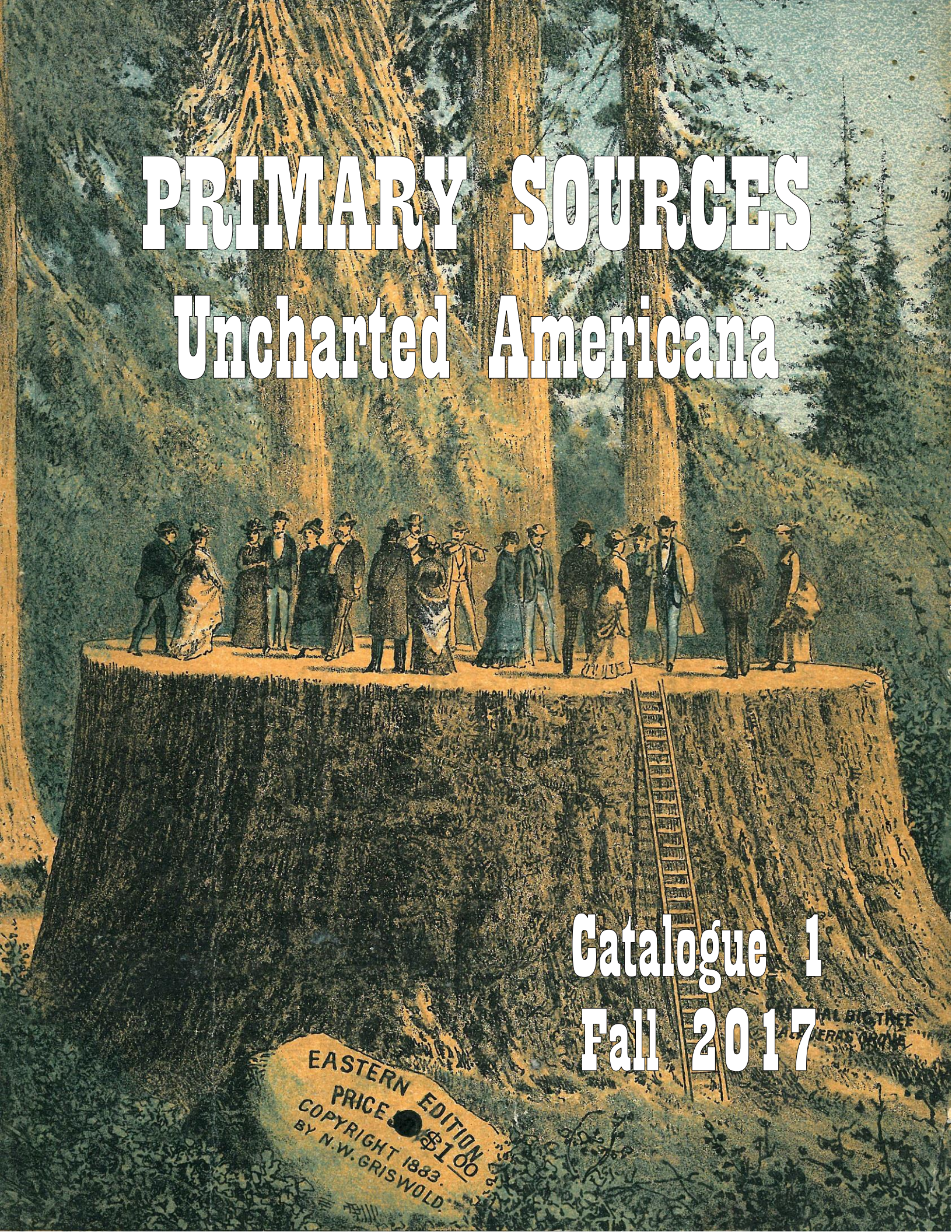
PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana



Catalogue 1

Fall 2017

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

104 South Revena Blvd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48103
(734) 355-2986
primarysources25@gmail.com

Robin and Laoma Beck

Who We Are

After 20 years of deep and focused collecting in a very narrow slice of Americana, we are pleased to open a new chapter in our pursuit of old paper. While small in number, the twenty-five items in our first catalogue--all entirely new to the trade--capture a set of stories that illuminate a broad cross-section of the American experience. From the reflections of a new mother in colonial New England to the beginnings of a free black community in New Jersey, from the fever dreams of the California Gold Rush to the unfulfilled promise of the Reconstruction South, from the Trail of Tears to the National Forest Service, they all offer surprising new insights into our collective American Story, both its triumphs and its failures. They come in many different forms: manuscript journals and ledgers, printed pamphlets and broadsides, photograph albums and scrapbooks. Many are unique or unrecorded, others uniquely annotated. The name of our business is what they have in common. They are primary sources, and they are largely uncharted. Each Fall, we plan to offer a new catalogue, each with twenty-five similarly unexpected items, all fresh to the trade. So thank you for browsing Catalogue 1. We look forward to hearing from you.

Terms of Sale

-- All items are offered subject to prior sale. To reserve an item, please telephone or email.
-- All items are guaranteed to be authentic and as described, with any defects noted.
-- Item illustrations are not to scale. Please read specified dimensions (given width first).
-- All domestic orders shipped via UPS or Federal Express, at cost.
-- All overseas orders shipped airmail, at cost.
-- Returns accepted in 14 days of receipt for any reason, with notification in advance of return.
-- Net 30 days, payable in US funds. Check or major credit card via PayPal preferred.
-- Libraries and institutions may be billed on approval according to budgetary requirements.
-- Michigan residents please add 6.25% sales tax.

Finally, we would like to thank Garrett Scott and Bob Rubin for their advice and encouragement.

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

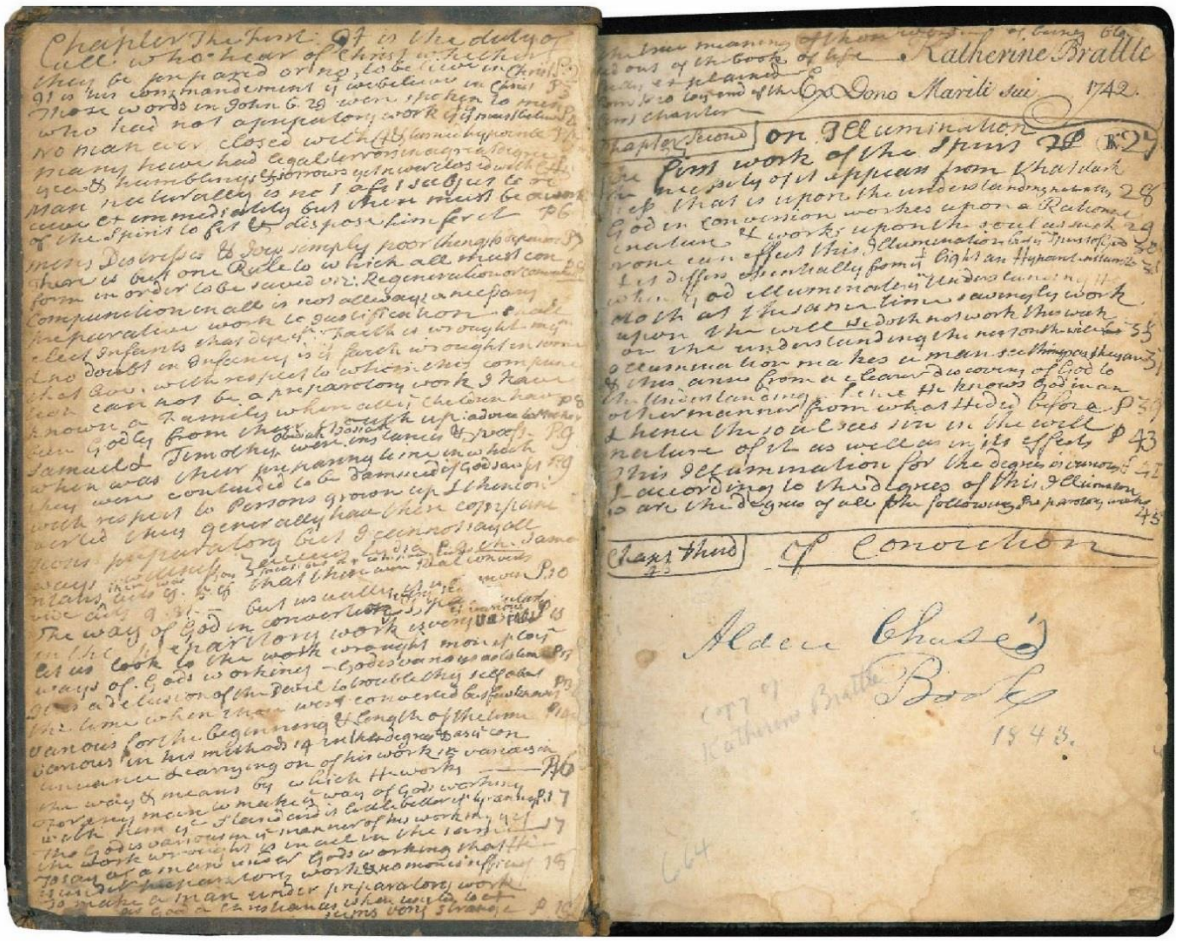
Catalogue 1, Fall 2017

Contents

Katherine Brattle's Annotated Copy of Firmin, Confiscated by a Minuteman

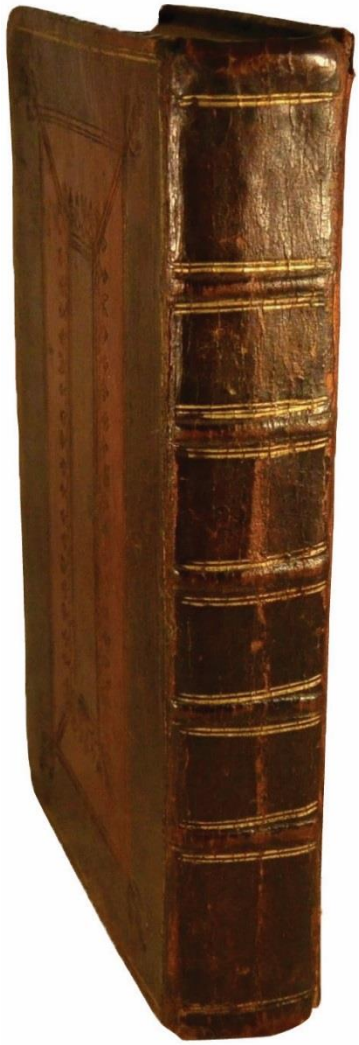
On February 11, 1742, Katherine Saltonstall Brattle gave birth to her eighth child, a son named Thomas. Just before Thomas's birth--or a short time after--her husband, William, presented her with this first American edition of Giles Firmin's *The Real Christian, or a Treatise of Effectual Calling*, published that same year in Boston.

William and Katherine were 15 years into their marriage when he made her the gift of this small book. Katherine signed the upper right corner of its front free end paper and noted beneath in a fine hand, "Ex Dono Mariri sui [a gift from her husband], 1742." It is uncommon enough to find colonial volumes signed and dated by identifiable American women--as Kevin J. Hayes has noted in *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf*--**but what makes this book all the more remarkable is that Katherine filled its endpapers and pastedowns with a chapter-by-chapter commentary on Firmin's text** (a comparison of this handwriting with a signed 1741 letter from William in the



Harvard University Archives's Colonial North American Project leaves little doubt that these are Katherine's words and not her husband's). Much of her writing focuses on Firmin's ideas about the salvation of young children. She writes:

There is but one Rule to which all must conform in order to be saved: viz Regeneration or conversion. Compunction in all is not always a necessary preparative work to justification: note elect infants that dye [thus]: Faith is wrought in ym [them] & no doubt in infancy is yt [that] faith wrought in some that [?]. With respect to when this compunction can not be a preparatory work I have known a family whose elect children have been godly from their youth…



The conundrum of infant salvation--in this context where 10 to 30 percent of all children did not survive the first year of life--was one of the most heavily debated topics among 17th- and 18th-century theologians. Firmin suggested that God "works faith in all elected infants that dye," as Katherine Brattle observes in her notes, yet this begs the question of which infants would be among the elect. One key, Firmin suggested, was the mother's piety. If the death of a child was God's will, then the fate of that child's soul might depend on women like Katherine Brattle: "O you Mothers," he observed, "who are always with your Children in the chamber, at the fire side, and have the advantage to be dropping into them; when your Husbands must be abroad, you may do much toward the saving of your Children's souls, if you be godly, prudent, and know how to keep Authority up." For Katherine, this was more than just an abstract concern. She was the mother of a new child. And of the seven who had preceded her infant, Thomas, only the second--a daughter also named Katherine (1730-1821)--had survived childhood.

Katherine and William Brattle descended from two of New England's most distinguished families. Katherine, born in 1704, was two years William's senior. Her father, the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, graduated from Harvard in 1684, received a masters degree from the same institution in 1687, and in 1688 became the Congregationalist minister to the town of New London, Connecticut. In 1708, he succeeded John Winthrop as the Governor of Connecticut Colony, a position he held until his death in 1724. We know practically nothing of Katherine's upbringing, but as the daughter of New England aristocracy, her education may have been more thorough than that of most other colonial women.

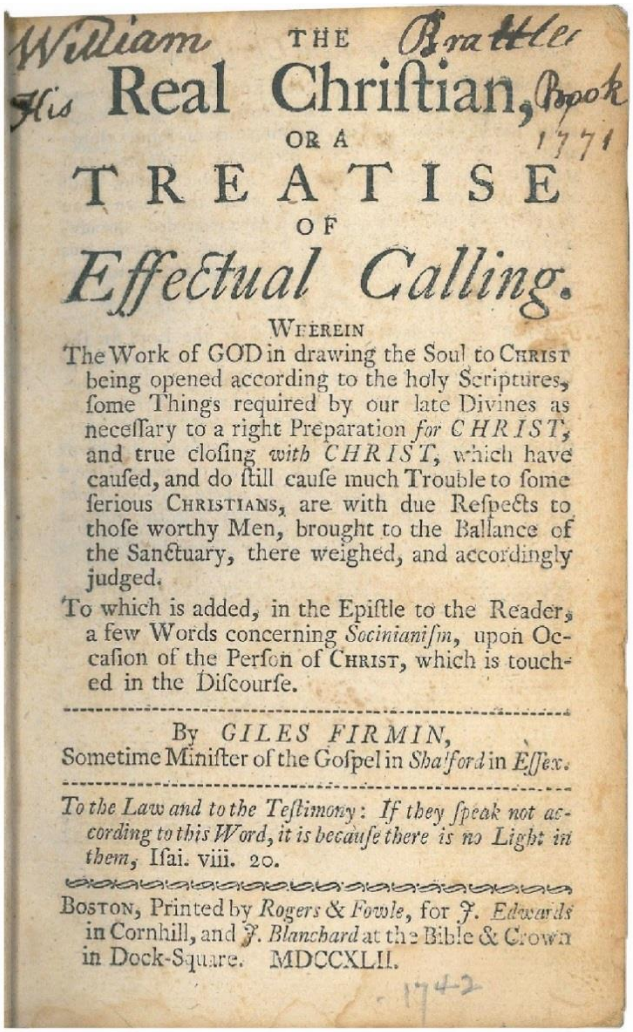
In 1727, she married William Brattle, and they built a grand new house in Cambridge that still stands at 42 Brattle Street. William's grandfather, Capt. Thomas Brattle, was the wealthiest man in Boston at the time of his death in 1683. William's father, Rev. William Brattle, took his degree from Harvard in 1680. He was tutor there for nearly four decades and served as Treasurer of the Corporation from 1713 until his death in 1717; he was elected to the Royal Society of London in 1692. William Brattle, Jr. was born in 1706, and like his father and father-in-law, was educated at Harvard College, graduating in 1722. A theologian, physician, and barrister, he was a member of the Artillery Company in 1729 and by 1733 was Captain of the body.

Katherine's own life was cut short by smallpox in 1752. Years after her death, himself an old man by colonial standards, William signed the title page, "William Brattle/His Book/1771." By this time he was Brigadier-General of the Province, and like his grandfather before him, was reputed to be the wealthiest man in Massachusetts. Three years later, he instigated the colony's Powder Alarm by writing General Thomas Gage, its Royal Governor, that powder and munitions belonging to the Crown were stored in the locked storehouse at Charlestown (now Somerville). In the tumult that followed, William fled Cambridge for the protection of the King's forces in Boston. He never returned to the home that he and Katherine had built in 1727. He fled Boston for Halifax in 1776--joining the King's forces in their retreat--and died there in October. He was buried in an unmarked grave in the Old Burying Ground.

As for Thomas, he would be the only son of Katherine and William to reach adulthood. He graduated from Harvard in 1760 and was living abroad in England when the Revolution began. After the conflict ended, he reclaimed his family's home in Cambridge. Although the house was ransacked multiple times during the war years, his sister, Elizabeth, had saved it from confiscation. William spent the rest of his life in the family home, and he died there in 1801. He never married, and so was the last Brattle of his line. Today, the Brattle House serves the Cambridge community as the Center for Adult Education.

The ransacking of the Brattle House during the Revolution explains yet another interesting part of this book's provenance. Below Katherine's writing on the front free end paper is a notation from a later owner, "Alden Chase's Book/1843." A bookplate identifies his home as Woodstock, Maine. Alden Chase of Woodstock (1819-1905) was a grandson of Edmund Chase (1748-1822) of Newbury, Massachusetts, who on April 19, 1775, marched on British forces at Cambridge as a

minuteman under the command of Capt. Moses Little. This clash was part of the running engagement we now refer to as the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the first military encounter of the American Revolution. **Edmund Chase likely took this book from Brattle House sometime after the fighting of April 19, when he and his fellow minutemen were regrouping at Cambridge**. Several years after the war ended, Edmund Chase moved his family from Newbury to the town of Minot, Maine. Alden Chase of Woodstock was the son of Edmund's third son, Merrill (1773-1860).


William Brattle
His Book
1771
THE
Real Chriſtian,
OR A
TREATISE
OF
Effectual Calling.
WHEREIN
The Work of GOD in drawing the Soul to CHRIST being opened according to the holy Scriptures, ſome Things required by our late Divines as neceſſary to a right Preparation *for CHRIST*, and true cloſing *with CHRIST*, which have cauſed, and do ſtill cauſe much Trouble to ſome ſerious CHRISTIANS, are with due Reſpects to thoſe worthy Men, brought to the Ballance of the Sanctuary, there weighed, and accordingly judged.
To which is added, in the Epiſtle to the Reader, a few Words concerning *Socinianiſm*, upon Occaſion of the Perſon of CHRIST, which is touched in the Diſcourſe.
By *GILES FIRMIN*,
Sometime Miniſter of the Goſpel in *Shalford* in *Eſſex*.
To the Law and to the Teſtimony: If they ſpeak not according to this Word, it is becauſe there is no Light in them, Iſai. viii. 20.
BOSTON, Printed by *Rogers* & *Fowle*, for *J. Edwards* in Cornhill, and *J. Blanchard* at the Bible & Crown in Dock-Square. MDCCXLII.
1742

The 1742 Boston edition of Firmin's *Real Christian*, while scarce on the antiquarian market, is not particularly rare; OCLC records about 20 copies in institutional holdings. Yet apart from its unique and extensive manuscript commentary and its exceptional colonial provenance, this copy is noteworthy for the fact that it has retained its contemporary, elaborate binding of paneled calf. The spine is decorated with five raised bands, each with double fillet lines in gilt above and below. Both the front and back boards are decorated with double and triple fillet lines that produce three concentric frames. The outer lines are gilt, and the lines of the two inner frames are blind; both the innermost and outermost of these frames are stained. A wide decorative roll was used to create an ornamental border for the innermost frame. Altogether, this is an extraordinary copy of a significant book. No less an authority than Cotton Mather, in his opus *Magnalia Christi Americana*, described it among all of Firmin's writings as "that golden one." Its binding is original, and its provenance is distinguished. Most important are Katherine Brattle's annotations, which open a rare and compelling window onto the spiritual life of a woman and mother in colonial America.

Relevant sources:

Harris, Edward-Doubleday
1867 *An Account of Some of the Descendants of Capt. Thomas Brattle*. D. Clapp and Son, Boston.
Getchell, E. A.
1895 Newbury and Newburyport in the Lexington Fight. *Putnam's Monthly Historical Magazine*, Jan.-Dec. New Series, Vol. III:7-15.
Hayes, Kevin J.
1996 *A Colonial Woman's Bookshelf*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Philbrick, Nathaniel
2013 *Bunker Hill: A City, A Siege, A Revolution*. Viking, New York.
Vinovskis, Maris A.
1979 *Studies in American Historical Demography*. Academic Press, New York.
Schom Dye, Nancy, and Daniel Blake Smith
1986 Mother Love and Infant Death: 1750-1920. *The Journal of American History* 73:329-353.

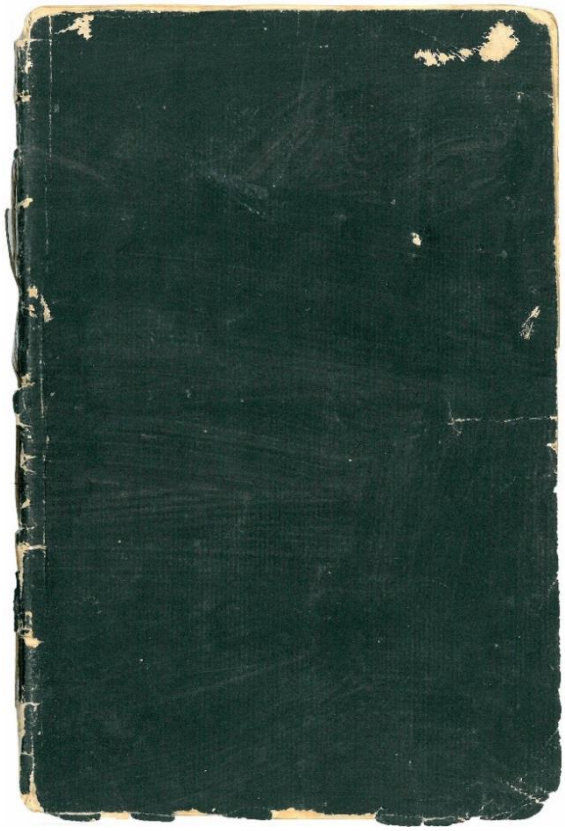
– –

Firmin, Giles. THE REAL CHRISTIAN, OR A TREATISE OF EFFECTUAL CALLING. Printed by Rogers & Fowle, for J. Edwards in Cornhill, and J. Blanchard at the Bible & Crown in Dock-Square, Boston, 1742. xxxii, [8], 328. Small 8vo (17 cm). First American edition after the London first of 1670. Contemporary paneled calf with gilt and blind tooling, evidence the text edges had been sprinkled red, but quite faded. Annotations and previous owners' signatures on front and rear end papers (about 1250 words), bookplate. Old, very light stain to bottom corner of first several leaves, very light edge wear. Evans 4952.

1. SOLD.

Ebenezer Bridge Ordains New Clergy in the Age of Revolution

Countless pages in books, journals, and magazines have chronicled the most famous actors and events of the American Revolution, from its battlefields and skirmish lines to the negotiating halls of Philadelphia and Paris. Yet what is all too often missing from such narratives is a broader appreciation of how this war upended the lives and relations of ordinary people. The personal choice between loyalty to the Crown and commitment to the rising insurrection was more often than not a difficult decision with profound consequences for family, friendship, fellowship, commerce, and community throughout the American colonies. It was not unusual, indeed, for people to change their minds and loyalties during the long course of the Revolutionary era. From 1772 to 1781--the whole of those war years--Reverend Ebenezer Bridge of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, delivered the sermons he recorded in this notebook at the ordinations of six new clergymen. Their stories illustrate a more personal Revolution, one that unfolded not in the trenches between armies but in the bonds between church and community at home.

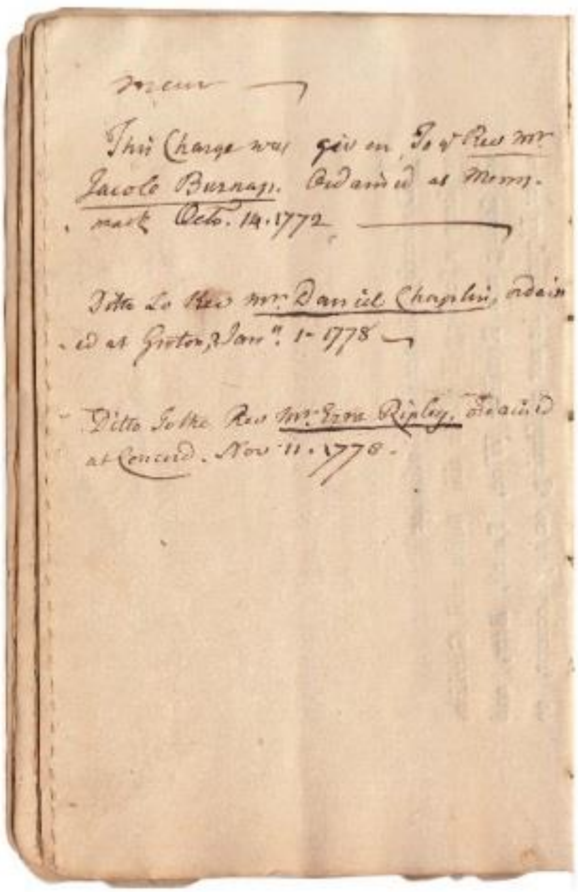


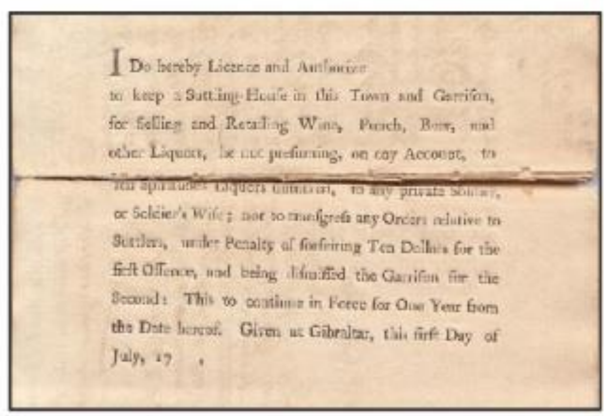
Ebenezer Bridge was born at Boston in 1716 and received his AB from Harvard in 1736. After working briefly as a schoolmaster in Plymouth, he was ordained as minister for the Congregational Church of Chelmsford on May 20, 1741, where he would serve as pastor for the next five decades. He delivered the Massachusetts Election Sermon of 1767, one noted for its praise of George III and his Parliament. In it, he also explicitly argued for the continued subordination of American colonies to the British Crown, noting of the former:

> How happy are they, in the enjoyment of the same liberties and privileges, as our brethren in our mother country; what a lasting foundation is hereby laid for continual union and harmony, and a mutual dependence between a parent and her children? May there never more be any attempts from any quarter, or by any means or instruments, to divide them, who are so nearly connected in affection and interest, and I believe that all people, in all the colonies, will heartily say amen [1767:14].

It is important to note, though, that in praising this relationship Bridge carefully observed that the bond itself depended on all brethren, those in the colonies and in the mother country, enjoying "the same liberties and privileges." His views on independence would change dramatically with clear evidence that such equality was far from guaranteed.

In June 1773, the Hutchinson Letters Affair broke open when the *Boston Gazette* published a series of private letters between beleaguered Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson and his secretary Andrew Oliver. In the letters, Hutchinson openly mused that it was impossible for colonists to have the same rights of representation as British citizens in the home country, requiring an “abridgement of what are called English liberties.” The resulting outrage spurred protests as far away as Philadelphia, and Ebenezer Bridge appears to have been among the many Americans whose loyalty turned to defiance. In December, Samuel Adams--who was instrumental in seeing the Hutchinson letters published--organized the Boston Tea Party. In Spring of 1774, Parliament passed the Intolerable Acts and replaced Governor Hutchinson with Thomas Gage. The American Revolution formally began at Lexington and Concord less than one year later, and Bridge’s own son and namesake, Col. Ebenezer Bridge, Jr., would command a Massachusetts regiment on the front lines of Bunker Hill in June 1775.

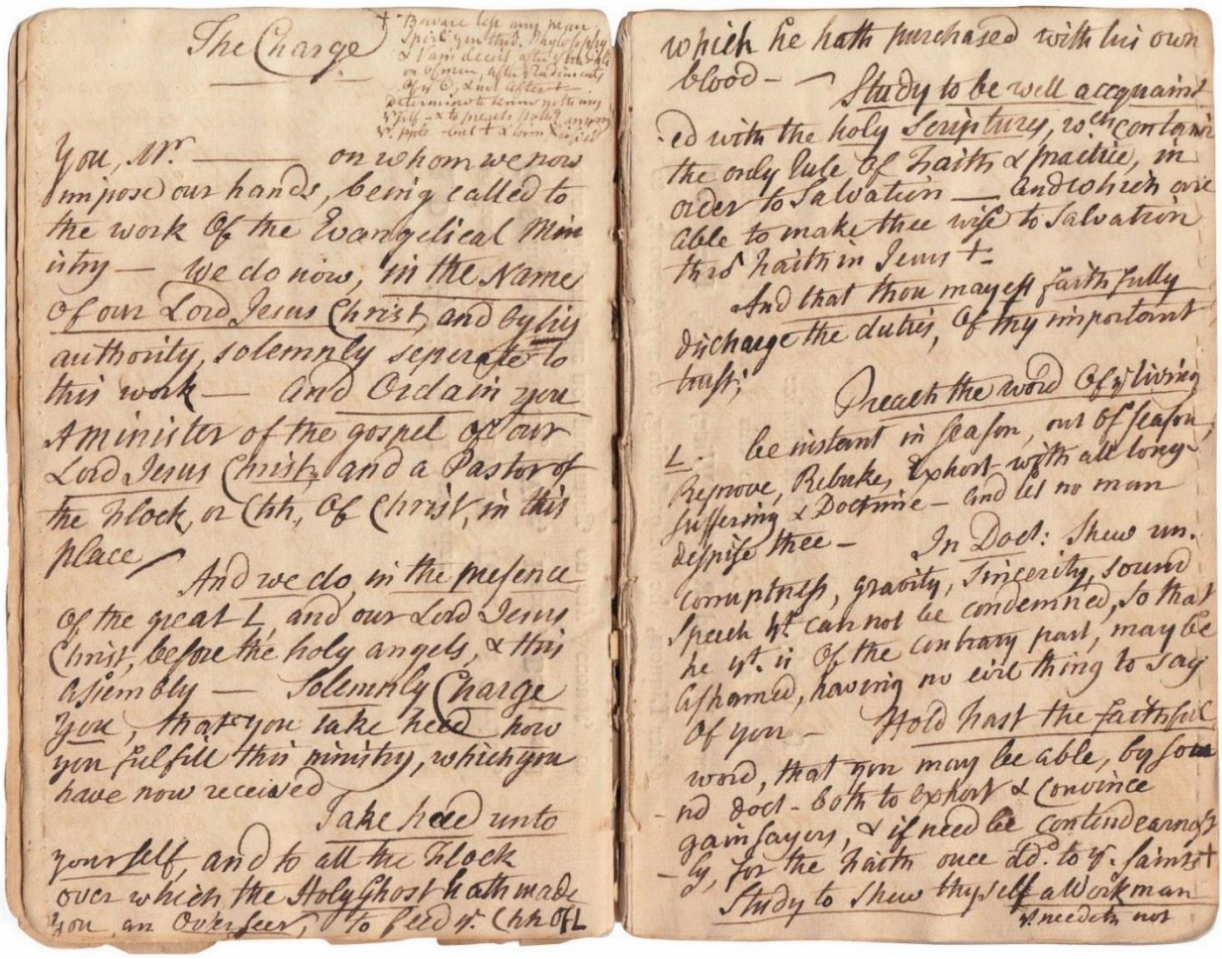




I Do hereby Licence and Authorize to keep a Suttling-House in this Town and Garrison, for selling and Retailing Wine, Punch, Beer, and other Liquors, he not presuming, on any Account, to sell spirituous Liquors unmixed, to any private Soldier, or Soldier’s Wife; nor to transgress any Orders relative to Suttlers, under Penalty of forfeiting Ten Dollars for the first Offence, and being dismissed the Garrison for the Second: This to continue in Force for One Year from the Date hereof. Given at Gibraltar, this first Day of July, 17 .

This manuscript notebook spans the time between Rev. Bridge’s cautious loyalty and his embrace of Revolution. The notebook itself was a gift from his friend and Harvard classmate Oliver Fletcher (AB 1735), a lawyer and schoolteacher who served as Chelmsford’s Town Clerk and Selectman. Fletcher, who signed his presentation on the front pastedown, died on November 30, 1771, so Bridge must have received the notebook before that date. The leaves consist of unused printed licenses, folded and stitched, authorizing the bearer to own a “Suttling-House” for the sale of alcohol in Gibraltar. This Gibraltar imprint is unusual and unrecorded.

The manuscript consists of three sermons written entirely in Bridge's hand and intended for his use at ordination services. Such events usually included both a formal ordination sermon and a presentation of the charge, which outlined the new minister's spiritual responsibilities to his congregation. Bridge's notebook contains examples of each. "The Charge" fills nine manuscript pages (about 1100 words) and was delivered at the ordinations of three clergymen: Jacob Burnap (1772), Daniel Chaplin (1778), and Ezra Ripley (1778). A similar piece, "A Charge," is likewise nine pages in length (about 1100 words) and was delivered at the ordinations of Jeremiah Barnard (1780), Edmund Foster (1781), and Phineas Wright (1785). The ordination sermon, titled "A Right Hand," fills seven pages (about 900 words) and was composed for the ordination of Edmund Foster (1781). What is noteworthy is the role that the American Revolution played in each case save that of Burnap. Burnap obtained his AB at Harvard in 1770 and was installed as the first minister of Merrimack, New Hampshire, on October 14, 1772. He remained as pastor there until his death in 1821, having received an honorary Doctor of Divinity from Harvard in 1813. Bridge delivered the charge at Burnap's ordination several months before publication of Hutchinson's letters, when he may still have counted himself a loyal subject of the King.



The Charge

You, Mr. _____ on whom we now impose our hands, being called to the work of the Evangelical Ministry — We do now, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his authority, solemnly seperate to this work — And Ordain you A Minister of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a Pastor of the Flock of Chh. of Christ, in this place.

And we do in the presence of the great L. and our Lord Jesus Christ, before the holy angels, & this Assembly — Solemnly Charge you, that you take heed how you fulfill this ministry, which you have now received

Take heed unto yourself, and to all the Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you an Overseer, to feed y. Chh. of L.

which he hath purchased with his own blood — Study to be well acquainted with the holy Scripture, wch contain the only rule of faith & practice, in order to Salvation — and which are able to make thee wise to Salvation thro' faith in Jesus +

And that thou mayest faithfully discharge the duties, of thy important trust;

Preach the word of y. living L. be instant in season, out of season, Reprove, Rebuke, Exhort with all long suffering & Doctrine — and let no man despise thee —

In Doct: Shew uncorruptness, gravity, Sincerity, sound Speech y. can not be condemned, so that he y. is of the contrary part, may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you —

Hold fast the faithful word, that you may be able, by sound doct - both to exhort & convince gainsayers, & if need be Contend earnestly, for the faith once de. to y. saints +

Study to Shew thyself a Workman y. needeth not

risen against his predecessor, Samuel Dana, for preaching submission to the Crown, forcing the pastor from his pulpit just as British Regulars were marching on Lexington and Concord. Chaplin served at Groton until 1825, when old age forced him to step down. Ripley earned his AB from Harvard in 1776 and was ordained at Concord, Massachusetts, on November 11, 1778. He also received an honorary Doctor of Divinity from his alma mater in 1818. His predecessor at Concord, William Emerson, had served the community for ten years when the Revolution began. In August 1776, he left his congregation to join the Continental Army at Ticonderoga as a chaplain. He fell ill shortly after arriving at his post and died on October 20. Ripley married Emerson's widow two years later and raised her children as his own, including the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson. He baptized an infant Henry David Thoreau in 1817. Ripley served Concord until his death in 1841, "universally respected and loved by the old and young" (McFarland 2004:9). His home, the Old Manse, found fame in the writings of its next occupant, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Jeremiah Barnard, the first minister to receive Rev. Bridge's second charge, was born in Bolton, Massachusetts, and graduated from Harvard College in 1773. On August 13, 1776, he was commissioned a chaplain in the 2nd regiment of Massachusetts troops called to reinforce the main army at Ticonderoga, New York. Four years later, on March 2, 1780, he was ordained as minister at Amherst, New Hampshire, where he served until his death in 1835. Phineas Wright, originally from Westford, Massachusetts, earned his AB from Harvard in 1773 with the first honors of his class. He likely followed his brothers to Templeton afterwards, where he served as sergeant in the town's minuteman company in April 1775. He obtained his MA ten years later, in 1785, and was ordained at Bolton, Massachusetts that same year. He died after a seizure in 1802.

Finally, the notebook contains a formal sermon that Rev. Bridge prepared for the ordination of Edmund Foster at Littlefield, Massachusetts, on January 17, 1781. Foster received his AB from Yale in 1778. In April 1775, he had been home in North Reading, on vacation from his divinity studies, when the alarm sounded from Lexington and Concord. Although divinity students were exempt from battle, Foster chose to join the burgeoning ranks of minutemen hurrying to the fight and served under Capt. John Brooks, later governor of Massachusetts. His opportunity to serve at Littlefield arose after his predecessor, Daniel Rogers, concluded a Thanksgiving proclamation with "God save the King" rather than "God save the people." His congregation pursued him to his house and even fired shots into his doorway. In a remark at the end of the sermon he had written for Foster's ordination, Rev. Bridge notes that he was unable to deliver the sermon, having instead been called to deliver the charge "by reason of ye infirmity & illness of Rev. Mr. Rogers." Foster continued as minister at Littleton until his death in 1826.

Ebenezer Bridge himself served at Chelmsford until his death in 1792. Harvard University and the Peabody Essex Museum hold collections of his manuscript sermons, and Harvard likewise holds a manuscript diary of nearly 2000 pages that Bridge maintained from 1742 through his final year of life. The papers of Ezra Ripley and Edmund Foster are curated at the Concord Free Public Library, though Harvard also holds a small collection of Ripley's papers. **American manuscript sermons from the Revolutionary period are quite scarce in the trade**. We find no comparable material at auction since 1999, when Swann Galleries offered a collection of 14 sermons by Samuel Cooper, the pastor of Boston's Brattle Street Church, several of which date to the war years. This notebook, touching on the lives of so many important figures in New England Congregationalism during the time of the Revolution and the Early Republic, is rare and significant.

Relevant sources:

Bridge, Ebenezer
1767 *A Sermon Preached Before His Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., Governor: His Honor Thomas Hutchison, Esq., Lieutenant Governor, the Honorable His Majesty's Council, and the Honorable House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, May 27th, 1767: Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province*. Green and Russell, Boston.

Cutter, William Richard (editor)
1908 *Genealogical and Personal Memoirs Relating to the Families of Boston and Eastern Massachusetts*. Volume 3. Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York.

McFarland, Philip
2004 *Hawthorne in Concord*. Grove Press, New York.

Stern, Jeremy A.
2015 Anglicization Against the Empire: Revolutionary Ideas and Identity in Townshend Crisis, Massachusetts. In *Anglicizing America: Empire, Revolution, Republic*, edited by Ignacio Gallup-Diaz, Andrew Shankman, and David J. Silverman, pp. 153-178. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Waters, Wilson
1917 *History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts*. Courier-Citizen Company, Lowell, Massachusetts.

Wright, Conrad Edick
2005 *Revolutionary Generation: Harvard Men and the Consequences of Independence*. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

– –

[American Revolution]: Rev. Ebenezer Bridge: [MANUSCRIPT NOTEBOOK OF EBENEZER BRIDGE, CONTAINING SERMONS USED AT ORDINATIONS OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS IN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW HAMPSHIRE] [Chelmsford, Massachusetts, 1772-1781]. Small 8vo (19 cm). 25 pages of manuscript text in ink (about 3000 words in three sermons). Contemporary stiff black wrappers; light wear to spine, corners, and edges. Old stain to final three leaves of text (containing the third sermon) and two unused leaves, not affecting legibility; several leaves loose, but manuscript is complete in its original binding.

2. SOLD.

Catawba Indians Abroad: A 1795 Performance at the Theatre-Royal

From the very beginning of the Columbian Exchange, native peoples from the Americas frequently made the counter-voyage east to Europe. Many arrived as slaves, others as diplomats or special guests presented at court. Columbus himself brought seven captured Taino Indians to the Spanish court in 1493, and in 1528 Cortez sent Aztec jugglers and acrobats back to Spain for the pleasure of Charles V. Yet not until much later, with the exhibitions of George Catlin in the 1840s and the shows of William "Buffalo Bill" Cody in the 1880s, was it common for American Indians to perform on stage in popular entertainments for European audiences.

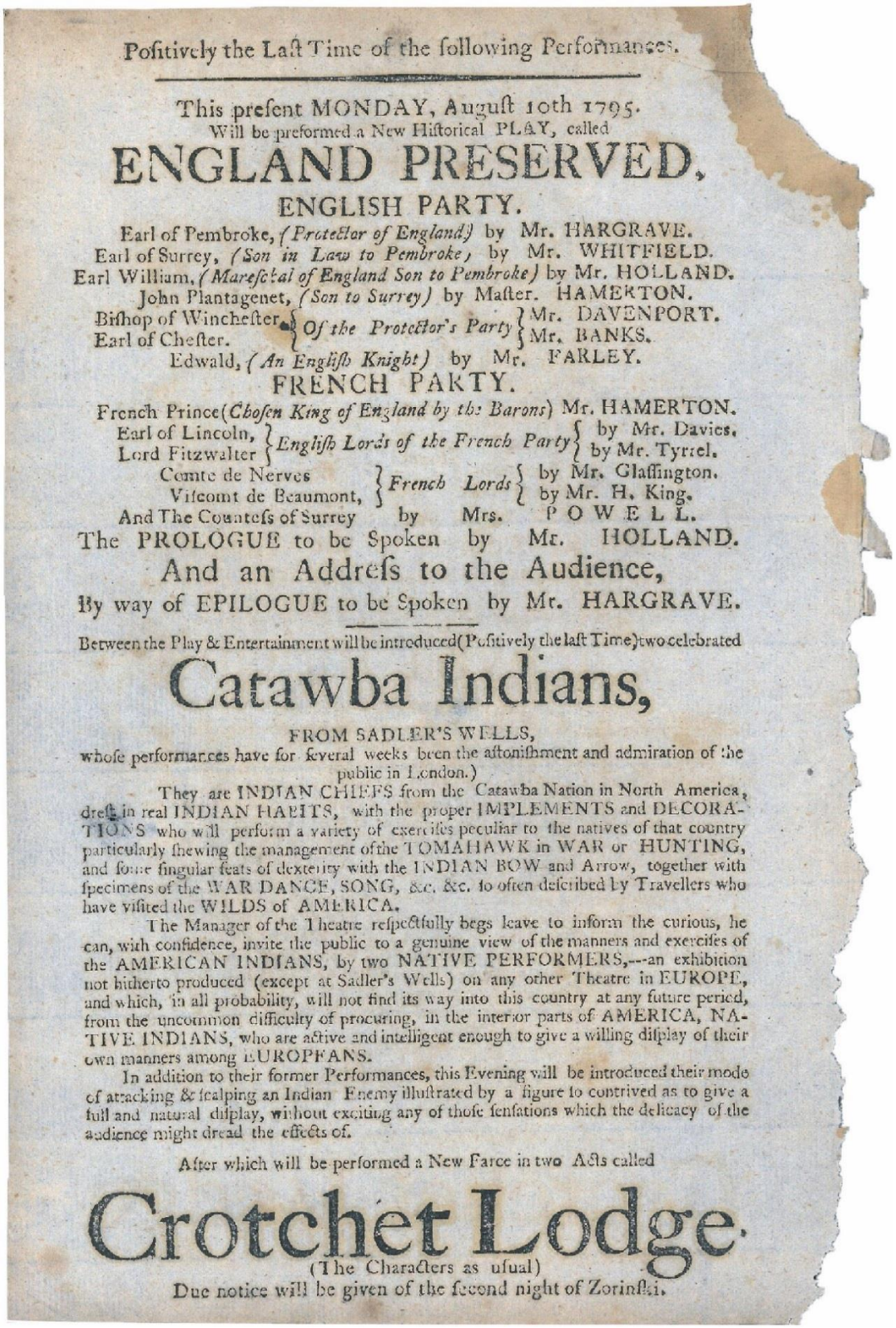
Before Catlin and Cody, though, were the Native American performers later referred to as the Catawba Travellers. The Catawba Indian Nation was located--and still remains today--along the Catawba River in modern-day York County, South Carolina. One of the most prominent of all southern Indian nations prior to about 1700, the effects of disease and a long war against the Iroquois had driven the Catawba people to their lowest ebb by the end of the 18th century. In June 1795, the famous Sadler's Wells Theatre announced in London papers that "Two Indian Chiefs, from the Catawba Nation in North America" were performing "an entirely new exhibition." An advertisement that appeared in *The True Briton* on June 24 noted that the Catawbas had arrived in London the previous week and would be in town for only a short time. In the next day's *Morning Post*, Sadler's ran an advertisement that illustrates the practical difficulties in staging such cross-cultural engagements. Given "the imperfect knowledge of their Language in those who attended them to England," the theatre asked "any person who may have been in the Catawba Country, and can converse with these Natives, to indulge them with a Visit to the Wells."

We do not know if the managers at Sadler's Wells were fortunate enough to find anyone in 1790s London who could understand the Catawbas' native language any better than those who had ferried them across the Atlantic. The two broadside playbills we offer here, though, do show that by August the Catawbas were in Liverpool. Their first performance at its Theatre-Royal was on Thursday, August 6, with the playbill for this date breathlessly reporting:

> They are INDIAN CHIEFS from the Catawba Nation in North America, dressed in real INDIAN HABITS, with the PROPER IMPLEMENTS and DECORATIONS who will perform a variety of exercises peculiar to the natives of the country, particularly shewing the management of the TOMAHAWK in WAR or HUNTING, and some singular feats of dexterity with the INDIAN BOW and Arrow, together with specimens of the WAR DANCE, SONG, &c. &c. so often described by Travellers who have visited the WILDS of AMERICA.

Four nights later, as described in the playbill for August 10, a new piece was added to the show:

> this Evening will be introduced their mode of attacking & scalping an Indian Enemy illustrated by a figure so contrived as to give a full and natural display, without exciting any of those sensations which the delicacy of the audience might dread the effects of.



Positively the Laſt Time of the following Performances.

This preſent MONDAY, Auguſt 10th 1795.
Will be preformed a New Hiſtorical PLAY, called

ENGLAND PRESERVED,

ENGLISH PARTY.

Earl of Pembroke, *(Protector of England)* by Mr. HARGRAVE.
Earl of Surrey, *(Son in Law to Pembroke)* by Mr. WHITFIELD.
Earl William, *(Mareſchal of England Son to Pembroke)* by Mr. HOLLAND.
John Plantagenet, *(Son to Surrey)* by Maſter. HAMERTON.
Biſhop of Wincheſter, Earl of Cheſter, *Of the Protector's Party* — Mr. DAVENPORT. Mr. BANKS.
Edwald, *(An Engliſh Knight)* by Mr. FARLEY.

FRENCH PARTY.

French Prince (*Choſen King of England by the Barons*) Mr. HAMERTON.
Earl of Lincoln, Lord Fitzwalter, *Engliſh Lords of the French Party* — by Mr. Davies. by Mr. Tyrrel.
Comte de Nerves, Viſcomt de Beaumont, *French Lords* — by Mr. Glaſſington. by Mr. H. King.
And The Counteſs of Surrey by Mrs. POWELL.

The PROLOGUE to be Spoken by Mr. HOLLAND.

And an Addreſs to the Audience,

By way of EPILOGUE to be Spoken by Mr. HARGRAVE.

Between the Play & Entertainment will be introduced (Poſitively the laſt Time) two celebrated

Catawba Indians,

FROM SADLER'S WELLS,
whoſe performances have for ſeveral weeks been the aſtoniſhment and admiration of the public in London.)

They are INDIAN CHIEFS from the Catawba Nation in North America, dreſs in real INDIAN HABITS, with the proper IMPLEMENTS and DECORATIONS who will perform a variety of exerciſes peculiar to the natives of that country particularly ſhewing the management of the TOMAHAWK in WAR or HUNTING, and ſome ſingular feats of dexterity with the INDIAN BOW and Arrow, together with ſpecimens of the WAR DANCE, SONG, &c. &c. ſo often deſcribed by Travellers who have viſited the WILDS of AMERICA.

The Manager of the Theatre reſpectfully begs leave to inform the curious, he can, with confidence, invite the public to a genuine view of the manners and exerciſes of the AMERICAN INDIANS, by two NATIVE PERFORMERS,---an exhibition not hitherto produced (except at Sadler's Wells) on any other Theatre in EUROPE, and which, in all probability, will not find its way into this country at any future period, from the uncommon difficulty of procuring, in the interior parts of AMERICA, NATIVE INDIANS, who are active and intelligent enough to give a willing diſplay of their own manners among EUROPEANS.

In addition to their former Performances, this Evening will be introduced their mode of attacking & ſcalping an Indian Enemy illuſtrated by a figure ſo contrived as to give a full and natural diſplay, without exciting any of thoſe ſenſations which the delicacy of the audience might dread the effects of.

After which will be performed a New Farce in two Acts called

Crotchet Lodge.

(The Characters as uſual)
Due notice will be given of the ſecond night of Zorinſki.

Except for brief newspaper advertisements, these unique and unrecorded broadside playbills are the only surviving descriptions of the Catawbas' stage act. This is significant, since we find no evidence of earlier American Indian theatrical performances in Europe. Certainly, native peoples visiting the continent--whether as captives or as guests--had experienced the spotlight of public exhibition, but never (so far as we can determine) as part of a commercial stage show. In this the content of the Catawbas' performances would directly prefigure those later acts managed by the likes of Catlin, Cody, and other American showmen.

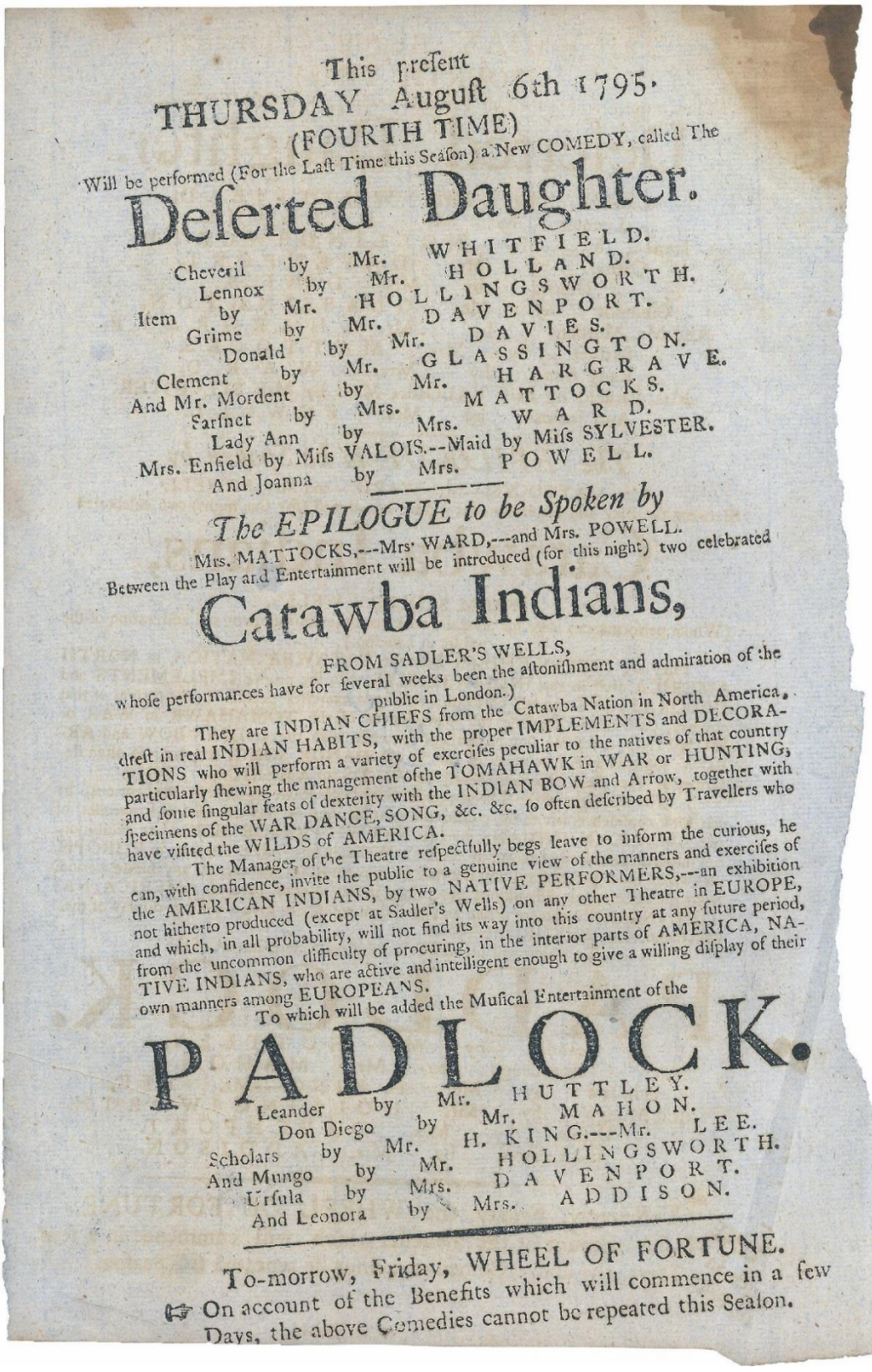
In November, the Catawba "Chiefs" were performing in Dublin, from where they would continue on to the towns of Waterford, Cork, Bristol, and Bath. By sometime in early 1796, they appear to have become affiliated with the equestrian performances of Philip Astley (proprietor of Astley's Amphitheater in London) and his partner Benjamin Handy. Following an advertisement in the London *Observer* for May 8, 1796--billed as the last week of the Catawbas' engagement at Astley's--they seem to have disappeared from the British stage.

Then, in the August 5, 1797 *Oracle*, Sadler's Wells announced "an entirely new Burletta Pantomime Entertainment, with Indian Scenery, Dances, and Spectacle, called THE CATAWBA TRAVELLERS; or Kiew Neika's Return." This show, the notice reports, was

> written and arranged by Mr. Lonsdale, after the Manners and Costume of the American Indians, as correctly obtained from the two Catawba Chiefs, who first performed at Sadler's Wells in 1795.--The occasional barbarisms interspersed among the Songs and Recitatives, are genuine words and expressions of the Catawba Language.

Still running as late as September 1798, this new show is the source for the only non-ephemeral publication associated with the Catawbas' earlier performance, a 1797 pamphlet that printed the songs Lonsdale composed for *Kiew Neika's Return*. OCLC records only two copies of this rare pamphlet, one at Yale and one at the New York Public Library. We would emphasize, however, that all published descriptions of the 1797 show describe it as "after the Manner and Costume" of the Catawba Indians who performed in 1795. That is, none of the *Kiew Neika* descriptions claim or even imply that actual American Indians were among its cast. As for the fate of those original Catawba performers, York County local history offers intriguing clues.

In 1876, Thomas D. Spratt recorded his family's recollections of early York County, his grandfather Thomas "Kanawah" Spratt having been the first white man to settle there during the 1760s. Spratt wrote that his grandfather had adopted a young Catawba boy named Peter Harris whose parents had died in an epidemic. The Spratt family recalled that Harris, who served with American forces in the Revolutionary War, was one of three Catawbas who had left to perform in London and Ireland some years afterward. A different account had appeared in the *Yorkville Inquirer* in 1870, claiming that a white man, Adam Carruth, persuaded four Catawba Indians to accompany him to London a few years after the Revolution, where they were to perform as "live Injuns." Carruth and the Catawbas toured the British Isles before returning to London, at which point Carruth pocketed all of their shared earnings, returned to America, and left the Catawbas to fend for themselves. The only disagreement between these sources--and it is possible that Spratt was responsible for both--is the number of Catawbas who made the journey.



This present
THURSDAY Auguſt 6th 1795.
(FOURTH TIME)
Will be performed (For the Laſt Time this Seaſon) a New COMEDY, called The

Deſerted Daughter.

Cheveril by Mr. WHITFIELD.
Lennox by Mr. HOLLAND.
Item by Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH.
Grime by Mr. DAVENPORT.
Donald by Mr. DAVIES.
Clement by Mr. GLASSINGTON.
And Mr. Mordent by Mr. HARGRAVE.
Sarſnet by Mrs. MATTOCKS.
Lady Ann by Mrs. WARD.
Mrs. Enfield by Miſs VALOIS.--Maid by Miſs SYLVESTER.
And Joanna by Mrs. POWELL.

The EPILOGUE to be Spoken by
Mrs. MATTOCKS,---Mrs. WARD,---and Mrs. POWELL.

Between the Play and Entertainment will be introduced (for this night) two celebrated

Catawba Indians,

FROM SADLER'S WELLS,
whoſe performances have for ſeveral weeks been the aſtoniſhment and admiration of the public in London.)

They are INDIAN CHIEFS from the Catawba Nation in North America, dreſt in real INDIAN HABITS, with the proper IMPLEMENTS and DECORATIONS who will perform a variety of exerciſes peculiar to the natives of that country particularly ſhewing the management of the TOMAHAWK in WAR or HUNTING, and ſome ſingular feats of dexterity with the INDIAN BOW and Arrow, together with ſpecimens of the WAR DANCE, SONG, &c. &c. ſo often deſcribed by Travellers who have viſited the WILDS of AMERICA.

The Manager of the Theatre reſpectfully begs leave to inform the curious, he can, with confidence, invite the public to a genuine view of the manners and exerciſes of the AMERICAN INDIANS, by two NATIVE PERFORMERS,---an exhibition not hitherto produced (except at Sadler's Wells) on any other Theatre in EUROPE, and which, in all probability, will not find its way into this country at any future period, from the uncommon difficulty of procuring, in the interior parts of AMERICA, NATIVE INDIANS, who are active and intelligent enough to give a willing diſplay of their own manners among EUROPEANS.

To which will be added the Muſical Entertainment of the

PADLOCK.

Leander by Mr. HUTTLEY.
Don Diego by Mr. MAHON.
Scholars by Mr. H. KING.---Mr. LEE.
And Mungo by Mr. HOLLINGSWORTH.
Urſula by Mrs. DAVENPORT.
And Leonora by Mrs. ADDISON.

To-morrow, Friday, WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

☞ On account of the Benefits which will commence in a few Days, the above Comedies cannot be repeated this Seaſon.

Both accounts also agree on the tragic finale. Finding funds for passage on a ship bound for America, all of the despondent Catawba performers save one, Peter Harris, hurled themselves overboard and drowned rather than return home disgraced. It may also be no coincidence that an Adam Carruth from Lincoln County, North Carolina--just 30 miles north of York County, where the Catawba Nation is located--arrived in Greenville, South Carolina in 1800 with a pocket full of money, founding one of the largest iron works and armories in the antebellum South. Harris died at the age of 70 in 1823, having earned federal and state pensions for military service. Carruth, as it happens, had died two years earlier, bankrupt. All of his belongings were sold at auction, and his family moved to Arkansas.

The grouping that we offer here consists of three playbills from 1795: Thursday, August 6; Monday, August 10; and Wednesday, August 12. The playbills for August 6 and 10 advertise three shows each, with the Catawba Indians performing both nights. Each also contains cast lists for the other shows. While the Catawbas did not perform on August 12, the playbill for this date includes cast lists for two shows that match the cast lists from those other shows of August 6 and 10. This is important, because only the bill of August 12 includes the place and venue, "Theatre-Royal, Liverpool." Thus, all three are essential to the group. **Together, they offer unique insight into the earliest known commercial stage show by American Indians in Europe**.

Relevant sources:

Altick, Richard D.
1978 *The Shows of London*. Harvard University Press.
Foreman, Carolyn
1943 *Indians Abroad, 1493-1938*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Huff, Archie V.
1995 *Greenville: The History of the City and County in the South Carolina Piedmont*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
Merrell, James T.
1989 *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
Vaughan, Alden T.
2006 *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Watson, Ian
1995 Catawba Indian Genealogy. *Papers in Anthropology No. 4*. The Genesco Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Genesco.

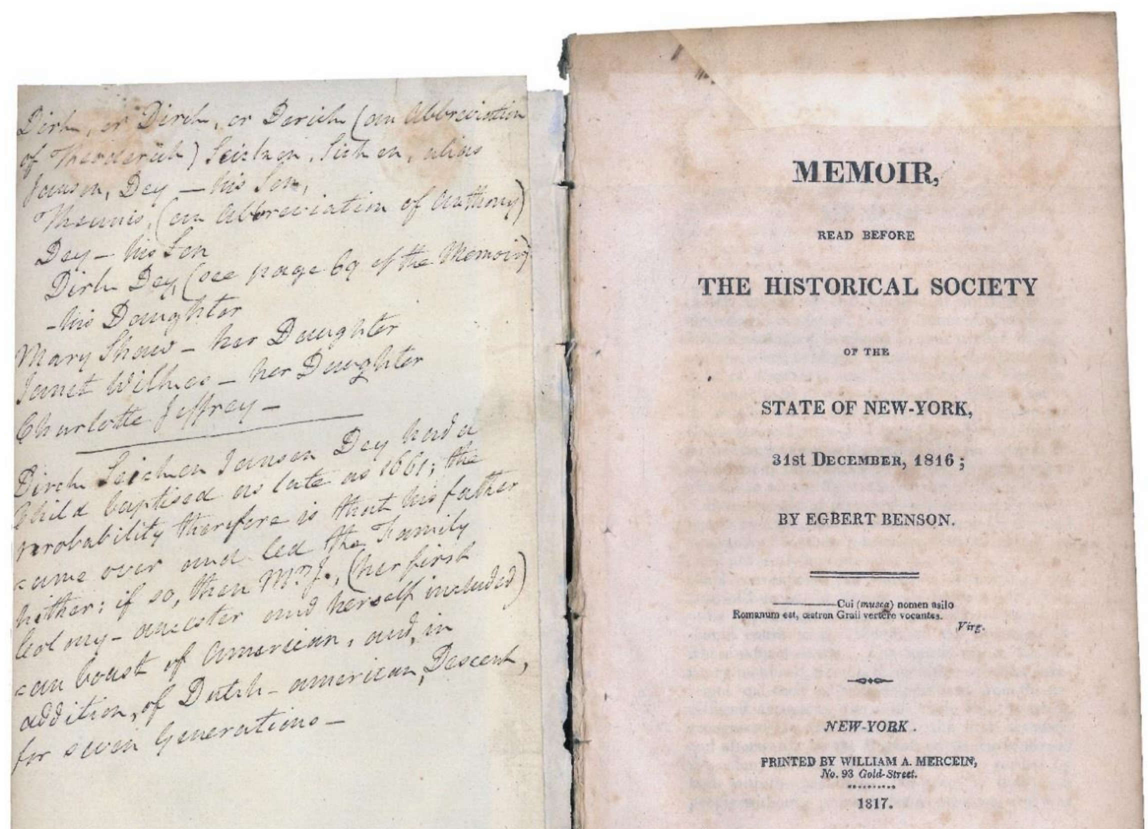
– –

[American Indians--South Carolina]: [Three broadside playbills, two featuring]: CATAWBA INDIANS, / FROM SADLER'S WELLS, / WHOSE PERFORMANCES HAVE FOR SEVERAL WEEKS BEEN THE ASTONISHMENT AND ADMIRATION OF THE / PUBLIC IN LONDON [caption title]. Theatre-Royal, Liverpool for Aug. 6, Aug. 10, and Aug. 12, 1795. Each measures 6 x 12 in. (16 x 30.5 cm) on laid paper; staining to upper right corners, not affecting text, and light foxing. Right edges roughly cut; Aug. 6 bill printed at angle to sheet, not affecting text.

3. SOLD.

Egbert Benson's New York *Memoir*, Interleaved with his Manuscript Notes

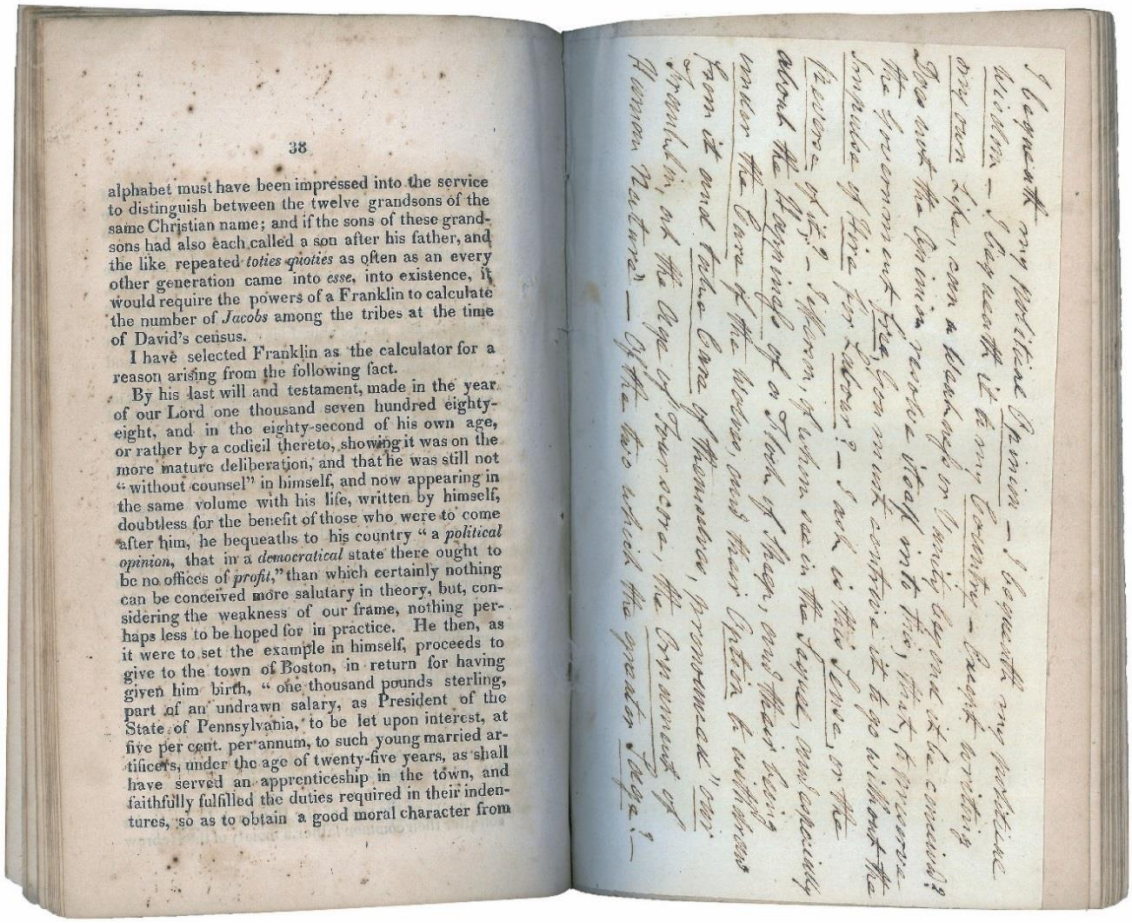
Egbert Benson, born to one of Manhattan's oldest Dutch families on June 21, 1746, was a lion of the Early Republic's political establishment. He obtained his degree from King's College (today's Columbia University) in 1765, then was admitted to the bar and moved north to Red Hook in Dutchess County, practicing law both there and in New York City. He soon threw in with the cause of the rebellion, and Dutchess County named him as president of its Committee of Safety in 1773 and as a representative to the New York State Provincial Congress in 1775. For the next quarter-century, his commitment both to the revolution and to the young republic was nothing short of exhausting. In May 1777, the New York State Convention at Kingston appointed him as the state's first Attorney General, and in October of that year he began a four-year term as Dutchess County's representative in the New York Assembly. Throughout the revolution, he and fellow New Yorker John Jay actively drove Loyalist sympathizers to exile behind British lines.



After the war, Benson represented New York in the Continental Congresses of 1784, 1787, and 1788, and attended the state convention of 1788 that ratified the United States Constitution. From 1789 to 1793, he joined the new federal government as a member of the House of Representatives in both the First and Second Congresses. He was appointed as justice on the New York Supreme Court in 1784 and served there until John Adams appointed him as Chief Judge for

the U. S. Circuit Court's Second Circuit in 1801. A year later, he returned to his private practice in New York. There, in 1804, he joined other luminaries, including Mayor DeWitt Clinton, to found the New-York Historical Society--the second oldest such society in the United States--and was promptly named as its first president. A dozen years after, in December 1816, he gave an authoritative address before the Society on the history of Indian, Dutch, and English place names in New York City, then delivered his paper to the Society's directors for inclusion in the next volume of its *Transactions*. Field describes the subsequent quarrel that unfolded:

> The peculiarly abrupt, and not very perspicuous style of the work, excited the criticisms of the directors of the Society, who required some verbal changes before publication, which the author's pride induced him to reject with indignation. A controversy arose of much acrimony, and Mr. Benson determined to vindicate his style by printing his essay. He does not however seem to have been entirely satisfied with it himself, as several copies exist with numerous manuscript additions and corrections [1873:29].



38

alphabet must have been impressed into the service to distinguish between the twelve grandsons of the same Christian name; and if the sons of these grandsons had also each called a son after his father, and the like repeated *toties quoties* as often as an every other generation came into *esse*, into existence, it would require the powers of a Franklin to calculate the number of *Jacobs* among the tribes at the time of David's census.

I have selected Franklin as the calculator for a reason arising from the following fact.

By his last will and testament, made in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred eighty-eight, and in the eighty-second of his own age, or rather by a codicil thereto, showing it was on the more mature deliberation, and that he was still not "without counsel" in himself, and now appearing in the same volume with his life, written by himself, doubtless for the benefit of those who were to come after him, he bequeaths to his country "a *political opinion*, that in a *democratical* state there ought to be no offices of *profit*," than which certainly nothing can be conceived more salutary in theory, but, considering the weakness of our frame, nothing perhaps less to be hoped for in practice. He then, as it were to set the example in himself, proceeds to give to the town of Boston, in return for having given him birth, "one thousand pounds sterling, part of an undrawn salary, as President of the State of Pennsylvania," to be let upon interest, at five per cent. per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as shall have served an apprenticeship in the town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from

Benson thus had his *Memoir* printed at his own expense for distribution to personal friends and colleagues in the Society. There are two imprints of the first edition, neither with established priority. One records the printer as William A. Mercein at No. 93 Gold-Street, the other as T. & W. Mercein at the same address. OCLC locates 14 institutional copies of the former imprint (three

of which are housed at the NYPL) and 15 of the latter (including three both at Harvard and at the Boston Athenaeum, and two at the NYSL). In addition, five copies of the 1817 first edition have appeared at auction or in the trade since 1940 (per RBH); for two of these, catalogue descriptions record the imprint as William A. Mercein; for the other three the imprint is not noted.

The copy of Benson's *Memoir* that we offer here is among those few with interleaved manuscript annotations--entirely in the author's hand--described by Field in 1873 and by Sabin in 1869. **Of the 29 total first editions in institutional collections, only seven appear to contain such extensive annotations**; these are located at Harvard (per Sabin), NYPL, NYSL, Huntington, Tulane, Temple, and Princeton. Our copy, as with all of these save the example at Princeton, has the William A. Mercein imprint. **Only four copies with additional leaves have appeared on the market since 1940**, the last having been offered by Eberstadt in 1965 for $200. Each such example is unique, ranging from only one added leaf (the Huntington copy) to as many as 15 (the Eberstadt copy). Ours has seven tipped-in leaves, approximately 1000 words, and may be the same example that Lathrop Harper offered for $27.50 in 1942 (likewise unbound and in a cloth portfolio). Several other copies in institutions contain manuscript annotations to the printed text but lack the inserted leaves. Benson's *Memoir* was reprinted three times during the 19th century, an indication of its merit, but this format of the first edition is quite rare.

Relevant sources:

Alexander, De Alva Stainwood
1906 *A Political History of the State of New York, Vol. II: 1774-1832*. Henry Holt and Co., New York.

Bowling, Kenneth B., and Donald R. Kennon
2000 *Neither Separate Nor Equal: Congress in the 1790s*. Ohio University Press for the United States Capitol Historical Society, Athens

Field, Thomas W.
1873 *An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography. Being a Catalogue of Books, Relating to the History, Antiquities, Languages, Customs, Religion, Wars, Literature, and Origin of the American Indians, in the Library of Thomas W. Field*. Scribner, Armstrong, and Co., New York.

Kammen, Michael J.
1975 *Colonial New York: A History*. Oxford University Press, New York.

– –

Benson, Egbert. MEMOIR, READ BEFORE THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK, 31ST DECEMBER, 1816. Printed by William A. Mercein, No. 93 Gold-Street, 1817. 72. 8vo (21 cm). First edition. Unbound in blue cloth portfolio, gilt title on spine. Signature clipped from top of title page, repaired at earlier date. Interleaved with seven manuscript pages of annotations in the author's hand, two folding (about 1000 words). Scattered foxing and browning to the text, portfolio with light scuffing and edge wear. Sabin 4743; Field 114; Pilling 351; Shaw and Shoemaker 40183 (for the T. & W. Mercein imprint).

4. **$1500**.

Hooper Lee's Indenture for Land Bought at Timbuctoo, New Jersey

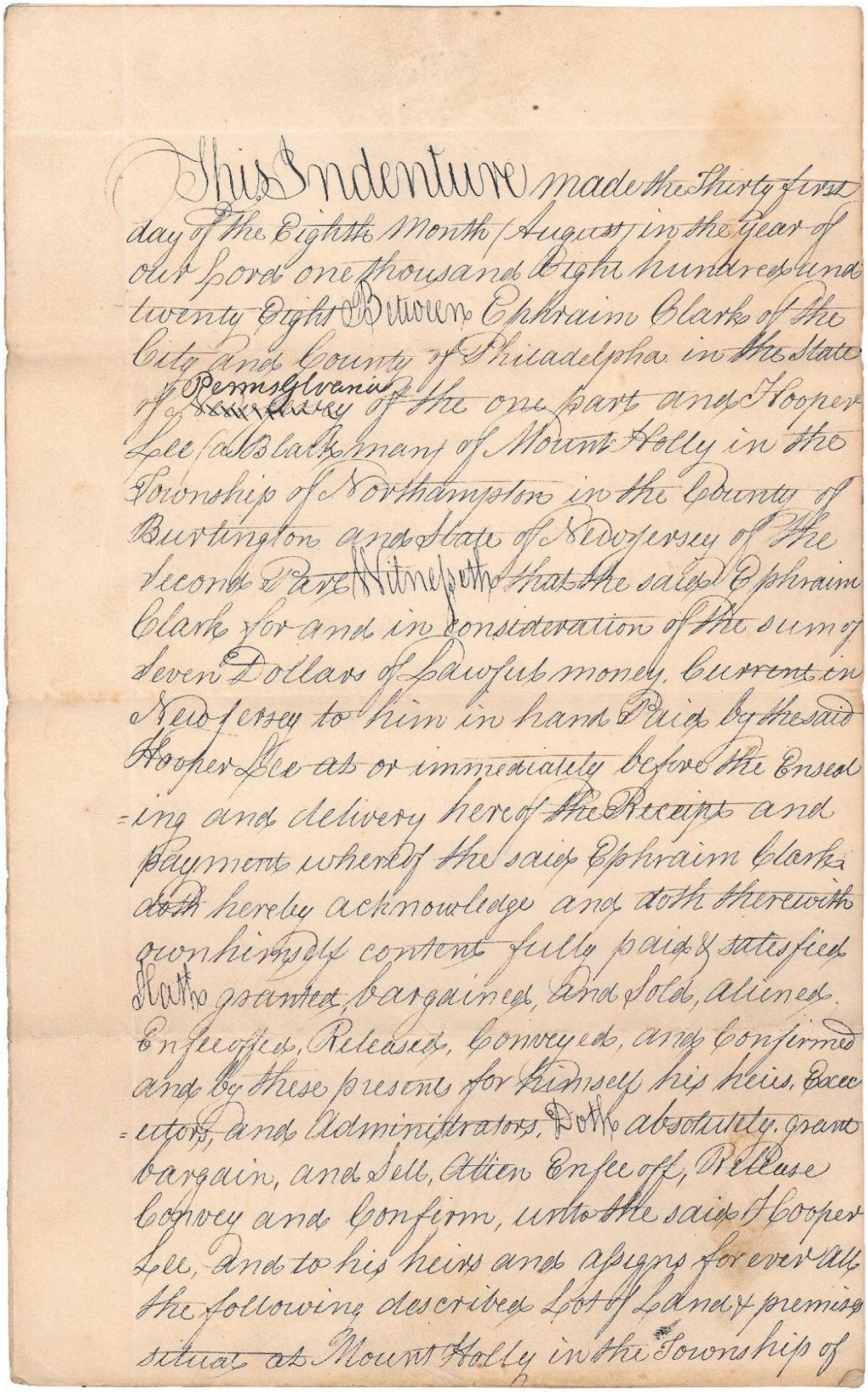
This deed of conveyance, dated August 31, 1828, transferred a plot of land at Mount Holly, New Jersey, in the township of Northampton, from Ephraim Clark to Hooper Lee for a payment of $7.00. Ephraim Clark was an established real estate agent in Philadelphia. Hooper Lee was, according to the deed, "(a Black man) of Mount Holly." The exchange between these two men, witnessed by Quaker Daniel Wills of Mount Holly, is among the earliest chapters in the story of Timbuctoo, a remarkable and dynamic free black community.

Slavery persisted in New Jersey long after having been abolished in other northern states. In 1804, New Jersey's legislature finally passed "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," making it the last northern legislative body to do so. Children born to enslaved mothers after July 4, 1804, were required to serve long "apprenticeships" to their mothers' masters: women were to serve for 21 years, men for 25. Slaves born prior to 1804 were identified as indentured servants and apprenticed for life. Moreover, until 1818, New Jersey slaveowners were permitted to sell enslaved people into states that still allowed slaveholding. And while the state originally extended voting rights to free people of color, black voters were disenfranchised by an 1807 state law that restricted the vote to white male citizens. As late as 1823, a Connecticut traveller could still refer to New Jersey as "the land of slavery."

In New Jersey, as in most northern states, the strongest advocates of abolition were the Quakers. Quaker communities were concentrated in the southern part of the state, where they helped to establish an important section of the Underground Railroad. By the mid- to late 1820s, those slaves born after 1804 who had completed their required years of apprenticeship began to establish new communities, usually in close proximity to Quaker-dominated towns. Quakers, in turn, sold land to free blacks (and escaped slaves) at below market prices. Although slavery was not permanently abolished in New Jersey until 1846, it held more free black towns at the start of the Civil War than any other northern state. One of these free towns was Timbuctoo, about three miles south of Mount Holly in Burlington County.

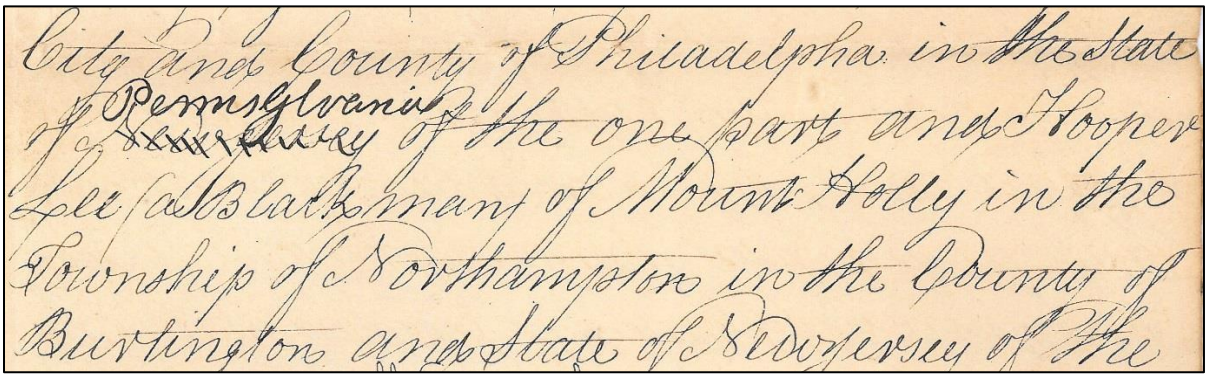
Named for the renowned center of culture and learning in Mali, West Africa, Timbuctoo had its beginnings in about 1826, when Quaker William Hilyard of Northampton Township first sold land to African Americans in the vicinity of Mount Holly, along Rancocas Creek. Much of the land at Timbuctoo was ill-suited for farming, so many of its people worked at Quaker-owned businesses such as the nearby brickyards. In 1834, community members established the African Union School on land purchased from Quaker Peter Quire and his wife, Maria, and in 1841 they established a schoolhouse and place for divine worship. Timbuctoo became a vital stop on the Greenwich Line of the Underground Railroad, along which Harriet Tubman--most famous of all conductors--delivered many people of color to freedom in the North. By the time of its peak at mid-century, the community was home to more than 125 residents.

Even so, the early families of Timbuctoo were never entirely safe: they established their community at a time when slavery was still legal in New Jersey, and they persisted through the years of the Fugitive Slave Act, which after 1853 allowed slave catchers to enter northern states and apprehend those who had escaped from bondage. It is not surprising, then, that the houses of



This Indenture made the Thirty first day of the Eighth Month August in the Year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and twenty Eight Between Ephraim Clark of the City and County of Philadelphia in the State of ~~New Jersey~~ Pennsylvania of the one part and Hooper Lee alias Blackmans of Mount Holly in the Township of Northampton in the County of Burlington and State of New Jersey of the second part Witnesseth that the said Ephraim Clark for and in consideration of the sum of Seven Dollars of Lawfull money Current in New Jersey to him in hand Paid by the said Hooper Lee at or immediately before the Ensealing and delivery hereof the Receipt and Payment whereof the said Ephraim Clark doth hereby acknowledge and doth therewith ~~fully~~ himself content fully paid & satisfied Hath granted, bargained, and Sold, aliened, Enfeoffed, Released, Conveyed, and Confirmed and by these presents for himself his heirs, Executors, and Administrators, Doth absolutely, grant bargain, and Sell, Alien Enfeoff, Release Convey and Confirm, unto the said Hooper Lee, and to his heirs and assigns for ever all the following described Lot of Land & premises situate at Mount Holly in the Township of

Timbuctoo were clustered more tightly together than in contemporary white communities. Such proximity fostered a communal ethos and provided a common defense against outsiders. While its population gradually declined after the Civil War, it was not until the Great Depression of the 1930s that most of its families left in search of work and opportunity elsewhere. Today, the only part of Timbuctoo visible above the surface is the cemetery, its stone slabs marking the graves of residents who enlisted as volunteers in the Union Army. Yet a handful of families still living in Westhampton Township trace their roots to the pioneers of Timbuctoo.


City and County of Philadelphia in the State
of Pennsylvania of the one part and Hooper
Lee (a Black man) of Mount Holly in the
Township of Northampton in the County of
Burlington and State of New Jersey of the

We know little about Hooper Lee, who purchased the "lot of land and premises situated at Mount Holly" referenced in this deed. His name appeared in federal censuses of 1830, 1840, and 1850. In 1830 and 1840, his township was listed as Northampton, but in 1850 it changed to Westhampton. This does not reflect a move. Rather, Westhampton Township--which included Timbuctoo--was created from Northampton Township in 1850. According to the 1850 census, Lee was born in 1789 in New Jersey. His birth was therefore prior to the gradual abolition act of 1804, but we do not know if his owner released him from his lifetime apprenticeship or whether he escaped. It is also possible that he was never enslaved. His race was listed as mulatto, his occupation as laborer. The value of his real estate owned was estimated at $300. His household included his wife, Abigail (age 40), and children Samuel (age 23, laborer), Lorna (age 9), George (age 6), John T. (age 4), Hooper (age 3), and Martha (infant). Matilda and Anna Campion (ages 25 and 6, respectively) may also have resided with the family. Hooper Lee was not listed in the 1860 census, suggesting that he died between 1850 and 1860. His oldest son, Samuel, however, was listed as a resident of Burlington County through the census of 1900.

Daniel Wills (1803-1878), who served as a witness to this transaction between Hooper Lee and Ephraim Clark, was from one of New Jersey's most prominent Quaker families. The namesake of Dr. Daniel Mills (1633-1698)--a founder of Burlington County whom William Penn appointed as an original commissioner of West Jersey colony--he was a member and overseer of both the Burlington Monthly Meeting and the Rancocas Particular Meeting. His family's papers are housed in the Haverford College Library Special Collections. The indenture appears to be in Wills' hand, who later (September 6, 1828) accepted and approved the transaction in his capacity as commissioner of Burlington County. The papers of real estate agent Ephraim Clark, who sold the land to Lee, are housed at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The name of Timbuctoo does not appear on any deeds or formal documents until 1830, and not on any maps until the late 1840s. As such, the name itself is nowhere to be found on this deed

of conveyance that transferred a plot of land at Mount Holly to Hooper Lee. Yet the locations of the adjoining properties described in the deed leave no doubt that Lee and his family were among the pioneer settlers of Timbuctoo, joining the community within just two years of its founding. A resurgence of local and academic interest is bringing the story of Timbuctoo back to life. **We do not believe that any comparable documents linked to the founding years of Timbuctoo--or to any other free black community--have ever been offered in the trade**.

Relevant sources:

Barton, Christopher P.
2009 Antebellum African-American Settlements in Southern New Jersey. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 12(4):1-14.
2014 It Takes a Village: Archaeology at Timbuctoo, Burlington County, New Jersey. In *Historical Archaeology of the Delaware Valley, 1600-1850*, edited by Richard Veit and David Orr, pp. 375-392. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
Rizzo, Dennis
2008 *Parallel Communities: The Underground Railroad in South Jersey*. History Press, New York.
Wright, Giles R.
1988 *Afro-American History in New Jersey: A Short History*. New Jersey Historical Commission, Trenton.

See also the website created and maintained by Timbuctoo descendant and local historian Guy Weston at http://www.timbuctoonj.com.

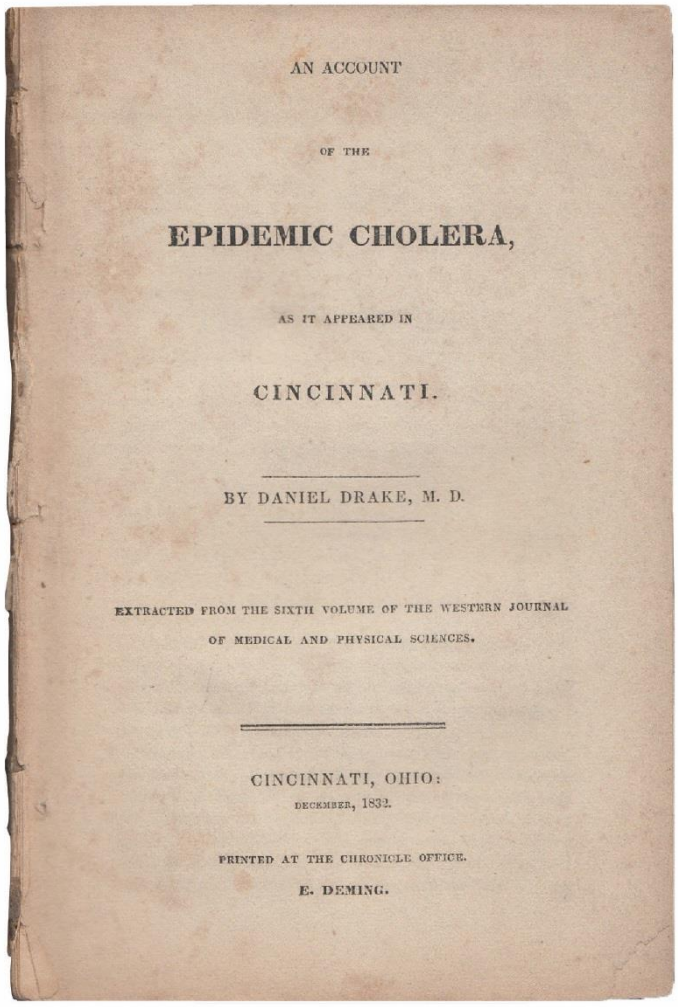
– –

[African Americana--New Jersey]: [MANUSCRIPT INDENTURE BETWEEN HOOPER LEE AND EPHRAIM CLARK FOR LAND IN BURLINGTON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY]. N.p., but probably Mount Holly or Northampton, Burlington County. August 31, 1828. Three leaves, 7 3/4 x 12 1/4 in. (19.5 cm x 31 cm), joined at top and docketed on verso of last leaf. Old folds, no separations or loss, executed on heavy paper; paper seal attached.

5. SOLD.

Cholera Strikes Ohio in 1832: Daniel Drake's Scarce Eyewitness Account

America was spared the world's first cholera pandemic, which began in 1817 on the Indian subcontinent, probably in the Bengal region near Calcutta. From there it burned until 1824, spread along trade routes through much of the Middle East, Southeast Asia, eastern Africa, and portions of Europe. There was no such respite, though, when the next pandemic reached the nation's shores at New York City in June 1832, bringing widespread panic, suffering, and death. Outbreaks quickly followed in Philadelphia, Albany, and Baltimore. Later that summer, new cases were reported in the Lower Mississippi Valley, and it seemed there was no end to the pestilence in sight.



AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

EPIDEMIC CHOLERA,

AS IT APPEARED IN

CINCINNATI.

BY DANIEL DRAKE, M. D.

EXTRACTED FROM THE SIXTH VOLUME OF THE WESTERN JOURNAL OF MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

CINCINNATI, OHIO:
DECEMBER, 1832.

PRINTED AT THE CHRONICLE OFFICE.
E. DEMING.

1832 had already proved a difficult year for Cincinnati. First came the great flood of the Ohio, when the river reached a height of 63 feet and destroyed scores of homes and businesses. Then came an outbreak of measles that was the city's leading cause of death in the spring, especially among children. Finally, near the end of September, cholera struck the Queen City. Among its first victims was the father of Cincinnati physician Daniel Drake. In July, Drake had written a short book, *Practical Treatise on the History, Prevention, and Treatment of Epidemic Cholera*, in which he sought to help the city's residents better prepare for what he believed was the epidemic's certain--if not immanent--arrival. Drake suggested that cholera was caused by a microscopic agent and that most restrictions on social gatherings and commerce were useless. He argued, instead, that proper sanitation and personal hygiene were the only effective preventive steps. Drake and his book were largely ignored.

By early December, when Drake published this follow-up pamphlet--his own eyewitness account of the outbreak--it had largely run its course. In all, epidemic cholera had claimed close to 750 residents, about three percent of the city's population. Across the nation, more than 150,000 perished. Yet as Charles Rosenberg observes, "No physician showed more courage and integrity during the epidemic than did Daniel Drake, the Benjamin Rush of America's West" (1962:70). In the years to come, despite the efforts of Drake and a few likeminded citizens, Cincinnati took no steps to improve sanitary conditions in the aftermath of 1832. As a result, epidemic cholera would revisit the city several times, killing 8000 people during the outbreak of 1849 alone. Not until the

last quarter of the 19th century would medical knowledge of this disease force practical changes to urban planning and design in American cities, effectively curtailing its threat.

This offprint from the *Western Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences* is among the prolific Drake's most elusive publications. No copy has appeared at auction or in the trade since 1960, when Goodspeed's offered a copy (also lacking wraps) for $50.00. OCLC records only 15 institutional copies. His better known 1832 *Practical Treatise*--though sometimes considered or described as scarce--is represented by no fewer than 55 copies. A very rare broadside, printed like this pamphlet at the Chronicle Office, was published on October 13. With the caption title "Cure of Cholera…" this Drake item is known in just two institutional holdings, at the Northwestern and Harvard medical schools; M & S Rare Books offered a copy in 2000 for $6500.

Heirs of Hippocrates: The Development of Medicine in a Catalogue of Historic Books (the catalogue of the Dr. John Martin Rare Book Collection at the University of Iowa's Hardin Library for the Health Sciences), identifies Daniel Drake as "The greatest physician of the west, and one of the most picturesque figures in American medicine…who was the first after Hippocrates and Sydenham to do much for medical geography" (1990: Record No. 1406, online edition). This rare pamphlet, by the nation's most eminent frontier physician, provides an eyewitness account of how the global scourge of cholera first reached the heart of America's Midwest.

Relevant sources:

Aaron, Daniel
1992 *Cincinnati, Queen City of the West 1819-1838*. Ohio State University Press, Columbus.
Carter, Ruth C.
1992 Cincinnatians and Cholera: Attitudes Toward the Epidemics of 1832 and 1849. *Queen City Heritage* 50:32-48.
Rosenberg, Charles E.
1962 *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
University of Iowa, Health Sciences Library
1990 *Heirs of Hippocrates: The Development of Medicine in a Catalogue of Historic Books*. 3rd edition. Friends of the University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City.

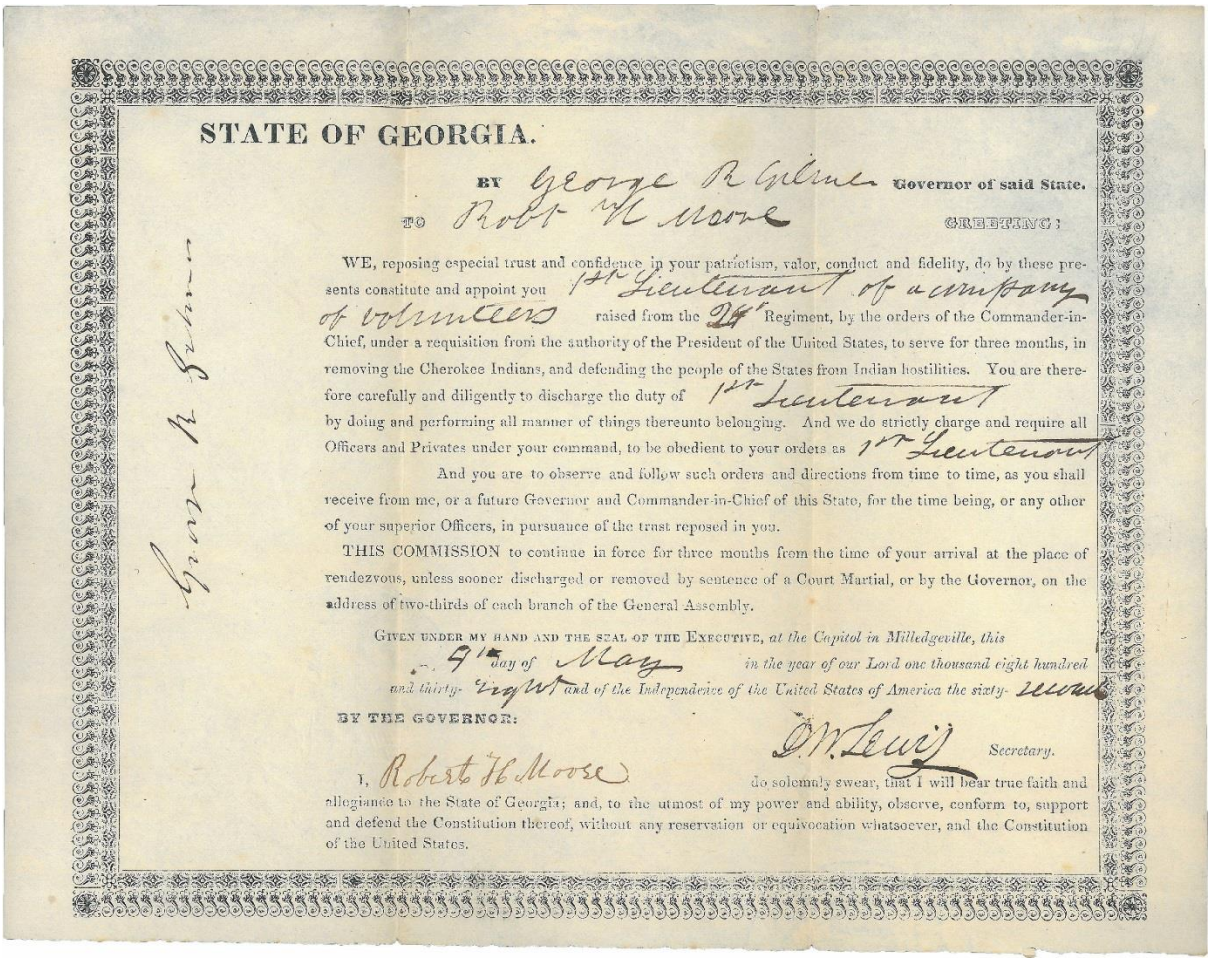
– –

Drake, Daniel, M.D. AN ACCOUNT OF THE EPIDEMIC CHOLERA, AS IT APPEARED IN CINCINNATI. Extracted from the Sixth Volume of the Western Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences. Printed at the Chronicle Office, E. Deming. Cincinnati, December, 1832. 46, [2]. 8vo (21 cm). Removed, light edge wear, scattered foxing, lower corner of title page torn with no loss of text. Overall very good. Morgan 2282.

6. **$850**.

Robert H. Moore's Commission to Remove Cherokee Indians from Georgia

For many Cherokee Indians, May 26, 1838, must have begun like most other mornings, with all of the mundane tasks of daily life. There were fires to light, animals to tend, families to feed. But then the soldiers were on their doorsteps, soldiers like 1st Lieut. Robert H. Moore of the Georgia Militia, and everything changed. There were smashed in doors and heavy boots on floorboards, ransacked kitchens and bedrooms, livestock driven off, and everyone--men, women, children, young and old alike--pushed toward an unknown and unknowable future. Most did not have time even to pack a few belongings. For many, the meals they had set out for their families would lay unfinished, left to rot in homes they would never see again.



STATE OF GEORGIA.

BY George R Gilmer Governor of said State.

TO Robt H Moore GREETING:

WE, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you 1st Lieutenant of a company of volunteers raised from the 24th Regiment, by the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, under a requisition from the authority of the President of the United States, to serve for three months, in removing the Cherokee Indians, and defending the people of the States from Indian hostilities. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of 1st Lieutenant by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Privates under your command, to be obedient to your orders as 1st Lieutenant

And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time, as you shall receive from me, or a future Governor and Commander-in-Chief of this State, for the time being, or any other of your superior Officers, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you.

THIS COMMISSION to continue in force for three months from the time of your arrival at the place of rendezvous, unless sooner discharged or removed by sentence of a Court Martial, or by the Governor, on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the General Assembly.

GIVEN UNDER MY HAND AND THE SEAL OF THE EXECUTIVE, *at the Capitol in Milledgeville, this* 9th *day of* May *in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-* eight *and of the Independence of the United States of America the sixty-* second

BY THE GOVERNOR:

D. W. Lewis *Secretary.*

I, Robert H Moore do solemnly swear, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the State of Georgia; and, to the utmost of my power and ability, observe, conform to, support and defend the Constitution thereof, without any reservation or equivocation whatsoever, and the Constitution of the United States.

The forced removal of the Cherokee Indians from their Appalachian homeland, a chain of events that culminated in the Trail of Tears, is an indelible stain on America's legacy. The story of Removal, like so many tragedies, begins in greed. Sometime in 1828 (the exact circumstances are a matter of conjecture), white settlers discovered gold near Dahlonega, Georgia. Most of the gold deposits, though, were located on lands controlled by the autonomous Cherokee Nation. As thousands of prospectors and profiteers poured into Cherokee territory, long simmering tensions between the Nation and the state of Georgia, whose constituents had coveted the Cherokees' good

farmlands long before the discovery of gold, finally boiled over. The repercussions would reach far beyond the Cherokees to upend the sovereignty of all those southeastern Indian nations whom white authorities patronizingly referred to as the Five Civilized Tribes.

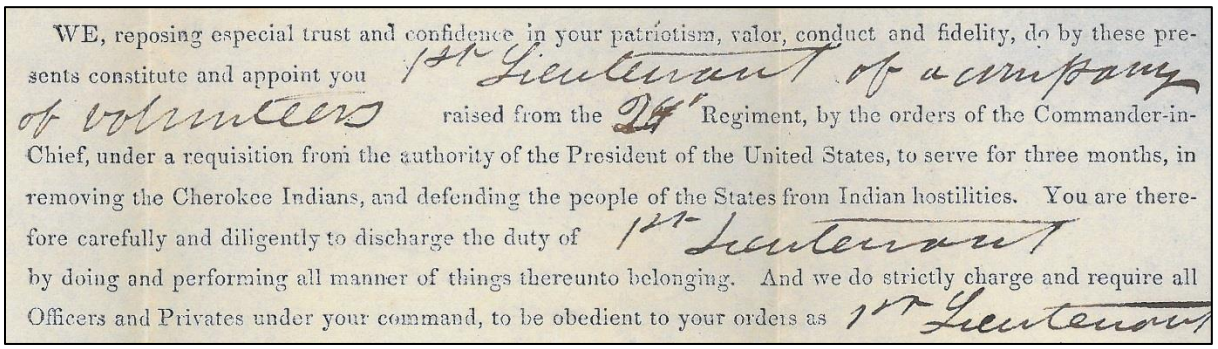
On May 28, 1830, the United States Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, signed into law by President Andrew Jackson two days later. Despite legal challenges that went to John Marshall's U. S. Supreme Court--which sided with the Cherokees--the process of forced removal began less than a year later. The Choctaws went first, followed by the Seminoles in 1832. Creek removal unfolded in 1834, with the removal of the Chickasaws completed in 1837. As many as 2000 Cherokees had voluntarily moved to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) after the Removal Act of 1830, but nearly 16,000 remained in Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama. Then, in 1835, a small minority group of Cherokees under the leadership of Major Ridge signed the Treaty of New Echota, which ceded all tribal lands east of the Mississippi. In exchange, the Cherokee people were to receive five million dollars, funds for education, western lands equal to those ceded in the east, and full compensation for all ceded territories. Although most Cherokees rejected the treaty, which would ultimately cost Ridge and many of his allies their lives, the U. S. Congress ratified it on May 23, 1836.

The terms of the treaty gave the Cherokees two years during which to move voluntarily to Indian Territory, though the majority chose to remain on their ancestral lands. In the summer of 1837, the U. S. Army of East Tennessee and the Cherokee Nation occupied New Echota--the capitol of the Cherokee Nation--and started constructing blockhouses in preparation for forced removal. Georgia's governor, George R. Gilmer, worked together with Col. William Lindsey to establish 14 military posts in northern Georgia, spaced 10 to 20 miles apart with access to major roads. Early in May of 1838, Gilmer called up the state militia, and on May 17, Gen. Winfield Scott arrived at New Echota, where he took command of a U. S. Army and militia force of 7000 men. One week later, these troops began forcibly removing Cherokee families from their homes and into those blockhouses built the previous fall, the first stops on the Trail of Tears.

This document, dated May 9, 1838, and signed by Gov. Gilmer, commissioned Robert H. Moore as 1st Lieutenant in a volunteer company from the 24th Regiment, "under a requisition from the authority of the President of the United States, to serve for three months, in removing the Cherokee Indians, and defending the people of the States from Indian hostilities." Moore, of Clarke County, was stationed at the Cedar Town encampment in Polk County--the southernmost camp established for removal--under the command of Capt. Isaac Vincent. Over the next month, from May 26 to June 26, Vincent and his company of 80 men took no fewer than 200 Cherokees, whom they subsequently delivered to New Echota. From there, those captives began the march to deportation camps in Tennessee. Those who were too sick, young, or old to walk were loaded onto army wagons for the journey. Of the 16,000 Cherokees driven from their homes and forced onto the trail at bayonet point by U. S. Army regulars and militia volunteers like Robert Moore, as many as 4000 would die along the way to their new homes in Indian Territory, struck down by cold, starvation, or disease.

Eighteen companies of Georgia Militia took part in the Cherokee Removal. Each of the companies consisted of about 60 men, five or six commissioned and non-commissioned officers, a wagon master, a company doctor, and a quartermaster. **As such, fewer than 100 officers were**

commissioned by Gilmer, which accounts for the scarcity of these documents. None appear to have been offered at auction or in the trade, and we find evidence of only one example in institutional holdings, this the commission of Benjamin J. Camp in the Benjamin T. Watkins Family Papers at Emory University; Camp was Watkins's 1st Lieutenant at the Fort Cumming post. The papers of Capt. Isaac T. Vincent, curated at the University of Georgia, include Robert H. Moore's manuscript discharge, dated June 23, 1838. Moore's commission, offered here, thus provides an excessively rare link to one of our nation's darkest chapters--one that forever changed the social and cultural landscapes of the American South.



WE, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you 1st Lieutenant of a company of volunteers raised from the 24th Regiment, by the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, under a requisition from the authority of the President of the United States, to serve for three months, in removing the Cherokee Indians, and defending the people of the States from Indian hostilities. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of 1st Lieutenant by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Privates under your command, to be obedient to your orders as 1st Lieutenant

Relevant sources:

Hill, Sarah H.
2005 *Cherokee Removal from Georgia*. Final Report, National Park Service and the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historical Preservation Division.

Lumpkin, Wilson
1907 *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia*. Two volumes. The Savannah Morning News Print, Savannah.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green
1995 *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*. Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, Boston.

Williams, David
1993 *The Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever*. The University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

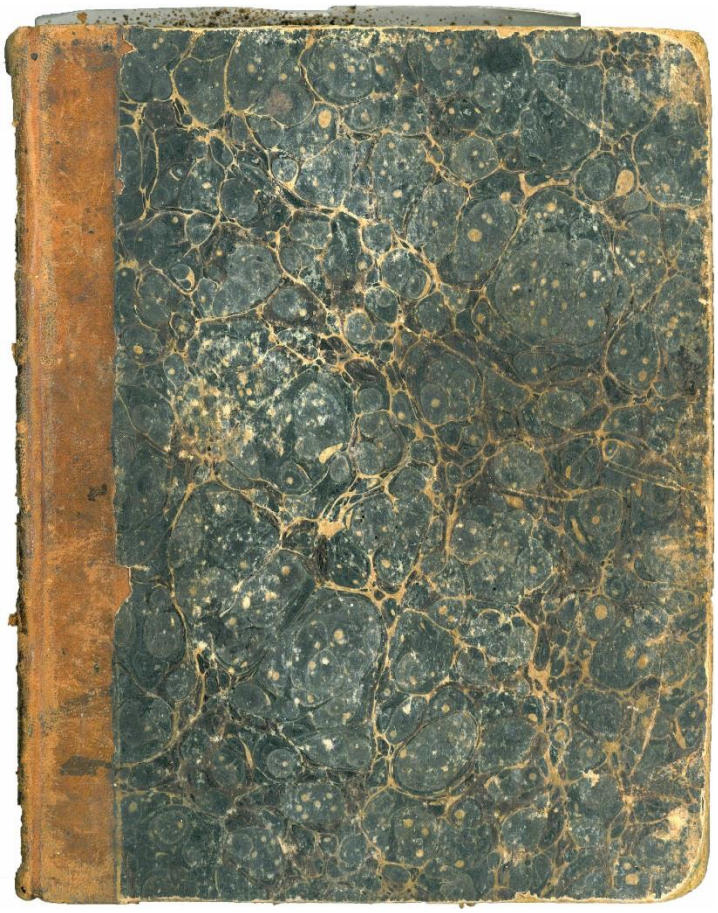
– –

[American Indians--Georgia]: [PRINTED DOCUMENT, COMPLETED IN MANUSCRIPT AND SIGNED BY GEORGIA GOVERNOR GEORGE R. GILMER, SECRETARY D.[AVID] W. LEWIS, AND ROBERT H. MOORE]. Milledgeville, Ga., May 9, 1838. 10 x 8 in. (25 x 20 cm). Single sheet, printed on recto only, decorative scroll around border, stamped with the Seal of the State of Georgia. Light edge wear, two old vertical folds.

7. SOLD.

A Wisconsin Forty-Niner Comes Home: Anson Thomas's Account Book

Western migration was perhaps the central defining theme of 19th-century America, with its inexorable wave of immigrants fanning out from east to west across the continent, beyond the Alleghenies and into the first, Old Northwest--what is now Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin--through the Mississippi Valley and onto the Great Plains, then across the Rockies to California and the Pacific Northwest. It is still surprising, though, how many people made some version of this grueling journey more than once. In an age before planes and interstate highways, when overland travel was by stage or wagon, on horseback or on foot, many of those who ventured west ultimately turned around and went home. Anson Thomas's story is emblematic of that wave, as well as its tendency to fold back on itself and return to where it started.



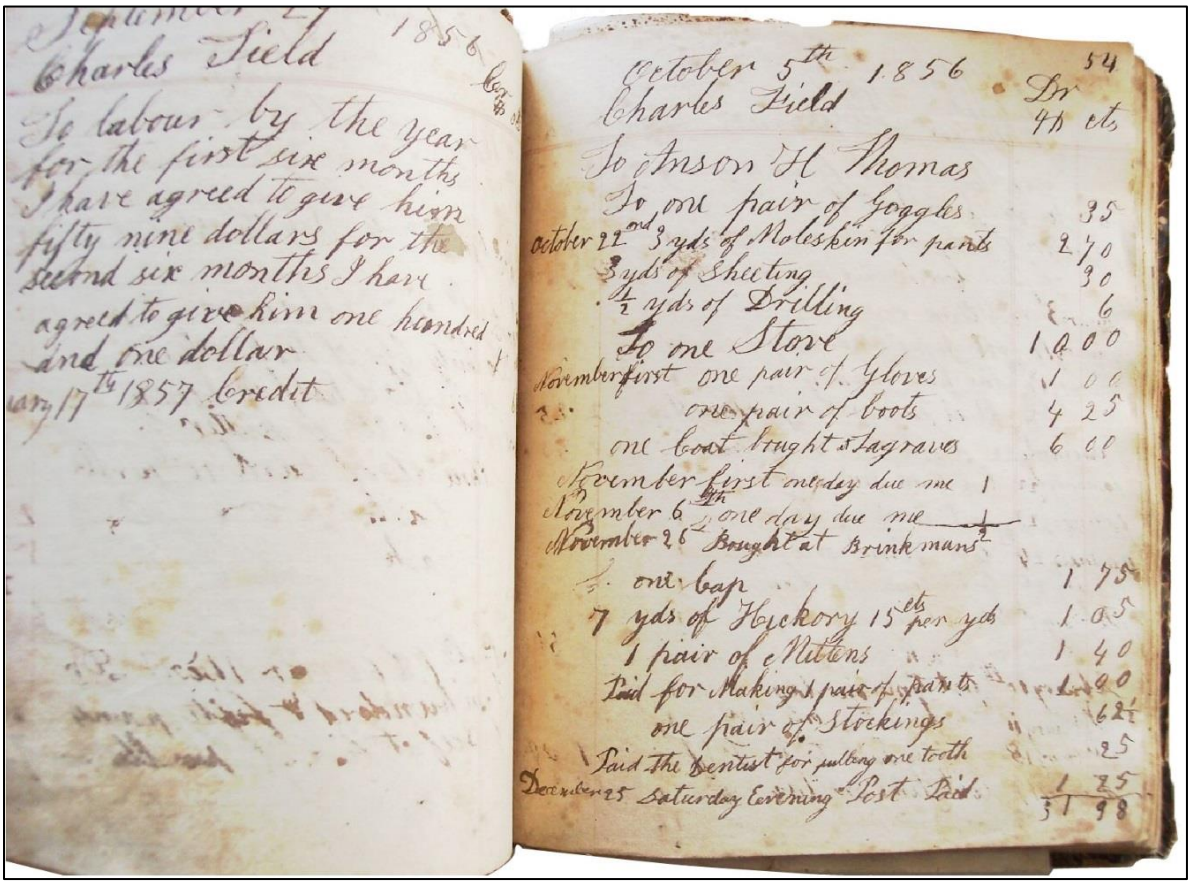
Anson H. Thomas was born in Troy, New York, on March 13, 1823. In the early 1840s, his father moved the family west to Illinois and took up farming. Later they moved again, to a farm near Bloomington, Grant County, in the southwest corner of Wisconsin Territory. Anson Thomas was thus a young man of 22 years when he began to keep the account book that we offer here and which he would maintain for nearly half a century. The earliest date in the ledger is 1845, when his family may still have lived in Illinois; indeed, the first page of the ledger contains a handstamp from Barlow & Co. Book Store in Chicago, the first firm in the city to specialize in school books. From 1845 to 1849, by which time the family had moved to Grant County, Thomas kept a careful record of his earnings and expenses. After January 1849, however, there is a gap in his accounts until 1852. A biographical sketch in John Mason's *History of Otter Tail County, Minnesota* (1917)--where Anson's son, W. E. Thomas, would move in 1878--notes that Anson had headed to California, marching overland with an ox train of forty-niners.

James W. Marshall had discovered gold near Sutter's Mill in January 1848, but it was not until after President James K. Polk confirmed the strike in his December address before the U. S. Congress that the deluge of fortune-seekers began to wash over California. The great Gold Rush that followed was surprisingly hard on smaller, rural communities along the Midwestern frontier, many of which were nearly depopulated by gold fever. Grant County itself had been the focus of

intense lead mining activity before it began to attract farmers during the 1840s. In his *History of Grant County, Wisconsin*, C. W. Butterfield remarks that

> It was estimated that at least two-thirds of the miners had left for the gold-fields, while of other classes the proportion was frightful to contemplate. The *Herald* of April 17, 1851 expressed the opinion that the craze had run its course, but in the issue of the same paper of February 5, 1852, it says editorially: "By May next, Grant County will have disgorged more than a fourth of her adult population, and California, like the whale that swallowed Jonah, will have swallowed this entire animal export; we have lost none to migration to other parts; all have gone to golden California. They were the bone and sinew of the country, and we parted with them as reluctantly as did King Pharaoh with the Children of Israel [1881:490].

We know almost nothing of Thomas's experiences in California: when he arrived, where he lived, or what he did. Mason's sketch simply observes that he was "moderately successful in his mining ventures," enough so that when he returned to Grant County, probably about 1852, he was able to purchase "an improved farm of one hundred and sixty acres, and also eighty acres of timber land" (1916:287). Yet since the mass exodus had caused property values in Grant County to plummet, Thomas need not have been particularly lucky in the mines to have found a spacious



Wisconsin farm within his means. In any event, he seems to have rediscovered his account book in 1852, and these entries document his expenses outfitting a frontier farmstead. Shortly after his return, he married Martha Cooley, and together they had nine children from 1855 to 1868 (seven of whom survived childhood). Martha died in 1869, but Anson never remarried.

Thomas's account book contains 116 pages of entries from 1845 to 1861, with the noted gap from 1849 to 1852. After a ten-year gap from 1861 to 1871, the entries begin again and fill 36 pages from 1871 to 1891. **In sum, this volume constitutes a rare and detailed, half-century record of western Wisconsin's rural economy. We can find no comparably early, personal account book from Wisconsin ever offered in the trade**. All entries are in the hand of Thomas himself, who has signed the first page, "Anson H. Thomas's / Account Book," in 1846. In pencil, under his inked signature, he later wrote "Port Angeles, Clallam County / State of Washington VV U.S.A.," and this entry marks the next phase of his life. In about 1891, when the account entries cease, Thomas left Grant County and moved west again, to Port Angeles, Washington, where his son, Jesse, had established a photography shop the previous year and would later become a well-known lighthouse keeper. He lived in Port Angeles for seven years; the Clallam County Historical Society holds a glass plate negative of his Washington home.

Then in 1898, Anson Thomas returned east once more, to the residence of his son W. E., a prosperous mill owner in Fergus Falls, Minnesota. He died there on April 26, 1901. In one final move, his children carried him back to Grant County and buried him alongside Martha in Blake's Prairie Cemetery. His story--from New York to Illinois to Wisconsin as a child; as a young man from Wisconsin to California in '49 and back again; then to the Pacific Northwest as an old man before returning once more--captures the quintessential duality of American mobility, both in the beckoning of frontiers and the yearning for home.

Relevant sources:

Butterfield, C. W.
1881 *History of Grant County, Wisconsin*. Western Historical Company, Chicago.
Mason, John W. (editor)
1913 *History of Otter Tail County, Minnesota. Its People, Industries, and Institutions*. Vol. II. B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc. Indianapolis, Indiana.

– –

[Wisconsin]: Anson H. Thomas: [MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT BOOK OF ANSON H. THOMAS, FARMER IN GRANT COUNTY, WISCONSIN, RECORDING NEARLY A HALF-CENTURY OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY] [mainly Grant County, Wisconsin, 1845-1891]. 8vo (20 cm). 152 pp. of entries in ink and pencil. Contemporary binding with calf spine and marbled boards. Edge wear to spine and boards, boards scuffed, marbled paper chipping where joined to spine. Moderate browning to first few leaves; scattered foxing throughout, not affecting legibility. Contemporary manuscript receipts and notes laid in. Overall quite pleasing and sound.

8. **$2250**.

Selling John Evans's Estate: An Early Broadside from Western Missouri

Warrensburg, Missouri, located in Johnson County about fifty miles east of the Kansas state line, was established in 1835 by John and Martin D. Warren, who gave the town their last name. Yet before they could plat the ground of the new townsite, two other pioneers--James S. Raynols and John Evans--built a round-pole cabin that served as the town's first mercantile store. Evans operated the business, which sold groceries, dry goods, hardware, and whiskey. He also served as Warrensburg's first postmaster, from 1836 to 1838.

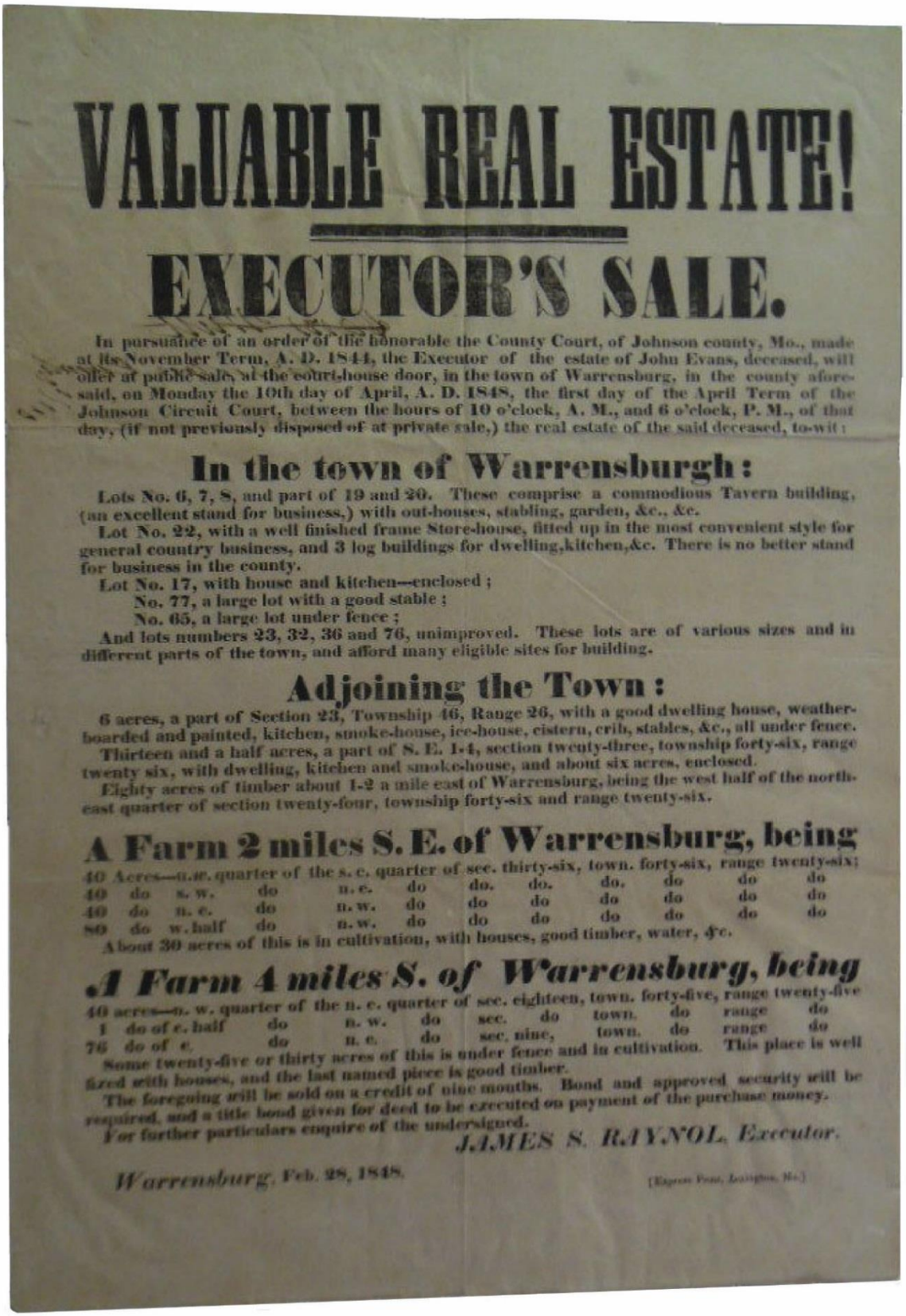
Evans died a bachelor in 1844, apparently leaving no heirs. Raynols, his partner in the mercantile store, was named the executor of his estate. This broadside, dated February 28, 1848, illustrates how far Evans had come since his round-pole cabin days. Evans died owning 11 lots within the city and parts of two others; nearly 100 acres adjoining Warrensburg; a 200 acre farm 2 miles southeast of town; and a 117 acre farm 4 miles south of town. Each of these properties is described in rich detail. Lots 6, 7, 8, and parts of 19 and 20 "comprise a commodious Tavern building (an excellent stand for business,) with outhouses, stabling, garden, &c., &c." Lot 22 contained the mercantile, "a well finished frame Store-house, fitted up in the most convenient style for general country business, and 3 log buildings for dwelling, kitchen, &c. There is no better stand for business in the County." The lot that adjoined the town held "a good dwelling house, weather-boarded and painted, kitchen, smoke-house, icehouse, cistern, crib, stable, &c., all under fence." In all, there are 41 lines of text describing Evans' real estate--more than 600 words--not including the date, the imprint, and Raynols' signature in type.

This broadside was printed in nearby Lexington, Missouri, at the press of the Lexington Weekly Express (1845-1861). During the 1830s and 1840s, Lexington was the largest city west of St. Louis. It was the major center for merchants and outfitters supplying trappers, traders, and emigrants travelling west along the Santa Fe, California, Oregon, and Mormon trails. OCLC has no records of any earlier broadsides printed in Lexington, nor did specific searches of the Duke University Missouri broadside collection or the broadside collections at the Library of Congress, Yale, and the American Antiquarian Society yield any earlier examples. **This example is unique and unrecorded**. A significant broadside: large, textually rich, and from a vitally important place and time along America's ever-expanding western frontier.

Relevant sources:

Cockrell, Ewing
1918 *History of Johnson County, Missouri*. Historical Publishing Company, Topeka, KS.
Irle, Lisa
2002 *Warrensburg, Missouri*. Images of America Series. Arcadia Publishing, Charleston.
North, F. A.
1881 *The History of Johnson County, Missouri, Including a Reliable History of the Townships, Cities, and Towns*. Kansas City Historical Co., Kansas City, MO.
Perotti, Viola Andersen
1967 *Important Firsts in Missouri Imprints, 1808-1858*. R. F. Perotti, Kansas City, MO.

– –



VALUABLE REAL ESTATE!

EXECUTOR'S SALE.

In pursuance of an order of the honorable the County Court, of Johnson county, Mo., made at its November Term, A. D. 1844, the Executor of the estate of John Evans, deceased, will offer at public sale, at the court-house door, in the town of Warrensburg, in the county aforesaid, on Monday the 10th day of April, A. D. 1848, the first day of the April Term of the Johnson Circuit Court, between the hours of 10 o'clock, A. M., and 6 o'clock, P. M., of that day, (if not previously disposed of at private sale,) the real estate of the said deceased, to-wit:

In the town of Warrensburgh:

Lots No. 6, 7, 8, and part of 19 and 20. These comprise a commodious Tavern building, (an excellent stand for business,) with out-houses, stabling, garden, &c., &c.

Lot No. 22, with a well finished frame Store-house, fitted up in the most convenient style for general country business, and 3 log buildings for dwelling, kitchen, &c. There is no better stand for business in the county.

Lot No. 17, with house and kitchen—enclosed;
No. 77, a large lot with a good stable;
No. 65, a large lot under fence;

And lots numbers 23, 32, 36 and 76, unimproved. These lots are of various sizes and in different parts of the town, and afford many eligible sites for building.

Adjoining the Town:

6 acres, a part of Section 23, Township 46, Range 26, with a good dwelling house, weather-boarded and painted, kitchen, smoke-house, ice-house, cistern, crib, stables, &c., all under fence.

Thirteen and a half acres, a part of S. E. 1-4, section twenty-three, township forty-six, range twenty six, with dwelling, kitchen and smoke-house, and about six acres, enclosed.

Eighty acres of timber about 1-2 a mile east of Warrensburg, being the west half of the north-east quarter of section twenty-four, township forty-six and range twenty-six.

A Farm 2 miles S. E. of Warrensburg, being

40 Acres—n. e.	quarter of the	s. e.	quarter of	sec.	thirty-six,	town.	forty-six,	range	twenty-six;
40	do	s. w.	do	n. e.	do	do.	do.	do.	do	do	do
40	do	n. e.	do	n. w.	do	do	do	do	do	do	do
80	do	w. half	do	n. w.	do	do	do	do	do	do	do

About 30 acres of this is in cultivation, with houses, good timber, water, &c.

A Farm 4 miles S. of Warrensburg, being

40 acres—n. w.	quarter of the	n. e.	quarter of	sec.	eighteen,	town.	forty-five,	range	twenty-five
1	do of e. half	do	n. w.	do	sec.	do	town.	do	range	do
76	do of e.	do	n. e.	do	sec. nine,		town.	do	range	do

Some twenty-five or thirty acres of this is under fence and in cultivation. This place is well fixed with houses, and the last named piece is good timber.

The foregoing will be sold on a credit of nine months. Bond and approved security will be required, and a title bond given for deed to be executed on payment of the purchase money.

For further particulars enquire of the undersigned.

JAMES S. RAYNOL, Executor.

Warrensburg, Feb. 28, 1848.

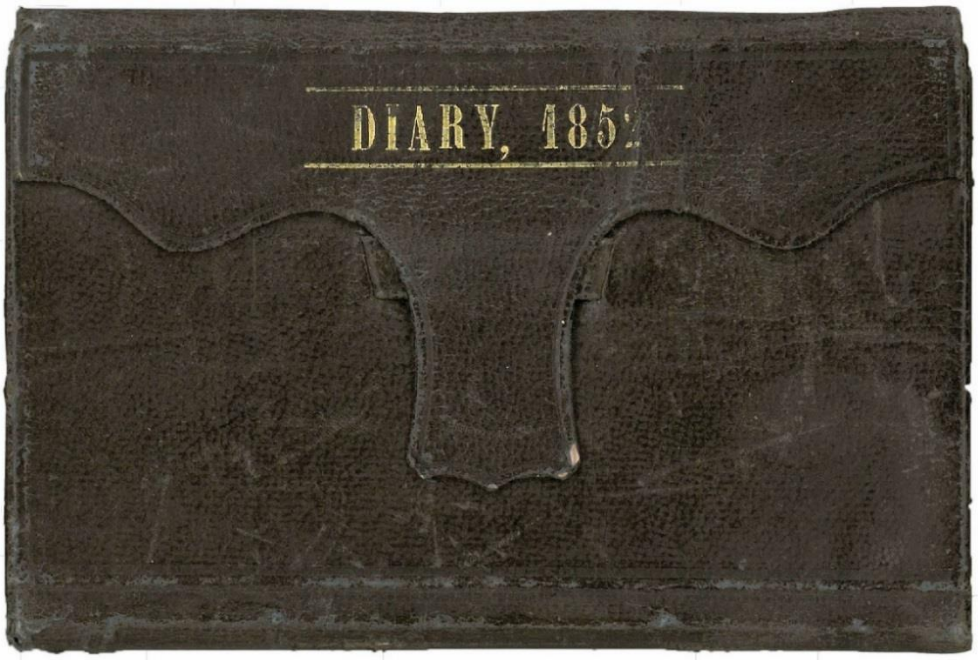
[Express Print, Lexington, Mo.]

[Missouri]: [James S. Raynols]: VALUABLE REAL ESTATE! / EXECUTOR'S SALE. / IN PURSUANCE OF AN ORDER OF THE HONORABLE THE COUNTY COURT, OF JOHNSON CO., MO., MADE / AT ITS NOVEMBER TERM, A.D. 1844, THE EXECUTOR OF THE ESTATE OF JOHN EVANS, DECEASED, WILL / OFFER AT PUBLIC SALE, AT THE COURTHOUSE DOOR, IN THE TOWN OF WARRENSBURG, IN THE COUNTY AFORE- / SAID, ON MONDAY, THE 10TH DAY OF APRIL, A.D. 1848…THE REAL ESTATE OF THE DECEASED [caption title]. Express Press, Lexington, Mo., Feb. 28, 1848. Broadside. 14 x 20 in. (31.5 x 51 cm). Folio. Manuscript note on verso. Light edge wear, old folds; short, one-inch tear along top fold, not affecting text.

9. SOLD.

Ho! for California: The Thomas Edwin Mills Gold Rush Diary

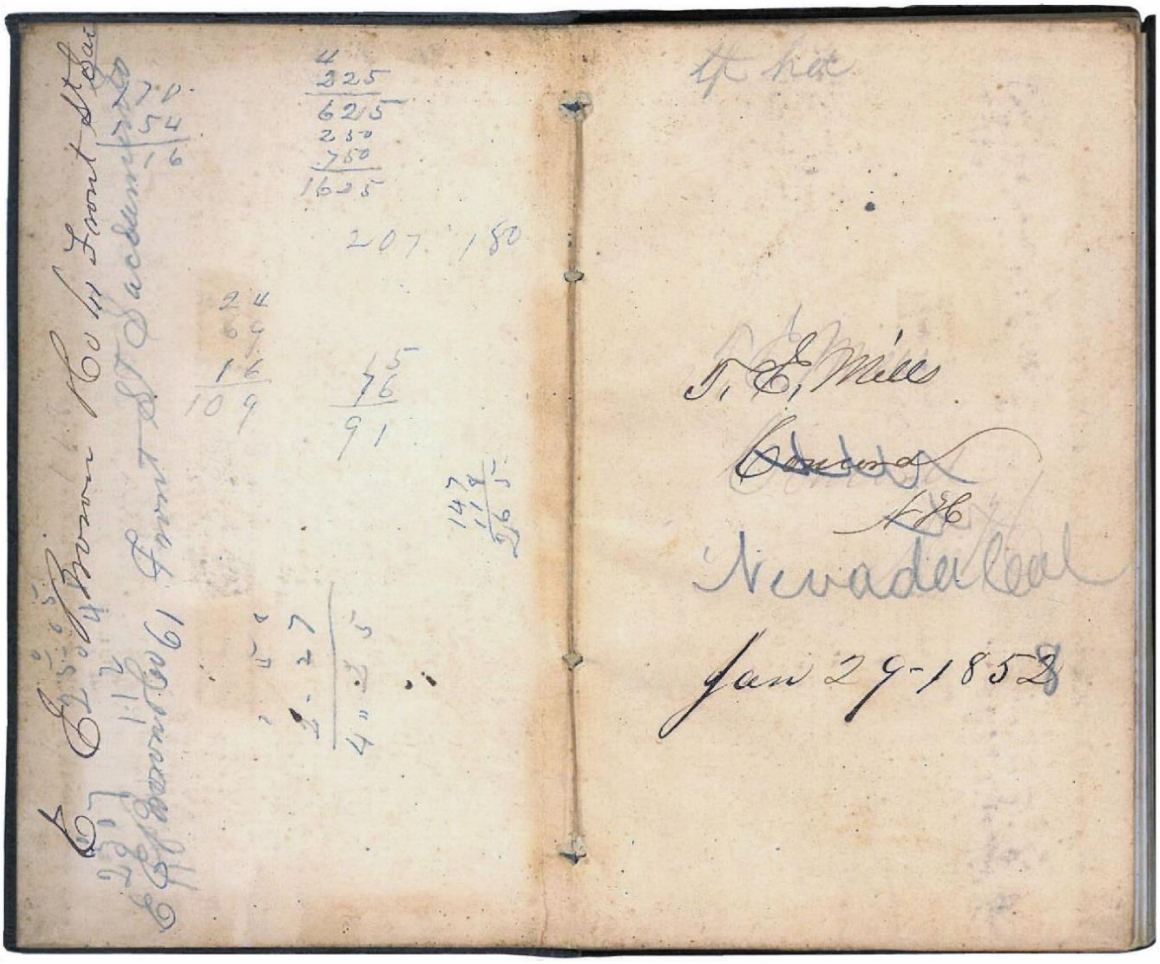
Cornelius Vanderbilt, the richest man in America, rarely missed an opportunity to make himself richer, and the California Gold Rush seemed to offer just that. For Vanderbilt, however, this particular opportunity lay not with gold itself, but with ferrying golden dreamers from their lives as laborers, farmers, tradesmen, teachers, and countless other workaday occupations to the gold fields of California, where for most those dreams ended too quickly. Thomas Edwin Mills, the writer of this diary, was one of the many dreamers who arrived a bit late to those fields--two or three years after the dash of 1849--via Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit Company. His journal offers a rare and often colorful view of the Nicaragua route to California in 1852.



Initially, prospective immigrants could choose among three general routes to California and the gold fields. The first and most popular route, taken by hundreds of thousands of people, was overland by any of several paths. Although it was the most direct route--and one that never took the traveler out of sight of land--it was a long, grueling journey by wagon or on foot across the plains, mountains, and deserts. Depending on one's starting point, the trip could take three to six months. A second and even longer route was by sea around the Horn of South America and up the Pacific Coast. The trip was costly, required passage through some of the most dangerous seas in the world, and could take six to eight months. Even so, as many as 25,000 people chose this route. The third, final route was south by ship to Panama, then across the isthmus on foot or by coach through steamy, disease infested jungle, and north by sea again along the Pacific Coast to San Francisco. This was the shortest route by far, requiring as little as two months from start to finish, though it did expose the traveler to malaria, cholera, and yellow fever.

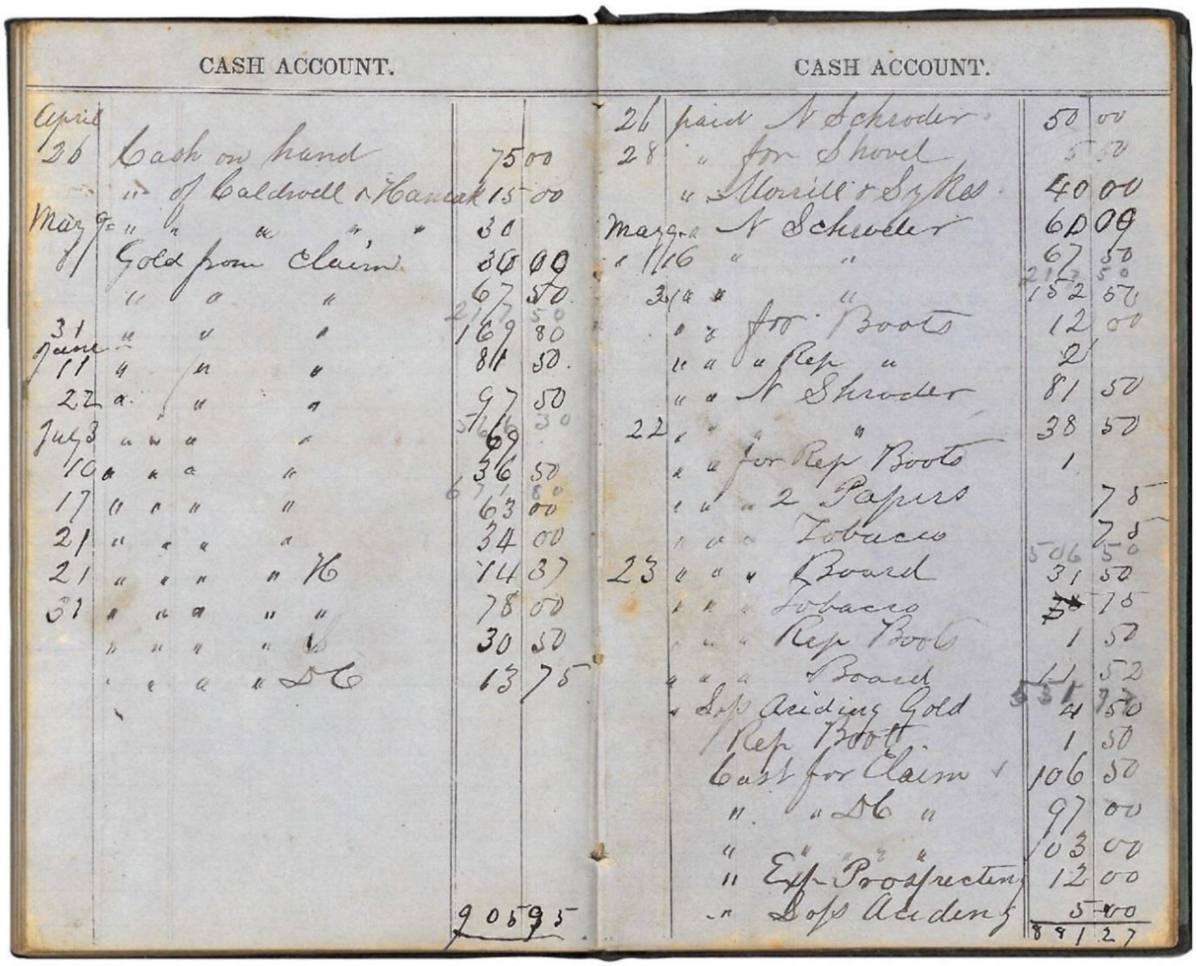
Several steamship lines competed fiercely for the Panama route. Vanderbilt's genius was to find a fourth option, one that provided not only a shorter, safer route to California, but one that

he was able to control in its entirety. That option was Nicaragua. In August 1849, the Nicaragua government awarded Vanderbilt an exclusive contract to build a canal across the isthmus. When British bankers crushed this plan, Vanderbilt settled on a combination of coaches and steamers to move customers from the Atlantic to the Pacific. On the Atlantic Coast, travelers would arrive at the town of San Juan del Norte, then proceed by steamer up the San Juan River to the east shore of Lake Nicaragua. Here, another steamer waited to ferry them across the lake to Rivas. A stage at Rivas would carry them across the 12-mile strip between the lake and the Pacific Coast, where a Vanderbilt steamer would carry them north to San Francisco. By July 1851, when its line was ready for operation, the Accessory Transit Company could move immigrants from New York to San Francisco in just 47 days. The east-bound return was even faster, taking only 29 days. Over the next five years, Accessory Transit would move nearly 90,000 people between New York and San Francisco. While this is only about half the total number of passengers who crossed through Panama during those years, that route was divided among competing lines. The Nicaragua route was the purview of Vanderbilt and his successors alone.



T. E. Mills, meanwhile, was one of the many dreamers drawn west by the lure of making their fortune in the gold fields, but who stayed on in California and found success in other realms when the dream of easy riches met reality. We draw much of our summary of his life from Jesse Mason's *History of Santa Barbara County* (1883). Mills was born in Dunbarton, New Hampshire,

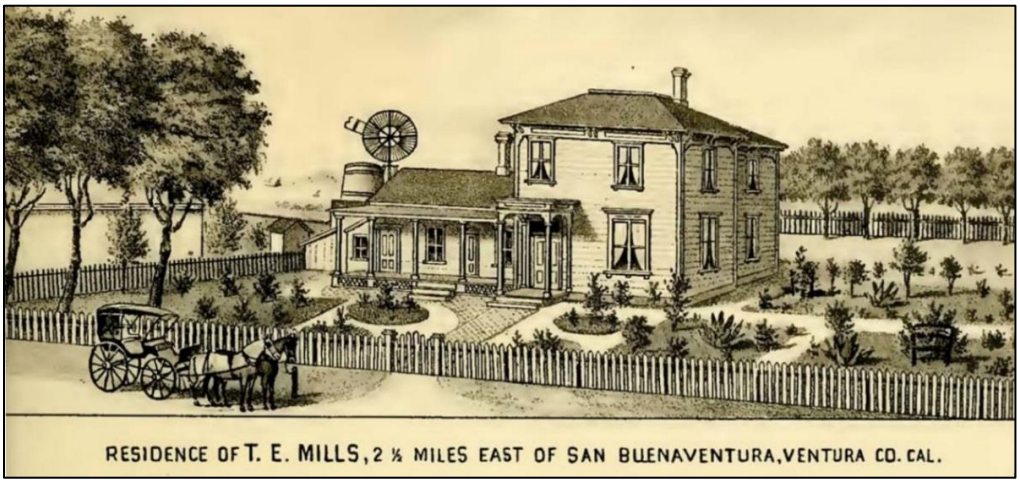
on November 11, 1824. After completing his studies at the Nashua Literary Institution in about 1845, he spent the next seven years in management with the Concord & Northern Railroad. It is no longer possible to know when he first felt the pull of California, but it was not until 1852 that he answered. Mason observes that "The excitement of the gold discovery in California, which had taken off so many of New England's best sons and daughters, at last attacked Mr. Mills; and in 1852 he left his ancestral home for the "Golden State," taking the route through Nicaragua to San Francisco" (1888:379). Here Mills' diary picks up his story.



On March 16, he boarded one of the Vanderbilt steamers in New York City and departed for Nicaragua. On arriving at San Juan del Norte--which he refers to here by its British name of Greytown--Mills wrote that the city contained "about 1000 Americans and 250 natives which are a mixture of negroes and Spanish." The stop at San Juan, however, offered little rest and respite from the days spent at sea: "8 PM 2 drunken Irishmen commenced quarreling and kept up such a noise that there was no sleep until 11 and by that time the Captain was drunk and kept up the row 2 hours longer slept on deck but took no cold." Despite the hours of commotion and discomfort onboard, Mills was captivated by the exotic scenery: "entered the Colorado River saw 4 alligator and red and green parrots….vines so thick that there are but few places you can see 20 feet in the woods. Arrived at the mouth of Costa Rica River...oranges, lemons, limes, pineapples, coconuts, bananas grow in abundance through the woods…"

On reaching the Pacific Coast, Mills boarded the steamer Independence and was bound at last for San Francisco. At the port of Acapulco, he "took dinner and tea and had the best meals I have had since leaving NY." The ship met rough waters as it entered the Gulf of California, and almost within sight of their destination two of the passengers died: "Henry Bush from Essex Co, New Jersey died of Dysentery and was buried at 3 PM…." Soon after, the "Irishman was buried who fell through the hatch and broke his spine…" At 2:30 in the afternoon of April 10, less than one month after leaving New York, Mills came ashore at San Francisco. His arrival on board the Independence was noted in the San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists for November 7, 1851 to June 17, 1852 (Volume 3), where his name is listed as T. E. Miles (as is evident in his autograph at the front of the diary, the final looping 'l' in Mills is easily mistaken for an 'e'). Moreover, this ship passenger list confirms the deaths of Henry Bush and Irishman James Carburg, the latter dying of "concussion of the spine."

Mills wasted little time in San Francisco. He first went to the mining town of Marysville, but finding few opportunities there, headed to Nevada City. There and at Deer Creek, he went to work on a claim with Wallace Caldwell--also of Merrimack County, New Hampshire--and a few other men. At the end of the diary, Mills tallied the weekly amounts of gold the men mined and divided among themselves during this time. Mason's *History* notes that Mills labored as a miner in Nevada City for four years. Caldwell, newly married, then returned to New Hampshire. Yet Mills and his wife, Harriet, would make their lives in California. Mason writes that Mills turned to the lumbering business for three years. Later, *The Pacific Coast Directory* for 1867 finds him listed as a director of the Nevada Ice Company. Finally, after nearly a quarter-century in Nevada City, he moved to Ventura County in 1876. An illustration of his home, "a fine farm" just to the east of San Buenavista, is included in Mason's book (188:379; see image below). Mills died in Ventura County on December 1, 1887, and is buried at Cemetery Memorial Park.



All California Gold Rush diaries are scarce in the trade, and those describing the Nicaragua route more so than most. OCLC lists just 10 examples in institutional collections: seven of these are housed in the Bancroft Library at the University of California; one is at Yale's Beinecke; one is at Harvard's Houghton, and one is at the University of the Pacific. **We find no evidence of any having been offered at auction and only two in the trade**, one by Goodspeed's in 1957 and one sold by Kenneth Nebenzahl in 1963 (the copy at Yale). As for Vanderbilt and the

Accessory Transit Company, he reached an agreement with his Panama competitors in 1857 to stop running the route--in exchange for a monthly stipend of $40,000, which he increased to $56,000 just one year later. Blackmail? Perhaps. Opportunity? Indeed.

Relevant sources:

Eifler, Mark A.
2017 *The California Gold Rush: The Stampede that Changed the World*. Routledge, New York.
Mason, Jesse D.
1883 *The History of Santa Barbara County, California, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Pioneers*. Thompson & West, Oakland.
Renehan, Edward J., Jr.
2009 *Commodore: The Life of Cornelius Vanderbilt*. Basic Books, New York.
Richards, Leonard L.
2007 *The California Gold Rush and the Coming of the Civil War*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, New York.
Walske, Stephen C., and Richard C. Frajola
2015 *Mails of the Westward Expansion: 1803-1861*. The Western Cover Society.

– –

[California Gold Rush]: Thomas Edwin Mills: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF T. E. MILLS, DESCRIBING HIS 1852 JOURNEY FROM NEW YORK CITY TO CALIFORNIA VIA NICARAGUA (CORNELIUS VANDERBILT'S ACCESSORY TRANSIT COMPANY), AND WITH SOME RECORD OF HIS EXPERIENCES AS GOLD MINER IN MARYSVILLE AND NEVADA CITY]. [Various places along the route from New York through Nicaragua to San Francisco, Marysville, and Nevada City. March-June, 1852]. Recorded in *Marsh's Pocket Diary or Daily Remembrancer for 1852*. Published by John Marsh, No. 77 Washington Street, Boston. About 50 pp. with text (1300 words), written in ink and pencil, the latter faint at times but generally quite legible. 16mo (12.5 cm), dark calf, all edges gilt, gilt title ("Diary, 1852") printed between gilt-ruled lines on front of flap. Light wear and scuffing. In a cloth folding case.

10. SOLD.

John H. Shoemaker Returns to Academia: A Striking Pennsylvania Broadside

From 1839 to 1912, the tiny community of Academia, Pennsylvania--situated in Juniata County halfway between Harrisburg and State College--was home to Tuscarora Academy, one of the best regarded secondary schools in the mid-Atlantic region. In its first few years, the academy provided dozens of young men with a classical education and training both for the ministry and for teaching in local public schools. Its rural location, moreover, offered a bucolic environment free from the distractions of urban life. Then, from 1846 to 1852, three successive fires destroyed most of the original campus and threatened to close the academy altogether.

Yet rather than fold, its trustees decided to expand, constructing impressive new buildings and promoting one of the academy's own young graduates, John Henry Shoemaker, to the position of Principal. After graduating, Shoemaker had attended Franklin and Marshall College in nearby Lancaster. He had returned to Academia as a teacher in 1851, but continued his studies and earned his A. M. in 1853, taking on the academy's leadership when it reopened its doors to students later that year. This small broadside, though undated, likely dates to this time of the academy's grand reopening. It introduces Shoemaker as the school's new principal and specifically references the most recent of the fires that had nearly ended the academy's mission. OCLC lists one later variant of this broadside at the University of Virginia, and we have located another at Pennsylvania State University's Palmer Museum of Art. The UVA broadside is curated with a letter from Shoemaker dated April 5, 1859. The PSU copy, though identifying Shoemaker as Principal, neither introduces him as new to the office nor references the recent fires. Likewise, this PSU variant lists the tuition as $110 per annum, while the example that we offer here advertises tuition as $100 per annum. **In sum, this example is both unrecorded and earlier than either of the other known variants**. A scarce, charming, and visually appealing survival.

Relevant sources:

Jordan, John W. (editor)
1913 *A History of the Juniata Valley and Its People*. Volume 1. Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York.

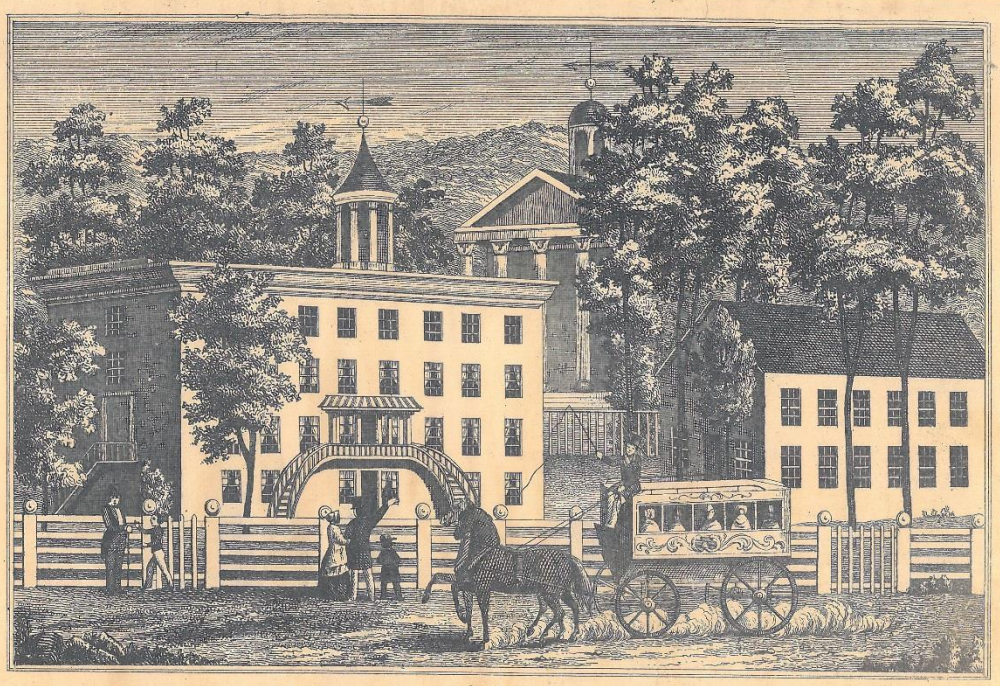
Ranck, Samuel H. (editor)
1900 *Franklin and Marshall College Obituary Record*. Volume 1. Franklin and Marshall College Alumni Association, Lancaster, PA.

Wickersham, James P.
1913 *A History of Education in Pennsylvania, Private and Public, Elementary and Higher*. Inquirer Publishing Company, Lancaster, PA.

– –

[Pennsylvania]: [J. H. Shoemaker]: TUSCARORA ACADEMY BUILDINGS. / ACADEMIA, JUNIATA CO. PA. [caption title]. Brown Pr., Ledger Building [probably Brown's Steam Power Book and Job Print. Office, Ledger Building, Philadelphia], n.d., but probably 1853. Broadside or circular, woodcut illustration of a horse-drawn carriage arriving at Tuscarora Academy. 8 x 10 in (20 x 25 cm). Light edge wear, old horizontal fold.

11. SOLD.



TUSCARORA ACADEMY BUILDINGS.

Academia, Juniata Co. Pa.

This flourishing Institution is located in Tuscarora Valley, Juniata Co., Pa., 8 miles from the Mifflintown, and 6 miles from the Perryville Station, on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

It has been in successful operation for more than 15 years, and is believed to be equal to any Academy in the State in affording facilities to young men for acquiring a thorough education either for business or college.

The Trustees earnestly invite an examination of their accommodations, having since the recent fire erected large and elegant buildings, (of which the above plate is an accurate representation,) containing all the most modern improvements for convenience and comfort, and which are believed to be unsurpassed in the country.

J. H. SHUMAKER, A. M., formerly associated with I. A. Blauvelt, deceased, has been chosen to take entire charge, as Principal of the Institution. Mr. S. having devoted his life and energies to his profession, has secured for himself a permanent reputation as an able Disciplinarian and accomplished Teacher. Both alone, and in connection with his associates, he has been in the habit of sending forth young men so thoroughly trained in all branches of scholarship, as to enable them to reflect honor upon themselves and the Institution at which they received their education. The Principal will devote his whole time and attention to the School, and it shall be his constant aim, by a *thorough* and *systematic* course of training, to prepare his pupils to act well their part in whatever station they may be called to occuy in after life.

Our location is *in the country*, away from those baneful influences peculiar to towns and places of public resort, and in the midst of a religious community deeply interested in the welfare of the students. So far as health and beautiful scenery are concerned, it has more than ordinary claims; and it is a fact that ought to commend itself to every well-wisher of youth, that whilst the religious influences and exercises of the Institution are all that the most anxious parent could desire, we are happily removed from many of the temptations that beset the path of the young, when away from "home influence." This, more than any thing else, will account for the fact, that with the Divine blessing, so many who have come here have become hopefully pious, and have gone away to be a comfort to their friends and the hope of the Church. True, there have been, and will still be many exceptions; and for the reason, frequently, that parents do not co-operate cordially with the Teacher. They seem to forget that a good school is a place of restraint and discipline as well as mental culture. Hence, dispositions restive under restraints find it an easy matter to complain when the authority of an Institution may be brought to bear against their misdeeds; and in such cases friends too often lend a willing ear, and pass judgment without any further investigation; thus (undesignedly it may be,) encouraging a spirit of insubordination that must prove ruinous to any young man's improvement or reformation, as well as to his character and reputation. We, therefore, wish it distinctly understood, that we desire no young man's presence here, who is not willing to become the subject of a mild but uncompromising discipline of mind, manners and morals necessary to qualify him to become a useful and respected citizen in all the relations of life.

We are aware, that to many *our seclusion* may seem objectionable; but we are persuaded that those whose patronage we seek, are of another mind—are those who look as well to the *moral* as to the *mental* training of the young. No inconvenience results to those coming from the railroad, as carriages can at all times be procured at either of the above depots, or students will be met by us, if sufficiently previous notice be given. We, therefore, commend the Institution to the generous patronage it has so many years enjoyed.

TERMS.

$100 per annum, *payable quarterly*, in advance. Light, Fuel and Stationery found by the students, or charged extra. The Summer Session commences on the 1st Monday of May. The Winter Session on the 1st of November. All communications addressed (post-paid,) to

J. H. SHUMAKER, A. M, Principal,

Academia, Juniata County, Penna.

By order of the Board of Trustees,

SILAS E. SMITH, President.
JOSEPH KELLY, M. D.
ANDREW PATTERSON,

Rev. G. W. THOMPSON, Secretary.
J. P. STERRETT, M. D.
JOHN PATTERSON,

JOSEPH PUMROY, Treasurer.
STEWART LAIRD,
JAMES PATTERSON.

Brown Pr. Ledger Building

Item 11

Norman Jay Colman and *The Valley Farmer*: An Agricultural Revolution

The Valley Farmer, founded by Ephraim Abbott of St. Louis in 1848, had muddled along as a local agricultural pamphlet for seven years before it came to the attention of new Missourian Norman Jay Colman in 1855. Colman bought it, and under his leadership its range would soar in the decades that followed--first as *Colman's Rural World and Valley Farmer*, but later reduced to *Colman's Rural World*--growing into one of the most vital and innovative farming periodicals of the 19th century. Colman's personal stature rose along with that of his journal, as he became not only a successful Missouri politician but, more importantly, one of the country's most influential proponents of agricultural improvement through science and experimentation.

Colman was born in Richfield Springs, New York, on May 16, 1827. He left New York for Kentucky at the age of 20, where he spent several years as an educator before earning his law degree from the University of Louisville in 1852. Colman and his new wife, Clara, then moved to New Albany, Indiana, where he began to practice law and was elected to the district attorney's office in 1855. Yet neither law nor teaching were Colman's true passions. As a boy growing up in rural New York, he had eagerly awaited each number of *The Cultivator*, an Albany monthly to which his father--a farmer--subscribed. So in 1855 he resigned his office and bought a farm near St. Louis. That same year he purchased a monthly of his own, *The Valley Farmer*, and was soon writing articles and sharing his ideas for improving American agriculture. Colman implored his readers to protect farmlands against soil exhaustion through innovations like the use of manures and lime, the regular rotation of crops, the planting of legumes, a switch to deep and horizontal plowing, and the conversion of poorer lands to pasture. He also encouraged farmers to improve the health of their livestock and to introduce better breeds, since healthier, well-fed animals made more manure, which farmers could use in turn to improve their soils.

The start of the Civil War forced Colman to halt publication of his journal, and during the war he served as a colonel in the pro-Union 85th Missouri Militia. Immediately after the war, he eagerly returned to publishing, turning his journal into a weekly and renaming it *Colman's Rural World*. Using the journal's growing influence as a political springboard, Colman went on both to serve in the Missouri State Legislature and to complete a term as Lieutenant Governor from 1875 to 1877. He founded the Missouri State Horticultural Society, was President of the state's Board of Agriculture, and held a seat on the University of Missouri's Board of Curators. His reputation as an innovator earned him national attention, and in 1885 President Grover Cleveland appointed him U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture. During his term, he successfully pressured Congress for funds to establish the country's first agricultural experiment stations. And on February 11, 1889, when the post of Commissioner of Agriculture was raised to a cabinet position, Cleveland named Colman to serve as the nation's first Secretary of Agriculture.

After serving through the end of Cleveland's term, Colman returned to Missouri to focus on his farm and his journal. He died on a train outside St. Louis in 1911, returning from a visit to look over some horses he was considering for his stock. His beloved paper outlived him for five years before joining with *The Journal of Agriculture* (St. Louis) in 1916. **The large and visually striking broadside offered here, which dates to the period of Colman's earliest involvement with *The Valley Farmer,* is unique and unrecorded**. Printed in 1858 and seeking subscriptions


1st Premium, Manny's Combined Reaper and Mower
THE
VALLEY FARMER!
FOR 1859,—Established in 1848.
DEVOTED TO
AGRICULTURE, FRUIT GROWING, GARDENING, STOCK RAISING,
AND RURAL ECONOMY.
ILLUSTRATED WITH
COSTLY ENGRAVINGS OF ANIMALS, FARM BUILDINGS, IMPLEMENTS, MACHINES, FRUITS, FLOWERS, &C.
CONDUCTED BY
NORMAN J. COLMAN & H. P. BYRAM
THE ELEVENTH YEAR AND VOLUME WILL COMMENCE ON THE 1ST OF JANUARY, 1859.
TERMS,—INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE.
One Copy, One Year, $1.00; Six Copies, One Year, $5.00; Ten or more Copies, One Year, 80 Cts. each.
FIVE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS IN PREMIUMS FOR LARGEST CLUBS
THE PREMIUMS.
Manny's Combined Reapers & Mowers,
Singer's Unrivalled Sewing Machines,
Coleman's Farm Mills,
Moore's Grain and Seed Drills,
Cuming's Patent, Combined Hay, Straw and Corn Stalk Cutter and Crusher,
Double or Michigan Sub-Soil Plow,
Agricultural Books
NORMAN J. COLMAN,
Publisher of the Valley Farmer, St. Louis, Mo.

to the paper's 11th volume (starting January 1, 1859), the broadside is illustrated with 15 woodcut vignettes that surround the central advertisement. These include a farm house and cottage; tools and machinery; plants such as thistles, berries, and fruit trees; and figures of a horse, poultry, and cows. Even pre-war volumes of the paper itself are scarce on the market; we find no evidence of any having been offered in the trade or at auction. This broadside, for its large size (27 x 20 in.) and its rich content--both visual and textual--is a noteworthy survival and a historically significant record of American agriculture's scientific revolution.

Relevant sources:

Haveman, Heather A.
2015 *Magazines and the Making of America: Modernization, Community, and Print Culture, 1741-1860*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
Mott, Frank Luther
1966 *A History of American Magazines: 1741-1850*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
Lemmer, George F.
1949 The Agricultural Program of a Leading Farm Periodical, Colman's Rural World. *Agricultural History* 23(4):245-254.
1957 Early Agricultural Editors and Their Farm Philosophies. *Agricultural History* 31(4):3-22.
Parrish, William Earl
1971 *A History of Missouri: Vol. III, 1860 to 1875*. University of Missouri Press, Columbia.
Van Ravensway, Charles
1991 *St. Louis: An Informal History of the City and Its People, 1764-1865*. Missouri Historical Society Press. Distributed by the University of Illinois Press, Champaign-Urbana.

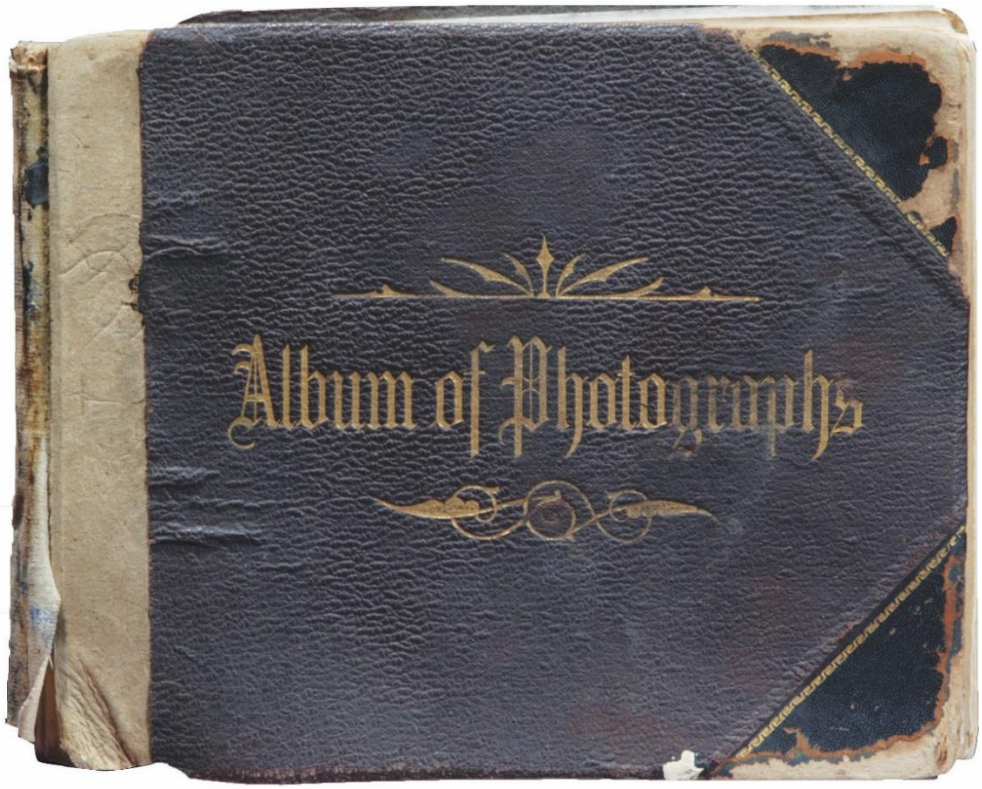
– –

[St. Louis]: [Norman J. Colman]: THE / VALLEY FARMER! / FOR 1859, ---ESTABLISHED IN 1848. / DEVOTED TO / AGRICULTURE, FRUIT GROWING, GARDENING, STOCK RAISING, AND RURAL ECONOMY [caption title]. N.p., n.d., but likely St. Louis, Missouri, 1858. Broadside. 20 x 27 in. (51 x 68.5 cm). Large folio. Edge wear and creasing, old folds. Some splitting and separation along folds, mostly marginal and not affecting text. Overall about very good condition.

12. SOLD.

From the Rockies to Reconstruction: The William Main Photograph Album

Although little known today, William Main--chemist, engineer, inventor, and university professor--was a pioneer. This photograph album, which holds 46 albumen prints produced by Main himself, tracks the entire course of his remarkable career. It carries us from the Colorado Rockies at the height of the gold and silver booms, to the northern Great Lakes, to the University of South Carolina and the years of Radical Reconstruction. Main's album offers a unique vision of the United States at a profoundly important time, when the re-minted nation was beginning its conquest of the Mountain West and wavering in its occupation of the defeated South.



William Main was born on February 10, 1845, at Silver Lake, New York, in the Old Rose Mansion, but his parents relocated the family to Philadelphia in 1853 for his and his three sisters' education. A decade later, Main's studies at the University of Pennsylvania were interrupted by the Civil War. In 1862, at age 18, he mustered in as a private with the 14th Regiment of the New York State Militia (also known as the 14th Brooklyn Chasseurs). He fought with his regiment at the Battle of Antietam that year and then was injured in the first day of fighting at Gettysburg in 1863. He returned to studies after his service, earning an MA in engineering from Pennsylvania and a second degree in mining engineering from the Polytechnic College of Pennsylvania. With his education complete, Main turned to the west and headed for Colorado.

The first important gold strikes in Colorado Territory had prompted the Pike's Peak Gold Rush of 1858, though most of the shallow deposits near Denver and communities to the west like

Central City had become exhausted by the 1860s. But in 1864, prospectors at Georgetown--just west of Central City along Clear Creek--discovered massive deposits of silver that would prompt another fevered burst of mining activity. William Main established himself at Central City in the midst of this boom in 1866, opening the first assay office in Colorado.

We do not know when or where Main developed his life-long interest in photography, but he seems already to have been quite skilled by the time he arrived at Central City. Among the 17 Colorado images in Main's album are four of the earliest albumen photographs of the nearby town of Nevadaville. Just over a mile west of Central City, Nevadaville was founded in 1859--the same year as the Pike's Peak gold rush. By the time that Main reached Colorado Territory, Nevadaville had a population of nearly a thousand people and was among the largest towns in Colorado. The four Nevadaville photographs from Main's album, arranged together below, form an accomplished panoramic view of the town, one remarkably similar to an unattributed view in the collection of the Denver Public Library. Main's view appears to be slightly earlier than the other, since at least two of the buildings present in the DPL view had not been built when Main produced his images. Likewise, Main's photographs predate a birds-eye view of the town by Lachlan McLean, also at the DPL. The latter image (dated 1870-1880) shows several brick structures lining Nevadaville's Main Street, while all of the buildings in Main's photographs are wood frame. **Main's panorama is among the earliest examples of this technique in the Rocky Mountain West**.

Yet Main must have recognized that the region's rugged landscape offered far more striking opportunities for adventurous photography. By September 1872, the Colorado Central Railroad's narrow gauge line had been completed through Clear Creek Canyon between Golden and Forks Creek, then was extended to Black Hawk--just east of Central City--by early December. During the years to come, this particular stretch of railroad would attract countless photographers (including such luminaries as William H. Jackson, Louis C. McClure, and Joseph Collier), whose prints captured landmarks on the route like Hanging Rock, Mother Grundy, the Old Roadmaster, and Inspiration Point. Main's photograph album contains a dozen unrecorded views of these and other points along the line. As we will see, Main was in Columbia, South Carolina, by the fall of 1873; thus, he must have taken these photographs in late 1872 or early 1873.

We believe that these are the earliest surviving images of the completed Colorado Central line in Clear Creek Canyon. William H. Jackson, accompanying the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey, had photographed several scenes on the graded railbed through the canyon in 1872, but before any tracks were laid. The temporal priority of Main's photographs (excluding those images taken by Jackson) is evident in subtle details such as the relative sizes of trees or the positions of objects. This is clear in his view of Hanging Rock. First, he captured the

image before telegraph posts were set through the canyon--posts that are visible along the tracks in later views of the landmark. Second, Main's photograph shows a high pile of neatly stacked rocks that line the outside edge of the tracks; in later views, the pile is overgrown and slumped. Finally, in the foreground of Main's photograph, a section of railroad tie leans at an angle against the rock face. In later images, the tie--if visible at all--has fallen over. These kinds of details help to establish the timing of Main's Colorado photography, and especially his landscape views. What we find noteworthy is that even after more than a century of scholarship on landscape photography in the American West, Main's aesthetically exceptional and pioneering effort was altogether unknown prior to the identification of his work in this album.

Main left Colorado in early 1873, finding work in the copper mining region of the Great Lakes. Four of the photographs in this album, three landscape views and one architectural study, show snowy scenes from his brief period in the north. He later returned to Philadelphia, where he

was working as an analytical chemist when the University of South Carolina at Columbia offered him a professorship in chemistry and geology. At the time of Main's appointment, the university was in the midst of unprecedented change. Established as South Carolina College in 1801, it had served as a cultural bastion for generations of antebellum men from the white planter class when the Civil War forced it to close its doors for lack of students. When the school reopened in 1866 as the University of South Carolina, its student body--yet again--consisted entirely of white men. But Reconstruction gave black citizens the vote, and in 1868 they elected a black majority to the state legislature. Five years later, in the fall of 1873, the legislature appointed a black majority to the university's board of trustees. And on October 7, Henry E. Hayne, who was serving as South Carolina's Secretary of State, enrolled in the newly established medical school as the university's first black student. The University of South Carolina thus became the only southern state college to admit and grant degrees to black students during the Reconstruction era.

The effect on the all-white faculty, most of whom were holdovers from the college, was nearly instantaneous. Four resigned immediately, another resigned shortly after, and the trustees fired three more. Into this storm stepped seven resolute men, chosen by the trustees to educate a newly integrated student body. Main, Benjamin B. Babbitt, Anson W. Cummings, Henry J. Fox, Fisk P. Brewer, and T. N. Roberts were all in residence by early October; several weeks later, on October 28, Richard T. Greener--Harvard University's first African American graduate--likewise joined the Radical University as Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy.

The William Main photograph album holds 20 images that date to the Radical University era, most of which capture views of the historic Horseshoe, built in 1805 as the college's original campus. Among these views are 10 architectural studies, including views of the Third Professors House (which Main shared with Greener; renamed as Lieber College in 1946), the modern-day President's House (then shared by Babbitt and Cummings), the State Normal School, the former President's House, Harper College, the South Caroliniana Library (interior and exterior), Legare College, the former Chapel (currently the Longstreet Theater), and Flinn Hall (then the residence of Professor Roberts). The album also includes seven views of the Horseshoe's plaza, all of which focus on the Maxcy Monument. **Taken together, these are the earliest known photographs of the University of South Carolina campus**.

Unlike Main's Colorado prints, which are unique as far as we can determine, there is one other recorded set of the South Carolina prints, sent by Richard Greener to his friends at Harvard University in May 1874. This set of 17 photographs, later deposited with Harvard's library, was entirely forgotten until rediscovered by USC doctoral student Michael Moorer while conducting dissertation research on Greener. The prints in the Harvard set are accompanied by descriptive text in Greener's hand--specifically identifying Main as the photographer--and include many of the images in Main's album. A comparison of the two sets reveals that each contains most of the same views of architecture (prints from the same original negatives), but differ somewhat in their respective views of the grounds (the Harvard/Greener set, digitized by USC, has been archived at http://www.sc.edu/bicentennial/pages/greenerpages/greenerphotography.html). An exception is the Third Professors House that Main and Greener shared. While the Harvard/Greener set includes

an unpeopled view of this building, the photograph in Main's set shows his wife, Fannie, holding their infant son by the front steps.

What truly distinguishes the set in Main's personal album from the Harvard/Greener set are three unique prints not of buildings and grounds, but of people. The first of these shows six subjects sitting atop an ox-drawn cart in front of a large building. Two young African American boys sit at the front of the cart; a young man wearing a brimmed cap sits behind them. The other three subjects, dressed in distinctive, Eastern European attire (and likely father, mother, and son), appear to be members of Columbia's Jewish community. This might be an early photograph of Philip Epstin (or Epstein) and his family. A known war-Unionist and Radical Republican, Epstin was a Polish Prussian immigrant who had moved from Charleston to Columbia after the war. In 1867, he and his brother, David, had opened a clothing store on the ground floor of the Columbia Hotel. Given his politics, an appearance in Main's album would not be surprising.

Most significant, however, are the two photographs of the university's Reconstruction-era faculty, gathered with their wives on the steps of the Third Professors House. Main shot these in the same sitting; each subject wears the same clothing in both photographs, and even the curtains in the windows are unmoved from one image to the next. In the first, which includes five faculty members, Main himself is absent, but in the second he has taken his place outside the iron railing on right side of the steps. The only other difference between the two photographs is that each of the subjects, men and women alike, has changed his or her position between shots. Significantly, Richard Greener does not appear in either image. His conspicuous absence strongly implies that this sitting took place in the first weeks of October, by which time all of the faculty except Greener

had taken up their professorial appointments. **These previously unrecorded images--neither is in the Harvard/Greener set--are the only known photographs of the Radical faculty during the years when they served together in Columbia**.

Just seven African American students entered the Radical University during its first year. But in the second year, 29 did so. Moreover, black women enrolled in the State Normal School, established on the Columbia campus to train school teachers. By 1876, the student body at USC was majority African American. Their professors--Main, Greener, Cumming, Brewer, Babbitt, Roberts, and Fox--taught courses in French, German, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Literature, Mathematics, English, Greek, Latin, History, Rhetoric, and Chemistry. In this, their curriculum differed little from that of those white planter students who had attended the antebellum college. It was not to last. In 1876, white "Redeemers" under the lead of Wade Hampton wrested control of the governorship and legislature from the Radical Republicans. The newly seated government quickly shuttered both the university and its mission they despised. When it reopened in 1880 as the South Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, it once again served an all-white student body. Meanwhile, the legislature designated Claflin College in Orangeburg as the state's black school. So this unique achievement--this first desegregation--came to an abrupt end, to be replaced by Jim Crow. Not until 1963 would African American students again be enrolled at the University of South Carolina.

All of the university's Radical faculty were fired in 1877, and they dispersed as quickly as they had come together. William Main and his family returned to New York City, living for many

years in Brooklyn, where he built a laboratory for researching water filtration, electrical devices, and photographic films. The last five prints in his album date to this time, including an image of an electrical bulb and filament that he probably invented. After South Carolina, he never taught again. He and Fannie had two more children and eventually left Brooklyn for Piermont, located about 30 miles north of Manhattan. Main died there on October 18, 1918. Today the University of South Carolina has embraced its trailblazing Reconstruction history and the accomplishments of its Radical faculty. From 1873 to 1877, they helped to forge the first integrated school in the American South. Nearly 200 African American students were enrolled at the Radical University during these years. Some would become leaders at the state and national level as legislators and diplomats, while others would return to their communities as ministers, businessmen, and school teachers. Their lives and careers--shaped through the opportunity of education--are the enduring legacy of this faculty and the Radical idea of equality.

Relevant sources (additional documentation available on request):

Cohen, Michael David
2012 *Reconstructing the Campus: Higher Education and the American Civil War*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.
Fordham, Damon L.
2009 *Voices of Black South Carolina: Legend and Legacy*. The History Press, Charleston.
Hieke, Anto
2013 *Jewish Identity in the Reconstruction South: Ambivalence and Adaptation*. De Gruyter, Berlin and Boston.

Hilton, George Woodman
1990 *American Narrow Gauge Railroads*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
Jackson, William Henry, and Howard R. Driggs
1929 *The Pioneer Photographer: Rocky Mountain Adventures with a Camera*. World Book Company, Yonkers-On-Hudson, New York.
Roper, John Herbert
1974 A Reconsideration: The University of South Carolina During Reconstruction. *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 46-57, Columbia.
Tevis, C. V.
1911 *The History of the Fighting Fourteenth: Published in Commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Muster of the Regiment into the United States Service May 23, 1861*. Brooklyn Eagle Press, New York.
Waterman, F. N.
1918 Obituary, W. Main. *Journal of Chemical Industry* 37:466.

– –

[Colorado and South Carolina]: William Main: [ALBUM WITH FORTY-SIX ALBUMEN PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE CAREER OF WILLIAM MAIN--ENGINEER, CHEMIST, AND EDUCATOR--PRIMARILY COLORADO AND SOUTH CAROLINA]. [Various places in Colorado, South Carolina, and Great Lakes region, ca. 1860s-1870s]. 46 albumen photographs, most 5 x 4 in. (12.5 x 10 cm). Mounted on 23 stiff leaves in a contemporary oblong cloth album, 7.5 x 6 in. (19 x 15 cm), with leather gilt-ruled tips and gilt title ("Album of Photographs") on front board. Album with heavy wear, spine cracked with old repairs, leather tips worn through. Leaves gently bowed, corners worn. The photographs remain in excellent condition, a few with occasional light foxing that does not detract from the images; one of the prints of the Maxcy Monument has a photographic flaw along the left margin.

13. SOLD.

Giving Thanks at the First Centennial: Two Rare Territorial Broadsides

Proclamations of Thanksgiving have a long history in the American printing tradition. Celebrating the end of King Philip's War, the Charlestown, Massachusetts, governing council issued the first such recorded broadside--dated June 20, 1676--proclaiming June 29 "a day of Thanksgiving." Similar proclamations were regularly printed in broadside form throughout the later colonial and revolutionary periods, with George Washington issuing the first presidential Thanksgiving broadside in 1789. Yet it was not until 1863, after the Union victory at Gettysburg (and at the urging of Sarah Josepha Hale), that Abraham Lincoln established Thanksgiving as a national holiday and set its official date as November 26. By this time, the holiday had already begun to acquire many of its modern associations with family and feasting, but it was during the post-war period, and especially with the approach of the first centennial, that it came to be linked so closely with the Pilgrims and early colonial New England.

The governors of western territories issued Thanksgiving proclamations both to create a sense of continuity with these earlier, New England traditions and to foster a common, national identity among immigrants unable to celebrate with their extended families in the east. Today, most recorded examples of territorial Thanksgiving proclamations are known in but one or two institutional copies, and most of these are held in research libraries in their respective states or in the Yale and Princeton collections of Western Americana. They are also rare in the trade: we find only two such proclamations offered at auction since the Streeter sales in 1968, one broadside each from Washington (1888) and Dakota territories (1868). **The 1876 New Mexico broadside that we offer here, signed in type by acting Governor William G. Ritch, is unrecorded and may be unique. The 1876 Utah example, signed in type by Governor George W. Emery, is known in one other copy at Brigham Young University**.

Other New Mexico and Utah Thanksgiving proclamations (pre-1900, per OCLC and LOC):

New Mexico	Utah
1864 (Princeton and Yale)	1862 (BYU and Princeton)
1870 (NMSU)	1870 (Huntington)
1880 (Yale)	1876 (BYU)
1881 (Yale)	1883 (LOC)
1884 (UNM, Yale)	1889 (Princeton)
1890 (UNM, Princeton)	1890 (BYU)
1892 (Princeton)	1891 (BYU)

Relevant sources:

Baker, James W.
2009 *Thanksgiving: The Biography of an American Holiday*. University of New Hampshire Press, Durham.

[Condit, Lester D.]
1942 *Check List of New Mexico Imprints and Publications, 1784-1876: Imprints, 1834-1876; Publications, 1784-1876*. Forward by Sargent B. Child. American Imprints Inventory, No. 25. Historical Records Survey, Lansing.

394.26

BY THE GOVERNOR.

1876.

A PROCLAMATION OF THANKSGIVING.

TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW MEXICO:

The sear and yellow leaf again reminds us of the close of another year of seed-time and harvest;—reminds us of the annual return of a time honored and most proper of holidays among a free people recognizing Divine authority.

During the past year, peace has continued throughout the domain; we have been exempted from pestilence and famine; wholesome and progressive laws have been enacted and are cheerfully obeyed; the pastoral ranges are more numerous in flocks and herds; the earth has yielded a greater increase; the products of the mines have been augmented; the sound of the approaching railroad is heard upon our borders, while commercial competition, just in advance of the iron trail, has materially reduced the cost of living; and the people generally, are more prosperous and happy.

The sublime sentiment of thankfulness ingrained in man's nature, has crystalized a memorable local custom into one national in character.

Now, therefore, I do designate THURSDAY the 30th *day of NOVEMBER instant, a DAY OF THANKSGIVING AND PRAISE; and do earnestly recommend, that on that day, the people abstain from all secular avocations and assemble in their usual places for religious worship and at their homes, for thoughtful recognition to Almighty God, for the manifold benefactions of the year.*

Remember, "the poor always ye have with you," to them contribute somtehing of your abundance.

While gathered around the hospitable board or the family hearthstone, kindly remember the absent ones.

And while thus expressing gratitude for the mercies vouchsafed us as a people; remember with no less gratitude those mercies which have enabled a Nation of freemen, of which we are a component, to give a noble and just emphasis to a CENTURY OF PERSONAL LIBERTY *and prosperity; and more than all else, to Devoutly seek Wisdom for the future safe-guidance, and stability of this same personal liberty and prosperity.*

In Testimony Whereof I have here unto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of the Territory to be hereto affixed.

Done at Santa Fe, the capital, this sixth day of November one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six and of the INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES the one hundred and first.

W. G. RITCH.

By the Governor
SAMUEL ELLISON,
Asst. Secretary of the Territory.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

TERRITORY OF UTAH—EXECUTIVE OFFICE.

Having been abundantly blessed and favored by DIVINE PROVIDENCE, during the vicissitudes of another year, and realizing our accountability to GOD, who has preserved our lives, who has given us seed time and a bountiful harvest, and who has prospered our mining and other industries, let us keep in mind our obligations to Him for His mercies, and in grateful recognition thereof, observe a day of Thanksgiving and Praise—an honored custom tending to keep alive in our hearts remembrances of GOD's great goodness toward us His creatures.

To this end, therefore, and in accordance with the recommendation of the President of the United States, I, GEO. W. EMERY, Governor of Utah, do hereby designate

THURSDAY, THE 30TH DAY OF NOVEMBER,

A. D. eighteen hundred and seventy-six, as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise to ALMIGHTY GOD.

I recommend that the people of this Territory abstain from secular pursuits on that day, and assemble in their respective places of worship, and there with devout hearts, join in such devotions as shall be pleasing and acceptable to our Heavenly Father.

I also recommend to those possessed of the comforts of life, and riches of this world, to contribute of their substance to those less favored, that charity and deeds of love may attest the sincerity of our devotions.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the Territory to be affixed.

Done at Salt Lake City, this 30th day of October, A. D. 1876, and of the Independence of the United States the one hundred and first.

GEO. W. EMERY.

BY THE GOVERNOR:

MOSES M. BANE,

SECRETARY OF UTAH TERRITORY.

Green, Samuel A.
1895 *A List of Early American Imprints Belonging to the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. J. Wilson and Son, Cambridge.
Shelton, Wilma Loy
1951 Checklist of New Mexico Publications (Continued). Proclamations. *New Mexico Historical Review* 26(3):225-241.

– –

[New Mexico]: [William G. Ritch]: BY THE GOVERNOR. / 1876. / A PROCLAMATION OF THANKSGIVING. / TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW MEXICO [caption title]. Santa Fe, Nov. 6, 1876. Broadside, printed with Great Seal of the Territory of New Mexico. 9 x 11 1/4 in. (23 x 28.5 cm). Printed on a folded folio sheet; very thin, light blue paper, light edge wear, old horizontal folds, numbers penciled in upper left corner.

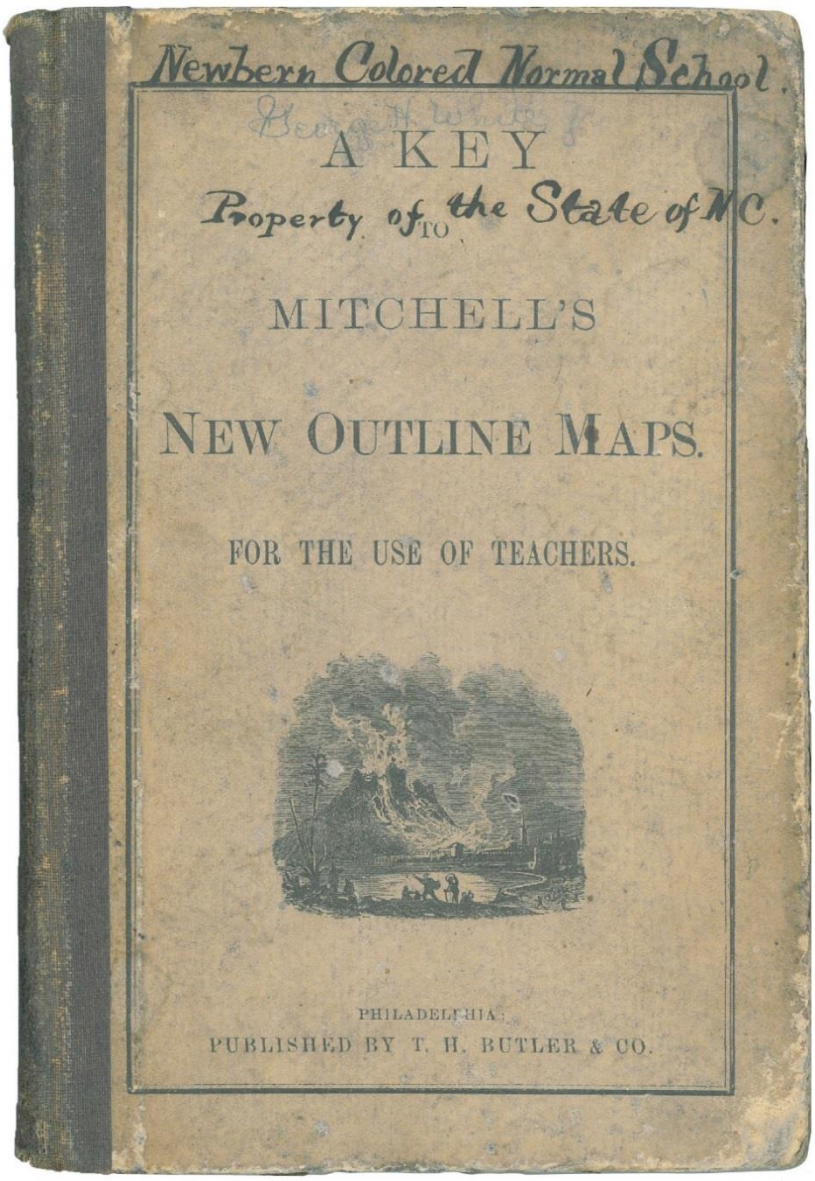
14. SOLD.

[Utah]: [George W. Emery]: THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION. / TERRITORY OF UTAH - EXECUTIVE OFFICE [caption title]. Salt Lake City, Oct. 30, 1876. Broadside, embossed with Great Seal of the Territory of Utah. 8 x 10 in. (20 x 25 cm). Printed on a folded folio sheet, light edge wear, old horizontal folds.

15. SOLD.

George Henry White and the New Bern Colored Normal School

A book such as this, the key to a set of 1881 wall maps used in schools, would ordinarily attract little attention. It lacks finely colored maps itself; its covers are drab and edgeworn. At first glance, it is a non-descript, late 19th-century textbook. If not for the prominent manuscript annotations on its cover, front pastedown, and front free endpaper, it might attract no attention at all, certainly not as a primary source. Yet these notes, which assigned the book "for use in the Colored Normal School in New Bern," put it at the heart of a profound struggle, as black teachers and politicians across North Carolina fought to protect the advances of Reconstruction from a newly resurgent white supremacy and the coming of Jim Crow.

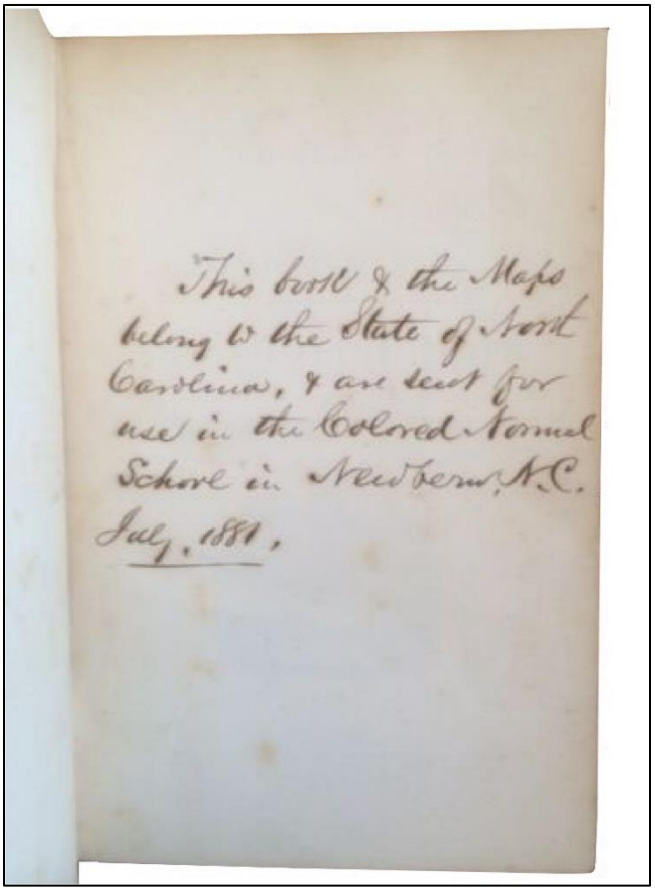


In March 1862, 11,000 Union Army troops under the leadership of Brigadier General Ambrose Burnside captured the port of New Bern, North Carolina's second oldest city, from its poorly trained force of 4000 Confederate defenders. It would remain under Federal control for the remainder of the war. From across the region, thousands of enslaved peoples escaped from dozens of coastal plantations and made their way to New Bern, seeking safety behind the Union lines. After the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, they arrived in even greater numbers. Although the town had long been home to one of the most substantial free black communities in the state, made up predominantly of urban artisans, New Bern became a center of black cultural and political fluorescence during the era of federal Reconstruction, and by 1877 the majority of its citizens were people of color.

Into this thriving community stepped a young and ambitious George Henry White. White was born in 1852--in Bladen County, North Carolina--to a free black father and a mother who was

enslaved. Raised on a rural farm in the southernmost part of the state, White received his earliest education at an old field school before moving to Lumberton, where he studied at Whitin Normal School. At the age of 22, he enrolled at Howard University in Washington, D.C., itself founded in 1867 as a college that was open to men and women of all races. At Howard, White showed an interest in oratory and law, which he studied on his own, but the college's law department had temporarily closed by the time that he received his schoolteacher's certification in 1877. Rather than work as a messenger in the federal government while waiting for the department to reopen, he moved to New Bern, where he was hired as principal at a black public school.

At New Bern, he came to the attention of a retired Republican judge named William John Clarke. Continuing his studies as Clarke's apprentice, White was admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1879, the only black applicant in a class of 35. He opened a practice in New Bern, one of perhaps a half-dozen black attorneys in the state, but he soon turned his eyes to politics. Federal Reconstruction had ended in 1877, just as White returned to New Bern, but the city's majority-black population ensured political representation for its people of color. Running on the Republican Party's ticket, he won election to the North Carolina House of Representatives in 1880.


This book & the Maps
belong to the State of North
Carolina, & are sent for
use in the Colored Normal
School in New Bern, N.C.
July, 1881.

In a year when the state legislature approved an act to reject any public school textbooks published by non-southerners or those hostile to the white southern agenda, White proved to be a forceful and determined advocate for black education. One of his first objectives was to expand the number of state supported normal schools established to train black teachers. The first such school in North Carolina was present-day Fayetteville State University, founded in 1867 and authorized as a state normal school a decade later. Yet the state's black communities needed more teachers than one normal school could produce. In 1881, the first year of his first term, White took command of a bill that created four new normal schools for black students: New Bern, Franklinton, Salisbury, and Plymouth. One account even suggests that he wrote the legislation himself, then convinced white lawmakers to support the black schools together with white ones. In July, the New Bern Colored Normal School opened with White serving as both its principal and its only instructor. By 1883, he was joined by three additional teachers.

This book was one of the first texts that George Henry White selected for use at the New Bern Colored Normal School. And since he was the school's only teacher in 1881, this *Key for Teachers* must have been his own guide to the set of *Mitchell's New Outline Maps* that he used

to instruct his students. Later generations of black schools, during the period of Jim Crow, usually had little choice but to use whatever hand-me-down textbooks were discarded by white schools. It is a testimony to White's advocacy that this *Key* and the maps that accompanied it were brand new in 1881, published the same year that the New Bern school opened its doors. We would also note that it was published in Philadelphia, despite efforts by white lawmakers to expunge northern textbooks from the curriculum.

White's copy seems to be the only recorded example of this 1881 edition. In fact, OCLC identifies only a handful of institutions holding copies of any edition. There are five holdings of the 1871 edition, two of the 1878 edition, and one each for the editions of 1872, 1875, and 1876. Only Yale (1872 and 1875) and the Roger S. Baskes Collection of atlases at the Newberry (1871 and 1876) hold more than one edition. Such scarcity is not unexpected today, as these map keys were meant to be discarded with the release of newer editions. **We can also find no comparable examples, whether in institutional holdings or in the history of the trade, of a textbook meant for white students but designated--while still new--for use in a black school**. As noted, most textbooks available to black schools were either worn out or outdated copies passed down from white-only classrooms or else were written specifically for black students (e.g., primers published by the American Tract Society). This copy is thus a unique survival.

White departed the New Bern school after 1883. When he left, he evidently kept this book as a memento, and perhaps he passed it down to his children: his son, George H. White, Jr., later penciled his name on its front cover. In 1887, the North Carolina state legislature shuttered the doors of the school and opened the new State Normal School for Negroes in Goldsboro, largely at the urging of white Goldsboro attorney Charles B. Aycock. During this same time, Aycock was appointed both to the Board of Directors of the new school and the local, Wayne County committee on black education. Aycock would later become a leader of North Carolina's white supremacy movement during the 1890s, and after helping to disenfranchise the state's black voters, he was elected governor in 1900 by the largest margin in state history.

In 1884, George Henry White won a seat in the North Carolina State Senate, then served for two terms (1887-1894) as the only elected black prosecutor in the United States. In 1896--and with 52 percent of the vote--he defeated the white incumbent Democrat, Frederick A. Woodard, to take a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives. He was the nation's only black congressman. White was re-elected to a second term in 1898, but white supremacists had turned the campaign itself into a maelstrom of racial bigotry. In the aftermath of White's victory, they incited race riots in the city of Wilmington that claimed the lives of 11 black men. White returned to Washington with a striking proposal, arguing that states with discriminatory laws should have decreased House representation, proportionate to the number of eligible voters denied voting rights. He also offered

a bill to make lynching a federal crime. Both bills failed, but his efforts earned him the respect of his Republican colleagues and the loathing of congressional Democrats.

In 1900, White announced that he would not run for re-election, and he later moved with his family from his home state to Washington, D.C., eventually settling down in Philadelphia "I cannot," he told the Chicago Daily Tribune, "live in North Carolina as a man and be treated as a man." On January 29, 1901, he gave his famous valedictory address to the 56th Congress, which filled more than four pages in the *Congressional Record*. In it, he predicted that black leaders would eventually return to Congress, concluding that "The only apology that I have to make for the earnestness with which I have spoken is that I am pleading for the life, the liberty, the future happiness, and the manhood suffrage of one-eighth of the entire population of the United States." After he left the House, no African American from the South would again be elected to Congress until 1972, and not from North Carolina until 1992.

White continued to practice law in Philadelphia, where he also became president of the city's first black-owned commercial savings bank, but he continued to fight for black causes as an early leader of the NAACP. He died in Philadelphia on December 28, 1918. In 2001, North Carolina's General Assembly passed House Joint Resolution 60, honoring the life and memory of George Henry White. This little volume links us to the beginning of his long and rich career, when he was still a 29-year-old principal, schoolteacher, and newly-seated legislator, preparing to teach his first cohort of students at the New Bern Colored Normal School.

Relevant sources:

Bishir, Catherine W.
2013 *Crafting Lives: African American Artisans in New Bern, North Carolina, 1770-1900*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Justensen, Benjamin R.
2001 George Henry White: An Even Chance In The Race of Life. Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Justensen, Benjamin R. (editor and compiler)
2004 *The Writings, Letters, and Speeches of George Henry White*. iUniverse, Inc., New York.

Leloudis, James L.
1996 *Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self, and Society in North Carolina, 1880-1920*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Thuesen, Sarah Caroline
2013 *Greater than Equal: African American Struggles for Schools and Citizenship in North Carolina, 1919-1965*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

– –

Mitchell, S. Augustus. A KEY TO MITCHELL'S NEW OUTLINE MAPS. FOR THE USE OF TEACHERS. Published by T. H. Butler & Co., Philadelphia, 1881. 107 pp. Small 8vo (19 cm). Original printed boards and cloth-backed spine. Boards edgeworn and lightly soiled, bumped corners; light scattered foxing; previous owner's inscriptions on front board, front pastedown, and front free end paper.

16. SOLD.

Ephraim Epstein at the First Baptist Convention in Dakota Territory

Ephraim Menachem Epstein--Russian Jew, physician, Baptist minister, university founder and president--must be counted among the most fascinating men ever to have strode across Dakota Territory. Born on March 17, 1829, to an Orthodox Jewish family in Bobruisk, Lithuania (now Belarus), he rejected a disastrous marriage arranged by his family and migrated to the United States at the age of 20. He located briefly to New York City, but with the help of a Christian family was soon managing a small farm outside Hackensack. Here he met another young Lithuanian Jew who had converted to Christianity, and Epstein did likewise, later enrolling at Andover Theological Seminary and taking a degree in 1856. After studying medicine and obtaining his degree from the New York State College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1859, he went to the Balkans to missionize in its Jewish communities. Although he failed as a missionary, he did complete additional medical training in Vienna and served a brief stint as medical officer in the Austrian Imperial Navy. Epstein returned to the United States in 1867, practicing medicine in Kansas and Ohio. Then in 1879--at the age of 50--he moved to Yankton, Dakota Territory, to serve as a Baptist pastor.

Yankton, the capitol of the territory, was also the site of its first Baptist church, organized in 1864. The years between the founding of this first church and Epstein's arrival were a period of extraordinary growth: in 1870, Dakota's population numbered just over 14,000; by 1880, that number had grown to 135,000. Along with the rapid rise in population came a leap in the number of organized churches of all denominations, and over this same period the territory became home to more than two dozen Baptist associations. Early in 1881, a call went out to all Baptist churches

in Dakota to send their pastors and delegates to a general rally of the faith, to be held on the shores of Lake Madison. Dakota's first Baptist Convention began on Thursday, June 30, and ran for four days in a new barn fitted up for the event. Epstein held a devotional meeting and was appointed to the committee on organization that prepared a constitution and by-laws.

This rare photograph, taken by Dakota photographer Levi V. Bean, captures Epstein and a party of his fellow Baptist pastors and delegates departing the convention by carriage and on foot. Epstein rides in the first covered carriage or wagon with his wife, Helena, and their young daughters, Julia and Frieda. Each of the participants is identified by Epstein's manuscript captions written on the mount above the photograph. Below the photograph, he wrote a manuscript note: "Our ride from the first Baptist Convention held at Lake County, D. T. in a barn near Madison 1881, the year Garfield was wounded. Picture taken by Brother Bean of Dell Rapids." Under this he signed his name, "Rev. Eph. M. Epstein, MD. Yankton, D. T."

The following year would present a new opportunity for Epstein, as he was named the first president of the University of Dakota, now the University of South Dakota, at Vermillion. During that first year he was also the new university's primary faculty member, holding classes in the Clay County Courthouse. For Epstein, it was the pinnacle of a lifelong commitment to education and learning. He remained in the position for only a year, however, writing that he was ousted through "sectarian and political chicanery" (1908:678). He was offered and accepted a faculty position at Bethany College in West Virginia, where he taught until 1898, when he moved his family one last time--to Chicago--in hopes of improving his declining health. It must have worked. Epstein died there 15 years later, in January 1913, at the age of 84.

Relevant sources:

Epstein, Ephraim M.
1908 Why Do I Live So Long, I and II. *American Journal of Clinical Medicine* 15 (Apr.-May): 522-525, 677-680.

Kerr, Susan Lee
2015 *The Extraordinary Dr. Epstein*. Paxton Publishing, London.

Magnus, Shulamit S.
2015 Wengeroff in America: On the Resonance of Conversion and Fear of Dissolution in Early Twentieth-Century American Jewry. *Jewish Social Studies* 21(2):142-187.

Shanafelt, T. M.
1899 *The Baptist History of South Dakota*. South Dakota Baptist Convention, Sioux Falls.

– –

[Dakota Territory]: Ephraim M. Epstein: [MOUNTED ALBUMEN PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING A SMALL GROUP OF PARTICIPANTS LEAVING THE FIRST BAPTIST CONVENTION IN DAKOTA TERRITORY IN JULY 1881, TAKEN BY LEVI V. BEAN AND CAPTIONED BY EPHRAIM M. EPSTEIN]. [Near Madison, Dakota Territory, July 3, 1881]. Mounted albumen print with contemporary manuscript captions in ink (on recto). Mount measures 10 x 8.5 in (25 x 22 cm), print measures 6.5 x 5 in (16 x 12 cm). Mount with moderate soiling, light edge and corner wear; photograph clean with light marginal foxing. Very good.

17. SOLD.

Norman W. Griswold Makes His Biggest Pitch: *Beauties of California*

Perhaps it would be unfair, so many years after the fact, to label Norman W. Griswold a failure. If nothing else, he was a prolific and very enthusiastic salesman. In New Orleans in the 1870s, he sold groceries. Not just any groceries, notes the *Times-Picayune* of Sept. 14, 1872, but a "Revolution in the Grocery Business," with his "old" motto of "Quick sales and small profits." After moving to California near the end of the decade, he took a leading role with both the Royal Soap Company and the Celery Beef & Iron Extract Company, the latter keeping patrons healthy with its Celery Cough Wafers and Peptonized Celery, Beef, and Iron. Griswold's heart, though, seems to have been in land development, a calling he found in the late 1880s and pursued for the rest of his life. *Beauties of California*, published in two editions in 1883 and 1884, prefigures his leap into real estate and remains his biggest promotion of all--California itself.

Norman Whitmore Griswold was born on Nov. 23, 1843, in Farmington, Connecticut. In 1862, at age 19, he left his position as a Boston clerk to enlist as a Private in the Union Army and was mustered into Company K of the 30th Massachusetts Infantry. The 30th Massachusetts saw most of its action in the Gulf Department and the occupation of New Orleans, captured by Union forces on April 28, 1862. In New Orleans, Griswold was discharged for an unspecified disability late in 1862, but he reenlisted on January 9, 1864 as 1st Lieutenant and Quartermaster in Field & Staff of the 75th United States Colored Troops (as a white officer). He remained in New Orleans after mustering out of service in November 1865, marrying Anna McChesney there the next year and founding his revolutionary grocery business. Yet as with so many restless Americans before and since, California beckoned, and before 1880 Griswold had moved his family to Alameda. At first, he managed a local sash works, but bigger prizes seemed within reach.

The Royal Soap Company of Alameda, established in 1879, listed Griswold as Secretary and John D. Yost as President. Theirs was a short-lived venture, the business appearing in local directories only until 1882. Yost, however, was also a partner at H. S. Crocker & Company--one of the largest publishing and stationery firms in California--and was director of its San Francisco offices. And Henry S. Crocker, it so happens, was the younger brother of Charles Crocker, who founded the Central Pacific Railroad in 1861 and became one of America's wealthiest real estate and banking tycoons. In 1882 or early 1883, as their soap company was folding, either Griswold or Yost (or both working together) had an inspired idea: use the printing resources of Crocker & Co. to publish a promotional tract encouraging tourism to California; emphasize locations owned by Charles Crocker or easily visited along his railroads; include lithographs to showcase the high quality work of the firm; sell advertising space within its pages; then sell the book for fifty cents (the second edition would cost $1.00).

Thus was born *Beauties of California*, published by the Crocker & Co. in San Francisco, with printing and lithography overseen by Yost, and copyrighted by Griswold, suggesting that he was responsible for most of the accompanying text. The first edition of 1883 included 46 pages of text and advertisements (unpaginated), illustrated by 26 color lithograph views on 13 double-sided plates. The second edition of 1884, which we offer here, was expanded substantially, with 56 pages of text and 38 lithographs on 19 plates. The same striking cover illustrations, featuring an outing to Calaveras Big Trees, were used for both editions (we have appropriated these for our

own covers). The result was a striking production. No less an authority on rare Californiana than Warren Howell observed, of the first edition, that it was "One of the most handsome promotional brochures we have seen." Both editions are scarce, though the second is more so. OCLC reports 23 copies of the first, three of those at the Huntington, and another is located at AAS. **OCLC lists just 12 copies of the second--two at the Clements--with none at AAS or at the Huntington**. Although four copies of the first edition have appeared on the market since World War II, **no copy of the second has appeared at auction since an Anderson sale in 1924** (per RBH).

Beauties of California must have met with relative success, enough so at any rate to merit an expanded and more expensive second edition the following year. Even more, it appears to have brought Griswold to the attention of Charles Crocker. In 1887, Griswold was listed as President of the newly incorporated Sonoma County Land & Improvement Company, itself a subsidiary of the Pacific Improvement Company, a holding firm owned by Crocker's Central Pacific Railroad. Griswold's company quickly bought a large tract of land from the Rancho Los Guilicos Mexican land grant in the largely undeveloped Sonoma County. Not coincidentally, the Central Pacific had plans to take the railroad directly through this same large tract of land, which Griswold surveyed, divided into plots, and marketed as the community of Los Guilicos. He built a huge stone house for his family, known at the time as Griswold's Castle, and then spent much of the next ten years striving to reap the rewards of his salesmanship. But Los Guilicos--which saw its name changed to Kenwood by popular vote around 1895--was a commercial bust that kept Griswold's estate in legal knots for many years after his death. Griswold established a construction firm in Honolulu in 1901, but died just three years later while on business in Manhattan, still striving to make that one big sale. With a bit of hindsight, it is probably safe to say that *Beauties of California*, no small achievement, was his most inspired pitch.

Relevant sources:

Corran, W. H. L. (compiler)
1889 *Langley's San Francisco Directory for the Year commencing May, 1889*. Francis, Valentine & Co., Printers. San Francisco.
Sand, Dallyce R.
1972 *Kenwood, Yesterday and Today*. D. R. Sand, Kenwood, CA.

For the tangled relationship between Griswold's Sonoma County Land Improvement Company and Crocker's Central Pacific Railroad, see Doug Offenbacher's 12-part series "Discovering the Depot" published online for the Kenwood Press at http://www.kenwoodpress.com/pub/auth/128.

– –

Griswold, Norman W. BEAUTIES OF CALIFORNIA. VIEWS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF YOSEMITE VALLEY, BIG TREES, GEYSERS, LAKE TAHOE, DONNER LAKE, SAN FRANCISCO, '49 & '83, LOS ANGELES, AND TOWNS, ORANGE GROVES AND VINEYARDS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. H. S. Crocker & Co., Printers, Lithographers and Publishers, 1884. [56] p., [19] leaves of plates. 8vo (23 cm). Complete with all plates, two plates laid in (San Francisco in 1849/in 1883 and Geyer Springs/Vernal Falls). Light stain to top corner of the first two leaves (including the San Francisco plate), not affecting text or image. Light corner and edge wear, slight loss at base of spine. Very good. Cowan p. 251 (2nd edition).

18. **$1500**.

George T. Beckers and the Fastest Trotting Horse in Arizona

During the mid-1880s, breeders in Arizona Territory turned their attention to a surprising new commodity: thoroughbred horses sired from some of the most distinguished Kentucky and Tennessee studs. A decade later, in 1895, their progress was such that Territorial Governor Louis C. Hughes could confidently declare in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior,

> The exceptional advantage breeders of the highest class of horses, both trotters and runners, would secure by locating in southern Arizona is just beginning to be understood and advantage taken of it by enterprising owners. The wonderful success of the trotting horse Zombra [sic] on the Pacific Coast is an indication of what Arizona feed and climate will produce. Distinguished horse breeders boldly assert that Arizona is producing the highest type of the horse in the world [Hughes 1895:37].

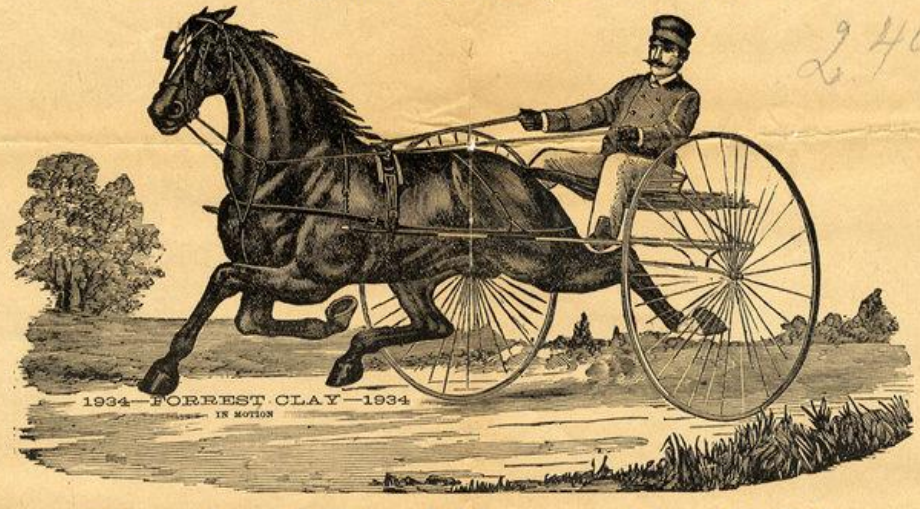
One of the most precocious of these breeders, owner and trainer of the trotting horse Zombro so highly esteemed by Hughes, was George T. Beckers of Phoenix. It is likely no coincidence that Beckers was not mentioned by name along with his thoroughbred. By 1895, having scandalized much of the territory, he had left Arizona behind and was settling into a horseman's life in Southern California. But before Zombro there was Beckers' first Kentucky stallion, Forrest Clay, promoted in the broadside that we offer here as "The Fastest Trotting Horse In Arizona." And the running of Forrest Clay, it turns out, set Beckers himself on the road to exile.

George T. Beckers was born in 1859 in Junction City, Kansas. His parents, Mathias and Philippina--recent immigrants from Prussia--did not enjoy a happy marriage. An April 15, 1865, issue of the *Junction City Union* features news of Mathias ("Matt") chasing Phillipina from their house and through their neighbors' lots with a hatchet. In 1877, George and his mother moved to Prescott, Arizona, established as the capitol of the new territory just 13 years before. It is unclear if Matt joined them, but Philippina sought and was granted a divorce almost immediately upon her arrival. Issues of the Prescott *Miner* from October 1877 note that George had become a partner in the barbershop of Henry Buck and was "putting the finishing touch on his new dwelling house…on a beautiful lot situated west of McCormick Street on Beach Avenue."

Yet Beckers had no intention of settling into life as a barber. The next April, his partnership with Buck was dissolved, and he began to buy cattle. Then in 1879, he married Clara Townsend, daughter of Arizona pioneer John B. Townsend, whose prowess--if not savagery--in hunting and killing Indians had made him something of a local legend before he was felled himself by Apaches in 1873. Beckers seems to have taken quickly to the livestock business and began to focus his operation on breeding thoroughbreds--horses, bulls, and hogs--that he imported from Kentucky. Sometime about 1885, he moved his family from Prescott to the Salt River Valley town of Phoenix, where the pastureland was better suited for his imported breeds. In January that year, the *Phoenix Gazette* referred to him as "one of the most enterprising stockgrowers in the Territory." He settled his family on a 640-acre spread that he called Variety Stock Farm near what is now 60th Avenue and West Van Buren, taking out a full page advertisement in the 1888 edition of *Meyer's Business*

FORREST CLAY!

Foaled June 1, 1881. Black with Star in face, and left hind foot white.
Sixteen hands high and weighs 1225 pounds when in flesh.



Standard Bred Horse, No. 1934.

THE FASTEST TROTTING HORSE IN ARIZONA.

Bred and raised at Fairlawn Stock Farm, Lexington, Ky.; imported from there in 1884 by Geo. T. Beckers. Sired by Cassius M. Clay, No. 22, sire of Durango, 2:23¾; Harry Clay, 2:23¾; Clay Davis, 2:26¼; and grandsire of Will Collander, 2:21¼; C. F. Clay, 2:18; Happy Thought, 2:22½; Mamy M., 2:22½, and seventeen others. Great grand sire of Clemmie G., 2:15½; Sir Walter, Jr., 2:18¼; Garnet, 2:19; Flora Wilkes, 2:19½, and forty-five other 2:30 performers by C. M. Clay, No. 18.

C. M. Clay, No. 22, first dam by Abdallah son of Mambrino, he by imported Messenger; second dam by Lawrence's Eclipse, he by American Eclipse. Third dam, Chas. Hadly mare, by imported Messenger.

Forrest Clay's first dam Sussettie by Almont, No. 33; second dam, Sue Burkley, by Alexander's Edwin Forrest, No. 49; third dam by Old Cockspur, the fast pacer; fourth dam by the four mile race horse Dick Singleton, son of the renowned Bertrand son of Sir Archy.

Almont, No. 33, the sire of Forrest Clay's dam, is also the sire of Westmont, 2:13¾; Fanny Witherspoon, 2:16¼; Puritan, 2:16; Piedmont, 2:17¼; Aldine, 2:19¼; Early Rose, 2:20¼, and double team record of 2:16¼; Atlantic, 2:21, and twenty-eight others with a record of 2:30 or better. Thirty-nine of his sons have produced seventy-eight 2:30 performers, including Belle Hamlin, 2:13¾; Jewett, 2:14; Lorene, 2:15¼; Charley Friel, 2:16½; Frank Champ, 2:16¼; Elmonarch, 2:17¼; Flossy G., 2:18¼; Geneva S., 2:19¼; Almont, 2:20; Annie W., 2:20, etc. Daughters of Almont have produced John B. Richardson, 2:17¼; Catchfly, 2:18¼; Hinda Wilkes, 2:20¼; McMahon, 2:21; Durango, 2:23¾, and seven others.

Almont, No. 33, was sired by Alexander's Abdallah; he by Rysdike Hambletonian; he by Abdallah; he by Mambrino, he by imported Messenger, son of English Mambrino. First dam, Sally Anderson, by Mambrino Chief; second dam, Kate; by Pilot, Jr., sire of the dam of Maud S., 2:08¾; third dam, the Pope mare, said to be thoroughbred.

Will make the season in Phœnix, A. T., at Herrick & Co.'s Stable, commencing February and ending June 1st.

TERMS:

$25.00 the Season, or $50.00 to Insure; cash in advance or good secured note taken. For full particulars inquire of

GEO. T. BECKERS.

ARIZONAN PRINT PHOENIX.

Directory of the City of Phoenix. First among those animals in the ad was "the celebrated Kentucky trotting horse, the only standard bred Stallion in the Territory," Forrest Clay.

Our broadside offers an extensive description of this stallion and his impressive pedigree. Forrest Clay was born (or foaled) in 1881 at the Fairlawn Stock Farm of Lexington, Kentucky. He was true thoroughbred royalty, having been sired by Cassius M. Clay, himself tracing descent from the famed Mambrino and Messenger, the latter the foundation sire of all American Standardbred horses. Forrest Clay's dam, Susettie, was sired by Almont, in the line of (Rysdyk's) Hambletonian 10, ranked as an Immortal in the Harness Racing Hall of Fame. Beckers imported Forrest Clay to Arizona in 1884, just before moving his livestock business to Phoenix. This broadside, featuring a dramatic woodcut illustration of Forrest Clay pulling a racing sulky, offers the stallion for stud services at $25.00 for the season or $50.00 to insure. No printing date is indicated, though evidence suggests a probable date of 1887. The small-type printer's line, "Arizonan Print Phoenix.," almost certainly refers to the *The Daily Arizonan*, a Phoenix paper that was only published from 1887 to 1889. And nowhere in the text do we find any mention of Variety Stock Farm, which Beckers was advertising in Meyer's business directory for 1888.

Save for a handful of government-issued proclamations that featured a woodcut eagle, **this unrecorded and likely unique printing seems to be the earliest surviving illustrated broadside from Arizona Territory, and certainly from Phoenix**. Also, while 19th-century stud broadsides are regularly encountered from New England, the Midwest (especially Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky), and the American South (especially Tennessee and Virginia), such printings from the American West are exceedingly scarce: **we have found no other examples of 19th-century stud broadsides from western territories ever offered at auction or in the trade**. OCLC locates an example from Texas (Young Comet! Gonzales, 1855), but none from the territorial west.

However strong its market for thoroughbreds, there was little professional horse racing in Arizona Territory. By at least as early as 1888, Beckers was regularly traveling with Forrest Clay and several lesser trotters to race in Los Angeles. And it was during one of these trips that scandal found Beckers and drove him to Southern California for good. As the *Arizona Republican* of July 1890 put it, "George Beckers, the well-known horseman, has got himself into a peck of trouble at Los Angeles." Beckers had come home from California with a new love, 14-year-old Los Angeles native Mary Burns. He and Mary had lived together in Phoenix for a short time before returning to California with his horses, at which point the girl's mother and step-father intervened with the police and had her remanded to their custody. A year later, Beckers was arrested in Phoenix on a charge of adultery, but he seems to have been released shortly after.

Clara Townsend, already a favorite in the territory due to her father's exploits, won a quick divorce, custody of both children, and a generous alimony. George seems to have left the territory after his release from jail, settling in the San Fernando Valley with his mother, Philippina, and his new wife, Mary. From this new base he turned his focus exclusively to thoroughbreds, becoming a trainer of some renown along the Pacific Coast, enjoying particular success with Zombro in the 1890s. He outlived Mary, taking a new (and also much younger) wife shortly after her death in 1923. Beckers himself died in Los Angeles on May 15, 1938. Although Junction City newspapers report that he had made at least one trip back to his old hometown in Kansas, there is no evidence that he ever returned to Arizona.

Relevant sources:
[compiled]
1896 *A Historical and Biographical Record of the Territory of Arizona*. McFarland & Poole, Chicago.
Hughes, Louis C.
1895 *Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior*. Government Printing Office, Washington.
McCarr, Ken
1978 *The Kentucky Harness Horse*. The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington.
Meyer, A. Leonard (compiler)
1888 *Meyer's Business Directory of the City of Phoenix, Arizona: Containing a Classified Business and Professional Guide; a List of all the City and County and Federal Officials; Correct Tables of Railroad Fares, Express Tariffs and Telegraph Tolls to All Points of the Compass, and other valuable information*. Compiled and Published by A. Leonard Meyer, Phoenix.

– –

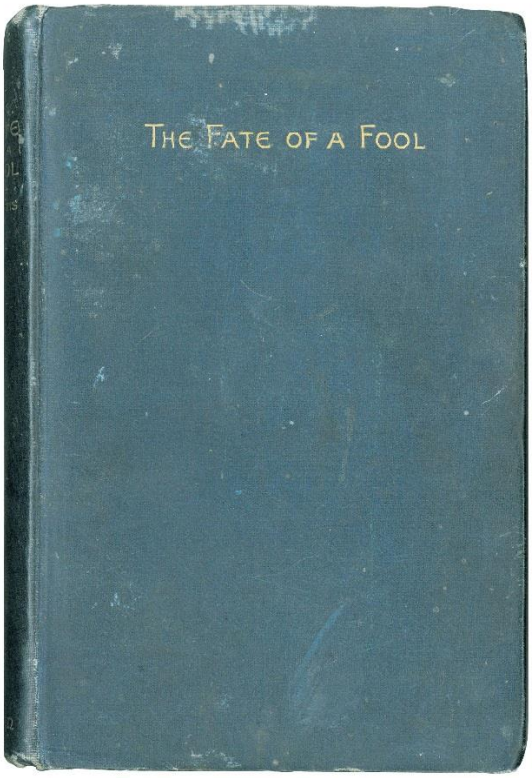
[Arizona]: [George T. Beckers]: FORREST CLAY!... / STANDARD BRED HORSE, NO. 1934. / THE FASTEST TROTTING HORSE IN ARIZONA [caption title]. Arizonan Print, Phoenix, n.d. but likely 1887. Broadside, illustrated with wood engraving of a trotting horse pulling a racing sulky. 10.5 x 14 in. (26.5 x 35.5 cm). Thin newsprint paper, roughness along edges, contemporary pencil annotations; upper right corner with a clean, partial separation; old fold lines.

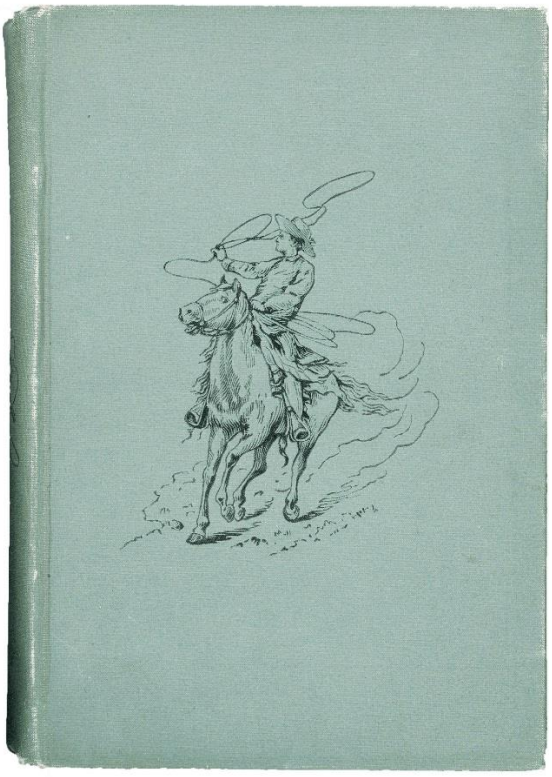
19. SOLD.

Emma Ghent Curtis and the Cowboy Western: A Significant Grouping

The cowboy is, almost without question, the most idealized figure in our popular culture of the American West. Owen Wister's novel, *The Virginian*, published in 1902, long held pride of place in standard bibliographies as the first cowboy novel--that is, the first to feature a cowboy as its central character. From this beginning, according to conventional wisdom, sprang the likes of Zane Gray, Louis L'Amour, J. Frank Dobie, Jack Schaefer and dozens of other rugged writers (practically all men) who brought the cowboy to a popular audience.

Yet recent scholarship has challenged this narrative, revisiting the early fiction of western women like Frances McElrath, B. M. Bower, and Mary Etta Stickney. Surprisingly, this research reveals that the roots of the genre lay not with Wister, a wealthy Philadelphian who summered in the West, but with Colorado suffragist and farmer's wife, Emma Ghent Curtis. Her 1889 novel, *The Administratrix*, predates *The Virginian* by more than a decade and was the first work outside of the old dime novel tradition to feature a cowboy as its main protagonist. Here we are pleased to offer both of Curtis's published novels--likely the first time either has appeared in a bookseller catalogue--as well as a hitherto unknown manuscript short story entirely in Curtis's hand. **This is the only significant offering of Curtis material ever offered in the trade**.





Emma Frances Ghent was born to a Midwestern farming family, one of a dozen children, in Frankfort, Indiana, on May 18, 1860. In 1877 she graduated from Frankfort High School, and by 1885 she had married Englishman James Curtis and moved to Canon City in Fremont County, Colorado. There, she and James--a farmer like her father--began a family while sharing their home

with several of James's relatives. Despite the living arrangement and having two young children of her own, she began to write seriously at this time, efforts that met with quick success.

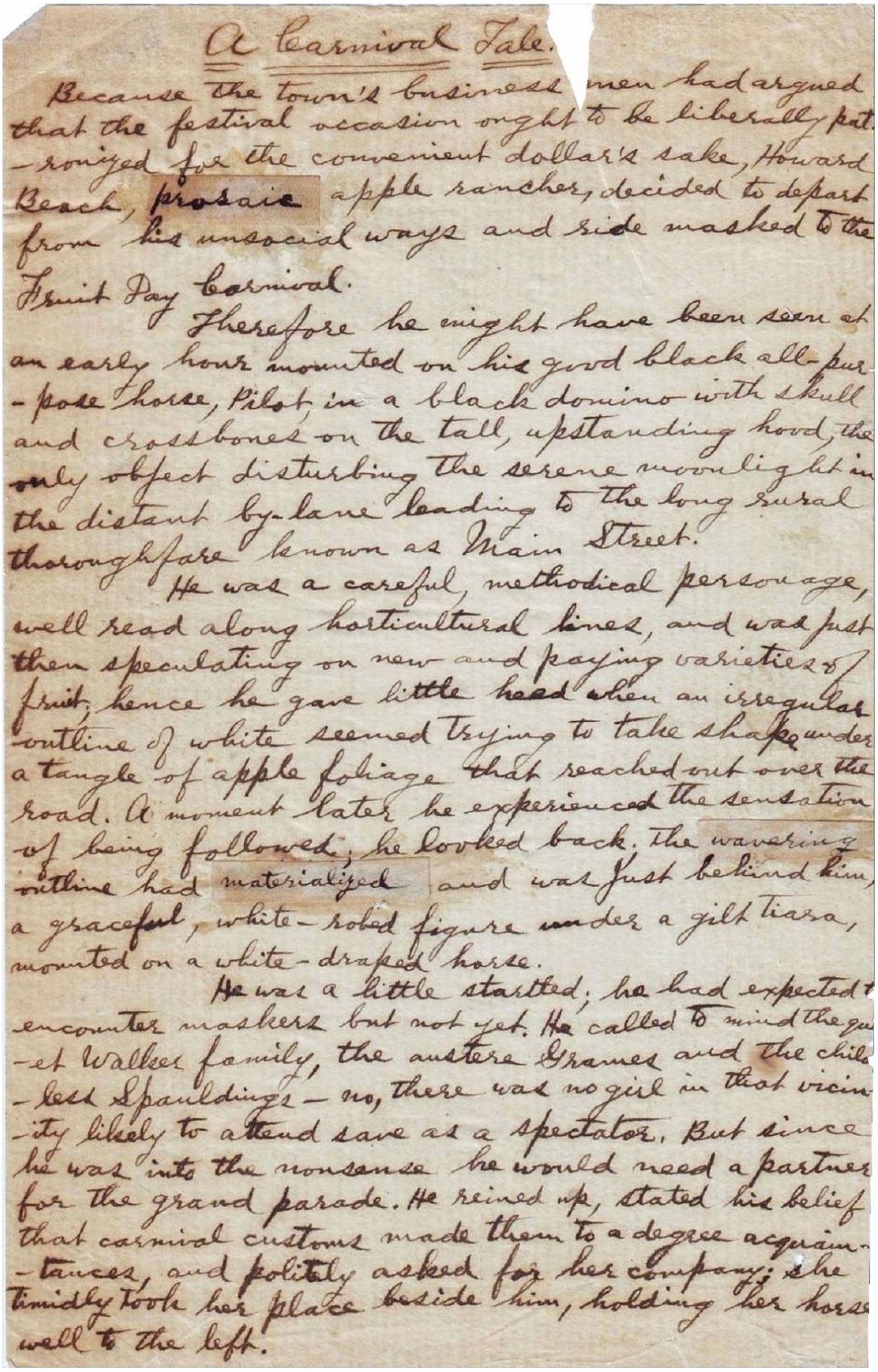
In 1888, the New York firm of John A. Berry & Company published the first of her two novels, *The Fate of a Fool*. In it, an idealistic teacher from back east moves to the mountains of Colorado and marries a handsome, successful rancher with a dark secret: as a single man, he had occasionally enjoyed the company of prostitutes. Gessia, the heroine (or victim), eventually dies brokenhearted, unable to live with her disgrace. One cowboy, a ranch hand named Frank Hatten, figures prominently in the story. Believing himself unworthy of a pure woman, he weds Sallie, a prostitute who had given birth to his child out of wedlock. Yet because of their honesty and their lack of pretension, Frank and Sallie turn out to be good partners for each other and stable parents for their young son, Jake.

Just one year later, in 1889, Curtis published her second and more ambitious novel, *The Administratrix*, with John B. Alden of New York (actually, Alden and Berry may have been the same publisher, since Alden's middle name was Berry). Here the cowboy and the cowboy's life move from the periphery of the story to center stage. Mary, a teacher like Gessia in *The Fate of a Fool*, moves from Indiana to Colorado (like Curtis herself) and marries a local cowboy named Jim. Jim acquires a herd of his own--an upward mobility not allowed the common cowboy--and runs afoul of rich cattlemen who falsely accuse him of rustling. They see to it that Jim is lynched while in the sheriff's custody, leaving Mary to administer his estate (the novel's Administratrix). She puts his affairs in order and departs for New Mexico, where she spends the next four months learning the skills of a cowboy. Disguised as a young man, she returns to Colorado and is hired by those men responsible for Jim's death. Then, in a climatic shoot-out, she kills them all. Thus was western fiction's first cowboy hero really a cross-dressing, vigilante cow*girl*.

Yet Curtis was writing for more than mere plot and thrills. As Victoria Lamont notes in *Westerns: A Women's History*, Curtis created in Jim's character a strong male voice for women's rights--particularly the right to vote. Curtis was a suffragist of national reputation and played a central role in the success of Colorado's suffrage referendum of 1893; with its passage, Colorado became the first state to make women's suffrage law. In 1910, fellow suffragist Alice Hubbard recalled Curtis's influence at the 1892 convention of the Colorado Populist Party:

> In that meeting appeared a little woman named Emma Ghent Curtis, from Canon City, who buttonholed the delegates in favor of putting a plank in the platform for woman suffrage….The Democratic Convention met, then she went to get it in that, and then she got it into the Republican platform--so that all the platforms had the demand for woman suffrage. And it was made into law because that little lone woman left her home and her babies and battled for it alone [*in* Lamont 2016:13].

Curtis would remain deeply involved in suffrage and populist movements for the rest of her life. She would also continue to write, though *The Fate of a Fool* and *The Administratrix* were to be her only novels. Beyond this, she published one other piece of prose fiction, a short story titled "In the Dark of the Moon," as well as numerous poems in local and national magazines. She also



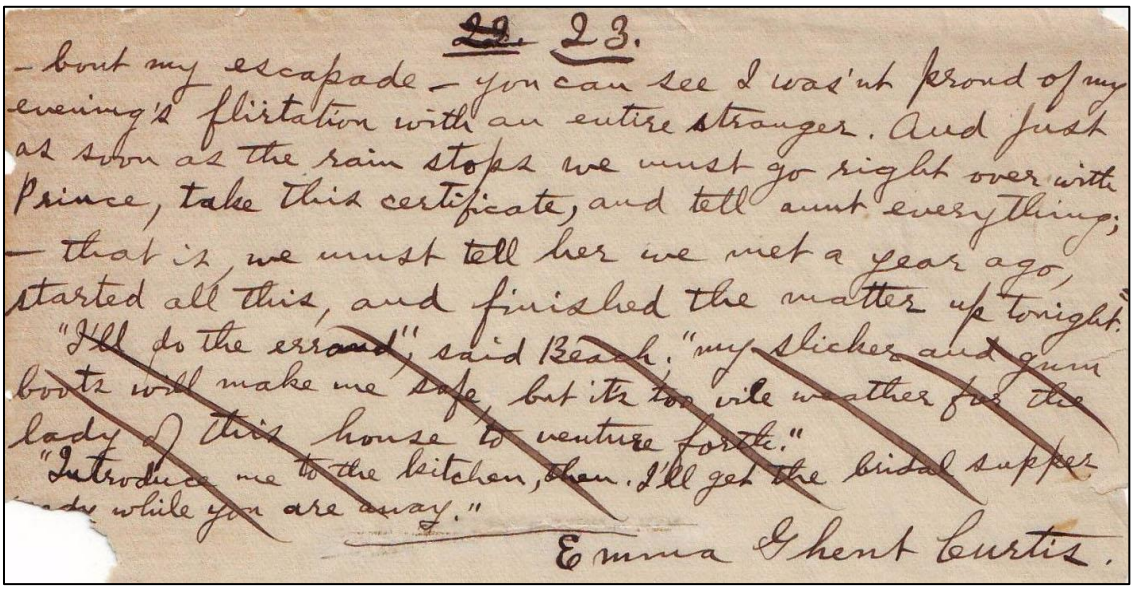
A Carnival Tale.

Because the town's business men had argued that the festival occasion ought to be liberally patronized for the convenient dollar's sake, Howard Beach, prosaic apple rancher, decided to depart from his unsocial ways and ride masked to the Fruit Day carnival.

Therefore he might have been seen at an early hour mounted on his good black all-purpose horse, Pilot, in a black domino with skull and crossbones on the tall, upstanding hood, the only object disturbing the serene moonlight in the distant by-lane leading to the long rural thoroughfare known as Main Street.

He was a careful, methodical personage, well read along horticultural lines, and was just then speculating on new and paying varieties of fruit, hence he gave little head when an irregular outline of white seemed trying to take shape under a tangle of apple foliage that reached out over the road. A moment later he experienced the sensation of being followed; he looked back. the wavering outline had materialized and was just behind him, a graceful, white-robed figure under a gilt tiara, mounted on a white-draped horse.

He was a little startled; he had expected to encounter maskers but not yet. He called to mind the Jewett Walker family, the austere Grames and the childless Spauldings — no, there was no girl in that vicinity likely to attend save as a spectator. But since he was into the nonsense he would need a partner for the grand parade. He reined up, stated his belief that carnival customs made them to a degree acquaintances, and politely asked for her company. She timidly took her place beside him, holding her horse well to the left.


22 23.
-bout my escapade – you can see I was'nt proud of my evening's flirtation with an entire stranger. And just as soon as the rain stops we must go right over with Prince, take this certificate, and tell aunt everything; – that is we must tell her we met a year ago, started all this, and finished the matter up tonight."
"I'll do the errand," said Beach, "my slicker and gum boots will make me safe, but its too vile weather for the lady of this house to venture forth."
"Introduce me to the kitchen, then. I'll get the bridal supper ready while you are away."
Emma Ghent Curtis.

edited a Canon City newspaper, *The Royal Gorge Review*. Emma Ghent Curtis died in Canon City on February 20, 1918. The epitaph on her tombstone reads

O, peaceful death: at last I feel
Your tender care for those you choose;
This restful sleep that steals my pain
Were far too deep and sweet to lose

The grouping of Emma Ghent Curtis works offered here includes both of her published novels in very good condition. Each is quite rare; OCLC records only eight copies of *Fate of a Fool* and nine copies of *Administratrix*. Moreover, only four institutional collections hold both: The Library of Congress, The Huntington Library, The University of Pennsylvania's Caroline F. Schimel Fiction Collection of Women in the American Wilderness, and Ohio State University's William Charvet Collection of American Literature. Finally, we can find no evidence that either has ever been offered at auction or in the trade.

But the most important item offered in this grouping is an unpublished manuscript short story entirely in Curtis's hand. **There are no known institutional or private holdings of Curtis manuscript material of any sort: this story may thus be the only surviving Curtis manuscript**. Titled "A Carnival Tale," it is a complete, 23-page holograph draft signed "Emma Ghent Curtis" after the final line of text. The story is set in and around Denver at the Festival of Mountain and Plain, a yearly masquerade that was held from 1895 to 1899, in 1901, and for one last time in 1912. Thus, while the story itself is undated, Curtis must have written it after 1895. "A Carnival Tale" follows the courtship of Howard Beach and a mysterious young woman, both masked and therefore strangers to the other, who meet on their way to the ball. The manuscript is filled with numerous draft corrections, strike-throughs, and paste overs, showing the care with which Curtis edited her own writing. "A Carnival Tale" is an important, unpublished, and until now unknown work by a recently rediscovered western writer and suffragist.

Relevant sources:

Banta, Richard E. (compiler)
1949 *Indiana Authors and Their Books, 1816-1916; biographical sketches of authors who published during the first century of Indiana statehood, with lists of their books*. Wabash College, Crawforsdville, Indiana.

Baym, Nina
2012 *Women Writers of the American West, 1833-1927*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Lamont, Victoria
2016 *Westerns: A Women's History*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

McConnaughy, Corrine M.
2013 *The Woman Suffrage Movement in America: A Reassessment*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Mead, Rebecca J.
2004 *How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914*. New York University Press, New York.

– –

Curtis, Emma Ghent. THE FATE OF A FOOL. John A. Berry & Company, New York, 1888. 202 pp. 20 cm. Original navy blue cloth, gilt title on spine and front board. Light wear to spine tips and corners, light spotting on boards and spine. Light scattered foxing, very small chip to lower corner of title page, binding tight. Overall very good. [Wright American Fiction. v. 3, 1876-1900; no. 1351].

Curtis, Emma Ghent. THE ADMINISTRATRIX. John B. Alden, Publisher, New York, 1889. 373 pp. 20 cm. Original light blue cloth, spine with black ink lettering and lasso vignette, front board with black ink vignette of cowboy on horseback. Spine titles faded, light wear at top and base of spine, binding tight. Very good. [Wright American Fiction. v. 3, 1876-1900; no. 1350].

Curtis, Emma Ghent. A CARNIVAL TALE [manuscript title]. N.p., n.d., but probably Canon City, Colorado, between 1895-1912. 23 pp. (about 6000 words), on rectos only, handwritten and extensively revised in black ink, some editorial corrections in blue, signed by the author on final leaf. Numerous strike-throughs and paste overs. Paper is relatively brittle, and a few of the leaves have edge chips that affect an occasional word. Each leaf is housed in an acid-free sleeve, stored together in a black, three-ring binder.

For the group:

20. SOLD.

Tercio, Colorado: Rare Photographs of a Rocky Mountain Coal Town

In 1902, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company established a series of five coal towns in the Purgatoire Valley of southern Colorado. The firm's disquieting lack of imagination in the names it bestowed on its towns--Primero, Segundo, Tercio, Cuatro, and Quinto--appears to validate our worst stereotypes of corporate indifference to people. Yet these towns were part of an innovative new approach to improving daily life in western mining communities. Only the year before, CF&I had created a Sociological Department tasked with "all matters pertaining to education and sanitary conditions and other matters which should assist in bettering conditions under which our men live" (Cooper 2002:13). Tercio--third of the five new towns--was to be the model, providing a standard for turning tent camps and ramshackle mining towns into livable communities.

All five of the sister towns were placed in Las Animas County, on a 250,000-acre portion of the former Maxwell Grant that CG&I had purchased in 1901. Tercio enjoyed the best and most picturesque location of the group. Robert L. Brown, writing of modern-day Colorado ghost towns, notes eloquently that "On three sides the site is cradled by low lying, thickly-wooded hills. To the north, the Sangre de Cristos push skyward in misty rows of cracked escarpments" (1972:273). By 1905, the town's population had soared to more than a thousand people, a cultural mosaic of recent immigrants both to America and to the American West that included Italians, Mexicans, Germans, Scotch, Irish, Swedes, and at least one African American employee.

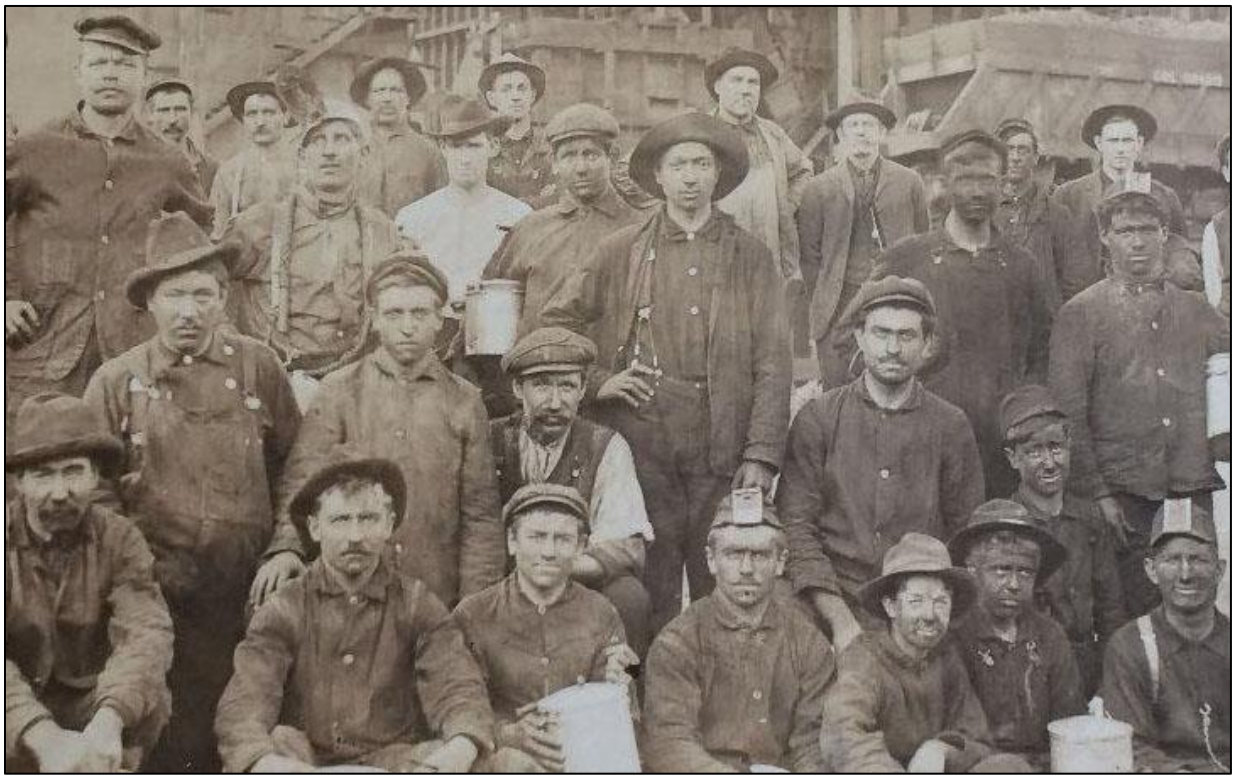
Town planners for CF&I's Sociological Department, working in cooperation with the Fuel Department, built houses for the miners that were "comfortable, attractive, and sanitary" (Cooper 2002:25). In April 1904, Tercio had 151 houses--48 three-room, 76 four-room, three five-room, and 24 six-room--all laid out along a formal, rectangular grid. Most of these homes had lawns and gardens, many had porches, and each had a trash box that was emptied daily. There was also a club house or saloon, a school house, and a massive, three-story company store, built of stone and wood in a Romanesque style with Gothic and Victorian embellishments, that showcased Tercio as the model company town. Yet Tercio *was* a company town: miners and their families lived under constant surveillance and could be evicted from their homes at any time, for any reason.

Even the best town planning and organization could not protect Tercio's laborers from the dangers of mining coal, nor its corporate owners from the labor uprisings that plagued Colorado in the early 1900s. On October 28, 1904, a terrible blast tore through Tercio's Mine No. 3, owned by the Rocky Mountain Coal and Iron Company (a subsidiary of CF&I). The explosion--caused when a routine blow out shot ignited air saturated with volatile coal dust--killed 19 miners, most of whom were Italian and Austrian immigrants. Significantly, the coroner's jury found RMC&I partly to blame for the disaster: had the firm used electricity to fire the shots remotely, rather than having miners fire them by hand, then all of the miners would have been safely outside the tunnels when the blast occurred. Unfortunately, the Tercio explosion was only the first of several disasters at CF&I mines in Las Animas County. Along with Tercio, explosions at Cuatro in 1906, at Primero in 1907 and in 1910, and at Starkville in 1910 killed 193 miners from 1904 to 1910.

In 1913, Tercio's residents joined fellow miners organized by the United Mine Workers of America and walked away from their work and their homes in what became the Southern Colorado


122
5
126

Coalfield War. Demanding better safety and an eight-hour day, they relocated to a tent camp just outside the town, pitched on land leased by the union. Across Las Animas County, other company towns were likewise abandoned for tent camps, the largest of which--located at Ludlow, some 50 miles northeast of Tercio--held 200 tents and about 1200 miners. The companies, led by John D. Rockefeller, who had gained control of CF&I in 1904, refused to negotiate. The strike dragged on for months, from September 1913 into April 1914, with sporadic outbreaks of violence between the strikers and sheriffs, strikebreakers, and the Colorado National Guard. Then, on the morning of April 20, gunfire broke out at Ludlow, beginning what quickly became known as the Ludlow Massacre. More than 20 people were killed that day, including 11 children and 2 women who had taken shelter from the battle in a pit beneath one of the tents and were trapped when it burned. In retaliation, the union issued a call to arms and began a guerilla war that lasted for ten days and was only quelled when President Woodrow Wilson ordered federal troops to the scene. In the end, as many as 75 people died during the uprising, which has been referred to "the deadliest strike in the history of the United States" (Papanikolas 1982:331).



Tercio never recovered. The strike had thrown Colorado into an economic depression that drastically lowered the value of coal. In 1915, CF&I dismantled the place that little more than a decade earlier it had promoted as the model company town. Today, the company store is the only building that still stands on the original townsite. **These seven photographs, silver gelatin prints on their original mounts, are undoubtedly among the best surviving images of Tercio during its brief heyday**. Two of these feature wide, panoramic views of the town. The first, with the massive company store in the left foreground and the school house in the distance, looks from east to west across the valley; the second looks west to east, and both showcase the town's neatly gridded streets, clean houses, and fenced-in yards. Two other images provide panoramic views of

the valley and Tercio's coke ovens, with a steam train in the foreground. One photograph offers a close view of the coal washery in fine detail. The most poignant views, though, are the two unique photographs of the miners themselves. In one, a group of 37 men (and a dog) pose with their lunch buckets in front of a washery. The other captures a smaller group (27) of these same men (and the same dog). We cannot know if any of these men perished in the disaster of 1904, or if any played a role in the events of 1913 and 1914. Yet these images--as much as any others, anywhere--bring real faces to the story of labor and immigration in Colorado's coalfields.

Relevant sources:

Andrews, Thomas G.
2008 *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
Brown, Robert L.
2002 *Colorado Ghost Towns: Past and Present*. Caxton Press, Caldwell, ID.
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company
1902 Tercio, Colorado: The Most Recent of C.F.&I. Camps [in English, Italian, and Slavic]. *Camp and Plant* 2(6):129-136.
Cooper, Tammy G.
2002 Colorado Supply Company Store Number 31, Tercio, Colorado: A Historical Perspective. Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Architecture, Texas Tech University, Lubbock.
Papanikolas, Zeese
1982 *Buried Unsung: Louis Tikas and the Ludlow Massacre*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
Rees, Jonathan H.
2010 *Representation and Rebellion: The Rockefeller Plan at the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, 1914-1942*. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.

– –

[Colorado]: Colorado Fuel and Iron Company: [SEVEN ORIGINAL AND MOUNTED SILVER GELATIN PHOTOGRAPHS DOCUMENTING THE COAL MINING TOWN OF TERCIO, COLORADO, AND ITS OPERATIONS]. [Tercio, Colorado, ca. 1905-1910]. Mounted silver gelatin prints with contemporary manuscript captions in ink on verso of each mount. All prints measure 7 x 5 in (18 x 12 cm) on 9 x 7 in (23 x 18 cm) mounts. Black mounts with very light edge wear, photographs with very light occasional foxing. Two prints numbered in the negative, one in pencil on the print. Near fine.

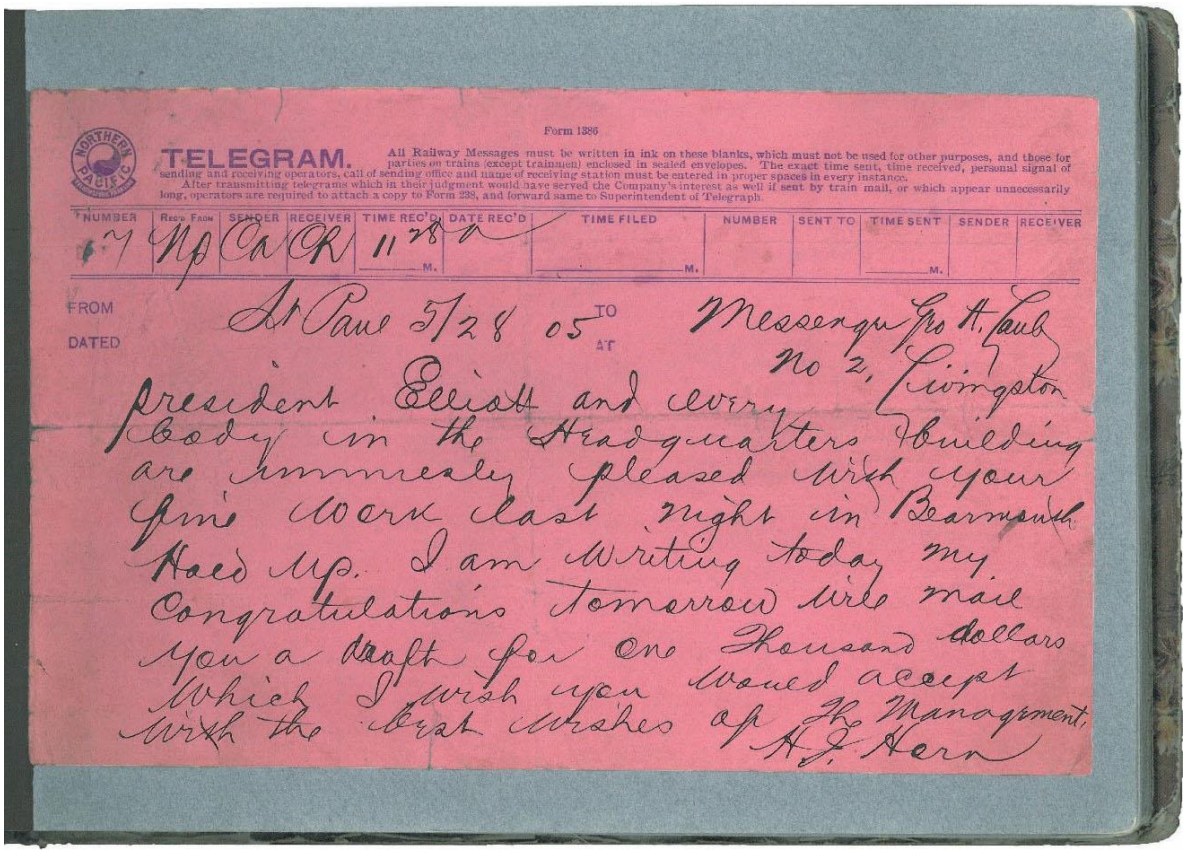
$1750.

An Expressman's Reward: George Laub Foils a Montana Train Heist

At 11:00 on the night of May 25, 1905, Northern Pacific Railroad's eastbound Train No. 2 pulled into the station at Bearmouth, Montana, in the Clark Fork Valley between Missoula and Butte. The steam locomotive took on water and had just begun to move again when the engineer and the fireman found themselves facing a well-built man with a pair of pistols, his face concealed by a slouch hat. The man fired two or three shots to demonstrate his seriousness, then ordered the engineer, George Wilson, to separate the engine, the express car, and the baggage car from the rest of the train before continuing on up the tracks. Wilson, with assistance from his fireman, hurriedly complied. Two miles east of Bearmouth, the gunman told them to stop the engine, then marched them back to the express car where he was confident that his spoils were waiting. Yet as the night unfolded, he would prove no match for the man protecting those spoils, expressman George Laub of Spokane, Washington. **Laub's heroics are documented in this album, which he appears to have compiled himself as a memento of the attempted heist. We have found no comparable record, created by a participant, in the annals of American train robberies**.

Few events in the sum of our Old West mythos have attained the iconic status of the train robbery. Before the train, of course, was the stagecoach, which after 1827--with the invention of the Concord Coach--became the most dependable means for moving people and goods across long, overland distances. After mid-century, coaches were outfitted with a padlocked express box, often referred to as a "treasure box," that Wells Fargo and other shipping firms used to move mail and valuables such as coin, bullion, and ore. Stagecoach robbery soon gained iconic status in its own right. Expressmen tasked with carrying mail and gold between towns and isolated mining camps became guardians of the express box, usually riding alongside drivers atop the stage. Then, as the train replaced the stage in the 1870s, the express box became the express car, where the expressman rode alone both for his own safety and for that of the other passengers.

Without question, the loneliest and most remote sections of any train's route were among the most appealing to would-be robbers. And Bearmouth was remote indeed: in the decade from 1898 to 1908, Northern Pacific trains were held up there at least 15 times. As the gunman marched the engineer and fireman back to the express car that night of May 25, all of the elements seemed in his favor: isolation, near-total darkness, and the chilling effect of his pistols at the backs of the two trainmen. At the express car, he ordered Laub to come out. Laub refused. When he threatened to blow up the car with Laub inside, the expressman stepped down from the car and joined Wilson and the fireman outside. With Laub out of the way, the robber attached four sticks of dynamite to the side of the express car's safe and set off a charge. The safe held. Six more met with the same result, so in frustration the gunman tried 16 sticks, and these both destroyed the safe and splintered much of the car's wooden frame. Satisfied, he told the engineer, Wilson, to strike a match for light and enter the car first; he would follow, with Laub to come behind. And that decision--to be the second man inside, rather than last--would be his undoing.



Form 1386

TELEGRAM. All Railway Messages must be written in ink on these blanks, which must not be used for other purposes, and those for parties on trains (except trainmen) enclosed in sealed envelopes. The exact time sent, time received, personal signal of sending and receiving operators, call of sending office and name of receiving station must be entered in proper spaces in every instance. After transmitting telegrams which in their judgment would have served the Company's interest as well if sent by train mail, or which appear unnecessarily long, operators are required to attach a copy to Form 238, and forward same to Superintendent of Telegraph.

NUMBER	Rec'd From	SENDER	RECEIVER	TIME REC'D	DATE REC'D	TIME FILED	NUMBER	SENT TO	TIME SENT	SENDER	RECEIVER
17	NP	Ca	CR	11 28 a M.		M.			M.		

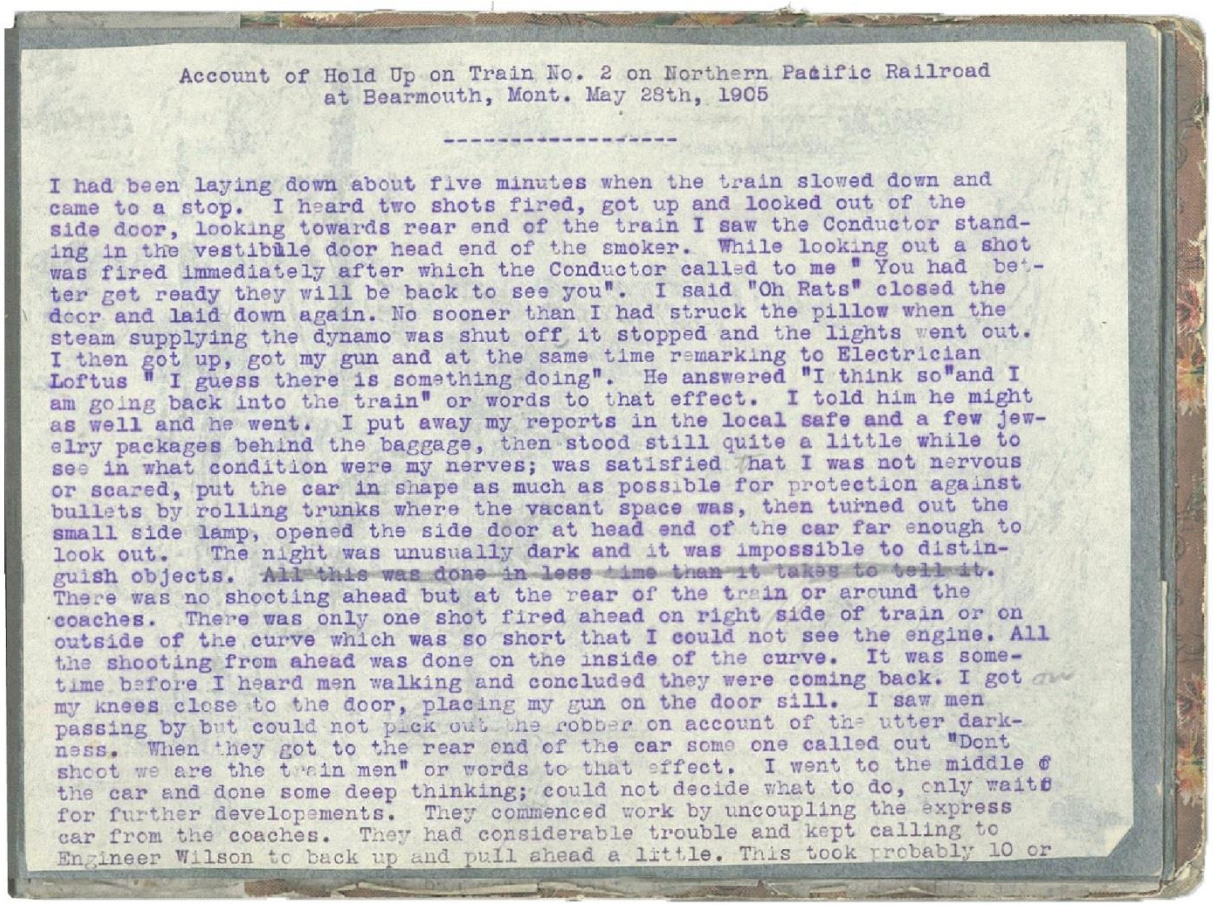
FROM St Paul DATED 5/28 05 TO Messenger Geo H. Laub AT No 2, Livingston

President Elliott and every body in the Headquarters Building are immensely pleased with your fine work last night in Bearmouth Held up. I am writing today my Congratulations tomorrow will mail you a draft for one Thousand dollars Which I wish you would accept With the best wishes of The Managment A. J. Horn

The engineer held the flickering match as the robber bent over the remains of the safe, and in the dim light he saw that Laub had quietly lifted a timber from the wreckage of the door. Wilson blew out the match just as Laub raised the beam and brought it down on the back of the gunman's neck, then in the darkness struck him another blow across the forehead that knocked him instantly unconscious. Laub and Wilson bound the senseless man and ran the engine, baggage, and express cars ahead to Drummond, just about 10 miles farther east. In the meantime, after Laub and Wilson had climbed aboard the express car with the gunman, the fireman--left to himself outside--ran two miles back to Bearmouth and telegraphed for help. On the assumption that the would-be thief had

not acted alone, a posse gathered quickly in Missoula and boarded a train to Bearmouth, but it soon became clear that there were no accomplices.

The gunman received emergency medical treatment in Drummond, then was carried on to Phillipsburg without regaining consciousness. Doctors there told investigators and reporters that the man was unlikely to survive. Yet over the next few days he began to recover, though at first he refused to give his name. Eventually he broke, identifying himself as Clarence B. Young and claiming to have worked in Missoula's lumber camps for a nearly decade. Not surprisingly, given how it unfolded, this had been his first attempt at train robbery. Young requested, and received, a speedy trial, convicted and sentenced less than two weeks after his capture. If Young believed that his lack of prior experience robbing trains would result in leniency, he was mistaken. The judge handed down a sentence of 50 years hard labor at Deer Lodge Penitentiary.



Account of Hold Up on Train No. 2 on Northern Pacific Railroad
at Bearmouth, Mont. May 28th, 1905

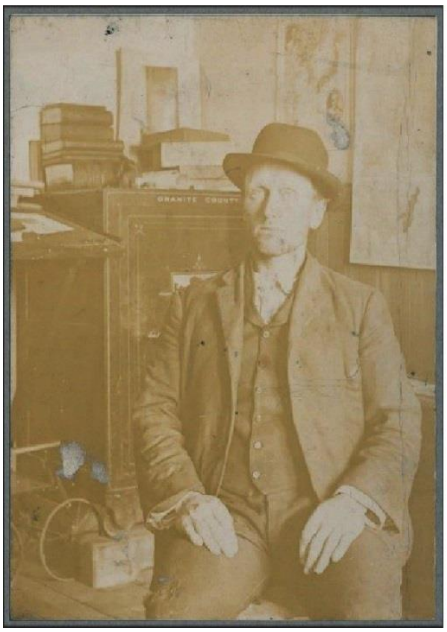
I had been laying down about five minutes when the train slowed down and came to a stop. I heard two shots fired, got up and looked out of the side door, looking towards rear end of the train I saw the Conductor standing in the vestibule door head end of the smoker. While looking out a shot was fired immediately after which the Conductor called to me " You had better get ready they will be back to see you". I said "Oh Rats" closed the door and laid down again. No sooner than I had struck the pillow when the steam supplying the dynamo was shut off it stopped and the lights went out. I then got up, got my gun and at the same time remarking to Electrician Loftus " I guess there is something doing". He answered "I think so"and I am going back into the train" or words to that effect. I told him he might as well and he went. I put away my reports in the local safe and a few jewelry packages behind the baggage, then stood still quite a little while to see in what condition were my nerves; was satisfied that I was not nervous or scared, put the car in shape as much as possible for protection against bullets by rolling trunks where the vacant space was, then turned out the small side lamp, opened the side door at head end of the car far enough to look out. The night was unusually dark and it was impossible to distinguish objects. All this was done in less time than it takes to tell it. There was no shooting ahead but at the rear of the train or around the coaches. There was only one shot fired ahead on right side of train or on outside of the curve which was so short that I could not see the engine. All the shooting from ahead was done on the inside of the curve. It was sometime before I heard men walking and concluded they were coming back. I got my knees close to the door, placing my gun on the door sill. I saw men passing by but could not pick out the robber on account of the utter darkness. When they got to the rear end of the car some one called out "Dont shoot we are the train men" or words to that effect. I went to the middle of the car and done some deep thinking; could not decide what to do, only wait for further developements. They commenced work by uncoupling the express car from the coaches. They had considerable trouble and kept calling to Engineer Wilson to back up and pull ahead a little. This took probably 10 or

Laub and Wilson were hailed as heroes, and the accounts of their quick-thinking actions at Bearmouth made national news, covered in papers from the *Washington Post* to the *Los Angeles Herald* and dozens more between. Northern Pacific's grateful president, Norman Elliot, presented each man with a reward of $1000--nearly a full year's salary and more than $25,000 today. Laub's personal album offers a remarkable and detailed record of these events, including six original silver print photographs of the damaged express car and the exploded safe; nine congratulatory telegrams and letters on Northern Pacific letterhead, including one on behalf of company President Norman

Elliot, one from General Superintendent F. W. Gilbert, and seven from other well-wishers; Laub's five-page, annotated account of the hold-up, dated May 28 and mimeographed; another, four-page account of the hold-up, dated May 29, dictated by Laub to L. M. Hughes and signed in ink (typed); a short, typed letter signed to Laub from Montana's first (and fourth) governor, Joseph K. Toole, on Executive Office letterhead; a handwritten note on company letterhead identifying the gunman as Clarence B. Young; numerous newspaper clippings; and an original photograph of George Laub himself posed in front of a large safe.

Any primary source material on train and stagecoach robberies is exceedingly scarce, even in institutional holdings. The Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley holds the Southern Pacific Railroad Company's train robbery records, compiled from 1892 to 1940 and mostly pertaining to robberies in California, Arizona, and Oregon. The Briscoe Center at the University of Texas holds a collection of correspondence, financial records, and printed material documenting two robberies of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railway in New Mexico and Iowa in July and September of 1904, respectively. The Minnesota Historical Society holds the records of the Great Northern Express Company, which contain train robbery reports from 1901 to 1912. At auction, Heritage Galleries offered the Wells Fargo & Company's "Train Robbery" ledger in 2008, which recorded information on 95 train robberies or attempted robberies from 1870 to 1902 and brought a price of $47,800. Although there are additional scattered holdings and occasional offerings of letters, mug shots, wanted posters, and other paper materials, none of these provide as comprehensive a record of any single robbery or attempted robbery as this album that Laub compiled. As well, there seems

to be no comparable record of any kind assembled by an actual participant, much less one whose actions became headline news from one coast to the other.



Relevant sources:

Gustafson, W. F. (editor)
1964 Great Train Robbery Days Gone, But Railroad Police Still Have Job to Do. *Telltale, for Employees of the Northern Pacific Railway Company* XXVII(9):4-5.

Koelbel, Lenora
1972 *Missoula the Way It Was: A Portrait of an Early Western Town*. Gateway Printing and Lithography, Missoula.

Patterson, Richard
1991 *The Train Robbery Era: An Encyclopedic History*. Pruett Publishing Co., Boulder, CO.

Dozens of newspapers carried contemporary reports of the attempted hold-up and its aftermath, including national outlets such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Herald*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

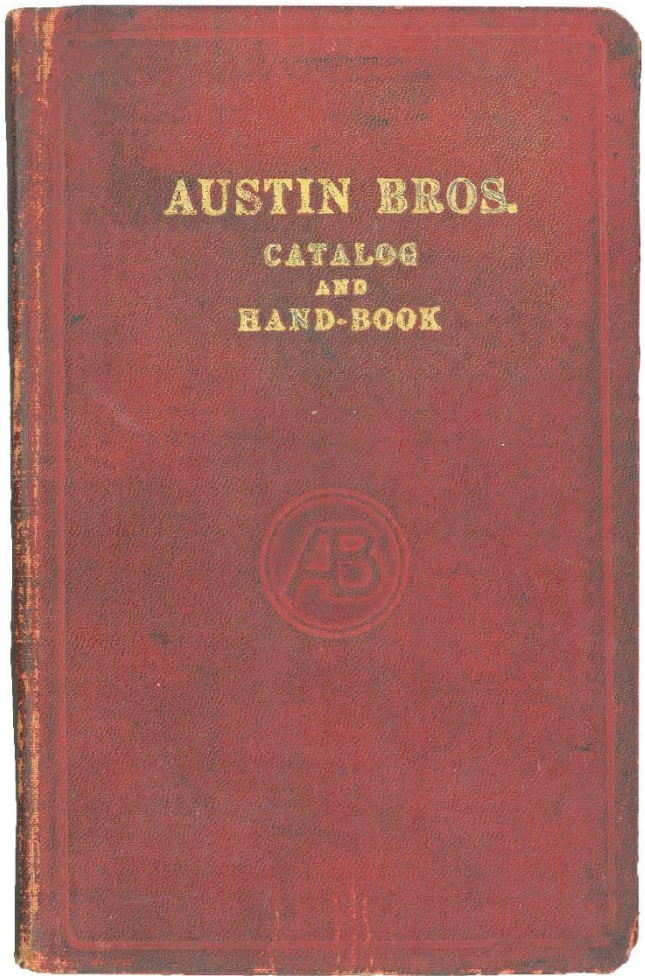
– –

[Montana]: George Laub: [ALBUM DOCUMENTING AN ATTEMPTED TRAIN ROBBERY AT BEARMOUTH, MONTANA, ON MAY 25, 1905, COMPILED BY NORTHERN PACIFIC EXPRESSMAN GEORGE LAUB]. [likely Spokane, Washington, 1905]. Album with cloth spine and paper covered boards containing photographs, telegrams, mimeographed reports, typed letters signed, handwritten notes, and newspaper clippings. Reports, telegrams, and letters trimmed to fit album pages, with no loss. Album measures 9.5 x 7 in (24 x 18 cm) and holds 20 leaves (including the rear pastedown), all containing material. Edge wear to boards and chipping to edges of paper covering, hinges starting, contents excellent.

22. SOLD.

A Trade Catalogue from Austin Brothers Company, Texas Bridge Builders

At the turn of the 20th century, roads across the state of Texas--particularly those in rural areas--were notoriously poor. The great majority of these were composed entirely of dirt. Making matters worse, the bridges that carried rural roads across rivers and streams were themselves old and outdated, stone arch or wooden truss constructions, ill-suited for sustaining the kinds of loads demanded both by a rapidly growing local population and an increasing reliance on rail for shipping goods between rural and urban areas. The problem was not easily solved, as there were no companies in Texas devoted to fabricating bridges. Most such firms, rather, were located in the Northeast and Midwest. On receiving an order, distant shops produced the specified parts and shipped them out by rail, a process that could take many weeks or months from start to finish.



Enter the Austin Brothers Company, established at Dallas in 1910. Frank and George Austin had both worked as salesmen for a bridge fabrication company based in Des Moines, Iowa, when they moved to North Texas and founded the state's first steel plant dedicated to the production of metal truss bridges. The Austin Brothers Co. could offer bridges more quickly and cheaply than distant competitors in the Northeast and Midwest, and the firm used an array of innovative marketing techniques to reach new customers, including a monthly magazine delivered to county commissioners across Texas and a standardized mail-order catalogue. By 1915, just five years after opening its first plant, the Austin Brothers Co. had produced over a million pounds of steel and become the largest bridge builder in Texas. By the end of World War II, the company had secured more than 3000 bridge contracts in its home state alone.

In 1915, the Austin Brothers Co. published its first and only *Catalog and Hand-Book*. The firm's trade catalogue offered an impressive range of equipment and machinery, including rock crushers, street rollers, earth movers and graders, concrete mixers and even "Portable Steel Convict Jail Cars." Yet fully 50 pages of the catalogue were devoted to bridges and bridge components, a clear testament to the importance of this industry for the company's success and reputation. **The catalogue is quite rare today. OCLC records only five institutional holdings**: at the University of Chicago; the Hargrett Special Collections at the University of Georgia; the Daniel E. Kilgore Texana Collection at Texas A & M, Corpus Christi; the Burndy Collection on the history of science

and technology at the Huntington Library; and the Hagley Museum and Library on the history of American business and technology in Wilmington, Delaware. No copy ever seems to have been offered at auction or in the trade. In 2008, *Forbes Magazine* listed Austin Industries, the successor to Austin Brothers Co., #280 in its annual ranking of America's Largest Companies, with 6000 employees and revenues of 1.75 billion dollars. Even now, more than 200 of its early bridges still see daily use on Texas roads and highways.

Relevant sources:

Knight, Lila
2004 *A Guide to the Research and Documentation of Historic Bridges in Texas*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Historical Studies Report No. 2004-01. Austin, Texas.

McDonald, Archie P., and Richard Dilliard
1986 *In Celebration of Texas: An Illustrated History*. Windsor Publications, Encino, CA.

See also the Texas Historical Commission's entry on the Austin Brothers Co.: http://www.thc.texas.gov/explore/historic-bridges-texas/metal-truss-bridges/austin-brothers-bridge-company.

– –

[Texas]: CATALOG AND HAND-BOOK FOR BUYERS, ENGINEERS, BUILDERS: STEEL BRIDGES AND STRUCTURAL WORK, ROAD BUILDING MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT, STREET BUILDING, CLEANING AND MAINTAINING MACHINERY, METAL CULVERTS, TANKS, SHEETS AND ROOFING: PLANS AND ESTIMATES FURNISHED. Johnson Printing and Adv. Co., Dallas, Tex., 1915. 280 pp. Small 8vo (18 cm). Original red, flexible covers, gilt title and blindstamp on front cover. Light edge wear to spine and edges; webbing exposed between title page and contents, but binding tight and sound.

23. SOLD.

Forestry and Conservation in the Pacific Northwest: Two Early Albums

On March 3, 1891, Congress passed a single-sentence act authorizing the president, "from time to time," to establish forest reserves from public domain land. President Benjamin Harrison immediately created the Yellowstone Park Timberland Reserve, an area covering some 1.2 million acres, in western Wyoming (now part of the Shoshone National Forest). By the end of his term in 1893, he had established 14 additional reserves--all located in the American West--covering more than 13 million acres. Thus began both the National Forest System and the modern conservation movement. For the first few years, the newly created reserves were managed by the Department of the Interior, with forest reserve superintendents, supervisors, and rangers serving as the political appointees of U. S. senators. Actual forestry experience was not a job requirement; the Bureau of Forestry offered only technical advice and had no direct role in managing the forests. Then, in 1905, an act of Congress transferred control of all forestry reserves from Interior to the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of Forestry became the Forest Service. And for the first time, the managers of federal forests were hired on the basis of what they knew, not whom.

With the development of the conservation movement came the establishment of university programs focused on forestry. Both Cornell University and the Biltmore School in North Carolina founded forestry education programs in 1898. Yale University created the first graduate degree in forestry in 1900, while Minnesota and Iowa State created programs in 1903 and 1904, respectively. But the birth of the Forest Service in 1905 created a need for more professionally trained foresters than these universities could supply, such that the following years witnessed a burgeoning of new programs across the country. Among the first of these were the departments of forestry established in 1907 at the University of Washington and at Pennsylvania State University. The two photograph albums that we offer here were compiled by two early foresters with close ties to these foundational programs. Each album centers on a different part of the Pacific Northwest--one on coastal Alaska and the other on central Washington--and each opens a unique window onto both the beginnings of American forestry education and the U. S. Forest Service.

The first album was compiled by B. Frank Heintzleman, Regional Forester for the Territory of Alaska from 1937 to 1953, when President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed him as its next-to-last Territorial Governor. Benjamin Franklin Heintzleman was born in Fayetteville, Pennsylvania, in 1888 and graduated from Pennsylvania State's School of Forestry in 1907. From Penn State, he obtained his master's degree from Yale's forestry program before entering the Forest Service in 1910. Heintzleman worked in Oregon and Washington for his first eight years of service, but he was transferred to Alaska to oversee timber production when the United States entered World War I in 1918. Alaska would remain his home for the next half-century.

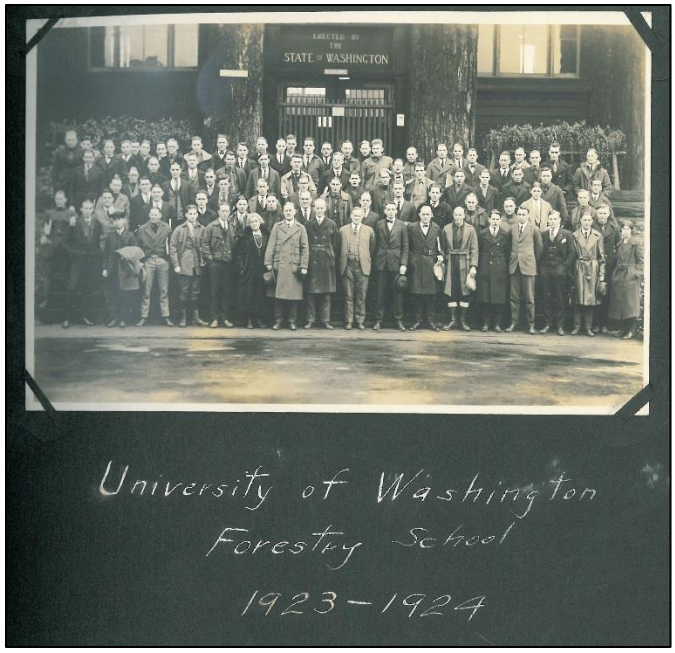
While his name does not appear in the album, a young Heintzleman features prominently in several photographs--posing in a dapper suit on a boat's deck or preparing to clean a large red snapper--and is identified in the accompanying manuscript caption list as "self." The album holds 156, 3 x 4 inch photographic negatives housed in numbered paper sleeves that link in turn to a set of corresponding numbers in the caption or subject list. The images all seem to date to the earliest years of Heintzleman's time in Alaska and focus on the islands, coves, and inlets from Glacier Bay south to Ketchikan, where he was stationed as Assistant Regional Forester. The negatives include

dozens of landscape and wildlife views, views of coastal towns and Native American settlements, Forest Service outposts and equipment--including the *Tahn*, the first vessel assigned to the Ranger boat program--and intimate portraits of other forestry personnel who served in Alaska through the early 1920s: engineer Lyle Blodgett sits atop the Tahn's pilot house; boatman Bernie Aikens and Supervisor Robert A. Zeller return from a hunt. **Taken together, these images are a remarkable record of the early Forest Service in Alaska by one of its key participants**.

From 1918 to 1934, Heintzleman was Assistant Regional Forester in Ketchikan, then ran the National Recovery Administration's conservation program from 1934 until his promotion to the position of Regional Forester for Alaska three years later. As Territorial Governor from 1953 to 1957, he focused on policies that would spur economic development, particularly in the timber, pulp, and fishing industries. Although he opposed statehood early in his term, he later changed his position and supported Alaska's transition from territory to state. Shortly after signing the bill

that created Alaska's Constitutional Convention in 1956, he resigned from the governorship, citing 46 years of government service and a desire for "less strenuous work." Heintzleman retired from public life, but remained on the University of Alaska's Board of Regents and served as an advisor to the Alaska Rail and Highway Commission. He died at Juneau on June 24, 1965. The University of Alaska, Fairbanks holds a small collection of material related to Heintzleman's career, though the largest archival collection is the Benjamin Frank Heintzleman papers at Yale.

The second album offered here was compiled by J. Edward Ritter and concentrates on the University of Washington's Forestry School from 1923 to 1925, during the time he was pursuing his undergraduate degree in Seattle and writing for the university's *Forest Club Quarterly*. Ritter



was born and raised in Ferry County, Washington, on May 28, 1902. After he earned his degree from the University of Washington, he joined the Service and reported to McCall, Idaho--headquarters of the Idaho National Forest--for his first junior forester position in 1926. For the next four years, he worked for the Forest Service in Ogden, Utah, as well as in the Ashley National Forest (Utah), in the Weiser National Forest (Idaho) and in the Bridger-Teton National Forest (Wyoming). In 1930, Ritter enrolled at Yale University to obtain his master's degree, then returned to Idaho where was appointed Pole Creek district ranger on the Sawtooth National Forest and oversaw a CCC camp. In 1934, he received a transfer to the upper Midwest (to the now eliminated Region 7), where he worked in fire control. After serving as Captain in the U. S. Army during World War II, he returned to the Forest Service in the Office of the Chief in Washington, D. C., in the Division of Fire Control. After a distinguished career in forestry, he retired to Mountain Home, Idaho, where he died on August 24, 1981.

Ritter's album--itself in excellent condition--contains 226 corner-mounted photographs, most measuring 5 x 7 or 3 x 4 inches. All of the images date to the period of his studies at the University of Washington, and many specifically focus on the class outings and fieldwork of the Forestry School. These include trips into the Cascade Mountains to observe lumbering operations and machinery in the Snoqualmie National Forest near Darrington, as well as Forestry Club trips into central Washington for skiing and mountain climbing. Among the field photographs are rare images of the Forestry School's faculty, including its long-serving dean, Hugo Winkenwerder, and Professor Burt P. Kirkland, as well as Professor of Botany George B. Rigg. There are also many photographs of the university's architecture and various student activities on campus. All of the photographs are captioned in a careful hand and artfully arranged. As the Heintzleman album does for the early Forest Service in Alaska, **the Edward Ritter photograph album offers an extensive and invaluable record of forestry education in the Pacific Northwest, at one of the oldest and most distinguished programs in the country**.

Relevant sources:

Green, Carol C.
2006 Forestry Education in the United States. *Issues in Science and Technology Librarianship*, No. 46 Supplement.

Rakestraw, Lawrence W.
1981 *A History of the United States Forest Service in Alaska*. A cooperative publication of the Alaska Historical Commission, Department of Education, State of Alaska; and the Alaska Region, United States Forest Service, Department of Agriculture; with the assistance of the Alaska Historical Society, Anchorage.

Steen, Harold K.
2004 *The U.S. Forest Service: A History*. Centennial Edition. Forest History Society, in association with the University of Washington Press, Seattle.

United States Department of Agriculture
1976 *Highlights in the History of Forest Conservation*. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Williams, Gerald W.
2007 *The Forest Service: Fighting for Public Lands*. Greenwood Press, Westport CT.

Wilson, Richa
2009 *A Sudden Influx of Ample Funds: Administrative Facilities of the Sawtooth National Forest*. Historic Context Statement & Evaluations, Forest Service Report No. SW-09-2443. USDA Forest Service Intermountain Region Facilities Group, Ogden Utah [for biographical information on Edward Ritter].

– –

[Alaska]: B. Frank Heintzleman: [ALBUM OF 156 PHOTOGRAPHIC NEGATIVES FROM THE EARLY U. S. FOREST SERVICE CAREER OF B. FRANK HEINTZLEMAN, LATER TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR, IN ALASKA]. [Various places in coastal Alaska, ca. 1918-1920]. 156 photographic negatives, most 4.5 x 3 in (11 x 7.5 cm); all housed in numbered paper sleeves in a small cloth album, 5.25 x 3.25 in (13 x 8 cm), with manuscript caption list bound in at front of album. Light wear, fraying, and spotting to album, button clasp present but broken. Overall in very good condition.

24. **$2750**.

[Washington State]: John Edward Ritter: [ALBUM OF 225 ORIGINAL SILVER GELATIN PHOTOGRAPHS DOCUMENTING THE EXPERIENCES OF JOHN EDWARD RITTER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON'S FORESTRY SCHOOL]. [Various places in coastal and central Washington State, ca. 1923-1925]. 225 silver gelatin photographs of various sizes, all corner-mounted in a black cloth album tied with cord. All photos captioned in white ink. Album measures11.5 x 7.5 in (29 x 19 cm). Light wear to album, photographs in excellent condition.

25. SOLD.