one pair of keys	.50
	- SARAH RASS	
	- To 2 "button hole" chisels	.25
February 22	- BENJAMIN BAILEY	
	- To gumping one axe	1.25
February 25, 1814	- RHODES	
	- To repair one lock	.25
	- To tinker work	.75
	- Credit to a journey with your horse	.60
	- HENRY BARNES	
	- To gumping one axe	1.25
February 25, 1814	- CALEB MOWRY	
	- Credit by cash delivered	5.00
	- BENJAMIN BOWEN	
	- To repair one gun	.33
	- STEPHEN SMITH	
	- To upsetting one axe	.50
	- ISAAC RASS	
	- To gumping one axe	1.25
April 5, 1814	- WILLIAM PUTNAM	
	- To mending one oxen yoke	.25
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To new laying one plowshare	1.17
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To repair a saw	.12
	- ISAAC SILSBURY	
	- To repair a gun	2.75
	- WILLIAM HANDY	
	- To repair a gun	.42

	- SIMEON PHETTEPLACE	
	- To legging one iron pot	.67
	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- To repair one shackle	.10
April, 1814	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By 1½ days' work	
April 21	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- Due on an old settlement	.33
	- To cash	.20
	- To one pair of taps	.25
	- To cash	6.60
	- To one broad hoe	1.00
	- To one grass scythe	1.25
	- To 15½ lbs. of veal	1.08
		$10.71
May 14	- By 13½ days' work	9.00
	- By 4 days' work	2.06
June 11, 1814	- Settled with Jeremiah Harris "Evened" the book	
April 20, 1814	- STEPHEN BOWEN	
	- Due 25¢ paid Sarah Rass	.25
	- EBENEZOR ALBY, Jr.	
	- To repair one gun	5.56
	- Credit by one old lock	1.00
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To one drum hook	.25
	- JOHN PHETTEPLACE	
	- To linen wheel crank	.50
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- By 3 days' work self and oxen	
	- SKYLAR BURRILL	
	- To reaming bullet molds	.25
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To button molds one day's work	
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair one lock	.08
May 1, 1814	- Credit by journey of your horse and wagon 14 miles	
May 10	- STARLING PAINE	
	- Credit by 2 days' work self and oxen	2.67
	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- Credit ½ pk. of beans	
	- GYRAL WILCOX	
	- To turning lathe irons	4.00
	- SILBY AND COMPANY CREDIT	
	- By 8 hoes	6.67
	- By 11 scythes	11.00
	- By 12 scythes	12.00
	- By 5 broad hoes	4.17
	- By 3-1/3 lbs. of steel	1.00
		$34.84
May 2, 1814	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- To one hoe	1.00
	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
	- To one hoe	1.00
May 2, 1814	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To one hoe	1.00
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To one hoe	1.00
	- To one grass scythe	1.25
	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To laying one plowshare	.75
	- By one day's work, self and oxen ..	1.32
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- By two days' work of oxen	1.53
	- BENJAMIN BOWEN	
	- To repairing one gun	.22
Burrilleville	- JOHN WALLEN	
May 21, 1814	- To one grass scythe	1.25
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To veal 14½ lbs.	.87
	- GEORGE MIRIAM	
	- To gunsmith work	13.75
	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- In balance of settlement June 11, 1815	.47
May 28	- ALLEN THAYER	
	- By 2-1/3 days' work	1.83
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- By 3 1½ days' work	2.50
	- SAMUEL MATHEWSON	
	- To calfskin	1.26
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one broad hoe	.83
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- To grass scythe	1.25
Burrilleville	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To wire for loom	.08
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To a kettle bail	.25
	- JOHN WALING	
	- To broad hoe	1.00
Burrilleville	- STEPHEN HANDY	
May 28, 1814	- To one broad hoe	1.00
	- ELISHA DARLING	
	- To one hoe	1.00
	- ASEL KEECH	
	- To one grass scythe	1.25
	- To one broad hoe	1.00
June 13	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- To grass scythe	1.25
Burrilleville	- JAMES HARRIS	
June 11, 1814	- To seven grass scythes at $1.08 per scythe	7.58
June 12	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair one stir and 10 picks, used 3 lbs. of good steel for the whole	2.50
June 22	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- By hoeing corn	.83
June 13	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To one old hoe	.50
	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
	- Credit by 2 days' work	1.33
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- Credit by one day's work	.67
Burrilleville	- STARLING PAINE	
	- Credit by 2 days' work	1.33
	- PERIGRENE MATHEWSON	
	- To one grass scythe	1.25
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- Credit by one day's work	.67
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To broad hoe	1.00
	- DUTY SALSBURY	
	- Credit by one day's work	1.00
	- STARLING PAINE	
	- Credit by one day's work	1.00
Burrilleville	- JOHN MATHEWSON, Jr.	
August 2, 1814	- By sixty-four cents	.64
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- Credit by 1-1/3 days' work	2.13
	- NATHAN GLEASON, Jr.	
	- To repair machine irons	.08
	- By oil	.62
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To mending one scythe	.25
	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
	- By 2 days' work	2.00
	- Due on grass scythe	1.25
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mending one grass scythe	.25
Burrilleville	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
August 27, 1814	- To one dollar cash & 25¢	1.25
	- ISRAEL HARRIS	
	- To repair one gun	.59
September 30	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one narrow axe	2.25
	- DEXTER RICHARDSON	
	- To repair one gun	5.69
	- CABEL MOWRY	
	- To repair 5 guns and one pair of bullet moulds	5.00
	- ELISHA DARLING	
	- To repair one gun	.33
	- FULLER LEE	
	- To stocking, mounting, and one lock for a gun	6.00
Burrilleville	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
September 18, 1814	- To leather for one pair of shoes	1.00

	- To cash	1.00
	- Credit by 5 days' work	
	- One head of tobacco	.08
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one wormer	.20
Burrilleville	- JOSEPH CLARK	
September 18, 1814	- To repair one gun lock	.33
	- SETH PHETTEPLACE	
	- To mutton	.20
	- NATHAN GLEASON, Jr.	
	- To mending one key	.12
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To mending one sawmill saw	1.00
	- ISAAC RASS	
	- To one bayonet	1.00
	- Credit by 3 days' work	
October 8, 1814	- ARNIFRACT ALDRICH in Douglas	
	- To repair a gun	.67
	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To one staple	.88
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair one handsaw	1.00
	- Credit by one quart of salt	
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- Credit by one day's work	
October 13	- ISRAEL HARRIS	
	- Credit by work	.44
	- ISAAC RASS	
	- To repair a plain iron	
	- NEHEMIAH CLEMENS	
	- To repair one gun	.32
	- ANDREW MATHEWSON	
	- To repair one gun	.42
Burrilleville	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
October 12, 1814	- To tobacco	.17
	- To rifling one gun	.75
	- By Israel Harris	.83
	- To three yards all wool cloth	.600
	- To repair one gun	1.12
	- Credit by 1½ days' work	
	- DANIEL WILLIAMS	
	- To rifling one gun	.67
December 12, 1814	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To repair a wagon wheel	.08
	- WILLIAM ARNOLD	
	- To stocking one gun	4.04
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- Credit ½ day's work	
Burrilleville	- DANIEL BARNES	
October 4, 1814	- To repair one gun	.87
	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To repair one pr. pistols	.50
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To repair one gun	.75
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair a lock	.06
	- EBER WALING	
	- To one shotgun	10.00
	- DAVID DARLING	
	- To tinkering	.50
	- ELISHA SMITH	
	- To stocking one pr. of pistols	1.75
	- SAMUEL SILSBY	
	- By 2 narrow axes	4.50
Burrilleville	- ISAAC RASS, Jr.	
November 1, 1814	- To 2½ lbs. of steel	.32
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To one axe	2.25
	- JEREMIAH HARRIS	
	- By 5 days' work	
	- LYNDON SMITH	
	- To repair a gun	.67
	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To making 2 iron hooks	.12
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To 2 awls & hats	.33
November 21	- To .93¢ due to balance account	.93
	- To one stamp on raffle	1.00
January 12, 1815	- MARTIN SALSBURY	
	- Credit by a balance due on a note delivered up, three dollars and sixty-seven cents	3.67
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- Due to shoeing your horse	.83
	- Credit by your horse and wagon to Preston 34 miles	
Burrilleville	- To tinker work	.25
November 8, 1814	- JOHN YOUNG	
	- To stocking and repairing two guns	6.12
December 15	- SMITH BRITTON	
	- To loom irons	.50
	- JAMES BURLINGONNE	
	- To repair a gun	.70
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- To one shoe knife	.20
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- By 2 shots	6.00
	- To cash due to Dorman	2.00
	- GEORGE LEE	
	- To mending 2 guns	1.00
	- JERA WILCOX, Jr.	
	- To one pair of loom irons	.83
	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- To 2 alls and lathes	.40
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To 76 lbs. of beef	4.56
	- By 5½ days' work	5.50
	- WILLIAM LAPHAM	
	- To poling the eye of one axe	1.50
	- JOSIAH BROWN	
	- To barn door hooks	.21
January 20, 1815	- ZEBEDEE HOPKINS	
	- To repair a gun barrel	1.17
	- ALFRED LAPHAM	
	- To repair a gun	2.50
Burrilleville	- WILLIAM RHODES	
January 29, 1815	- To setting and whetting an axe	.67
January 22	- HESEKIAH CADY	
	- To repair one pair of pistols	3.00
	- To repair one pair of pistols	1.75
	- JAMES HARRIS	
	- To 76 lbs. of beets	3.80
	- Credit by work	2.86
	- FULLER LEE	
	- Credit	.69
	- 3 days' work	2.00
	- By two dollars	2.00
	- Fined James Cross	1.31
	- By flux	$6.00
Burrilleville	- PETER ALDRICH	
January 23, 1815	- To repair a handsaw	.25
	- HARVEY THAYER	
	- To repair a gun	1.00
	- JOSEPH NEWELL	
	- To repair a sawmill saw	.75
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To one dollar in cash	1.00
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- By 2 brooms	.75
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To one drill	.25
	- GEORGE BROWN	
	- To repair a crosscut saw	.50
	- JOSEPH BROWN	
	- To boot changing	1.00
Burrilleville	- SMITH BRITTON	
March 2, 1815	- To one pair of lathe springs to one penknife blade	1.00
	- URIAH HARRIS	
	- To repair a crosscut saw	.17
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair a sawmill saw	2.50
Burrilleville	- ISAAC RASS, Jr.	
March 2, 1815	- To screws and brass	.13
	- HANIAH JENCKS	
	- By one brass kettle wt. 7½ lbs.	
	- THOMAS SMITH	
	- Credit to cash	1.00
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair a saw	.20
	- JOHN HARRIS	
	- To tobacco	.08

	- To cash	.12
April 17, 1815	- STEPHEN EDDY	
	- To repair a gun	.83
	- RUFUS ALDRICH	
	- To repair one gun	.33
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To one awl	.12
	- ELVY EDDY	
	- To mending one key	.12
	- JOSEPH MATHEWSON	
	- To cash	.83
	- BENEDICT TAFT	
	- To mending one crank	.12
	- Credit by cash	.50
	- JERA BALLOU	
	- To repair one gun	.42
April 18, 1815	- WILLIAM WHITE	
	- To one bit	.33
April 28	- CHRISTOPHER W. SANDERS	
	- To repair one saw	.75
	- DAVID RASS	
	- To one mallet	.33
	- RUEBEN DARLING	
	- To repair guns	1.67
	- JOHN WALING	
	- To two broad hoes	2.00
April 28	- GEORGE BROWN III	
	- To two broad hoes	2.00
May 6	- NATHAN TAFT	
	- To mending kitchen tongs	.50
	- SHADRAK STEERE	
	- To one broad hoe	1.00
	- ISAAC PHETTEPLACE	
	- To tobacco	.17
	- GEORGE BROWN III	
	- Credit by 19 lbs. 5 oz. cheese	1.93
	- ARAD LAPHAM	
	- To repair 2 bits	.25
	- To one bit and brace	.43
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To mending one dung fork	.12
	- To steeling one plowshare	.50
	- DAVID RASS	
	- To mending shears	.12
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To repairing 2 handsaws	.25
	- JESSE INMAN	
	- By 5 days' work plowing	7.33
	- Due sharpening plowshares	.42
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- Butcher's knife	.25
June 7, 1815	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To mending sawmill saw	1.00
	- To mending 2 brass kettles 150 nails	2.25
	- To mending tinware	.25
		$3.50
	- STEPHEN BROWN	
	- To sharpening harrow teeth	.27
	- EBENEZOR BURRILL	
	- To veal 28 lbs.	1.54
	- To 2 days' work corn weeding	
	- JOSHUA DARLING	
	- To stocking gun	3.12
June 7, 1815	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- By 2 days' work weeding corn	
	- By ten dollars in cash	10.00
	- By cash	.62
	- Credit by one day's work	
	- DORMAN BURRILL	
	- By one day's work hoeing	
	- EPHRAIM HIMPTON	
	- To one broad hoe	1.00
	- JEREMIAH BALLOU, Jr.	
	- To one truss	2.50
	- Received in cash	1.50
	- ORRAMEL JONES	
	- To one scythe	1.00
	- Credit by 2 days' work	

June 24	- DAVID RASS	
	- To one pair of bridle bits	.58
	- To one pair of bridle bits	1.00
	- To repair guide harness	.25
	- To repair running guides	.12
	- To one pair of bridle bits	.25
	- STEPHEN HANDY	
	- To cash	2.00
	- AUGUSTUS STEERE	
	- To repair shackle	.12
	- E. MURRAY	
	- To tinker work	:17
	- WILLIAM RHODES	
	- To repair auger	.17
	- To repair saw	.41
	- To repair one garden hoe	.33
May, 1815	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
	- To one gun barrel	12.00
	- To repair stock	.50
	- Credit by 5 days' work	
	- Credit by 2 days' work hilling corn	
	- Credit by 2 days' work weeding corn	
	- Credit by 2 days' work hoeing potatoes	
	- By 2 days' work hilling corn	2.67
	- By 6 days' work	
June 13, 1814	- Two days' work	1.33
August 2	- To days' work	2.00
	- To one quarter of veal	.85
	- RUFUS WILLIAMS	
	- To one broad hoe	.90
	- Credit by one day's work hoeing potatoes	
	- NATHAN WILLIAMS	
	- To mutton 16½ lbs.	.99
July 1, 1813	- To repair a gun	.25
August 2, 1814	- To one grass scythe	1.25
August 27		$1.25