

1864 Attack on Washington, DC: A Day's Difference

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The three inscriptions/presentations shown below were collected over a time interval of nearly 25 years. The participants' historical involvement was found to be closely connected to a little known sequence of events that could have altered the course of history during the Civil War's Shenandoah Valley Campaign in the summer of 1864.

Major Eugene C. Gordon, 6th Alabama, 60th Georgia,
25th Battalion Alabama Cav., CSA

Colonel James D. Visscher, 43rd New York Infantry,
6th Corps

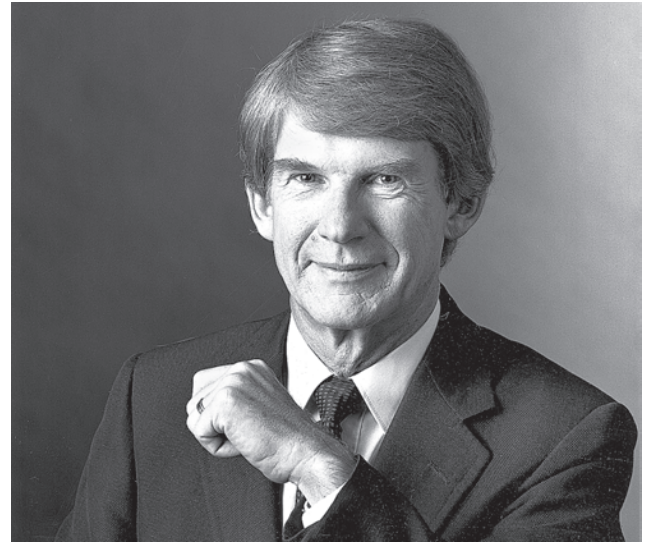
Captain Martin Lennon, 77th New York Infantry, 6th
Corps

THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY CAMPAIGN 1864, EARLY'S RAID

As the Union Forces of the Shenandoah Valley under General D. Hunter took Staunton on June 6, 1864 at the south end of the Valley, Confederate Leader General Robert E. Lee reacted. With Union General U. S. Grant close to Richmond and General W. T. Sherman slicing deeper into Georgia, Lee realized that only heroic measures could save the Confederate cause. With daily attrition cutting his ranks, his plan became daring but necessary. A force detached from Lee's ranks in Petersburg might threaten or even occupy Washington! This strong diversion would stave off the loss of Richmond, as well as gain recognition of the Confederacy abroad!

On June 12th, Lee called upon Jubal Early (Figure 1), a newly appointed Lieutenant General in command of the 2nd Corps, Stonewall's hard marching Valley veterans, to take his Corps from the Richmond lines and move to defend Lynchburg and break up Hunter's forces. If it worked well, panic in the northern capital might produce detachment of some of Grant's forces to save Washington.¹

Early's Corps of about 14,000 men plus cavalry and artillery under Division Officers, Rodes, J. B. Gordon, and Ramseur, advanced on Hunter, who retreated, allowing little resistance as Early's forces moved up the Valley through New Market, Strasburg, Fisher's Hill, and Winchester. On July 9th, Early moved his headquarters and army across the Potomac River into Maryland.



Union General Lew Wallace (Figure 2), observing Early's rapid advance, could see the potential consequences of a possible Confederate dash toward Washington. With a small force of inexperienced troops, he proceeded to the banks of the Monacacy River as the following sequence of events played themselves out.

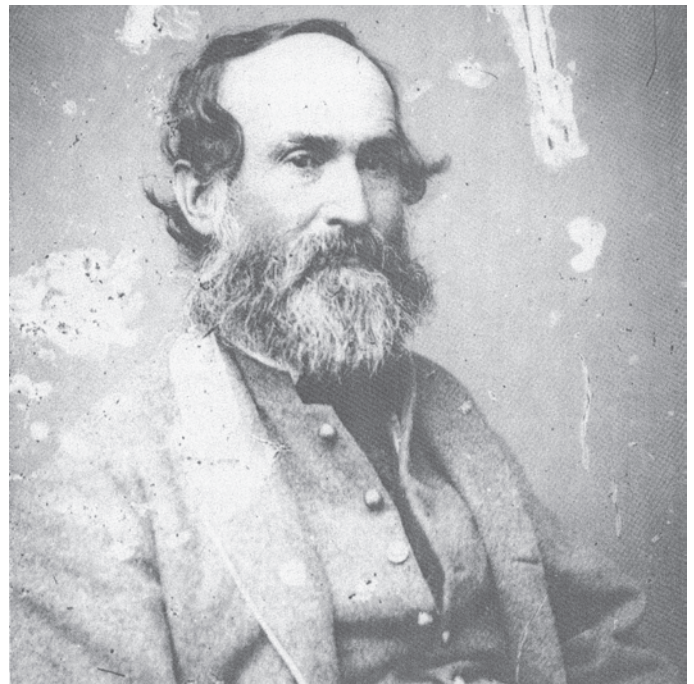


Figure 1. Lieutenant General Jubal A. Early, CSA, Valentine Museum.

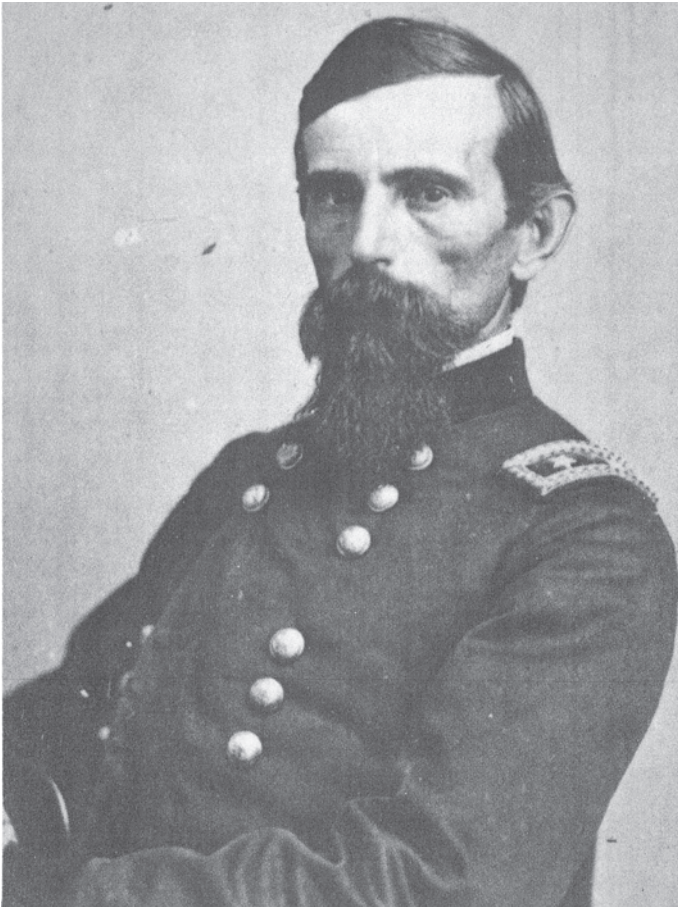


Figure 2. General Lew Wallace, USA, U.S. Military History Institute. Governor of New Mexico, 1878–81 and author of *Ben Hur*.

MONACACY, JULY 9, 1864

As information spread of a large invading force of Confederates advancing up the Shenandoah Valley, Union General Lew Wallace, commanding the Middle Department headquartered in Baltimore, advanced at once to Frederick, MD, and then three miles south to the Monacacy River junction on July 5th. He decided to make a stand at this strategic crossroads (Figure 3). Wallace had three objectives: (1) to make the enemy disclose his strength; (2) to make him disclose where he was going; (3) if it was Washington, as suspected, to detain him long enough to enable General U. S. Grant to forward troops to defend the capital.²

At the Monacacy River the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad crosses an iron bridge. South of that a covered wooden bridge carried (Figure 4) the Washington Pike to Washington about 40 miles away and a stone bridge spanned the river for the highway to Baltimore. Two block houses and several rifle pits protected the railroad. Wallace, uncertain of Early's goal, organized his forces of about half home guards and half a division of the 6th Corps under General Ricketts (sent by Grant). He deployed Ricketts' men on his left flank to protect the Washington Pike and the home guards on the right flank and center so he could dispute the Confederates cross-

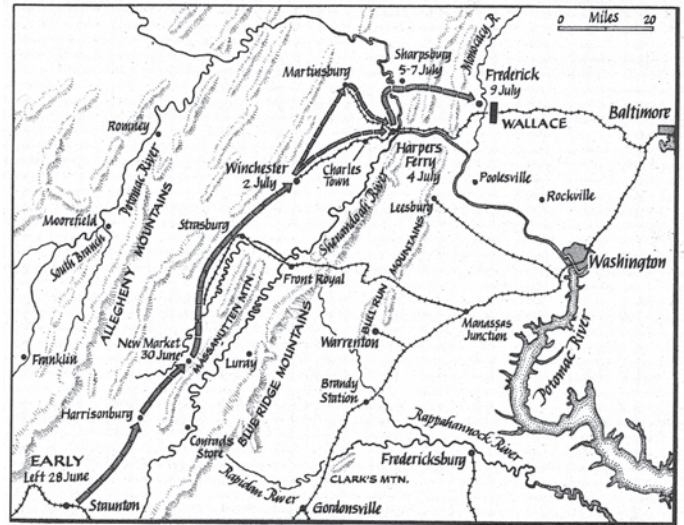


Figure 3. Shenandoah Valley Campaign 1864.

ing the river in either direction. At best he realized that with about 5,800 troops against Early's 20,000 to 30,000 men, he could only perform a delaying action.

July 9th dawned with a balmy sky as Confederate General Early arrived at the south limits of Frederick to view the Federal stronghold. He saw that Wallace, no mean foe, had shrewdly established a two-mile front covering the three avenues to the east. Estimating at least 7,000 Federals blocking his path, he knew a frontal attack would kill more men than he could afford. However, a flank attack could roll up the whole Federal line. Which flank was not a debate, since his objective was the Union Capital. He needed control of the Washington Pike. To accomplish this, he found a ford a mile south to cross the river. Early ordered General John B. Gordon's (Figure 5) division to cross the river, hopefully undetected by Wallace's watchful eye. However, Wallace saw the enemy crossing and at once set fire to the wooden bridge carrying the Washington Pike and redeployed these troops to help defend Rickett's lines.³

At about 1:30 p.m. Ricketts observed the long gray lines of several brigades about 700 yards to his left front. He ordered a difficult maneuver falling back and changing fronts

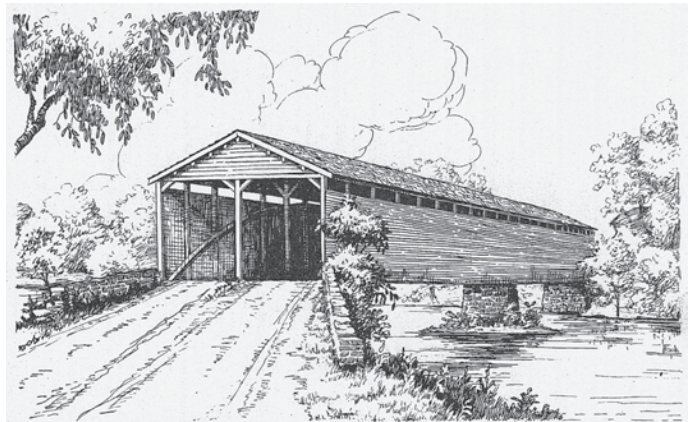


Figure 4. Covered Wooden Bridge, Monacacy Junction.



Figure 5. Major General John B. Gordon, CSA, National Archives.

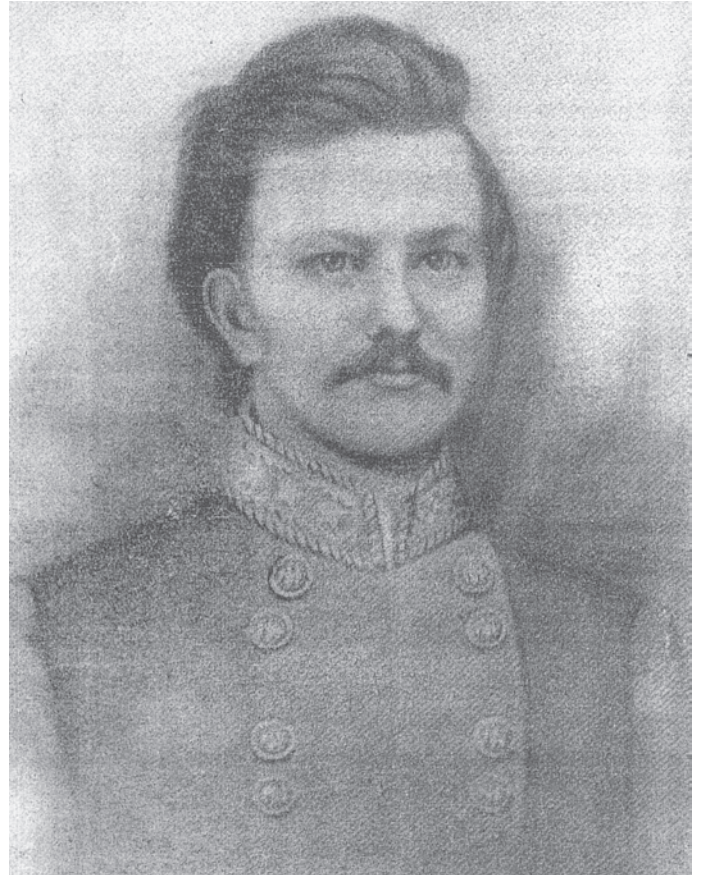


Figure 6. Brigadier General Clement A. Evans, CSA.

to parallel the road to Washington. This change of front did not escape Gordon's notice, well executed . . . seasoned soldiers. Now in his front not only loomed long lines of blue infantry, but terrain hazards. These fields were thickly dotted with grain stacks and farm fences, making it impossible to achieve an advance line.⁴

Gordon's initial attack on the Federal flank was made by Brigadier General Clement Evans (Figure 6), trusted leader of Gordon's largest brigade. He was badly wounded in the initial advance. In Gordon's own words, "But the execution of his orders were superintended by his staff officer, **Major Eugene C. Gordon** (Figure 7), who was himself severely wounded."⁵

General Evans later wrote of these experiences, "I was galloping along the front at the moment with **Capt. Gordon**, my aide, cheering the brigade forward and of course was a conspicuous mark for thousands of Federal rifles . . . on this day I rode in the path of one bullet . . . (**Capt.**) **Gordon** knew what to do—he gave the Senior Colonel notice of my fall and the gallant line swept right on . . . at this point the charge hesitated . . . at this juncture **Gordon** acted on my general instructions . . . riding along the line inspiring the brave fellows . . . so they charged again . . . driving the Federal forces before them . . . My wound was so threatening that my surgeons sought to dissuade me my purpose to move with them to Washington . . . Procuring a litter ambulance for myself



Figure 7. Major Eugene C. Gordon, CSA, Alabama Dept. Archives.

and **Capt. Eugene Gordon**, my aide, who was also wounded. We followed on that night at the rear of my brigade. We went down to Washington . . . ”⁶

The solid gold mounted presentation cane (Figure 8) inscribed, “**Maj. E. C. Gordon from his brother W.S.G.,**” was a postwar presentation to Major Eugene Cornelius Gordon, a younger brother of General John B. Gordon. He was born June 17, 1845, in Walker County, Georgia, son of Rev. Zachariah H. Gordon. His great-grandfather was one of seven brothers who came to the American colonies from Scotland and fought for independence in the Revolution. Along with his grandfather, a teenager at the time, they fought at the Battle of King’s Mountain.⁷

Eugene enlisted, in January of 1861, in a Georgia volunteer company made up of mountaineers with coonskin caps known as the Raccoon Roughs, commanded by his brother, Captain John B. Gordon. He was then not yet 16 years of age, and continuing in service, his company officially became Company I, Sixth Alabama Regiment.⁸

During the Battle of Gettysburg, he was back serving as aide-de-camp on the staff of his brother, now a Brigadier General, commanding a Georgia brigade. On July 1, 1863, Gordon’s brigade attacked the Union’s right flank, breaking the line and sending the Federal flying through the town to the hill behind. Ordered to stop by General Jubal Early in the afternoon, General Gordon, feeling this a fatal mistake, rode with his aide-de-camp, Eugene Gordon, at two o’clock the next morning to Generals Ewell’s and Early’s headquarters. They could hear the digging-in of the Union troops on Cemetery Hill all night, preparing for a Confederate attack in the morning.⁹

As reported by Eugene Gordon, years later, this “Council of War” consisted of Lieutenant General Ewell, Major Generals Early and Johnson, and Brigadier General J. B. Gordon. (General Lee did not reach the field until the second day.) Gordon urged the immediate forward attack, but was voted down due to the army needing rest. History shows that the Confederate army waited, losing the initiative. On the second day were the failed attacks on the right



Figure 9. Silver Cuspidor inscribed, “E.C.G.,” Eugene C. Gordon.

and left flanks and on the third day was the disastrous attack on the Union center.¹⁰

Eugene was offered a permanent staff position by General J. B. Gordon, but declined this advancement out of delicacy as coming directly from his brother. Soon afterward, on account of his gallant conduct at Gettysburg, he was elected Second Lieutenant of the 60th Georgia, of Gordon’s Brigade. When General Clement A. Evans succeeded command of the Brigade, upon promotion of General Gordon to division command, during the Wilderness Campaign, Lieutenant E. C. Gordon was appointed aide-de-camp on Evan’s staff, May 28, 1864. He was promoted to First Lieutenant by authority of the Secretary of War and signed by Major General J. B. Gordon. He served in this capacity at Cold Harbor and Early’s march through the Shenandoah Valley and his expedition against Washington, D.C., distinguishing himself at the Battle of Monacacy Junction, July 9, 1864.¹¹

On January 25, 1865, Eugene tendered his resignation as First Lieutenant and A.D.C. of Evans’ staff. His resignation was accepted and, with letters of recommendation from General’s Evans and Gordon, he was appointed Major by President Davis, March 24, 1864, of the Provisional Army, Confederate States, State of Alabama. The following letters, written in that connection, reveal the character of his services:

Headquarters Gordon’s Division, February 21, 1865.
Gen. S. Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector General:

Colonel Mead desiring an efficient officer to be appointed major and assigned to command of one of the battalions which he is raising, I have recommended my aide-de-camp, Lieut. Eugene C. Gordon, whom I regard as peculiarly well qualified for that particular line of service. He will be found to be very industrious, enterprising, reliable and brave, with a fondness for that kind of service, which will cause him to enter upon discharge of his duties with great spirit and activity. I respectfully ask a favorable consideration of his



Figure 8. Solid Gold Mounted Presentation Cane Inscribed, “**Maj. E. C. Gordon from his brother W.S.G.**”

claim, with the assurance that the government will not be disappointed. I am, general, your obedient servant.

C. A. Evans,
Brigadier-General Commanding

Headquarters Second Corps, Army Northern Virginia,
February 21, 1865.

Respectfully forwarded approved. Lieutenant Gordon has served under my command both as a line and staff officer. He gave entire satisfaction in the former capacity as a disciplinarian and drill officer. His courage is conspicuous. At the battle of Monacacy, MD., July 9, 1864, he greatly distinguished himself. After the wounding of Brig.-Gen. C. A. Evans, on whose staff he was serving, Lieutenant Gordon was, during the latter and severest part of the engagement, the only mounted officer left in the brigade with one exception. His conduct on that occasion attracted my attention and merits mention. He did great service in carrying the brigade forward, and had his horse killed and himself severely wounded while riding in front of the brigade within fifty yards of the enemy's line of battle. His qualifications as an officer and intimate acquaintance with the country fit him, I think, for the position he seeks.

J. B. Gordon,
Major-General Commanding Corps.¹²

He was ordered to report to the 25th Battalion Alabama Cavalry (Figure 10). At 19 years of age, he was the youngest man to receive this commission. This was a field officer's position behind enemy lines late in the war.

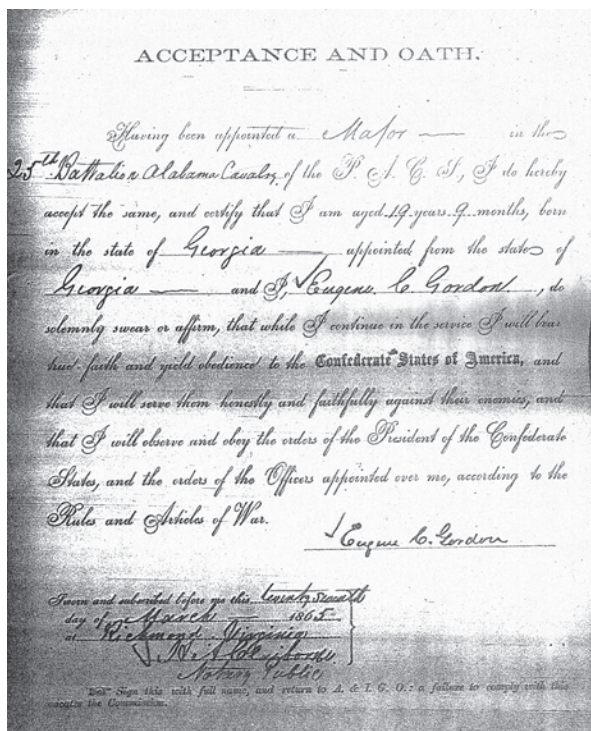


Figure 10. Acceptance and Oath, Eugene C. Gordon, National Archives.

He was on his way to join his command when he arrived in Columbus, GA, just as it was being approached by General Wilson's Federal Cavalry. Reporting to the state militia commander General Howell Cobb, he asked permission to get a musket to serve in defense of the city; however, he was asked to serve on the General's staff taking a conspicuous part in this fight April 16, 1865, one week after Appomattox. The 25th Battalion Alabama Cavalry surrendered at Huntsville, May 11, 1865.¹³

After the war, Eugene resumed his studies and embarked on the pursuits of a civil life. For many years he was very prominent in the development of the South, in particular, of Northern Alabama, giving his attention to railroad building, town improvement, and mining. He was associated with his brother, John B. Gordon, in several business enterprises, among them the building of the Georgia-Pacific Railroad, running between Atlanta and Birmingham, as well as the Clarkville and Princeton Railroad. He was originator, organizer, and President of the Decatur "Land, Improvement and Furnace Co." With cash capital of one million dollars, he aided in increasing the population of Decatur from 1000 to 9000 in 18 months.¹⁴

With his comrades of the war, Eugene maintained a general comradeship as a member of the Thomas H. Hobbs Camp, No. 400, United Confederate Veterans, Athens, AL, of which he was the organizer and twice commander (see Document, Figure 11).

Major Gordon was married in 1865 to Sallie Oliver, who died after two years. His second marriage was to Ella Cranshaw of Athens, Alabama. They had two daughters, Mabel and Eugenie. Major Gordon made his home in Alabama, moving to Amarillo, Texas a few years prior to his

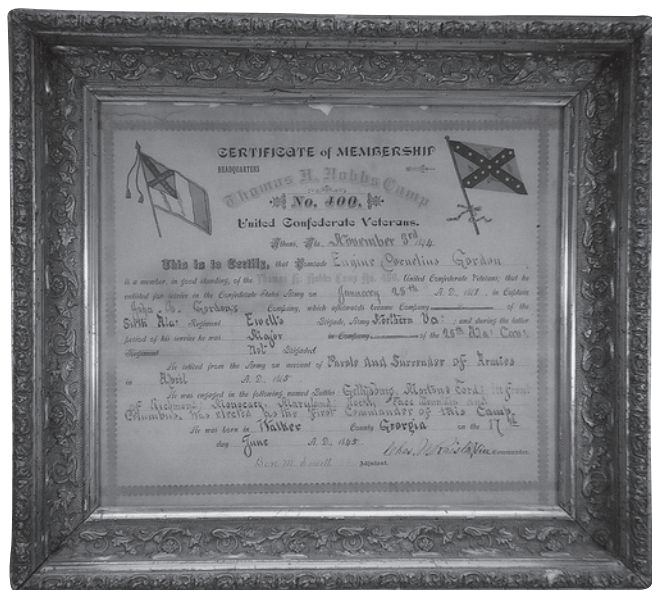


Figure 11. Framed Document: Certificate of Membership in the United Confederate Veterans dated November 13, 1894.

death in July 14, 1913, on a train from Tennessee to Amarillo.

Major E. C. Gordon's younger brother, Captain Walter Scott Gordon, the cane presenter (Figure 8), born February 22, 1849, was also a Confederate soldier, and undoubtedly the youngest captain in the Army.¹⁵ From General John B. Gordon's "*Reminiscences of the Civil War*," he states, "My youngest brother ran away from school before he was 15 years old as a captain of a company of school boys of his age and younger, who reported in a body to General Joseph E. Johnston at Dalton for service. They were too young for soldiers, and General Johnston declined to accept them for service, except that of guarding a bridge across the Chattahoochee River."¹⁶

Wanting active service, the company was permitted to disband and the members to re-enlist in other commands. Captain Walter S. Gordon re-enlisted in a Georgia regiment serving about Atlanta. He was later transferred to General Clement Evans' brigade, Army of Northern Virginia, October 7, 1864, serving upon the General's staff. He was listed as a courier when he surrendered at Appomattox, April 1865. He participated in a number of engagements about Petersburg and was severely wounded at the Battle of Hatcher's Run, February 5-7, 1865. This was the last principal Federal move to extend its lines prior to its final push in April 1865.

After the war, Walter graduated at the University of Georgia and became a law partner of Judge L. E. Beckley, Former Chief Justice of the State. Afterwards, he was associated with **Major Eugene C. Gordon** in the development of Sheffield and the Sheffield and Birmingham Railroad, among other projects, until his death in New York City in October 14, 1886. "These brothers were like Damon and Pythias in their devotion to each other."¹⁷

Captain Walter S. Gordon married Loulie McLendon of Atlanta, Georgia, having two daughters, Loulie and Linda.¹⁸

As the battle continued, "Between the two hostile lines there was a narrow ravine with a small stream . . . to and fro the battle swayed across this stream When the struggle ended a crimson current ran toward the river. Nearly half of my men and large numbers of the Federals fell there," stated J. B. Gordon. As Gordon's superior number pressed, the Union front collapsed. Ricketts urged his men back across the Washington Pike toward the Baltimore Highway, which was Wallace's retreat route. By 4:00 p.m. the day was over, and the battle was won by the Confederates. Breckinridge, who watched Gordon's attack with pride, warmly greeted the Georgian after the battle and remarked: "Gordon, if you never made a fight before, this ought to immortalize you."¹⁹ The road was open to the Union Capitol. However, it was too late in the afternoon of July 9th to resume the advance. Early's army was tired and needed rest.

Wallace's delaying action had dealt a serious blow to the Confederate timetable, **One Day's Time**. He had determined the destination and strength of the Confederate forces, between 18,000 to 20,000.

If the day of battle had been hot, July 10th was hotter. With his army strung out in long lines on the dust-choked road, straggling grew worse. Early called a halt with his Army covering no less than 20 miles, half the distance to Washington.

FT. STEVENS, JULY 12, 1864

News of Lew Wallace's defeat at Monacacy and the enemy turning toward Washington, 40 miles away, brought panic to the streets of the Union Capital. Fear sparked the air; had the citizens known the disorganization and the extent of the military muddling, they would have fled the city. The War Department knew nothing of the Confederate raid, its numbers, or destination. Highly disorganized, they could only put 9,500 militia men in the 37 miles of entrenchments circling the capital. The experienced soldiers had gone to Grant's lines in Petersburg. If Confederate General Early came at Washington from Monacacy, he would hit the northern works held by only two militia regiments. Being persuaded that the threat was real, Grant ordered the remainder of the 6th Corps to Washington, expecting to arrive Monday, July 11th.²⁰

Now with the enemy close at hand, one calm voice could be heard, of Lincoln, stating: "Let us be vigilant, but keep cool."²¹ On the morning of July 11th, what happened in the next few hours would alter history. For the Confederacy, Washington lay a glittering prize, one which might convince the world of Southern invincibility. If Early could reach the city's defenses before Grant's men arrived, time would be the final arbiter!²²

For Jubal Early, July 11th began hot, as the day and night before, taking its toll on his infantry. His columns were en route before sunup heading southeastward down the 7th Street road, hoping to storm the capital by nightfall. Around 1:00 p.m. explosions were heard from the direction of Washington. Siege Ordinance! The Confederates had come within range. Early rode alongside his weary regiments, attempting to close the ranks with stragglers growing with the temperature of the afternoon. From a point of vantage, Early examined his front, about 1,100 yards ahead loomed a large earthworks, Fort Stevens, protecting the 7th Street highway to the capital (Figure 12). As his glasses swept the situation, he found the fort feebly manned! Surely the defenders of Washington must know his direction of attack. If Fort Stevens had few defenders, then there must be few defenders for all of Washington. The prize was his; he had

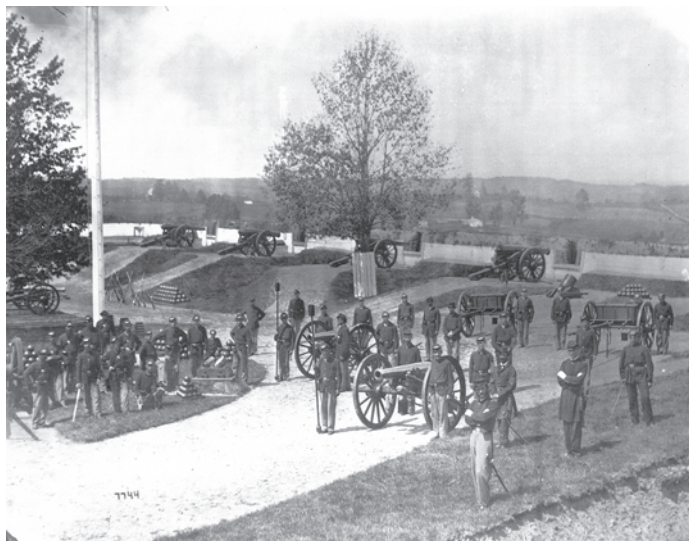


Figure 12. Fort Stevens, Library of Congress, LC B8171, 7744.

beaten Grant's men!²³ All he had to do was organize a line and occupy the works. Ordering one of his division commanders, Rodes, to throw out skirmishers and deploy a line of battle proved impossible due to the tired men being strewn out on the road²⁴ (Figure 13).

Suddenly, about 1:30 p.m., Early noticed a pall of dust lofting over Washington. As he looked long and hard through his glasses, he saw a column of bluecoats swing into view, marching out toward Fort Stevens. They wore the faded blue of old campaigners, Grant's men!²⁵

Meanwhile, in the capital, amid vast confusion, rumors, and booming cannons, a cheer could be heard from the 6th Street docks. Crowds gathered as transports discharged a division of the old 6th Corps, the Greek Cross flying from their guidons, men renowned on the bloody Virginia fields. Commanded by General Horatio Wright (Figure 14), he brought a different spirit to the defenses of Washington. As he reached Fort Stevens, the situation had deteriorated; the Federal skirmish line was starting to give



Figure 14. Major General Horatio G. Wright, with 6th Corps Flag, USA.

way. Wright wasted no time ordering 500 men from his First Brigade to drive the Confederates back to the original skirmish line.²⁶

Seeing this, Early's hopes began to fade. That evening he held a council of war, deciding to attack at dawn . . . , "Unless some information should be received before time showing its impracticability."²⁷ This information came as the July 12th sun came up; the field was clearly in view, with Fort Stevens' entrenchments all filled with blue uniforms. Green Union militia watched in terror as Rodes and Gordon threw out skirmishers and followed with long lines of battle. Older veterans observed that they were not in attack formation. Then the grayclads lay down in the wooded protection and the field lay tranquil with the mounting morning heat, while the Capitol dome loomed in the distance.²⁸

As the Confederate skirmishers moved forward and the two houses offered cover for their sharpshooters, General Wright decided to drive the enemy from their protective locations. As he surveyed this potential battlefield, Wright ran into President Lincoln again out for a look at the war. He quired the President if he cared to view the scene of action, assuming he would not. Suddenly, to his horror, Wright saw



Figure 13. Battle in Front of Fort Stevens, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, August 6, 1864.

Lincoln join a group atop the fort's parapets. From the Confederate sharpshooter's roosts, long-range rifle shots rang out. Now Wright, standing next to the President, urged him to step down. Still the tall figure in the stovepipe that looked out. A thud and one of the officers near Lincoln fell. Not far from them a young captain looked up and exclaimed to the President, "Get down, you fool!" Amused by the brash words of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Lincoln heeded his advice.²⁹ This action at Fort Stevens marked the only instance in our history where an American President came under fire from an enemy.

Wright ordered the Third Brigade of his 6th Corps to deploy and follow the skirmishers. The lines of battle were as follows³⁰:

43rd New York 7th Main 49th New York
77th New York 61st Penn. 122nd New York

At 6:00 p.m. the artillery started signaling the advance, which was met by a sheet of flames from the wooded area. Ranks fell, and gaps appeared. After stubborn fighting, the Confederates retired as nightfall stalled the progress. The field and hills had been won by the Federals losing almost one-quarter of their men in action. **Captain Martin Lennon, 77th New York** (Figures 21 and 22), participated in the initial attack and **Colonel James D. Visscher** (Figure 15), leading the **43rd New York**, was killed in action as President Lincoln looked on.³¹



Figure 15. Lieutenant Colonel James D. Visscher, 43rd New York.

Visscher's Smith & Wesson Model 2 Army is inscribed on the back strap, "**Capt. J. D. Visscher—43rd N.Y.**" This fully blued .32 r.f. revolver manufactured in 1864, serial number 18660, was most likely presented to the then captain of Company G by officers or friends upon promotion to command the regiment (Figures 16 and 17).

This inscribed Smith & Wesson revolver was carried by Captain (later Colonel) James D. Visscher, 43rd New York Volunteers in the Civil War. Col. Visscher came from a prominent New York family whose ancestors came from Holland and settled in the Albany area in 1644.³² Visscher was born in Albany, New York, in 1829 and was a book-binder by trade before the war. He left home with the "Burgesses Corps" from Albany to join the 25th New York State Militia Regiment, then at Arlington Heights, Virginia. The regiment served at and near Washington from April to August 1861, before it was mustered out of service.

He re-enlisted in August, 1862, and was appointed captain, Co. G, 43rd N.Y. Volunteers, in command of the company when it was mustered into service September 14, 1862. His company joined the regiment in Virginia and fought at the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862. It was on duty in Hagerstown, Maryland, until October 30th and moved to Falmouth, Virginia until November 19th. He led his company at the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, and in the "retreat," or "Mud March," after that battle, January 20–24, 1863.

Captain Visscher remained on duty again in Falmouth until April, 1863, and then fought in the Chancellorsville Campaign, April 27–May 6, 1863, and the battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1863. He took part in the Pursuit of Lee, July 25–August 14, 1863, and remained on duty with his regiment on the Rappahannock until November, 1863. He took part in the Mine Run Campaign, November 26–December 2, 1863, after which he was transferred to Co. E on December 20th. He remained in command of that company at Brandy Station until May, 1864.

Visscher personally distinguished himself while leading his company through the battles of the Wilderness, May 5–7, 1864, and Cold Harbor, June 1–2, 1864, and especially at Spotsylvania, May 12–21, 1864, after which he was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel for gallantry in action on May 12, 1864 (Figure 18).

Taking command of the entire 43rd Regiment at Petersburg, Virginia, June 17–July 26, 1864, he moved to Washington, DC, to help defend the capital and was stationed at Fort Stevens. At the same time General Grant had depleted the ranks of infantrymen and artillerymen in the capital in an effort to bolster the ranks of his army in the campaign against Richmond. Little did he realize that he could have signaled the doom of Washington by leaving it practically defenseless.

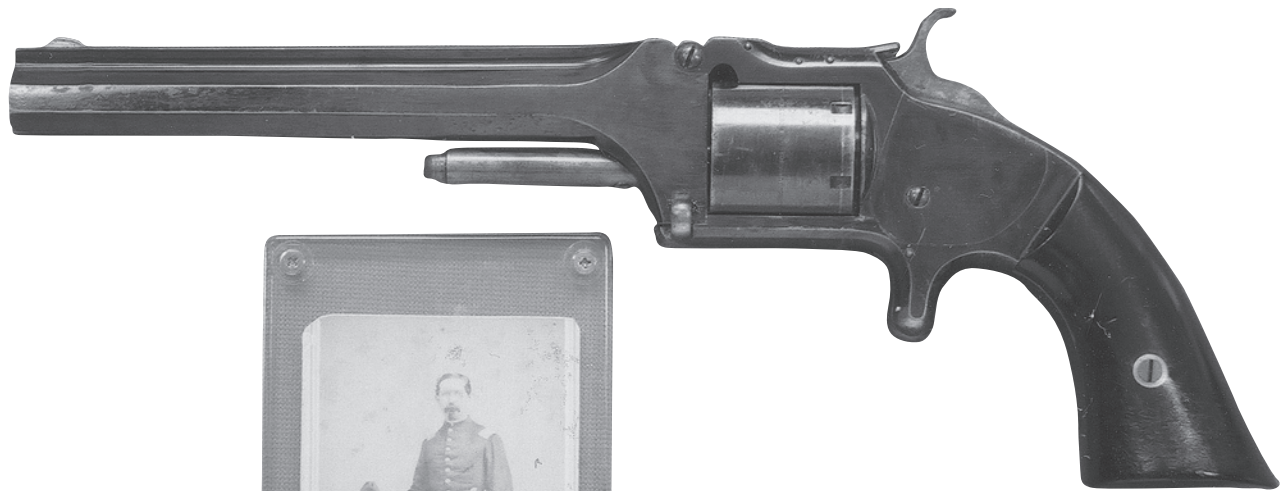


Figure 16. Smith & Wesson Model 2 Army, Inscribed on Backstrap "Capt. J. D. Visscher—43rd N.Y.," shown with original signed CDV.

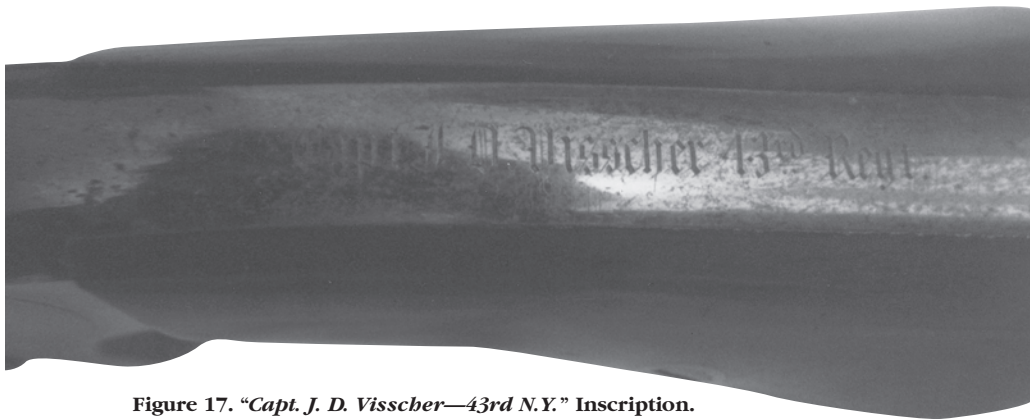


Figure 17. "Capt. J. D. Visscher—43rd N.Y." Inscription.

As described earlier, on the afternoon of July 12th, an assault was planned to drive back the Confederate forces in front of Fort Stevens before they attacked. The 7th Maine, 43rd New York, and 49th New York regiments were chosen. As the batteries of Fort Stevens opened fire, the chosen regiments dashed forward, surprising the enemy.

In Dr. Stevens', historian of the 6th Corps, own words, "In magnificent order and with light steps, they ran forward up the ascent, through the orchard, through the little grove on the right, over the fence, up the road, making straight for the first objective point, the frame house "lay" in front. The rebels, at first stood their ground, then gave way before the impetus charge and though forced to seek safety in flight, turned and poured their volleys into the ranks of their pursuers. Lt. Col. Johnson, commanding the 49th N.Y. . . . fell mortally wounded. Col. Visscher of the 43rd N.Y., was killed. Major J. P. Jones,

commanding the 7th Main, was also slain; and Major Crosby, commanding the 61st Penn. was taken to the hospital . . . Col. W. B. French of the 77th N.Y. was injured. The commanding officer of every regiment in the brigade was either killed or wounded."³³ This ended the Battle of Fort Stevens. The body of gallant Colonel Visscher was returned home, where he was buried with

military honors in the Albany Rural Cemetery.

General Early, his objective lost, had decided to retreat under cover of darkness, thus ending the threat on the Union capital. Early, commenting to one of his officers, said, "Major, we haven't taken Washington, but we've scared Abe Lincoln like hell!"³⁴ The hard marching and almost continuous skirmishing had taken a toll of Jubal's thin ranks. The cost of scaring Abe Lincoln ran to about 2,000. He had started with 12,000.³⁵

CEDAR CREEK, OCTOBER 19, 1864

Failing in his raid on Washington, Confederate General Jubal Early's forces remained in the Valley as a diversion for Grant's siege on Petersburg. Determined that Early not escape punishment, Grant, in August, 1864 sent General Phil Sheridan (Figure 19) with 30,000 troopers to pursue and eliminate Jubal Early's forces. This cavalry leader had proven

<i>V</i> 43 N. Y.	<i>V</i> 43 N. Y.
<i>James D. Visscher</i>	<i>James D. Visscher</i>
<i>St. Rob. Co., 43 Reg't N. Y. Infantry.</i>	Rank <i>Lt. Col., 43. Reg't N. Y. Inf.</i>
Appears on Regimental Return	Appears on
for <i>July</i> , 1864	Field and Staff Muster-out Roll
Present or absent	of the organization named above. Roll dated
	<i>Albany, N. Y., Oct. 11, 1864.</i>
Gain or loss	Muster-out to date
, 186
Date	Last paid to
..... 186	<i>Feb. 29, 1864.</i>
Place	Clothing account:
	Last settled....., 186 ; drawn since \$.....100
Remarks: <i>Killed in action</i>	Due soldier \$100; due U. S. \$100
<i>July 12th 1864 at Battle of Fort Stevens etc.</i>	Am't for cloth'g in kind or money adv'd \$.....100
	Due U. S. for arms, equipments, &c., \$100
	Bounty paid \$100; due, \$100
	Remarks: <i>Promoted from</i>
	<i>Capt. Co. 4 Killed</i>
	<i>in action July 12, 1864.</i>
Book mark:	Book mark:
<i>P. J. Evans</i>	<i>Long</i>
(1852) Copyist.	(1852) Copyist.

Figure 18. Lieutenant Colonel Visscher's Military Records, National Archives.

himself a willing and efficient fighter. Initially, Early was successful in hit-and-run attacks against superior forces through the late summer and early fall. He attacked the stronger foe at Winchester and Fisher's Hill with some success, but with fewer and fewer men.³⁶

After defeating Early at Fisher's Hill on September 22nd and believing that he had fled the Valley, the Federal commander gave up the chase and began to lay waste, burning crops, in the Upper Valley. Lee returned Kershaw's division to Early's main force, now about 20,000 strong. Enraged at Sheridan's wanton destruction, Early slipped back into the Valley. Fearing lack of supplies, Early decided to attack the unsuspecting Federals as they lay in camp at Cedar Creek.

General John B. Gordon, commanding three divisions, came up with a plan to attack the Federal left, which they thought had a natural protection of the impassible Massanutten Mountains with the Shenandoah River at its base. Gordon found a dim, narrow pathway that only one man could pass at a time, but by starting the movement at nightfall, the entire Corps could pass by sunup. Early finally adapted the plan. The men, stripped of canteens and anything else that would make noise to arouse Sheridan's pickets, proceeded across the river in the early morning to the left flank of Sheridan's sleeping army.³⁷

The morning of October 19, 1864 was exceedingly damp and chilly; a dense fog settled down over the ground to aid the attack. Gordon's divisions surprised and completely

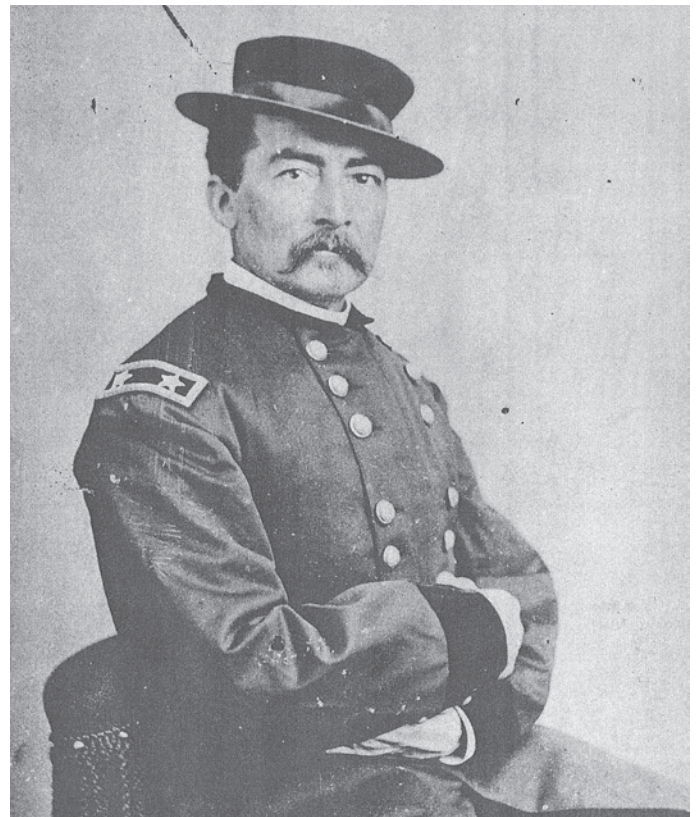


Figure 19. Major General Phillip H. Sheridan, USA, Library of Congress.

routed the sleeping Federals, while Kershaw attacked the Union right across Cedar Creek. As the sun rose and the fog lifted, the Confederates had full possession of the camps and earthworks of the Federal 8th and 19th Corps³⁸ (Figure 20).

As Sheridan was in Washington at a conference, General Horatio Wright (Figure 14) was in charge of the Federal forces. He called for the 6th Corps to come up from reserve. Early's advance, sweeping all before them in the dense fog and smoke, began to meet resistance by a staunch handful of troops commanded now by General Getty of the 6th Corps. Wright was shot about 9:00 a.m. A division of the 6th Corps marched to the Winchester Pike and formed a line at the crest of a small hill. The Confederates made three charges but could not get over the hill.³⁹ In the last charge, General Bidwell, 3rd Brigade, was killed and the command went to Colonel French of the **77th New York**. **Captain Martin Lennon** was mortally wounded during this enemy charge (Figures 21 and 22).

Captain Lennon's presentation Smith & Wesson Model 2 is inscribed on a solid silver butt plate "**Presented to Capt. Martin Lennon by Co. I 77th Regt. N.Y. Vo.**" The revolver was manufactured in about November, 1863, Serial No. 15074, and would have been presented by his men the following year prior to his untimely death in November 1864. It is in unused condition with a blued finish and rosewood grips. It is shown in an original factory casing, with a rare cleaning rod, and a box of .32 r.f. Hall & Hubbard Cartridges, patented April 17, 1860 (Figures 23 and 24).



THE CONFEDERATE ARMY, UNDER GENERAL EARLY, DRIVING BACK THE SIXTH, EIGHTH AND NINETEENTH FEDERAL CORPS, UNDER GENERAL WRIGHT, AT CEDAR CREEK, VA., ON THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 19, 1864.—FROM A SKETCH BY J. R. TAYLOR.

Figure 20. Battle of Cedar Creek, Oct. 19, 1864, Civil War in the United States, *Harper's Weekly*.

As a school teacher from Essex County, NY, Martin Lennon, age 22 enlisted at Keenseville, NY, in the 77th New York Regiment on October 1, 1861. He served as a First Sergeant until November 23, 1861 when he was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in Company I. The 77th was attached to the Army of the Potomac, seeing action in the Peninsula Campaign, Lee's Mills, Yorktown, Williamsburg, and the Seven Days before Richmond. After McCellan's evacuation of

Harrison's Landing and after moving to Alexandria, VA, Lennon was commissioned captain, August 18, 1862.

The 77th participated in many prominent battles such as Antietam, Malvern Hill, Fairfax Court House, Federicksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Wilderness, "Bloody Angle" Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, and Fort Stevens, to stop Early at Washington, DC.

Joining Sheridan's Shenandoah Valley Campaign in 1864, the 77th fought at Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and at Cedar Creek, on October 19, 1864, where Capt. Lennon was severely wounded. Captain Lennon died November 1, 1864 from his wounds (Figure 25).

Being part of the official records in the *Fifth Annual Report of the New York State Bureau of Military Statistics, 1868*, Captain Lennon's letters and extracts from his diary contain detailed military accounts starting with the Peninsula Campaign at Lee's Mills, VA, in 1862, until three days before he was wounded. His last entry read "Oct. 16—stood under arms one hour. All quiet."



Figure 21. 2nd Lieutenant Martin Lennon, Co. I, 77th New York, N.Y. State Military Museum.



Figure 22. Captain Martin Lennon, 77th New York, N.Y. State Military Museum.

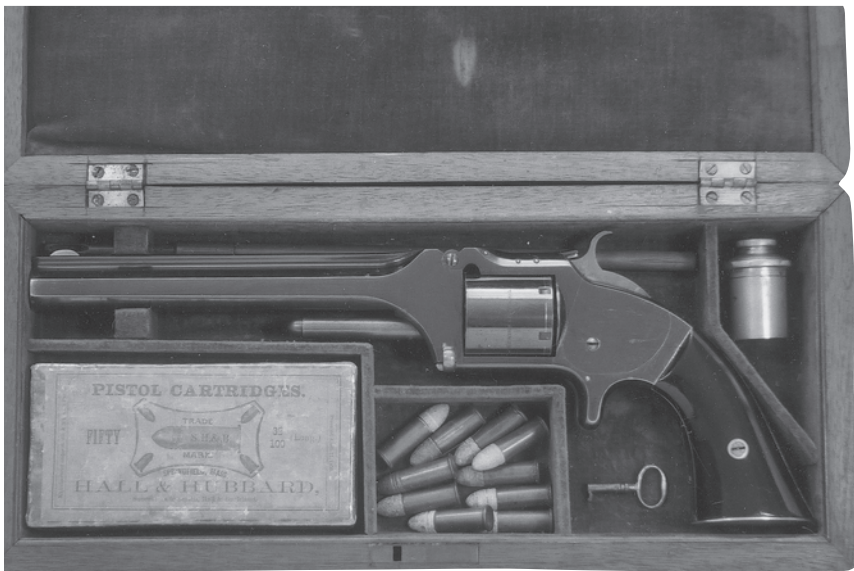


Figure 23. A Presentation Smith & Wesson Model 2 Army, Inscribed on Butt Plate, "Presented to Capt. Martin Lennon by Co. I 77th Regt. N.Y. Vol."



Figure 24. Captain Lennon's Presentation Inscription.

A tribute to Captain Lennon from the report follows.

"Captain Martin Lennon, of Company I, 77th Regiment, was wounded by a ball in the left shoulder, in action at Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864 and died November 1, 1864 following. He was a brave, competent and worthy man. The diary from which the foregoing pages were copied, is stained with blood, and contains the remnant of a pencil, with which he made his entries. He was a school teacher before entering the service.

E. M. Rutenber

Albany, December 28, 1864."

By midday, the battle had reached a critical juncture; the expended Confed-erates were now attacking piecemeal and were easily repulsed. Early, assuming the entire 6th Corps was in his front, ordered a fateful pause to rest his exhausted men. While the Confederates rested at about 11:30 a.m., up the Federal line cheering could be heard. Down the pike, an officer on a powerful black charger covered with foam came tearing up to General Getty demanding to know the state of battle. After a few words, he rode down the line and in a ringing voice shouted "Men, by God, we'll whip them yet, we'll sleep in our old camp tonight." This was Sheridan (Figure 19), returning from Washington. The men sprang to their feet and cheered.⁴⁰

At 4:00 p.m., bringing reinforcements and the cavalry, Sheridan attacked, driving the Confederates from the field.

This victory to all extents at Cedar Creek ended the Confederate threat in the Shenandoah Valley.

Again, Early failed to take advantage of the opportunity for victory because there was only a division of the 6th Corps in his front. He could have sent the whole Union forces back to Winchester. With Sheridan's arrival, it vanished. Getty's division of the 6th Corps stand on that small hill saved the day for Sheridan and the routed Federal forces.

Early remained in the Valley and by winter his ranks had dwindled to about 4,000 men. Sheridan opened the year of 1865 with a march up the Valley as part of Grant's program for a knock-out offensive in the spring. Early met the offensive but he could not hold the bluecoats. With barely a Corporal's Guard of 1,000 men left at Waynesboro, he met about 15,000 Federals, a complete rout, and the

Army of the Valley was no more.⁴¹

Jubal Early prolonged the war through the winter of 1864, a successful diversion. However, if he were not detained by Lew Wallace, the true hero, for a day's time at Monacacy and was able to brush by the small militia forces at Fort Stevens, before the 6th Corps arrived, he very well might have altered the course of history!

NOTES

1. Frank Vandiver, *Jubal's Raid* (New York, 1960), p. 19.
2. Glenn H. Worthington, *Fighting for Time* (Shippensburg, PA, 1985), p. 55.
3. Vandiver, p. 108-11.

<p>77 N. Y.</p> <p><i>Quentin Lennon</i></p> <p>Capt., Co. I., 77 Reg't N. Y. Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on Regimental Return</p> <p>for <u>Oct</u>, 1864.</p> <p>Present or absent.....</p> <p>Gain or loss.....</p> <p>Date....., 1864.</p> <p>Place.....</p> <p>Remarks: <u>Wounded Oct 19, 1864</u></p> <p>Book mark:.....</p> <p>(852) <i>J. J. Black</i> Copyist.</p>	<p>77 N. Y.</p> <p><i>Quentin Lennon</i></p> <p>Capt., Co. I., Battalion 77 N. Y. Infantry.</p> <p>Appears on Regimental Return</p> <p>for <u>Nov</u>, 1864.</p> <p>Present or absent.....</p> <p>Gain or loss.....</p> <p>Date....., 1864.</p> <p>Place.....</p> <p>Remarks: <u>Died of Wounds Nov. 1, 1864</u></p> <p>Book mark:.....</p> <p><i>J. J. Black</i></p>
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Figure 25. Captain Lennon's Military Records, National Archives.

4. Ibid., p. 114.
5. John B. Gordon, *Reminiscences of the Civil War* (New York, NY, 1904), p. 312-313.
6. Robert G. Stephens, Jr., *Intrepid Warrior; Clement Anselm Evans* (Morningside, 1992), p. 425-426.
7. Frances B. S. Hodges, *Gordons of Spotsylvania County, VA* (Wichita Falls, TX, 1934), p. 12-22.
8. *Confederate Military History: A Library of Confederate States History, Extended Edition* (Atlanta, GA, 1899), p. 585.
9. Maj. E. C. Gordon, *Confederate Veteran* (Wendell, NC), p. 465.
10. Ibid., p. 465.
11. *Confederate Military History*, p. 585.
12. Ibid., p. 586.
13. Ibid., p. 587.
14. Ibid., p. 587.
15. Ibid., p. 587-588.
16. J. B. Gordon, *Reminiscences*, p. 302.
17. *Confederate Military History*, p. 588.
18. Hodges, p. 22.
19. Vandiver, p. 118.
20. Worthington, *Fighting for Time*, p. 174-175.
21. Vandiver, p. 147.
22. Ibid., p. 149.
23. Ibid., p. 152.
24. Worthington, p. 188.
25. Vandiver, p. 153.
26. Ibid., p. 159-160.
27. Ibid., p. 155-156.
28. Ibid., p. 165.
29. Ibid., p. 168.
30. William V. Cox, *The Defenses of Washington* (Washington, DC, 1901), p. 17.
31. Ibid., p. 18-19.
32. S. V. Talcott, *New York and New England Families* (Baltimore, MD, 1973), p. 266.
33. Cox, p. 18.
34. Vandiver, p. 171.
35. Ibid., p. 172.
36. Ibid., p. 175-176.
37. J. B. Gordon, p. 334-338.
38. Gen. H. Stevens, *Battle for Cedar Creek* (Gaithersburg, MD, 1987), p. 16.
39. Ibid., p. 31-38.
40. Ibid., p. 42.
41. Vandiver, p. 177.

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Winchester Factory-Scoped .22 Caliber Rifles 1937–1941

Vincent L. Rausch

The first U.S.-made .22 rim fire caliber rifle, a variation of the Model 1873, was introduced by Winchester in 1884. From 1884 to its closing in 2006, Winchester manufactured many models and types of .22 caliber rifles. There were lever actions, a single-shot falling block, single-shot and repeating bolt actions, slide actions, and semiautomatics. Rifles were available in a variety of .22 caliber rim fire cartridges: .22 B.B. Cap, .22 Short, .22 Long, .22 Long rifle, .22 Long and Long Rifle Shot, .22 WRF (Winchester Rim Fire), .22 Winchester Automatic, and .22 Winchester Magnum Rim Fire. Winchester's total production of .22 rim fire rifles from 1884 to 2006 was over 9 million.¹

Winchester factory-scoped .22 caliber rifles manufactured between 1937 and 1941 are an interesting and challenging collecting area (Figure 1). Seven models and many variations were produced and cataloged during this short period. Most models and variations had see-through scope bases so the metallic sights on the rifle could also be used. There is also strong evidence that factory scopes were available on other .22 caliber models on special order. Despite the fact that there were seven models and many variations, the total production of ALL factory-scoped Winchester .22 caliber rifles of this era was surprisingly small. While the factory-scoped .22 caliber rifles were made approximately 75 years later, they are encountered far less frequently today than the Henry rifle. In fact, the total production for all models and variations of the factory-scoped .22 rifles is considerably less than the approximately 14,000 Henry rifles produced. Factory-scoped rifle production will be discussed in a later section.

Primary information on the factory-scoped .22 caliber rifles is found in factory catalogs, price lists, pamphlets, flyers, and a limited amount of internal company correspondence. All but one of the cataloged models and variations were not serial numbered, and there are no detailed factory records. The best source of information is physical examination coupled with the available primary resources. In addition, several books provide varying amounts of information on the factory-scoped .22 rifles. Most are listed in the bibliography.

CATALOGED MODELS 1937–1941

From 1937 to 1941, the seven cataloged models of factory-scoped Winchester .22 caliber rifles were the Model 67, Model 677, Model 68, Model 69, Model 697, Model 72, and Model 75 Target Rifle (Figure 2). With the exception of the Model 75,

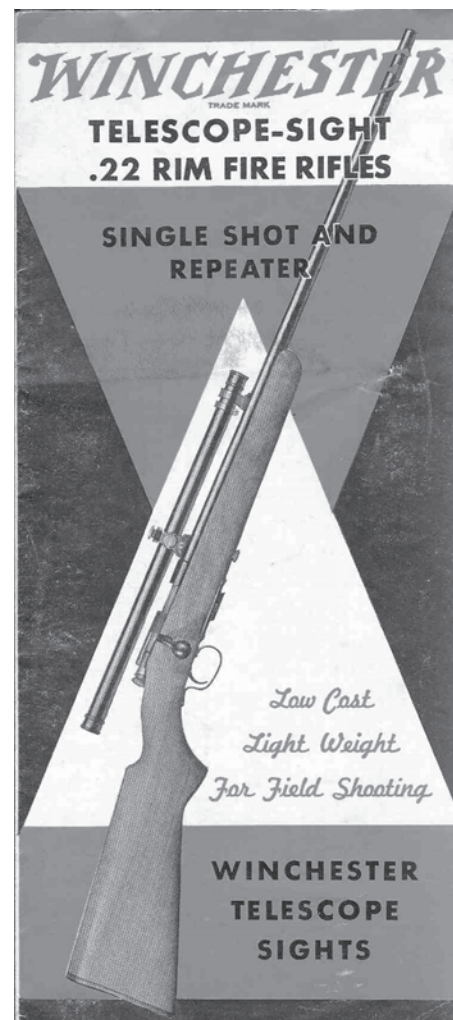


Figure 1. Circa 1937 flyer with Model 697 on cover. Colors are red, black, and white. See Figures 20 and 21 for the contents of this flyer.

OTHER FACTORY-SCOPED MODELS

Other Winchester .22 caliber rifles in production in the 1935 to 1941 timeframe were the Model 52, Model 61, Model 62, Model 63, and Model 74. It is probable that factory-scoped variants of these models were supplied on special order. Figure 4 shows a Model 61 and Model 62 with Winchester scopes. The Model 61 has a feature that makes it virtually certain the scope was factory-installed (see Identification section). The Model 62 is more difficult to assess but is most likely factory work. It is entirely possible that other Winchester factory-scoped models, such as Model 52s with 8-power scopes, were supplied on special order.

THE FACTORY-SCOPED MODELS 67, 677, 68, 69, 697, 72, AND 75

The Model 67: The Model 67 was introduced in 1934. On March 9, 1937, the Model 67 was offered with a 2 3/4-power scope or a 5-power scope with crosshair (Figure 2). The P 2 3/4-power scope with post reticule was authorized on November 20, 1937.² Rifle deliveries started in August 1937.³ In addition to the three types of scope, two calibers were offered: .22 Short, Long, and Long Rifle or .22 WRF. The 2 3/4-power scope with post was not offered with the .22 WRF rifle. The Model 67 with standard iron sights and with bases attached but without scope is priced at \$6.10 in the January 22, 1938, retail price list. The 2 3/4-power scope cost \$4.90, while the 5-power scope cost \$6.40. The retail price of the Model 67 dropped to \$5.40 in the March 4, 1939, retail price list. Scope prices were unchanged. Only 387 factory-scoped Model 67 rifles were produced.⁴ Factory-scoped Model 67 rifles in .22 WRF are very hard to find. This writer has seen two .22 WRF rifles which were originally factory-scoped. Neither had bases or scopes.

The Model 677: The Model 677 (Figures 2, 6, and 7) was introduced in the January 2, 1937, price list. The first rifles were delivered to stock in July 1937.⁵ The Model 677 is a Model 67 in all respects, including the Model 67 markings on the barrel, except for the fact that it was furnished with telescope sight only. There were no provisions for a front and rear sight. The Model 677 was offered in the same configurations



Figure 2. From top to bottom: Factory-scoped Models 67, 677, 68, 69, 697, 72, and 75.

each of these rifles had two or more variations. The variations result from the availability of telescope sights in 2 3/4-power, 5-power, and 8-power (Model 75 only), crosshairs or post (2 3/4-power only), caliber (.22 S, L, and LR or .22 WRF), and metallic sight options for some models. For example, the March 4, 1939, retail price list shows five variations (different order codes) of the Model 67, five variations of the Model 677, two variations of the Model 68 (there may have been two additional variations dropped prior to 1938), six variations of the Model 69, three variations of the Model 697, six variations of the Model 72, and a single variation of the Model 75. A complete collection would require 28 guns! However, it is possible that some of the above variations were never made. This writer has observed approximately half of the above variations.



Figure 3. Early 1940 pocket catalog page. For some unknown reason, the Model 72, which was in production in 1938, is not mentioned. The 1938 pocket catalog has an almost identical page.



Figure 4. Factory-scoped Model 61 and probable factory-scoped Model 62.

as the Model 67. The rifle and scope prices were identical to those for the Model 67. The Model 677 was withdrawn from the market in 1939.⁶ Approximately 1,400 Model 677s were made by the time assembly ended in late 1941/early 1942. Yearly production numbers for the Model 677 were 312 in 1937; 109 in 1938; 31 in 1939; 23 in 1940; 925 in 1941; and, possibly, 241 in 1942.⁷ Many of the later Model 677s went to Great Britain. They are often seen with British proofs. This writer's Model 677 has Royal Navy markings. The Model 677 in .22 WRF is very rare. This writer has seen only one.

The Model 68: The Model 68 was introduced along with the Model 67 in 1934. On March 9, 1937, rifles with 5-power scopes were authorized (Figure 2) with deliveries to stock in the July/August timeframe.⁸ The Model 68 was offered in .22 Short, Long, and Long Rifle and .22 WRF. The Model 68 has a peep sight adjacent to the chamber. The Model 68 may have been originally offered with the 2 3/4-power scope. This configuration caused the bases to be too far forward for optimum mounting of the 2 3/4-power scope (Figure 2). By January, 1938, only 5-power scopes were offered. The price of the Model 68 with standard iron sights and bases attached was \$6.85 in 1938 and \$6.05 in 1939. The scope prices were as noted above. The factory-scoped Model 68 rifle was discontinued in 1939.⁹ While production numbers for the factory-scoped Model 68 are not available, it appears from the frequency of observation of surviving examples that they were produced in no greater numbers than the factory-scoped Model 67.

The Model 69: The Model 69 was introduced in 1935. In 1937, factory-scoped rifles (Figure 2) were offered. They were discontinued in 1941.¹⁰ There were six variations of the Model 69 factory-scoped rifle. It was available with the three scope types listed in the Model 67 paragraph above and with either the 32B open rear sight or the 96B receiver peep sight. Only 769 factory-scoped Model 69 rifles were made.¹¹ The Model 69A was also listed with telescopic sights (Figure 5).

The Model 697: The Model 697 (Figures 2, 3, 6, and 7) was introduced in the January 2, 1937, price list. First deliveries to stock were in June 1937. The Model 697 was discontinued in 1941.¹² The Model 697 was in all respects a Model 69 with telescope sight only. The barrel markings were unchanged from the Model 69. It was offered with the three types of scope listed in the Model 67 paragraph above. The Model 697 price with bases but without scope was \$11.95 in 1938 and \$10.40 in 1939. Scope prices were the same as listed previously. One thousand four hundred thirty-one Model 697 rifles were produced. Yearly production was 502 in 1937; 214 in 1938; 78 in 1939; 90 in 1940; and 547 in 1941.¹³

The Model 72: The Model 72 was announced on March 4, 1938, with the first delivery on April 18.¹⁴ Factory-scoped rifles were immediately available (Figures 2 and 8). Six variations are listed in the 1939 price list. These include three rifle

LIST OF SELECTIONS:

- No. 6901. With No. 97-B front sight, 80-A peep rear sight.
- No. 6902. With No. 75-C front sight, No. 32-B open rear sight.
- No. 6952. With No. 97-B front sight, No. 32-C open rear sight, and a Winchester 5-power telescope sight complete with mounts and mount bases.
- No. 6955. With No. 97-B front sight, 32-C rear sight and a Winchester 2 3/4-power 'scope.
- No. 6956. With No. 97-B front, 32-C rear and Winchester 2 3/4-power 'scope with post instead of cross-hairs.
- No. 69750. With Winchester 5-power 'scope and no metallic sights.
- No. 69760. With Winchester 2 3/4-power 'scope and no metallic sights.
- No. 69766. With 2 3/4-power 'scope sight with post.
- No. 6951. With No. 97-B front, No. 80-A rear and 5-power 'scope.
- No. 6961. With No. 97-B front, No. 80-A rear and 2 3/4-power 'scope.
- No. 6966. With No. 97-A front, No. 80-A rear and 2 3/4-power 'scope with post.

Rifles purchased with telescope sight come with sight bases attached and Winchester Telescope Sight, assembled with mounts, unmounted and packed with the rifle.

WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS CO.

Division of Western Cartridge Co.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., U. S. A.

Figure 5. List from circa 1940 Model 69A flyer. Note that the Model 697 style rifle is listed in this flyer along with the other factory-scoped variations of the Model 69. This writer has never seen a factory-scoped Model 69A.

variations: peep rear sight, open rear sight, or no metallic sights and two scope choices: the 2 3/4-power and 5-power (Figure 8). The 2 3/4-power scope with post is not listed for the Model 72. Model 72 rifle prices without the telescope sight but with scope bases installed ranged from \$14.40 to \$15.15 depending on the type of metallic sights selected. While production numbers for factory-scoped Model 72s are not available, it is obvious from the frequency of observation of surviving examples that fewer were made than the factory-scoped



Figure 6. Top to bottom: Model 677, early Model 697, and late Model 697. Note that there are no metallic sights.



Figure 7. Close-up of the Model 677, early Model 697, and late Model 697. Note the different location of the rear scope bases on the early and late Model 697s and that the scopes differ in construction. The scopes are close to the barrels as see-through bases were not used. The top two scopes are 2 3/4-power and the bottom scope is 5-power.

Model 69. The factory-scoped Model 72 without metallic sights (G7250R and G7260R in Figure 8 below) is rare.

The Model 75: While the Model 75 Target Rifle was first announced in the March 4, 1939, price list, the first deliveries to stock were made on August 26, 1938.¹⁵ The Model 75 was available from the start with a special 8-power scope (Figures 2 and 9). The Model 75 Target Rifle “with

MODEL 72 SELECTION

- No. G7201R. With Winchester Peep sight.
- No. G7202R. With Open rear sight.
- No. G7251R. With Peep rear sight and Winchester Telescope Sight of 5 power, magnifying 5 diameters.
- No. G7252R. Peep rear sight and 2 3/4-power 'Scope.
- No. G7253R. With Open rear sight and 5-power 'Scope.
- No. G7254R. With Open rear sight and 2 3/4-power 'Scope.
- No. G7250R. With 5-power 'Scope sight only.
- No. G7260R. With 2 3/4-power 'Scope only.

Rifles for telescope sights come with sight bases attached and Winchester Telescope Sight, assembled with mounts, unmounted and packed with the gun.

Figure 8. Model 72 selection from 1938 flyer introducing the “NEW BOLT ACTION .22 RIM FIRE TUBULAR MAGAZINE REPEATING RIFLE WINCHESTER MODEL 72.” The flyer cover also offers “choice of eight different styles.”

What You Get in a Model 75 Target Rifle

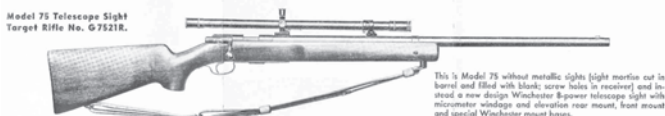


Figure 9. Inside centerfold of the flyer introducing the Model 75 target rifle (Form No. 1583).

scope bases for new Winchester 8 power telescope sight (no iron sights)” listed for \$25.40 and the “Winchester 8 power telescope for above” listed for \$9.50 in the 1939 price list. The Model 75 without any sights listed for \$24.95. While production numbers for the factory-scoped Model 75 Target Rifle are not available, they appear with about the same frequency as the factory-scoped Model 69. Very few rifles have survived with the original scope.

THE SCOPES, MOUNTS, AND BASES

Winchester Style A5 (Figure 10, bottom scope) and Style B scopes are better known than the scopes used on the factory-scoped .22 caliber rifles. The Style A5 and B scopes were offered from 1909 to August 1928 (Style B was dropped in 1917).¹⁶ The Style A5 drawings, manufacturing rights, and tooling were sold to the Lyman Gun Sight Corporation in 1928. Lyman began production on its 5A scope shortly thereafter.¹⁷ The Winchester Style A and B scopes are easily distinguished as they have Winchester markings and designations on the scope tubes.

Winchester was looking for a supplier of telescope sights as early as 1935.¹⁸ By August 1937, Winchester had found an outside supplier: scopes were being delivered and rifles were being supplied.¹⁹ The telescope sights were available in 2 3/4-power, 5-power, and 8-power (Figure 10). The 5-power and 8-power scopes had fixed crosshair reticules only, while the 2 3/4-power scopes had either crosshairs or post reticule. Elevation and windage knobs on the mounts are used to adjust the scope (Figure 13). The 2 3/4-power scope is about 14 inches long; the 5-power scope measures 16 inches, and the 8-power is 18 1/2 inches long (Figure 10). The scope tubes are .75 inches in diameter and are black painted brass. Most, but not all, are marked on the tube with the power (Figure 11).

The scope tubes are not marked with Winchester or any other identification. In addition to the variability in power markings, there are differences in construction

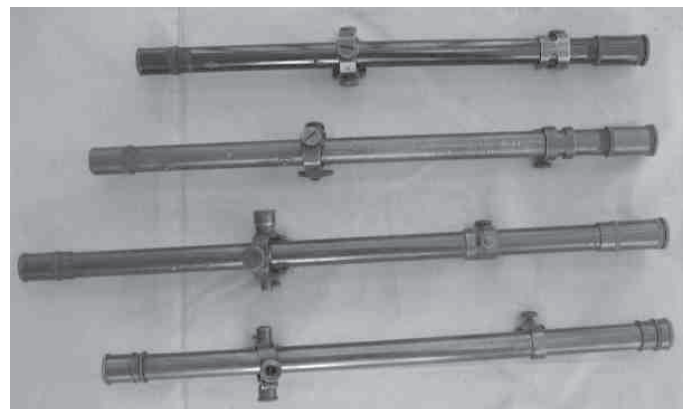


Figure 10. Top to bottom: 2 3/4-power scope; 5-power scope; 8-power scope; Winchester A5 scope.

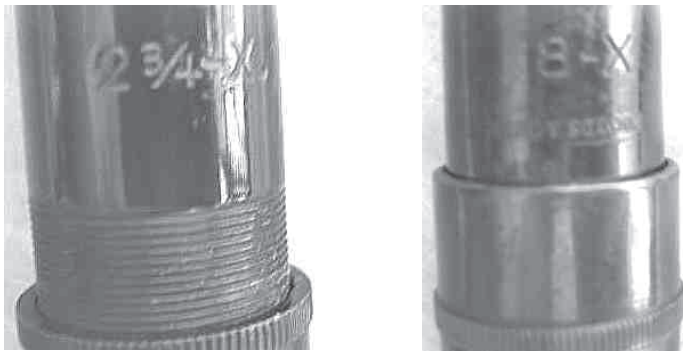


Figure 11. Scope power markings.

between scopes of the same power. Note the difference in length and construction of the front adjusting rings of the two Model 697 scopes in Figure 7.

The variability in the construction and markings of the scopes may be evidence of two different suppliers as seems to be indicated in Figure 12. Thus far, this writer has been unable to locate any information on Carolyn Scopes. Saymon-Brown, which was located at 55 West 16th St., New York City, did manufacture optical devices. An internet search turned up two Saymon-Brown camera range finders for sale on an auction site. In 1942, Saymon-Brown advertised for "WORK FOR SCREW MACHINES, lathes, milling,

machining. Prompt service."²⁰ The end of the Winchester telescope sight business may well have freed up this manufacturing capacity.

Based on observation, the 2 3/4-power scope with post is the rarest. It is followed by the 2 3/4-power scope with crosshairs and the 8-power scope, and, finally, the 5-power scope. All are rare to very scarce. The 8-power scope is sometimes seen on other makes of rifles such as Stevens target rifles. This writer has also seen it retrofitted on a Winchester Model 1885 single-shot rifle.

The rear scope mounts have elevation and windage adjustments (Figure 13). The front mount has a securing screw that clamps the scope tube to the mount as the recoil of a .22 caliber rifle is light enough that the scope does not have to slide in its mounts as the earlier A5 did when used on high-power rifles. The front mount used with the 2 3/4-power and 5-power scopes is marked "WINCHESTER/TRADE MARK/U.S.A. PAT. PEND." (Figure 14). The 8-power scope front mount is not marked and is constructed differently (Figure 15).

Winchester supplied see-through bases with all rifles except the Model 677, Model 697, and Model 75, which used low bases (Figures 17, 2, 6, and 7) since metallic sights were not used on these models. The see-through, or dual sight, bases permitted the use of either the telescope sight or the metallic sights (Figure 16). The base spacing for the 5-power scope is further apart than the spacing found on guns supplied with 2 3/4-power scopes (Figures 2, 6, and 7).

*Carolyn Scopes
Commenced to come in Aug. 1937
Some used on Model 67 and Model 69*

*Later the scopes were purchased
from Saymon Brown of New York
Due to War restrictions none
were used during World War #2*

Figure 12. Note by Edwin Pugsley, Winchester factory superintendent during the period of factory-scoped .22 caliber rifle manufacture.



Figure 14. Front mount markings on the 2 3/4-power and 5-power scopes.

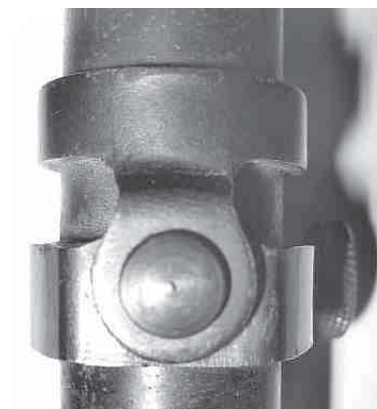


Figure 15. 8-X scope front mount.

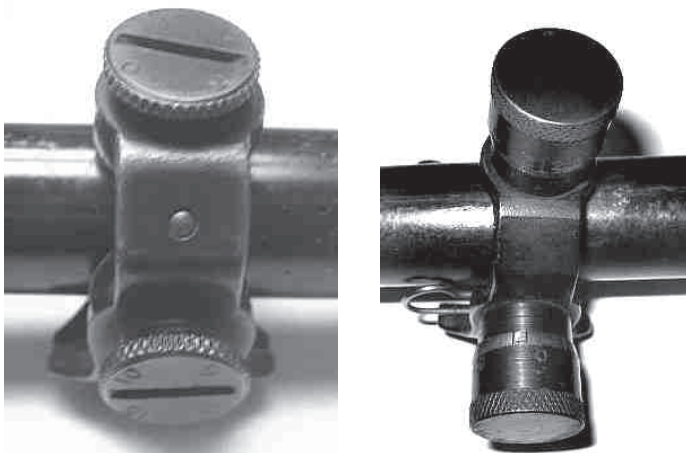


Figure 13. Left to right: 2 3/4-power/5-power scope rear mount and 8-power scope rear mount. These mounts slide freely on the scope tube. Both tubes are .75 inches in diameter. Note the elevation and windage adjustment knobs.

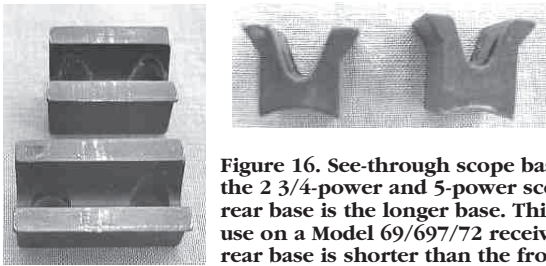


Figure 16. See-through scope bases used with the 2 3/4-power and 5-power scopes. The rear base is the longer base. This set is for use on a Model 69/697/72 receiver ring as the rear base is shorter than the front base. The shorter bases are numbered with a very small "5" and the taller bases have a very small "3".



Figure 17. Low base used on rifles without metallic sights (Model 697 rear base shown).

IDENTIFICATION

Determining whether a scoped Winchester .22 rifle of the 1937 to 1941 period is factory-scoped is, in most cases, relatively easy. With the exception of the Models 68 and 75, non-scoped .22 caliber rifles of the period had the factory Winchester proof mark (W interwoven with P in an oval) on the top center of the receiver (Figure 17). Rifles with a separate screwed-in barrel (Models 69 and 72) had an additional proof mark centered on the top of the barrel just in front of the receiver.

Factory-scoped guns had the proof mark(s) relocated so it is visible when the bases and mounts are installed. The location is low and to the left near the top edge of the stock (Figures 18 and 19).²¹ This, alone, is an excellent indication of an original factory-scoped gun.



Figure 18. Winchester proof mark centered on the top of a Model 67 receiver.



Figure 19. Model 67/677 proof mark relocated to clear scope base.

Another good indication of an original gun is the presence of the correct bases and scope. Finally, the quality of workmanship on the scope installation was very high. The base mounting holes should be clean and uniform and properly spaced. Obviously, one of the best ways to determine originality is to have the gun examined by collectors who are familiar with these scarce guns.

The normal location for the Model 68 Winchester proof mark is to the lower left at the rear of the receiver peep sight. Since all factory-scoped Model 68 rifles came with metallic sights, the proof mark location did not have to be changed upon the installation of bases. The rifle must be carefully examined for the other indications of originality indicated above. Fortunately, factory-scoped fakes do not appear to be a real problem (yet), probably because of the limited demand and scarcity of original scopes and bases.

The Winchester proof marks on Model 75 target rifles are located in the low and left position on all rifles as all were drilled and tapped for scope bases. Factory-scoped Model 75 rifles should be made prior to mid-1941 (serial number below approximately 21,500).²² This writer's two factory-scoped Model 75 rifles are serial numbers 18,600 and 18,627. Most of the original factory-scoped Model 75 target rifles this writer has seen have been around this serial number range. The best evidence of an original rifle is the correct serial

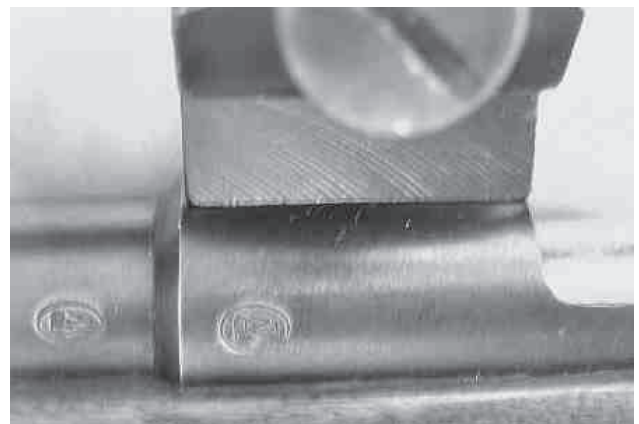


Figure 20. Proof mark location for Models 69, 697, and 72.

number range along with the presence of the correct bases and 8-power scope.

Non-cataloged guns (Figure 4) should be carefully examined. The Model 61 in Figure 4 is, without doubt, factory-scoped. The Winchester proof mark has been moved to the lower left position and the bases and scope are correct. Finally, the installation workmanship is the high quality expected during this period. The Model 62 in Figure 4 is more difficult to assess. The base location did not require the relocation of the Winchester proof mark so the determination of originality must be based on the installation workmanship, parts originality, and base spacing, all of which appear to be correct. The Models 61 and 62 also have one final clue to originality which will be discussed next.

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

Watrous noted that “The balance of Winchester’s 2 3/4 and 5 power ‘scopes on hand were used on special M/67 and M/69 rifles and sold to the British Government early in World War No. 2 for home guard use.”⁶ In addition, Pugsley noted that “Due to war restrictions none [telescope sights] were used during World War #2.”³ Many of the factory-scoped .22 caliber Winchester rifles this writer has observed have British proofs. It appears that scopes remaining in inventory were supplied with cataloged models and other guns that went to Great Britain. This was a great way for Winchester to unload discontinued inventory at a profit. Of the 17 Winchester factory-scoped rifles in this writer’s collection, four have British proofs: a Model 697, a Model 677 (along with military broad arrow and Royal Navy “N”), and the Models 61 and 62 discussed above. In addition, two factory-scoped Model 67 rifles are serial numbered in a style usually associated with Australia.

Winchester conducted a parts cleanup and assembly of rifles in early- to mid-1941 and shipped the guns to Britain. The production numbers for the Models 677 and 697 provide evidence to support this supposition. While the Model 677 was withdrawn from the market in 1939,⁶ 925 guns were assembled in 1941.⁷ This one year accounted for over half the Model 677 production. The production numbers for the Model 697 are similar. Five hundred forty-seven guns were assembled in 1941,¹³ over a third of the total production. Based on the production numbers in prior years, it is obvious that these guns were not assembled for the U.S. market.

Some British-proofed Model 677 and 697s had the telescope sights and bases removed and metallic sights, usually made by Parker Hale, added. This writer’s Model 677 was found with no scope and bases and with a Parker Hale peep sight. It took several years to find a set of original low bases and the scope for this rifle.

PRODUCTION SUMMARY

Sales of the factory-scoped rifles were moderate at the start. Winchester salesman Claude Parmaley noted in a circa 1937 letter to the plant superintendent, Edwin Pugsley: “The small scope jobs: I have sold fifty of them the past week. Every dealer takes a sample of each. All dealers tell me the demand is growing for them.”²³ The demand did not last. Sales rapidly declined until the 1941 parts cleanup. The yearly sales of the Models 677 and 697 illustrate this (Table 1).

While the total and yearly production numbers or estimates have been presented in the individual rifle sections, a summary of the total production is presented here. From Table 2, it can be seen that the total production of all Winchester factory-scoped .22 caliber rifles was less than 6,000 rifles. This writer believes that at least 2,000 of these rifles were sold overseas in 1941, primarily to Great Britain. Many of these rifles are most likely still overseas. From this, it can be seen that the total production of the factory-scoped Winchester .22 caliber rifles of the 1937 to 1941 time period is far less than the approximately 14,000 Henry rifles mentioned in the opening paragraphs. The factory-scoped rifles discussed in this article are rarely seen today.

It should be noted that the Models 677 and 697 were produced in the lowest numbers of any cataloged

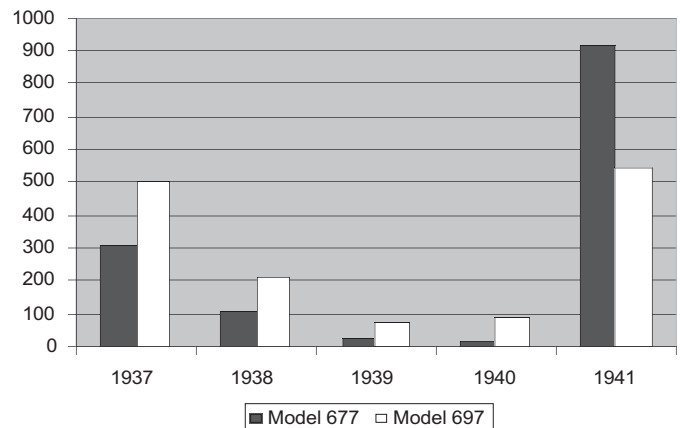


Table 1. Model 677 and 697 yearly production. The Model 677 was discontinued in 1939, while the Model 697 continued to be listed through 1941.

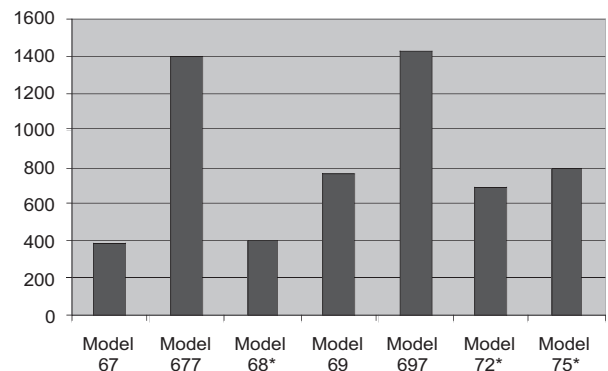


Table 2. Factory-scoped rifle production by model. * Production estimates based on the frequency of observation of surviving examples.

Winchester model with only about 1,400 of each being made. An example of each is very difficult to find. As can be seen from Table 2, examples of the other factory-scoped models will be equally hard to find.

CONCLUSION

The Winchester factory-scoped .22 caliber rifles that were offered from 1937 to 1941 are an interesting and very challenging collecting area. Obtaining an example of each model and variation would be a lifetime endeavor. Hopefully, this article will motivate some of you to start collecting these scarce rifles. It won't be easy but it will be challenging, at times frustrating, and fun!

PHOTOGRAPHS

All rifles and other illustrated material are from the author's collection. All photographs were taken by the author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author thanks Mr. Thomas E. Henshaw, former Winchester shooting promotion manager and government sales manager and current Winchester consultant, for generous assistance in locating and copying the notes, letters, and retail price lists referenced in this article.

WINCHESTER TELESCOPE SIGHTS



Complete with bases and mounts for mounting on Models 67, 68 or 69 not already fitted with bases

These Winchester scopes are furnished separately from those designed for use on Models 677 and 697 or for use on Models 67, 68 and 69, when fitted with bases as listed on preceding pages. (Model 68 adapted to use of 5 Power Scope only.) These scopes are designed for use on rifles not fitted with bases and so include the bases as well as the mounts.

These sights are outstanding in their price class. Mounts are of steel construction and are simple and rugged. Bases permit lowest practical mounting on guns with or without iron sights. Simple to adjust with all adjustments on rear mount. Can be readily and easily removed from rifle when desired.

No. 3—2 3/4 Power—Cross hair sold complete with bases and mounts.....	}	†Retail Each
No. P3—2 3/4 Power, Post—Sold complete with bases and mounts.....		\$5.75
No. 5—5 Power—Sold complete with bases and mounts		7.50

Be sure to specify whether high bases, for use over regular metallic sights, or low bases for use without any other sights, are desired; also specify model of rifle.

Price for attaching these sights to other rifles, furnished on application.

No. 8-x TARGET TELESCOPE



This new Winchester telescope is made with both ocular and objective lenses adjustable. They are fastened with lock nuts by which adjustments can be made. This scope is designed for universal focus at 200 yards and over. It should be focused to suit the individual shooter's eye for ranges from 50 feet up to 200 yards.

This telescope tube is 18 inches in length and 3/4 inch in diameter. It provides an eye relief of 1 1/4 inches. The new micrometer rear mount has click adjustments corresponding to the micrometer readings.

This telescope sight is designed to be used with the special Winchester bases only. It is especially adapted to the Winchester Model 75 rifle. Model 75 barrels are drilled and tapped so that these special Winchester bases and standard telescope bases can be interchanged so that, when desired, other bases can be quickly put on for the use of other makes of telescope sights.	†Retail Each
	10.00

Figure 21. Price listing and information from the March 4, 1939, Retail Price List. Note that the 8-X target telescope is referred to as "new." The Model 677 and Model 68 with bases were discontinued in 1939. Note that the prices are higher to account for the fact that the bases were supplied. When ordered with a rifle, the bases were priced with and installed on the rifle. Also note the statement: "Price for attaching these sights to other rifles, furnished on application." This is probably how the telescope sights on the Models 61 and 62 discussed above were obtained.

WINCHESTER .22 RIM FIRE TELESCOPE-SIGHT RIFLES

Shown here, Model 677 Single Shot with Winchester Telescope Sight on Winchester Telescope Sight Bases. No metallic sights, no barrel mortises for them. Approximate weight: Rifle, 5 lbs., 'Scope, about 12 oz.



Brings Your Mark Close—Improves Your Shooting

Light and Easily Carried Without Fatigue

Winchester Model 697 Six-Shot Repeating Rifle with Winchester Telescope Sight on Winchester Telescope Sight Bases. No metallic sights, no barrel mortises for them.

For All-around Small Game, Small Varmint and Impromptu Target Shooting

GET an out-and-out .22 rim fire telescope-sight rifle of low cost, conveniently light weight, efficient and safe smooth-working fast bolt action, with high accuracy. Buy a Winchester Model 677 single shot or Model 697 six-shot repeater and equip it with either a Winchester No. 3 Telescope Sight of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ power or No. 5 Telescope Sight of 5 power. Your choice will be a man's size rifle of remarkably high efficiency for the comparatively small investment.

Either rifle will give you a great deal of pleasure, opening up—as compared with ordinary .22 shooting—an entirely new and intensely interesting field of rifle shooting enjoyment, with the utmost economy in upkeep. With suitable ammunition either one will give you surprisingly fine shooting. You will find it light enough to be carried afield day after day without ever tiring you. And when you get right down to test shooting, with muzzle-and-elbow rest, you will find that you have a combination in equipment that is accurate enough for all except the finest competitive target shooting.

MODEL 677 SINGLE SHOT

This rifle is the regular Winchester Model 67 but without metallic sights, and instead having Winchester Telescope Sight mount bases ready mounted on it. No metallic sight mortises in barrel. Equipped with bases for either Winchester No. 3 Telescope Sight of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ power or No. 5 of 5 power. Bases are *not interchangeable* for both 'scopes. Has military type bolt action with safety rebounding firing pin and rotating safety, similar in type to those used on military rifles. Even when unlocked, firing pin can strike the cartridge only when trigger is pulled. When locked, trigger cannot be pulled. Pear shaped bolt handle gives quick, sure operation, with ample clearance even with telescope sight at its lowest adjustment. Genuine walnut one-piece full size stock; pistol grip; large forend of ample length, made deep and well rounded, with military thumb-and-finger grooves. The symmetrical round 27-inch barrel is tapered, crowned at muzzle and bears the Winchester proof mark of quality. Exceptionally good looking, well balanced, nice handling, with fine accuracy. Take down. Chambered for .22 Short, .22 Long and .22 Long Rifle rim fire cartridges used interchangeably, or for .22 W. R. F. only. Weight of rifle without telescope, about 5 lbs.; with 'scope mounted, about 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

MODEL 697 SIX-SHOT REPEATER

This is the regular Winchester Model 69 rifle but without metallic sights and instead having Winchester Telescope Sight Bases mounted on it. No metallic sight mortises in barrel. A rifle distinguished for its superior bolt action, of a highly successful Winchester design. Fast handling, quick firing, dependable, strong, simple, fool-proof. Positive firing pin safety, cannot be shifted by accident. Bolt breeches up with finely accurate head space—and that good snug Winchester head space stays put. Strong twin extractors give exact cartridge alignment and straight-line loading. American walnut stock, full size, with correct pistol grip of ample size, and deep, wide, semi-beavertail forend. Round, tapered 25-inch barrel with crowned muzzle. Detachable regular target type clip magazine, inserted from below, holds five cartridges. Extra 5- or 10-shot magazines available. Chambered for .22 Short, .22 Long and .22 Long Rifle rim fire cartridges. Furnished with two magazines—one for .22 Shorts, the other for .22 Longs and .22 Long Rifles. Take down. Weight of rifle without telescope sight approximately 5 lbs.; with 'scope mounted, about 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.

WITH DUAL SIGHT EQUIPMENT

If you wish your rifle to have both its regular metallic sights and mounts for a telescope sight you can obtain such a rifle in either the Winchester Model 67 or 68 Single Shot, or Winchester Model 69 Repeater. These single shots as provided for use with dual sight equipment are made up as follows:

Model 67 with bead front sight with bright alloy tip and Winchester sporting type rear sight with sliding elevator. Fitted with Winchester Telescope Sight bases, for either No. 3 or No. 5 Telescope Sight as specified.

Model 68 with bead front sight with bright alloy tip, mounted on non-glare ramp base with steel sight cover. Rear sight, original Winchester aperture peep type with quick, accurate adjustment for both windage and elevation; located at breech. Fitted with Winchester Telescope Sight bases, taking 5-power 'scope only.



Telescope Sight and Metallic Sights Used Interchangeably

*The Repeater
with Dual Sights
Ready for Any
Kind of Shot*

Model 69 with dual sight equipment. Sights can be used interchangeably—metallic for quick short range shots, telescope for extra fine sighting and long range.

Model 69 with bead front sight with bright alloy tip, mounted on non-glare ramp base with steel sight cover. Winchester sporting type rear sight, sliding elevator. Winchester Telescope Sight Bases.

Model 69 with bead front sight with bright alloy tip, mounted on non-glare ramp base with steel sight cover. Rear sight, original Winchester aperture peep type with quick, accurate adjustment for both windage and elevation, located at the breech. Winchester Telescope Sight Bases.

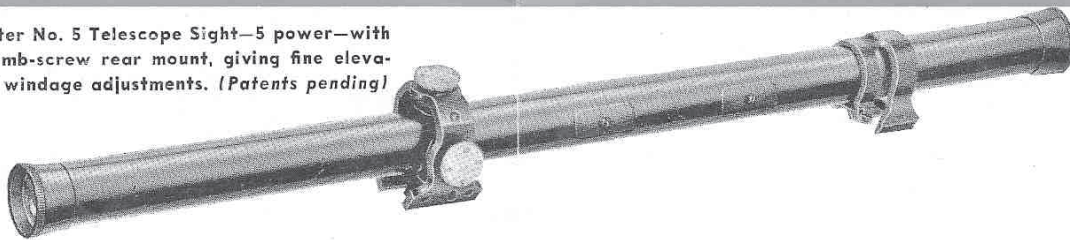
'Scope comes packed in carton with rifle. Be sure to specify model of rifle and power of 'scope desired. On Models 677, 67 or 68 specify also the caliber selected. On Model 69 specify rear sight equipment.

WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS CO., NEW HAVEN, CONN., U. S. A.

Figure 22. Inside fold-out of Flyer shown in Figure 1.

WINCHESTER .22 RIFLE TELESCOPE SIGHTS AND MOUNTS

Winchester No. 5 Telescope Sight—5 power—with click thumb-screw rear mount, giving fine elevation and windage adjustments. (Patents pending)



Winchester Telescope-sight Rifles are fitted with mount bases for either the 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ - or the 5-power 'scope, whichever the buyer selects. The mount bases on Models 677 and 697 are designed for mounting the 'scope extra low, no metallic sights being provided on these rifles. The mount bases on Winchester Model 67, 68 or 69 when furnished for telescope-sight shooting, are of appropriate height to mount the telescope sight above the rifle's regular metallic

sights. . . . A Winchester telescope sight of either 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ or 5 power, complete with mounts and bases, can be obtained for any Winchester Model 67 or 69 rifle and in 5 power only for Model 68. In ordering 'scopes, mounts and bases for any such rifle it will be necessary to specify fully the model and caliber of the rifle on which the 'scope is to be mounted, and also, of course, the power of the 'scope. On Model 69 the sight equipment must also be specified.

WINCHESTER TELESCOPE SIGHTS are made for use on Winchester Models 677, 697, 67, 68 and 69 bolt action .22 rim fire rifles, or other light low-power rifles for which their mount bases and mounts are adapted. They come with bases of two styles—low bases to allow the lowest possible 'scope mounting without metallic sights attached to the rifle, or else higher mount bases to permit the use of dual sights—telescope and metallic. With the high bases the metallic sights can be used with or without the telescope sight mounted above them.

These telescope sights are typical Winchester quality in materials and workmanship, yet are moderate in cost, in keeping with the low cost of the rifles for which they are intended. The overall length of the 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ -power 'scope is 13 inches, the 5-power 'scope 16 inches. These are popular sizes for field shooting. Both 'scopes are light in weight, providing the correct balance for use on light .22 caliber rifles.

Telescope tubes, of brass, are precision made and slide accurately in their fittings, so that movement of the sight to adjust eye relief requires no compensating alteration of the sight adjustment. Both the No. 3 and the No. 5 are made with standard single cross-hairs, which are the "fine" size, suited for both hunting and target shooting. The lenses provide a bright, clear enlargement of the view, in sharp relief. Both sights have a stationary objective lens and stationary eye piece containing a fixed-focus inverting lens. This provides for instantaneous use of the 'scope, without focusing.

The mounts used on both sights are finely adjustable for elevation and windage by means of knurled thumb-screws. Adjusting screws are made to click in conjunction with adjustments made on graduated scales, on the same principle as micrometer metallic sights. There are four clicks for each graduation, for both eleva-

tion and windage. Finally, the mountings are of appropriate ruggedness to withstand ordinary shocks and .22 rim fire shooting recoil, so that the telescope will hold its setting and not shoot out of adjustment.

One of these telescope sights is a great aid to any shooter, even with the best of eyesight. They eliminate eyestrain for all shooters, give constantly the same sighting under all changes of light, and greatly assist anyone who has poor or defective vision. Of course, besides magnifying its field of view the telescope magnifies movement of the rifle, and this assists in developing steadier holding, or aim. The cross-hairs reduce shooting error by exposing to the shooter any tendency to cant the rifle. Also, they give better visibility than the front sight of metallic sight equipment permits.

At close range in shooting at paper targets the telescope enables you to see your group. In shooting at game or varmints it is of great assistance in finding game that may be hidden to the naked eye, and in seeing the mark clearly. It is very useful, too, in looking over your hunting terrain. Live stock otherwise unseen in bushes or underbrush, or a farm hand at work, are much more readily seen. Your 'scope invites careful scanning of the countryside. And with the rifle and 'scope together weighing only around 6 lbs. this is at once handy, easy and natural.

Winchester Telescope Sights and their detachable mounts are packed in the carton with the rifle but not mounted on it. They can also be obtained separately, with both mounts and bases for fitting on any Model 67, 68 or 69 rifle. 5-power 'scope only can be mounted on Model 68. Model of rifle and power of 'scope must be specified; also whether low mounts for use without iron sights or high mounts for mounting 'scope over iron sights are desired.

Figure 23. Second page from Winchester flyer shown in Figure 1. Note that the configuration of the scope illustrated is different from the flyer cover and the flyer fold-out in Figure 21. This may indicate that scopes were coming from two different suppliers at the same time. Also note that the 2 3/4-power scope (the No. 3) is listed as being 13 inches long. This is one inch shorter than those observed by this writer. As the 2 3/4-power scope with post is not mentioned in this flyer, this flyer can be dated as prior to November 1937.

ENDNOTES

1. *The History of Winchester Firearms 1866-1980 and The Winchester Handbook*. Most Winchester production numbers are based on unpublished notes made by George R. Watrous.

2. *The History of Winchester Firearms 1866-1980*, page 104.

3. Pugsley note on Carolyn Scopes and Saymon Brown.

4. *The Winchester Handbook*, page 247.

5. *The History of Winchester Firearms 1866-1980*, page 116.

6. Watrous notes, page 25.

7. *The Winchester Handbook*, pages 248-9.

8. *The History of Winchester Firearms 1866-1980*, page 105.

9. *Ibid*, page 106.