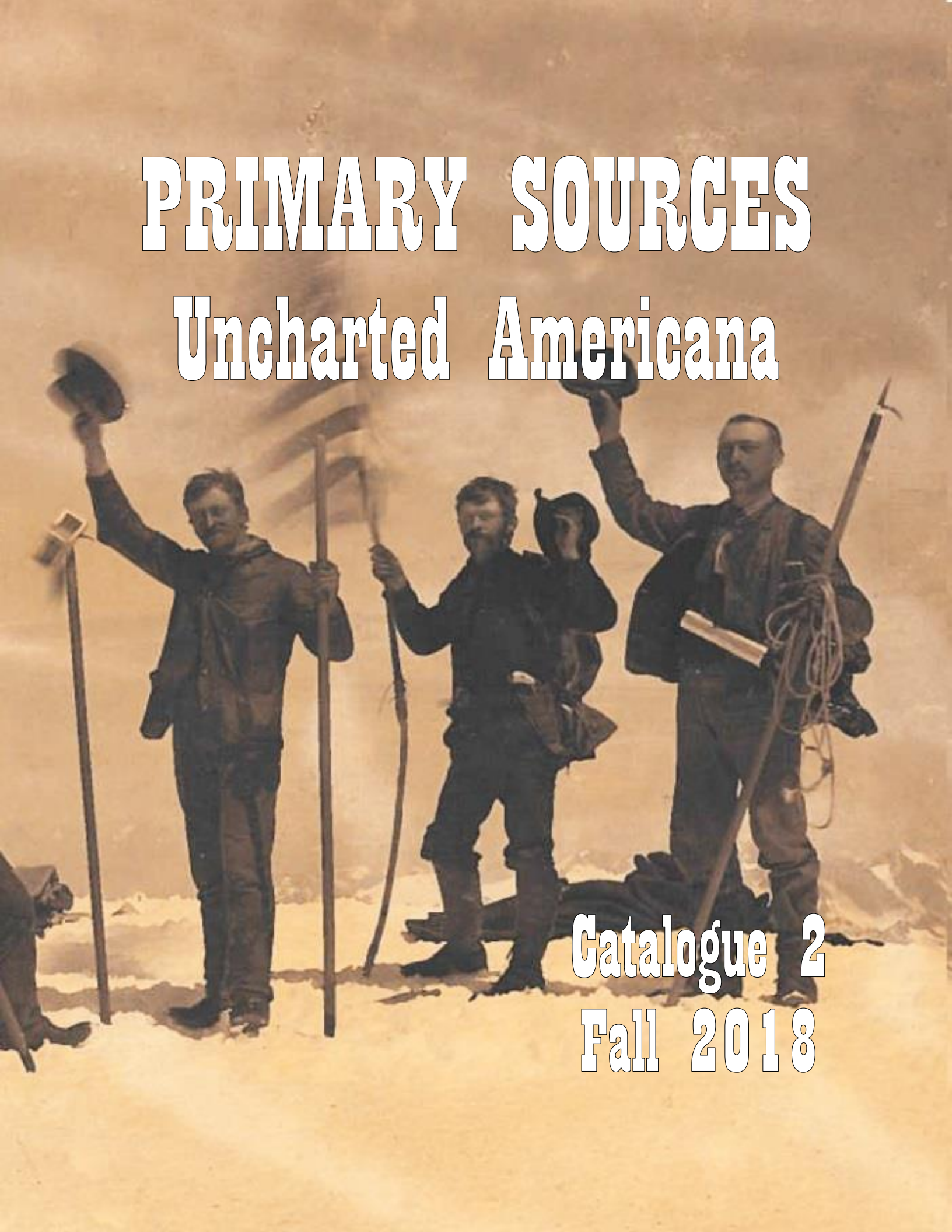
PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana



Catalogue 2

Fall 2018

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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Robin and Laoma Beck

Who We Are

Last year, after 20 years of focused collecting in a very specific slice of Americana, we issued our first catalogue, and we want to thank all of our new friends, clients, and colleagues who made it a success--successful enough, at any rate, for there to be a Catalogue 2. Like Catalogue 1, our second contains twenty-five items with important stories to tell, stories that range widely across the American experience: from the risk book of a London underwriter during the War of 1812 to the only military encounter between the United States and Texas, from an unrecorded broadside that captures the birth of San Francisco to a revolution in women's fashion; from an iconic view of Harvard University to the diary of a young teacher in Reconstruction-era Nashville; and from the poignant words of a young African American cadet unjustly dismissed from West Point to the plainspoken narrative of an elderly woman writing of her captivity as a child. Whether manuscript diaries, ledgers, and letters, printed pamphlets and broadsides, photographs, or even a children's spelling book, they all contribute new ways of seeing and thinking about the broader currents of American history. Our name is what they have in common. They are primary sources, and they are largely uncharted. This fall, like last, we offer a new catalogue with twenty-five unexpected items, fresh to the trade. So thanks again to everyone who supported our first effort, and we hope that you enjoy browsing Catalogue 2. 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.

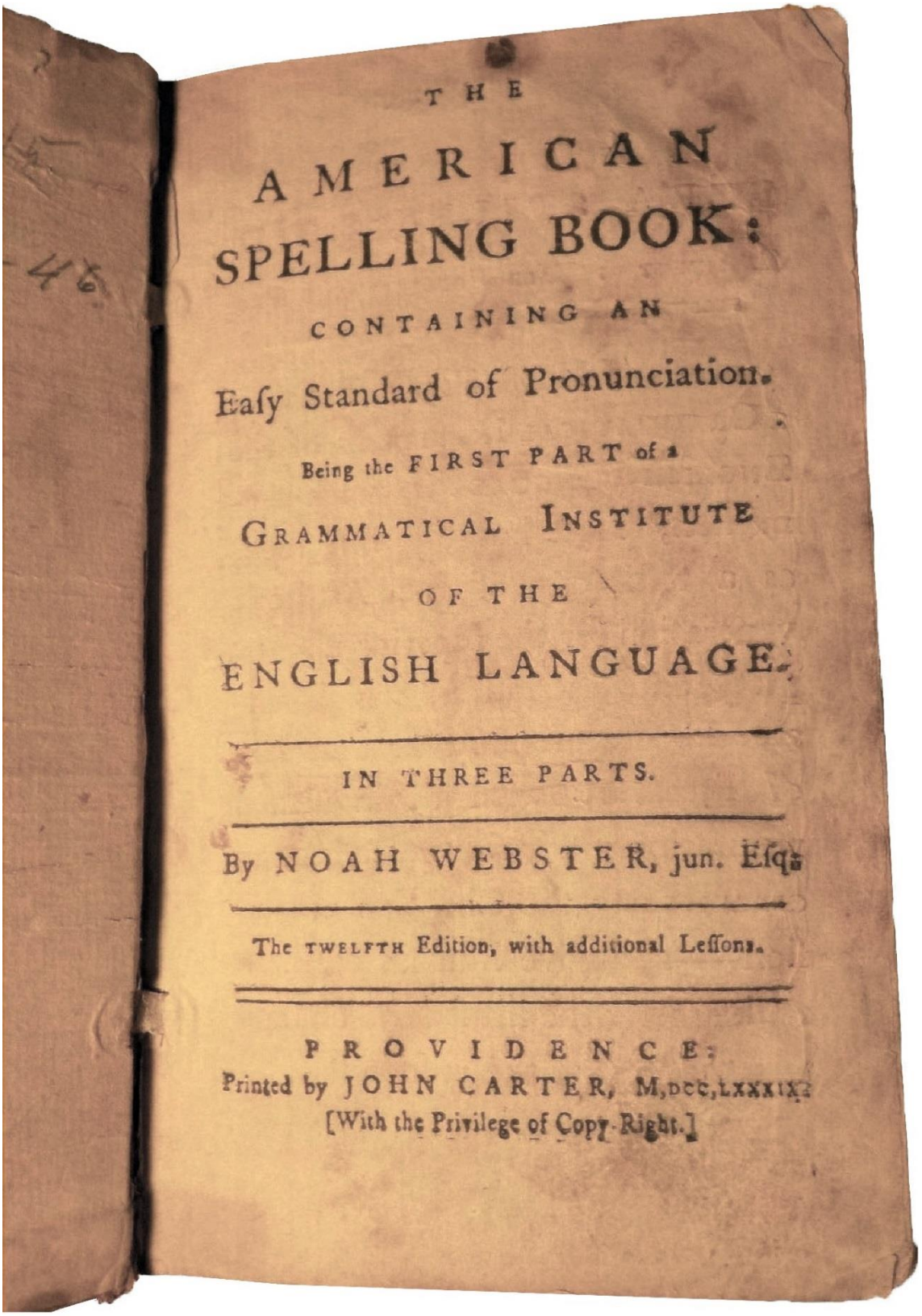
PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 2, Fall 2018

Contents

Webster's *Spelling Book*, Providence 1789: The Only Known Complete Copy

Few men of his generation, especially among those not renowned for their political careers, have had such a continuous influence on American society and culture as Noah Webster. Writer, editor, publisher, lexicographer, and educational pioneer, his name today is all but synonymous with his greatest achievement, the monumental dictionary he published in 1828--after nearly three decades of ceaseless labor--as *An American Dictionary of the English Language*. Yet had Webster never completed nor even conceived this remarkable work, his would still have been a household name throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, due largely to the extraordinary success of his little book that came to be known as the Blue-Back Speller, so named for the distinctive paper covering used in many later editions. First published as *The First Part of the Grammatical Institute of the English Language* at Hartford in 1783 (the *Second Part* was a grammar, the *Third Part* a reader), Webster thoroughly revised its text and gave it a simple new title in 1787 that would see it through dozens of editions over the decades to come: *The American Spelling Book*. Thus remade, it would become the best-selling book of any kind during the early years of the republic.



THE

AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK:

CONTAINING AN

Eaſy Standard of Pronunciation.

Being the FIRST PART of a

GRAMMATICAL INSTITUTE

OF THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

IN THREE PARTS.

By NOAH WEBSTER, jun. Eſq.

The TWELFTH Edition, with additional Leſſons.

PROVIDENCE:
Printed by JOHN CARTER, M,DCC,LXXXIX.

Webster, who graduated from Yale College in 1778, had already failed as both a teacher and a lawyer when he arrived at Goshen, New York, in 1782 and founded his second school for young pupils (the first--which he established in Sharon, Connecticut, in 1781--had barely been in session for three months when he abruptly and still rather mysteriously dismissed his students and left town). It was in Goshen that he began the first draft of his *Grammatical Institute*. Webster was a fervent American, and he insisted with the same fervor that his new nation needed a new pedagogy distinctly its own. The earlier spelling and grammar books so popular in the American colonies, namely Dilworth's *New Guide to the English Tongue* and Fenning's *New Grammar of the English Language*, would not do for an independent America. From 1783 to 1785, each part of his own *Grammatical Institute* appeared at Hartford in its first edition, the first two under the imprint of Hudson and Goodwin, the last of Barlow and Babcock. Although all three parts were revised and reprinted in multiple editions well into the 19th century, neither the grammar nor the reader enjoyed the success of the spelling book, which has never been out of print.

Over its first three years, the speller went through six editions, five appearing in Hartford and one (the 5th) in Boston. The grammar and reader each saw but two editions during those same years. Initial reviews of the group were mixed, at best, so Webster undertook a careful revision of all three parts, releasing them together in 1787. What he had originally titled, *Part I. Containing a new and accurate standard of pronunciation*, became instead *The American Spelling Book*. And so it would remain through no fewer than 260 editions, when in 1829 he issued *The Elementary Spelling Book* as an "*improvement*" on the old *American* speller.

As with so many early books intended for a juvenile audience, copies of Webster's *Spelling Book* were read to pieces, often passed from sibling to sibling in the same household, then from parents to children, and again from sibling to sibling. Despite having sold nearly a million copies by 1800, these spread among dozens of editions printed in more than half a dozen cities and towns across New England, all 18th-century printings of the *American* speller are scarce today. When Webster issued his revised text in 1787, he continued the edition number from that of its forerunner in the *Grammatical Institute*, such that the first issue of *The American Spelling Book* was counted as the seventh edition of the speller. Skeel's definitive bibliography of Webster's published works lists 52 editions of the *American* speller published before 1800. Of these, 25 exist as ghosts, with documentary evidence of their publication but no copies known to have survived. Another nine have survived in a single copy only, per Skeel and our own exhaustive search of OCLC, where we identified four editions unknown to Skeel, three of which also exist as single copies. In all, our search of OCLC, together with Skeel's bibliography, has yielded but 72 institutional copies of *The American Spelling Book* published between 1787 and 1799. Of these, one-third (23) are described as imperfect--whether mutilated, lacking text pages, or both.

The example that we offer here is just the second known copy of the 1789 Providence issue (the only Providence issue of Webster's speller), styled as "The TWELFTH Edition" overall and produced by famed printer John Carter. **Prior to our discovery of this example, the only known copy--in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society--was imperfect, lacking all after p. 146 and with pp. ii-iv and 142-146 described as mutilated**. While the present copy may lack an initial blank endpaper (none is present, at any rate), **it is the only known textually complete example of this edition, with its original binding in very good condition**. The binding consists of plain wood boards with gray paper covers, largely intact, and a calf spine. Some of these early

editions were published with a frontispiece portrait of George Washington (i.e., Skeel 7, 8, and 28, though the presence of a frontis. in 7 and 8 is only suggested from contemporary advertisements, since no copies of either edition is known to have survived) or of Webster himself (all 25 editions published by Thomas and Andrews at Boston from 1789 to 1803). Most, however, like the John Carter issue offered here, had only woodcut, in-text illustrations. Upon the blank verso of the final leaf, a previous owner, James Tourtlot, has penned a warning:

Steal not this Book
My honest friend for
Fear the gallows will be
Your end for jesus christ
Will come and say where
Is that book you stole away

Webster's precarious finances limited the profits he might have made from the speller's runaway success. His near impoverishment at the time of its release forced him to ask publishers for payment upfront, rather than seek a return on the number of copies sold. As Monaghan notes, "It was his publishers, not Webster, who were getting rich. By 1791 he reckoned that the rights to his books were worth $2000 a year to their publishers. 'Could I have kept my copyright in my own hands till this time,' he complained to his brother-in-law, 'I might now have rid in a chariot'" (1983: 82). In 1790, the U. S. Congress passed copyright law that gave all authors the rights to their own books for 14 years. When the initial copyrights on his speller expired in 1804, Webster produced a new edition, *The American Spelling Book, Revised*, and found financial stability for the first time in his adult life by negotiating new contracts with his publishers. Such stability gave him the steady income he needed to devote full attention to the task that became his magnum opus, *An American Dictionary*. Yet his speller was hardly finished. Rebranded as *The Elementary Spelling Book*, it would enjoy sales of more than a million copies a year throughout the decades after Webster's death in 1843; by some estimations it had sold more than 100 million copies by 1900. The Internet Public Library, citing Russel Ash's *Top Ten of Everything*, ranks it No. 3 on the list of best-selling books of all time, just behind Mao's Little Red Book and the Holy Bible itself.

The earliest editions of Webster's speller, complete in their original bindings, are all extremely rare in the trade. Only a single, pre-1790 issue--the first Boston edition of 1789, known in several institutional holdings--has appeared at auction in more than a century (per RBH).

Relevant sources:

Alden, John Eliot
1950 *Rhode Island Imprints, 1727-1800*. Published for the Bibliographical Society of America. Bowker, New York.
Kendall, Joshua
2010 *The Forgotten Founding Father: Noah Webster's Obsession and the Creation of an American Culture*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
Micklethwait, David
2000 *Noah Webster and the American Dictionary*. McFarland & Co., Jefferson, NC.
Monaghan, E. Jennifer
1983 *A Common Heritage: Noah Webster's Blue-back Speller*. Hamden, CT.

Ostler, Rosemarie
2015 *Founding Grammars: How Early America's War Over Words Shaped Today's Language*. St. Martin's Press, New York.
Skeel, Emily Ellsworth Ford
1958 *A Bibliography of the Writings of Noah Webster*, edited by Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr. The New York Public Library, NY.

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Webster, Noah. THE AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK, CONTAINING AN EASY STANDARD OF PRONUNCIATION: BEING THE FIRST PART OF A GRAMMATICAL INSTITUTE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. IN THREE PARTS. The Twelfth Edition, with additional lessons. Printed by John Carter, Providence, m,dcc,lxxxix [1789]. With the Privilege of Copy-Right. 153 pp., illus. 12mo (17 cm). Original paper covered, wooden boards, calf spine. Previous owner's signature and manuscript warning against theft on blank verso of final leaf. Old spotting on front and rear boards, light edge wear. Overall very good. Alden 1190; Skeel 20.

1. SOLD.

A Unique Handbill for Benjamin Smith Barton's First American Lectures

Benjamin Smith Barton is best remembered today as the first professional naturalist in the United States. When he died in 1815 at the still-young age of 49, he had already served for nearly a quarter-century as the Professor of Natural History and Botany at the University of Pennsylvania, where he also held the titles of Professor of Materia Medica and--following the death of Benjamin Rush in 1813--Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine. In 1803, he had written *Elements of Botany, or Outlines of the Natural History of Vegetables*, America's first botanical textbook. A few years earlier, he had also produced the first works on herpetology and comparative linguistics by an American scholar. He was a frequent correspondent of President Thomas Jefferson, to whom he dedicated his book on Native American languages, and who in turn offered Barton the honor of receiving the first plants collected by the Lewis and Clark expedition. He served as vice-president of the American Philosophical Society and was elected to membership in both the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences and the American Antiquarian Society.

Yet in 1789, a future with such accolades must have seemed unlikely, at best. Despite two years of study at the University of Edinburgh, among the best medical schools in the world, Barton had returned to Philadelphia with no degree to his name. His performance overseas had fallen far short of the expectations set almost from his birth. Barton's father, the Rev. Thomas Barton, had emigrated to America after taking his degree from the University of Dublin, and in Pennsylvania he had opened a school in Norristown, tutored at the Academy of Philadelphia, and served as rector of St. James's Church in Lancaster. In 1754, Thomas married Esther Rittenhouse, the daughter of a neighboring farmer. Her brother, David, was already on the path to establishing himself as one of the most brilliant scientific minds of his generation. Thomas and Esther Barton both died while Benjamin was still a child, and at the age of 16 he was taken into the home of an older brother in Philadelphia, where he began collegiate and medical studies. Three years later, he accompanied Rittenhouse and fellow commissioners in surveying the western boundary of Pennsylvania. It was on this excursion that he obtained his first experience with Native American history, language, and culture, interests he would pursue for the rest of his life.

In 1786, Barton departed Philadelphia for Edinburgh and enrolled in its acclaimed medical school, widely considered at the time to be the best in the English-speaking world. Barton seems to have pursued medical studies with zeal, even taking time to produce his *first* American first: his *Observations on Some Parts of Natural History*, issued in London in 1787, was the first separate publication devoted in its entirety to the subject of American archaeology, an interest he developed during his explorations with Rittenhouse in western Pennsylvania. But for reasons that are still not well understood, Barton left Edinburgh without his degree. In a letter written to his brother in 1789, he claimed to have taken a degree from the University of Göttingen instead, due to what he perceived as mistreatment at the hands of two faculty at Edinburgh. There is no evidence, though, that he ever studied at--much less earned a degree from--Göttingen or any other university during these years abroad. Moreover, it was suggested that he had left Edinburgh with funds belonging to the Royal Medical Society, funds that were sought but never returned.

In any event, Barton came home to Philadelphia in 1789 with little to show for himself and began to practice medicine, or physick, in the city. Later in the year, the trustees of the College of

LECTURES ON BOTANY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

ON the *first* Wedneſday in April, next, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton will begin his Courſe of Lectures on the

PHILOSOPHY AND NOMENCLATURE OF BOTANY:

And on the *first* Tueſday in November, following, he will open his Courſe of Lectures on the

PHILOSOPHY AND NOMENCLATURE OF NATURAL HISTORY.

With the view to give ſome IDEA of the nature, the plan, and extent, of theſe two Courſes of Lectures, Dr. Barton intends to deliver a few Lectures, previouſly to the cloſe of the preſent ſeſſion of the MEDICAL SCHOOLS of this city.—The firſt of theſe Lectures will be delivered, on Monday the 18th of this month, in the College of Philadelphia.

Philadelphia, January 1ſt, 1790.

Philadelphia, soon to join with the University of Pennsylvania, created a Professorship in Natural History and Botany and promptly bestowed it on Barton. He was 24 years old. It is difficult not to believe that Barton's uncle, Rittenhouse, had some influence in the trustees' decision. After all, by this time Rittenhouse was Treasurer of Pennsylvania, an officer of the American Philosophical Society, a member of the Royal Society of London, and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. And on Wednesday evenings, he held a salon at his home that was regularly attended by the likes of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Francis Hopkinson. Regardless of the source of Barton's good fortune, he began his position in the spring of 1790, becoming--according to his nephew and fellow botanist-physician, William P. C. Barton, "the first lecturer on natural history in Philadelphia, and, so far as I know, the first teacher of natural science [on the American side] of the Atlantic world" (1816:15).

The handbill that we offer here, **unique and unrecorded**, is dated January 1, 1790, during that brief time between Barton's arrival in Philadelphia and the period when his faculty position at the College actually began. **Indeed, the handbill is a printed advertisement for his very first courses**. His initial offering, to commence on the first Wednesday in April, was to be a series of lectures on the "Philosophy and Nomenclature of Botany." Then, beginning on the first Tuesday in November, he would offer a course of lectures on the "Philosophy and Nomenclature of Natural History." In order to give potential students some insight into the content of these courses, Barton intended "to deliver a few Lectures, previously to th[e] close of the present session of the Medical Schools of this city." His planned, introductory lectures--announced in this handbill--would "be delivered, on Mond[ay,] the 18th of this month, in the Colle[ge of] Philadelphia." While Barton confided to Benjamin Rush as early as 1789 that he lacked a medical degree, this does not appear to have deterred him from presenting himself as "Dr. Barton" to potential students. In fact, Barton would not obtain that medical degree until August of 1796, when Christian-Albrechts University at Kiel, Germany, awarded him an honorary degree of Doctor of Medicine.

This is the only known imprint pertaining to Benjamin Smith Barton's short tenure at the College of Philadelphia, one year prior to its merger with the University of Pennsylvania. **Even more importantly, it is the earliest identified imprint pertaining to his role as America's first professional naturalist**. All of Barton's publications have long been sought by institutions and collectors alike, and most are quite scarce in the trade. An ephemeral, previously unknown item such as this, significant and highly desirable, is unlikely to appear again.

Relevant sources:

Barton, William P. C.
1815 *A Biographical Sketch Read Pursuant to Appointment before the Philadelphia Medical Society, at a Stated Meeting, on Saturday, 16th February 1816, of their late President, Professor Barton*. Published at the Request of the Society. J. Maxwell, Philadelphia.

Ewan, Joseph, and Nesta Ewan
2007 *Benjamin Smith Barton: Naturalist and Physician in Jeffersonian America*. Missouri Botanical Garden Press.

Graustein, Jeannette E.
1961 The Eminent Benjamin Smith Barton. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 85: 423-438.
Hindle, Brooke
1964 *David Rittenhouse*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
McCourt, Richard M., and Earle E. Spamer
2004 *Jefferson's Botanists: Lewis and Clark Discover the Plants of the West*. Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.
Swensen, Rolf
1997 Benjamin Smith Barton. In *Biographical Dictionary of American and Canadian Naturalists and Environmentalists*, edited by Keir B. Stirling, Richard P. Harmond, George A. Cevasco, and Lorne F. Hammond, pp. 59-61. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.
Whitfield, J. Bell
1971 Benjamin Smith Barton, M.D. *Journal of the History of Medicine* 26:197-203.

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[Natural History--College of Philadelphia]: [Benjamin Smith Barton]: LECTURES ON BOTANY AND / NATURAL HISTORY [caption title]. Philadelphia, January 1st, 1790. Small broadside or handbill. 4 3/4 x 8 1/2 in. (12 x 21.5 cm). Lacking lower right corner, costing 11 letters; upper right corner wrinkled, light foxing and toning. Very good.

2. SOLD.

Sheriff Daniel Beasley Delivers a Summons in Mississippi Territory, 1806

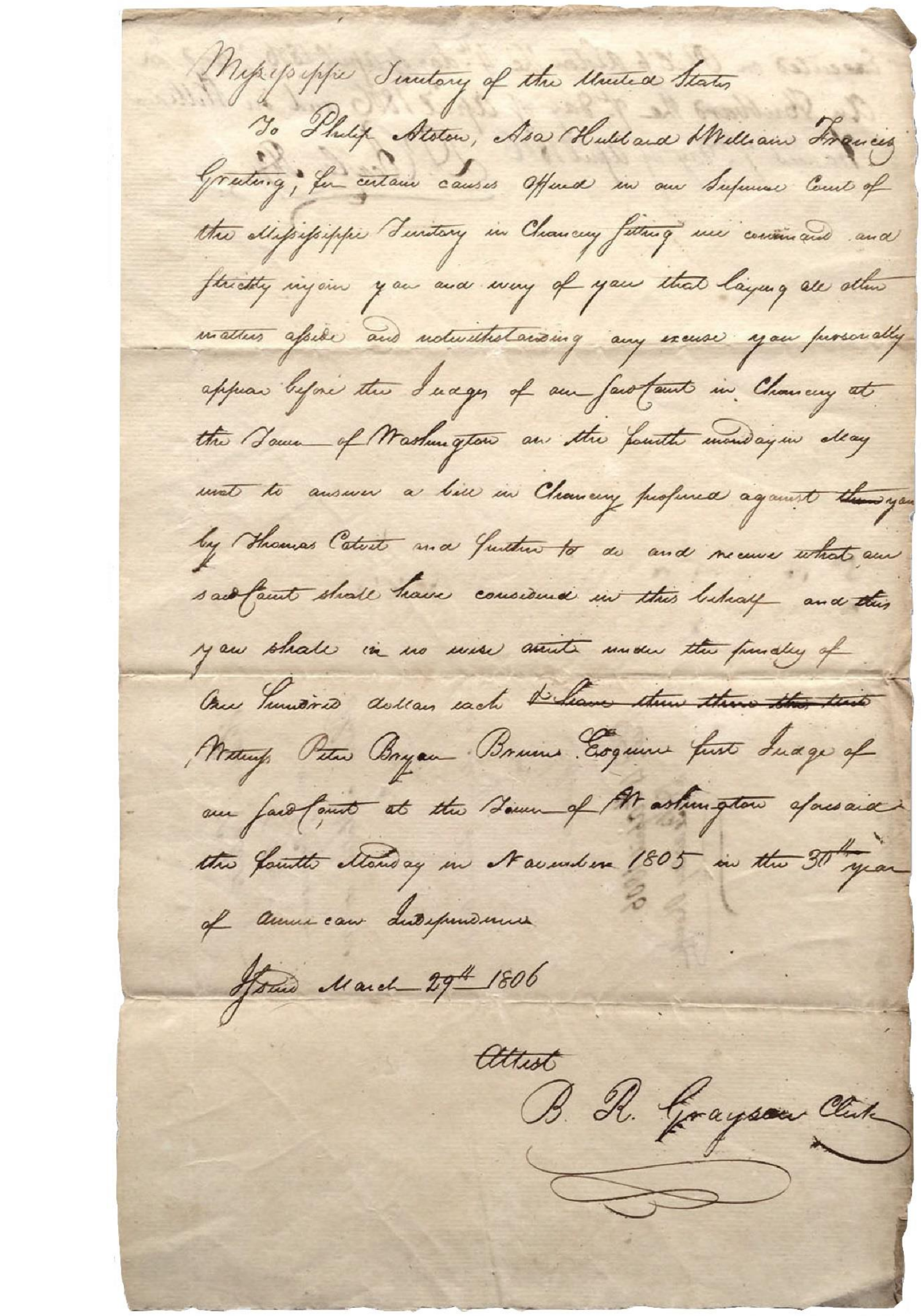
Mississippi Territory was born in 1798, three years after Spain signed the Treaty of Madrid that ceded its possessions north of West Florida to the United States. At first, the formal territory was little more than a narrow strip between the Mississippi and Chattahoochee rivers, but in 1804 an act of Congress more than doubled its size by incorporating areas ceded by the state of Georgia in the aftermath of the Yazoo land fraud. Finally, the annexation of the Mobile District from West Florida in 1812 brought the territory to its full extent, including all of those lands that would soon become the states of Mississippi and Alabama in 1817 and 1819, respectively. During the 20 years of its existence, Mississippi Territory was a training ground for statesmen, a boon for planters and speculators, and a haven for scoundrels. **This rare summons--issued during a dispute over land between Philip Alston and Thomas Calvit--offers intriguing examples of each**.

The summons itself, headed "Mississippi Territory of the United States" and addressed to Philip Alston and two of his associates, is entirely in the hand of Beverly R. Grayson (1782-1843). Grayson, who has also signed the document in his capacity as Clerk of the Supreme Court, hailed from a prominent Virginia family and had moved to Mississippi as a young man. Later, he was appointed auditor of public accounts for the territory, and after Mississippi was admitted into the Union as its 20th state, he served Adams County as Representative in the legislature from 1820 to 1821. He was a prosperous planter long active in the civic affairs of Natchez.

The subject of the document was a land dispute between Alston, the defendant, and plaintiff Thomas Calvit. Calvit (1748-1821) was a wealthy plantation owner who had come to Mississippi from North Carolina in 1785 after rendering "distinguished services in the North West Campaign with George Rogers Clarke against the British, Indians and Tories" (Stanfill 1991:276). His home on Cole's Creek, about 15 miles from Natchez, was known as Calviton. It was there, in 1807, that Colonel Aaron Burr tendered his unconditional surrender to the Secretary and Acting Governor of Mississippi Territory, Cowles Mead. Burr would later escape, but his arrest at Calviton effectively ended his attempt to create a personal empire in the center of North America.

Philip Alston was the son of Philip Alston, Sr., a notorious counterfeiter who had fled to Natchez from North Carolina in 1772 or 1773, where he soon became a prosperous landowner and planter. But in 1781, he and his brother led a revolt against Spanish authorities, who were to take possession of West Florida, including Natchez, in 1783 under the terms of the Treaty of Paris. The Alston's rebellion failed; John was taken as prisoner, and Philip fled north to the Cumberland and apparently continued his counterfeiting activities, even spending several months in hiding at Cave-in-Rock, Illinois. In the 1790s, after Spain ceded West Florida to the United States, Philip returned to Natchez with his family to find that the Spanish government had sold those lands he abandoned to Thomas Calvit. Philip's sons--among whom was Philip, Jr., the defendant here--had occupied the land on their return. Calvit demanded (and later won) their removal.

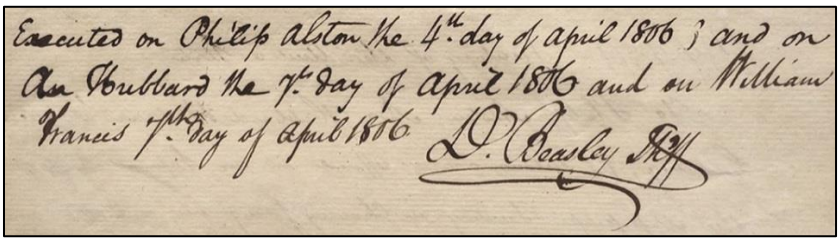
Yet of all the Mississippi pioneers involved with this document, none played as important a role in southern history, though for unfortunate--if not altogether tragic--reasons, as the sheriff of Washington County, Daniel Beasley, who delivered this summons to Alston and signed it twice on the verso attesting to his action. Beasley, a Virginian by birth, was already well known for his



Mississippi Territory of the United States
To Philip Alston, Asa Hubbard & William Francis
Greeting; for certain causes offered in our Superior Court of the Mississippi Territory in Chancery sitting we command and strictly enjoin you and every of you that laying all other matters aside and notwithstanding any excuse you personally appear before the Judges of our said Court in Chancery at the Town of Washington on the fourth monday in May next to answer a bill in Chancery preferred against ~~them~~ you by Thomas Calvit and further to do and receive what our said Court shall have considered in this behalf and this you shall in no wise omit under the penalty of One hundred dollars each ~~& have then there this writ~~ Witness Peter Bryan Bruin Esquire first Judge of our said Court at the Town of Washington aforesaid the fourth Monday in November 1805 in the 30th year of American Independence

Issued March 29th 1806

Attest
B. R. Grayson Clerk


Executed on Philip alston the 4th day of april 1806 & and on
Asa Hubbard the 7th day of April 1806 and on William
Francis 7th day of April 1806 D. Beasley SM

hot temper, arrogance, and fondness for drink. Yet in 1813, at the start of the Red Stick War pitting the Creek Indian Nation against the United States, Governor William C. C. Claiborne appointed him Major in the Mississippi Territorial Volunteers and sent him east to command Fort Mims, a vital garrison located near modern Mobile, Alabama. Proving himself monumentally unfit for the task, Beasley ignored repeated warnings that the Creeks were preparing an assault on the fort, even ordering the brutal flogging of a slave who reported seeing painted warriors nearby. On August 29, during the midday meal, the Creeks launched their assault on the ill-prepared garrison. Before the day's end, as many 400 militiamen, settlers, loyal Creeks, and Beasley himself lay dead--while another hundred slaves, women, and children were taken captive. The Red Stick victory was one of the greatest and most complete ever achieved by Native warriors against American forces. **All Mississippi Territory documents are quite scarce, and we find no record of Daniel Beasley's autograph ever having been offered at auction or in the trade**. A rare and significant source linking Spanish, British, U. S., and Indian histories in the early American South.

Relevant sources:

Hayes, Robert
2010 *The Mississippi Territory and the Southwest Frontier, 1795-1817*. University Press of Kentucky, Lexington.

Roland, Dunbar
1907 *Mississippi: Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons*. Vol. I. Selwyn A. Brant, Madison, WI.

Stanfill, Latayne C.
1991 *Colvett Family Chronicles: The History of the Colvett Family of Tennessee, 1630-1990*. Heirloom Press, Glendale, CA.

Waselkov, Gregory
2009 *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813–1814*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

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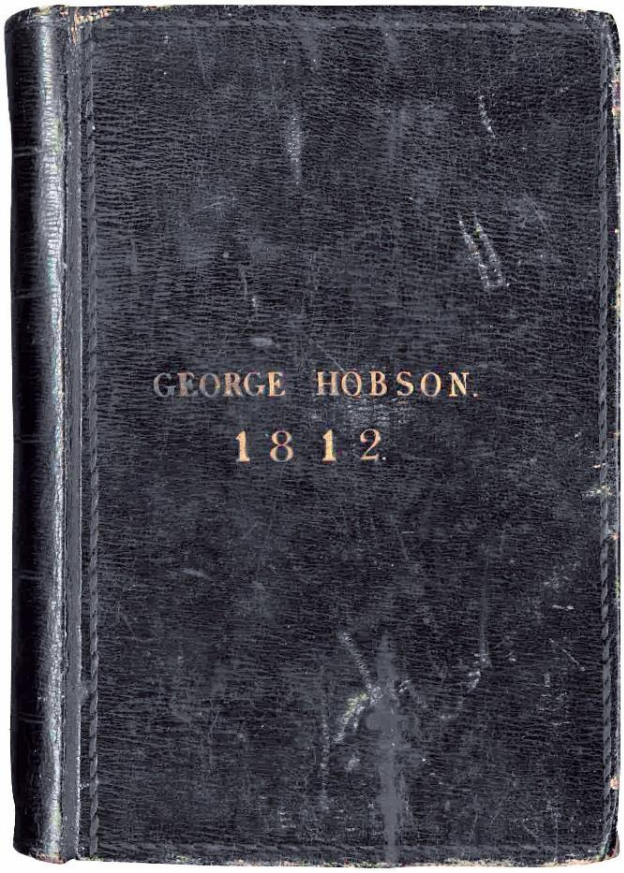
[Mississippi Territory]: [MANUSCRIPT SUMMONS ISSUED BY BEVERLY R. GRAYSON AND EXECUTED ON PHILIP ALSTON, ET AL. BY SHERIFF DANIEL BEASLEY]. [Town of Washington, Mississippi Territory, March 29, 1806]. Laid paper with watermark of W. Young (Delaware Paper Mills, est. 1793), 8 x 13 in. (20 cm x 33 cm), docketed on verso. Old folds, no separations or loss, light edge wear, light staining along one edge of verso.

3. SOLD.

George Hobson's Risk Book: Commerce in the War of 1812

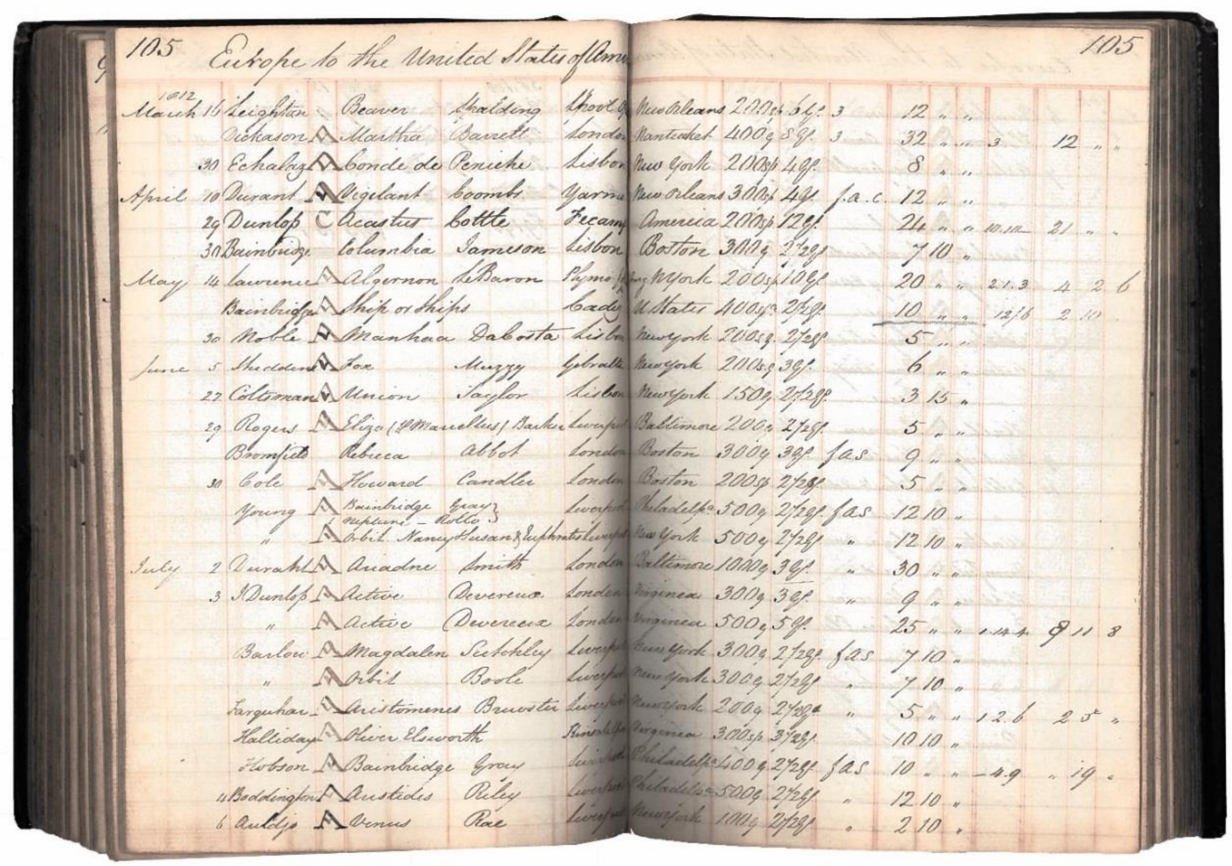
For all of our remembrance of its famous and supposedly decisive actions--the Burning of Washington, the Defense of Ft. McHenry, the Battles of New Orleans and Lake Erie--the War of 1812 came to its ultimate end because the economies of its chief antagonists, the United States and Great Britain, could no longer afford to maintain the war effort. In no part of the Atlantic world system was the cost of the war felt more profoundly than in commercial shipping, and nowhere did the conflict's disruption of trade have greater immediate effect than on marine insurance. This item, the 1812 'risk book' kept by Lloyd's of London underwriter George Hobson, offers a unique and indispensable perspective on these effects, meticulously tracking cross-Atlantic shipping and insurance rates for those months before and after America declared war. **No other surviving risk book (and surprisingly few survive) covers this pivotal year in the history of Atlantic commerce**.



The modern-day business of marine insurance can trace its roots back to the coffee house that Edward Lloyd opened on London's Tower Street in 1686. Lloyd's Coffee Shop was favored by sailors, merchants, and ship owners, who intermingled and shared news of shipping, ports, and commerce. The Coffee Shop soon became known as the best place in London to obtain insurance both for ships and their cargoes, whether foods and spices, raw materials, manufactured goods, or slaves. In 1691, a group of underwriters--individuals who were willing to evaluate and assume risk for a price (i.e., a commission, premium, or interest)--relocated to Lombard Street. There the market thrived until 1774, when its members formed a committee, The Society of Lloyd's, and moved to the Royal Exchange in Cornhill.

Lloyd's is not, nor has it ever been, an insurance company. Rather, it is a marketplace for such underwriters or "members," themselves corporations or individuals, to pool and spread risk by offering insurance as self-organizing syndicates. Individuals such as George Hobson kept their records in small ledgers like the rare example that we offer here. In their historical introduction to the British insurance business, Cockerell and Green observe that,

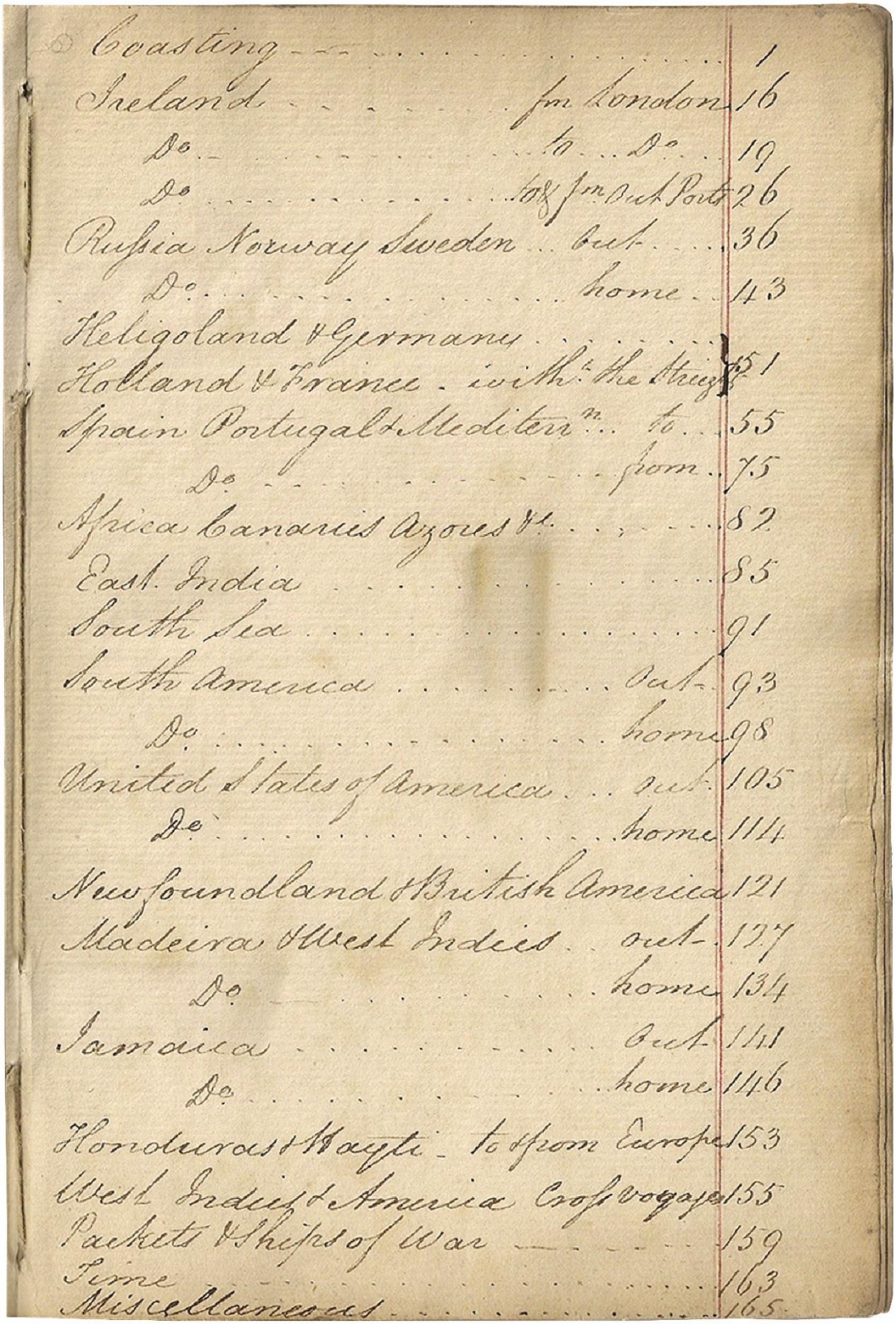
> From the early 18th century, marine underwriters recorded each year's insurances in small, portable registers known as risk books. These records are tabular summaries of every voyage or time risk in



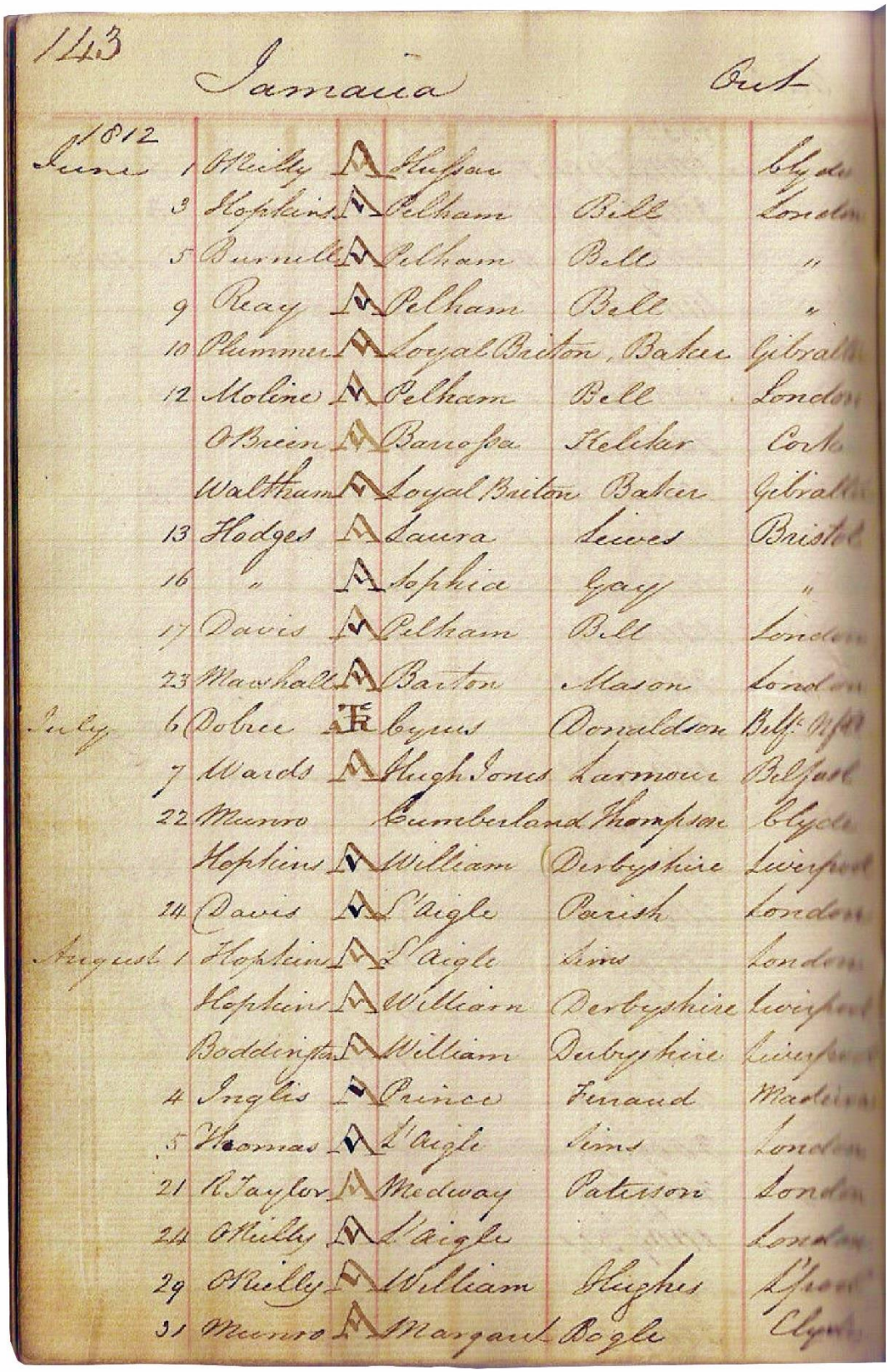
> which the underwriter had an interest, and they served as an integrated record of insured sums and income from premiums. **Risk books, especially in continuous series, are the rarest form of insurance archives**, but because an individual underwriter insured 'lines' on many hundreds of risks in any one year, **the yield of information from a single register can be high** [1976:9, emphasis added].

From 1972 to 1975, Cockerell and Green directed the Insurance Records Survey, a comprehensive effort to locate, examine, and list the records and archives of British insurance companies founded before 1909, when record-keeping requirements became standardized by national law. For those years from 1725 to 1825, the survey located a total of only 28 risk books. Three of these existed as single-year volumes--including one other from George Hobson dated 1807--and 25 others in four continuous series (1725-1726, 1759-1774, 1796-1800, and 1823-1824). Nearly all of these are held in either Lloyd's Library or London's Guildhall Library. To this we can add the 8-volume series of underwriter John Janson at the British Library (1804-1810, 1815). We can find no other marine risk books with a Lloyd's association in institutional holdings.

Significantly, none of the known risk books, whether single copies or copies in series, cover any portion of the War of 1812. Yet this was not always the case. In 1894, John Danson published *Our Next War*, an analysis of insurance premiums at Lloyd's from 1805 to 1816, inclusive of both



Coasting 1
Ireland ..... fm London 16
Do ..... to ... Do ... 19
Do ..... to & fm Out Ports 26
Russia Norway Sweden ... out ... 36
Do ..... home ... 43
Heligoland & Germany 51
Holland & France ... with the Ships
Spain Portugal & Mediterr.n ... to ... 55
Do ..... from ... 75
Africa Canaries Azores &c 82
East India 85
South Sea 91
South America ..... out ... 93
Do ..... home 98
United States of America ... out ... 105
Do ..... home 114
Newfoundland & British America 121
Madeira & West Indies ... out ... 127
Do ..... home 134
Jamaica ..... out ... 141
Do ..... home 146
Honduras & Hayti ... to & from Europe 153
West Indies & America Cross voyages 155
Packets & Ships of War 159
Fine 163
Miscellaneous 165



1143

Jamaica — Out

June	1812	1	Reilly	Hudson		Clyde
		3	Hopkins	Pelham	Bell	London
		5	Burnett	Pelham	Bell	"
		9	Reay	Pelham	Bell	"
		10	Plummer	Loyal Briton	Baker	Gibraltar
		12	Moline	Pelham	Bell	London
			O'Brien	Barrosa	Helsher	Cork
			Waltham	Loyal Briton	Baker	Gibraltar
		13	Hodges	Laura	Leeves	Bristol
		16	"	Sophia	Gay	"
		17	Davis	Pelham	Bell	London
		23	Marshall	Barton	Mason	London
July		6	Dobree	Cyrus	Donaldson	Belfast
		7	Wards	Hugh Jones	Larmour	Belfast
		22	Munro	Cumberland	Thompson	Clyde
			Hopkins	William	Derbyshire	Liverpool
		24	Davis	L'Aigle	Parish	London
August		1	Hopkins	L'Aigle	Sims	London
			Hopkins	William	Derbyshire	Liverpool
			Boddington	William	Derbyshire	Liverpool
		4	Inglis	Prince	Fenaud	Madeira
		5	Thomas	L'Aigle	Sims	London
		21	R Taylor	Medway	Paterson	London
		24	O'Reilly	L'Aigle		London
		29	O'Reilly	William	Hughes	Liverpool
		31	Munro	Margaret	Bogle	Clyde

the War of 1812 with the United States--and more importantly from the British perspective--the continental wars with Spain and France. In assembling primary sources for his analysis, he drew upon all of the risk books listed above but also had access to a continuous run of George Hobson's books from 1811 to 1816. He describes these as "part of a remarkable set of such books, recording the work of an underwriting firm [probably Hobson, Allfrey & Wheeler] which remained at work at 'Lloyd's' from the latter years of the last century down to a very recent date" (1894:66). At the time of Danson's writing, these records were in the possession of Alexander Allfrey, but we have found no record of their loss or dispersal over the intervening decades, punctuated by two world wars and the bombing of London. As far as we can determine, the only Hobson risk books to have survived to the present day are the 1807 example noted above (housed at Lloyd's) and the recently discovered 1812 example that we are offering here.

It is difficult to overestimate the War of 1812's effect on transatlantic shipping. The British Navy enjoyed a superiority unmatched by any contemporary, and as long as its military ruled the seas, so too did its commercial interests dominate the Atlantic economy. Yet British naval officers were surprised to find the comparatively tiny and fledgling United States Navy to be a near equal in maritime skills and discipline. Thus, while British numerical strength was overwhelming, any individual battle was less predictable. Even more unnerving to British commercial agents and ship owners was the work of American privateers, whose vessels harried British merchant ships along transatlantic routes by the hundreds. As a consequence, British shipping to and from the Americas was quickly restricted to large convoys sailing under the protection of naval warships. American merchants suffered, too, as the British Navy's blockade of American ports effectively shut down U. S. exports abroad. The War of 1812, in sum, was a conflict over commercial interests as much as it was for specific territorial or geopolitical ambitions.

Danson's analysis demonstrates very clearly that the effect of this uncertainty drove marine insurance rates to unprecedented heights after late May, when the United States declared war. He presents summary data for 1812--all derived from the Hobson risk book that we offer here--in the form of a table (Table C, p. 77). His use of the ledger is likely preserved in the light pencil marks that we find placed between entries from late May and early June for risks involving transatlantic shipping (see, for example, our image on p. 14 of this catalogue). Table C provides the totals for all of Hobson's 1812 risks, premiums, and values insured, then calculates average premiums for January to May and June to December, or before and after the formal declaration of war. Danson found that transatlantic rates increased sharply after May, not only on commerce from the United States to Europe, but also between Europe and the West Indies, Jamaica, Madeira, Newfoundland and British America, and South America. This was an economically unsustainable position for both American and British interests. Faye Kert writes that, "Once the US and Britain realized that the cost of continuing the war outweighed any possible gains, either economic or political, both sides agreed to peace" (1998:1).

For more than a century, scholars of the war and its effects on commerce relied on Danson's tabular summary of the 1812 risk book. Yet as valuable as it has been, this table is only that--a summary. The actual risk book contains detailed information on many hundreds of risks through the entire year, including names of captains and ships, dates of departure, and ports of departure and arrival, in addition to records on insured sums and income from premiums. As Cockerell and Green note, the yield of information on even a single such register can be high. **This example, as**

the only known risk book to contain records for the War of 1812, is without question among the rarest and most desirable of its kind.

Relevant sources:

Cockerell, Hugh A. L., and Edwin Green
1976 *The British Insurance Business 1547-1970: An Introduction and Guide to Historical Records*. Heinemann Educational Books, London.

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1894 *Our Next War, in its Commercial Aspect; with Some Account of the Premiums paid at "Lloyd's" from 1805 to 1816*. Blades, East & Blades, London.

Kert, Faye
1998 The Fortunes of War: Commercial Warfare and Maritime Risk in the War of 1812. *The Northern Mariner* VIII(4):1-16.

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2007 Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis. *Journal of Economic History* 67(2):379-409.
2008 Adverse Selection and Institutional Change in Eighteenth-Century Marine Insurance. Working paper, Amherst College.

Martin, Frederick
1876 *The History of Lloyd's and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain: With an Appendix containing Statistics relating to Marine Insurance*. Macmillan and Co., London.

Supple, Barry,
1970 *The Royal Exchange Assurance: A History of British Insurance 1720–1970*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

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2010 *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

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[War of 1812--Marine Insurance, Transatlantic Commerce]: George Hobson: [MANUSCRIPT RISK BOOK OF LLOYD'S OF LONDON UNDERWRITER GEORGE HOBSON FOR THE YEAR 1812]. [N.p., but London, 1812]. 8vo (19 cm). Original black morocco binding; gilt lettered on front board, "George Hobson./1812." Blind-tooled along the inner edges of front and rear boards, blind-ruled spine divided into six compartments, marbled end papers. 175 leaves, laid paper ruled in red and numbered in manuscript 1 to 175 for entries across facing pages. Light edge wear and scuffing to boards, spine very lightly rolled. Very good.

4. SOLD.

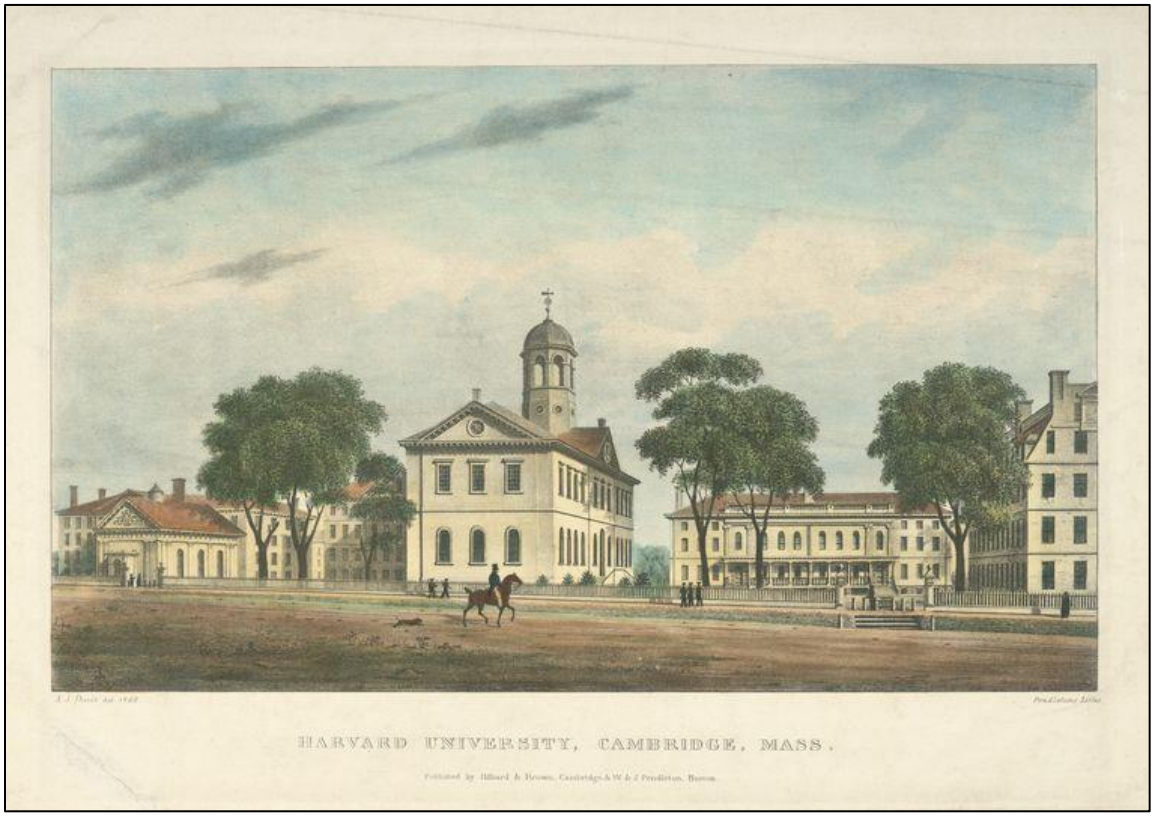
An Iconic View of Harvard University by Alexander Jackson Davis

When Alexander Jackson Davis came to Boston in the winter of 1827, he was a rising star in the firmament of New York City's architectural establishment. Just 24 years old and having already studied at the American Academy of the Fine Arts, the New-York Drawing Association, and the Antique School of the National Academy of Design, he had recently opened his own shop as an "architectural composer" (so he identified himself in Longworth's *City Directory*) and had simultaneously gone to work as an illustrator for Ithiel Town and Martin Thompson, two of New York's most prominent architects. He would spend much of his time during those winter months in Boston studying classical Greek designs in the Lyceum's extensive collections. Yet he would also find time to draw from life in the bustling city, producing sketches and watercolors of Boston's architecture that came to the attention of lithographers William S. and John B. Pendleton, brothers who had founded one of the most prolific print studios in the city. It was this connection between Davis and the Pendletons that yielded the most iconic view of Harvard University produced during the 19th century. **The original work that we present here, an unsigned pen and ink wash in Davis's hand, is a heretofore unknown part of this story, one that sheds important new light on subsequent versions of the famous Davis-Pendleton view**.

Davis had produced several accomplished lithographs of New York City's public buildings and monuments with printer Anthony Imbert in August and October 1827, so he was familiar with the process when he partnered with the Pendleton brothers later that year. The Pendletons, ranked among the founders of American lithography, had established their firm little more than two years previously, but by 1828 they were far and away the most ambitious printmakers in Boston, if not in all of greater New England. Among the artists whom they employed, besides Davis, were such now-familiar names as Nathaniel Currier, David Claypool Johnston, Fitz Henry Lane, and William Rimmer. Their Harvard view, based on Davis's pen and ink wash, was the very first lithographic print of the College. In his exhaustive compilation of Harvard views produced prior to 1860, Bail (1949:173) notes a short announcement in the *Harvard Register* for January 1828:

A NEW VIEW OF THE COLLEGES

> We have seen the drawing from which the Messrs. Pendletons of Boston are about publishing a Lithographic View of the University. It was taken from the Burial Ground, and presents a much bolder and more correct picture of the various buildings than has ever before been given. As the price is to be moderate we have no doubt that the publishers will be liberally rewarded by the students and other friends of the institution.



(New York Pubic Library copy)

Davis's original drawing--or rather a final, carefully executed pen and ink wash--hangs in the University Club of New York. Although it is clearly the piece from which the lithograph was

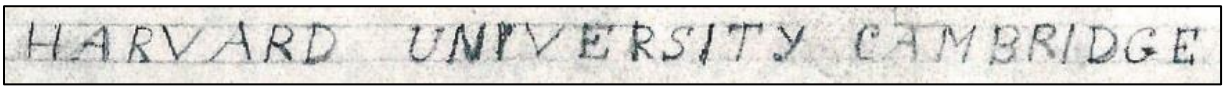
produced, there are some significant differences between the two works. First, the drawing depicts a fall or winter view of the campus, bare tree branches rising starkly against the sky. The print, on the other hand, shows those same tree branches full of leaves in spring or summer. Moreover, the drawing's landscape is entirely unpeopled; its focus is on the architecture. The landscape of the print is more lively, with several groups of figures arranged at different points along the sidewalk that runs by the fence. And at the center of the image, a little dog gives eager chase to a horse and rider who move at a slow trot, unconcerned by (or unaware of) the pursuit. Davis probably made these changes to the composition himself, in the process of converting the drawing to a lithographic print. The view is known in colored and uncolored states; the size of the image is 15 1/3 by 9 1/4 inches (39 x 23.5 cm), while the original sheet measures at least 20 1/2 by 14 3/4 inches (52 x 37.5 cm). Copies of the print are scarce today, with Bail identifying at least four institutional holdings (Harvard, NYPL, AAS, and the University Club), as well as several privately owned copies. The last to appear in the trade (per RBH) was listed by Goodspeeds in 1973 for $750.

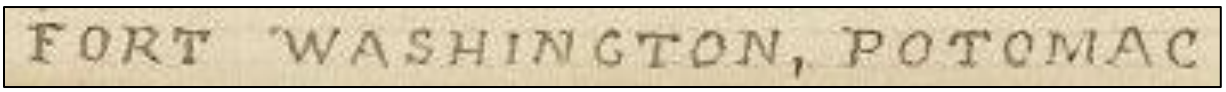
In 1829, Ithiel Town made Davis a partner in his New York City firm, and Davis began his extraordinary career as a designer of American buildings. By mid-century, he was widely seen as the most prolific and influential architect in the United States. Yet he would soon have opportunity to return to his Harvard view. In 1830, Londoner and Baptist minister John Howard Hinton began publishing by subscription the first parts of his encyclopedic *History and Topography of the United States….Illustrated with a Series of Views*. Among Davis's contributions to this work were views of Amherst and Columbia colleges, Masonic Hall and St. Paul's Chapel in New York, and a much smaller, modified version of the Harvard lithograph. Bail observes that "This and similar, later, engravings from subsequent editions of Hinton's *History* are the most common views of Harvard to be found....Although they follow Davis's original drawing (or lithograph)…they are sufficiently different to suggest that they may be based on an entirely separate original" (1949:178). **Bail was apparently correct: we believe that the drawing we offer here is an entirely separate original of the Hinton View, its existence deduced but never confirmed until now**.

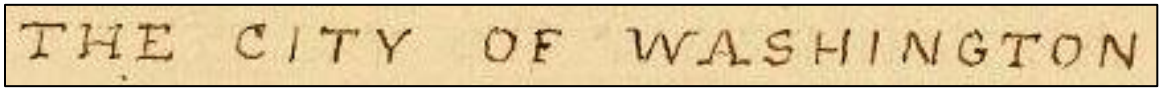
There are, in fact, three distinct versions of the Hinton View. The first was included among the earliest parts of Hinton's *History*, published in London in 1830; the second appeared with the first American edition in 1834 (published simultaneously in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York); and the third was printed in Boston with the second American edition of 1843. Only minor compositional differences distinguish the three views--we return to these momentarily--but all are greatly scaled down from the size of the original lithograph. The First Hinton View is the smallest of the group, with an image measuring about 6 x 4 inches (15 x 10 cm). The Second and Third Views are larger, with images that measure about 7 1/2 by 4 3/4 inches (19 x 12 cm). Before discussing the differences between these views, and how our original pen and ink drawing fits into their production sequence, we need to address the obvious question of why we are confident that our drawing, though unsigned, is a product of Davis's hand.

First, the quality of the drawing itself is entirely in keeping with the style and manner of Davis's sketch work, particularly mid-stage compositions, and this includes near contemporaneous sketches or watercolors that he produced of George Washington's Mt. Vernon estate, St. John's Cemetery and the Church of the Ascension in New York City, and Yale College with the Old State House in New Haven, Connecticut. Beyond the architecture, one of the more striking features of Davis's sketches is his relatively simplistic rendering of human and animal forms; for comparative

purposes, we include a detail from our original pen and ink drawing and from two signed drawings among Davis's Mt. Vernon materials, housed at Harvard's Houghton Library. We likewise make note of Davis's distinctive captioning style, specifically: 1) his use of straight 'guide lines' above and below the text; and 2) his use of all capitol letters with serifs added almost at random to certain of these, but most frequently to the letters 'T' and 'E'. Again, we include details from our drawing and from watercolors among the same Mt. Vernon pieces, produced in 1831. Finally, our drawing







was rendered on quality paper bearing the "J. Whatman/Turkey Mill" watermark. The preference among 19th-century American architects for Whatman papers, produced in Kent, England, is well established. John Slavin suggests that this near-exclusive reliance was "consistent with their vision of themselves as artists" (2001:83). He notes that,

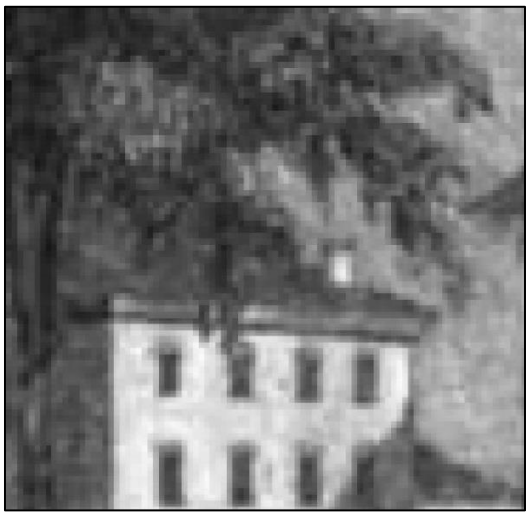
> Of the hundreds of architectural drawings examined during this study, almost all watermarked papers, particularly after 1840, were Whatman papers. This includes even the office copies of architects such as George M. Dexter of Boston (practiced 1835 to 1852), who left 11 volumes of approximately 12,000 drawings, almost all on Whatman papers [2001:83-84].

Turning back to the variation among the published Hinton Views, we can clearly observe that: 1) all three draw inspiration from the earlier Davis-Pendleton View, but all differ from it in significant compositional details; and 2) all three share the same essential composition, but with minor (though instructive) differences. The most obvious distinctions between these Hinton Views and the earlier lithograph, besides the smaller size of the former, are changes to the human and animal figures that occupy the scene. The little dog is gone, with horse and rider moved from a spot in front of Harvard Hall to one in front of University. In the foreground, near where horse and rider strode across the lithograph, a man and woman--seemingly arm in arm--are crossing the street with a child. The man gestures with his right hand while the child huddles at the woman's skirt, peering out of the image and directly at the viewer. Behind them, another man and woman walk alongside Harvard Hall, she carrying an open parasol. These three sets of figures appeared in each of the Hinton Views, and in about the same positions. The key difference in composition among the three published engravings is that the First and Third Views, but not the Second, feature a person climbing the steps of Harvard Hall.

It is when we examine the architectural details of the views that more subtle distinctions become apparent. Over the next three pages, we have compiled a series of images that contrast specific architectural details from each of the published Hinton prints and our original pen and ink wash. Comparison of these images indicates that the First and Third Views are nearly identical in their presentation of architectural details. Likewise, the Second View and our drawing are nearly identical in their rendering of these same points. **We suggest that the pen and ink wash that we offer here is the original drawing that Davis produced for the Second Hinton View**. The first series of images (p. 22) focuses on the chimney depicted at the corner of Stoughton Hall's roof. In both the First and Third Views, the chimney is foregrounded, appearing to sit in front of the roof's pitch. In both the Second View and the original drawing, however, this same chimney is shown in the background, placed behind the pitch. The second series of details (p. 23) focuses on the windows of Hollis Hall. In both the First and Third Views, three windows are visible on the fourth floor of the building. In the Second View and the original drawing, only two windows are visible on this floor, the third being concealed behind the branches of a tree.

Finally, the third set of details (p. 24) focuses on the edge of the composition and on the west wall and roof line of Stoughton Hall (behind and to the left of Holden Chapel). To begin, the First and Third Hinton Views contain a noticeable gap or space between the far edge of Stoughton Hall and the border line of the image; with the Second View and the original drawing, though, the

First Hinton View (1830)



Second Hinton View (1834)

Third Hinton View (1843)

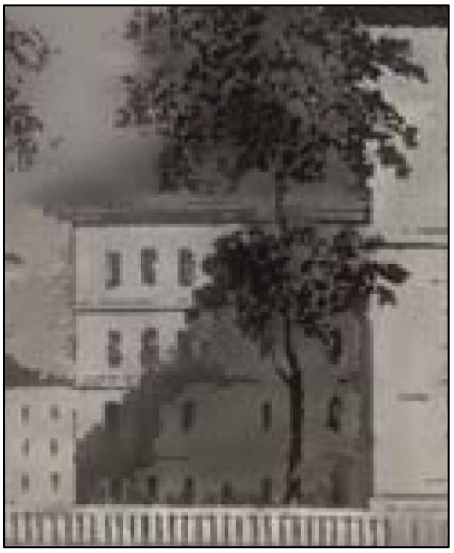
Original pen and ink wash

building and border share the edge. Next, the First and Third Hinton Views show two chimneys on the roof line, one rising above the slope and the other at the corner peak. Both the Second View and the pen and ink drawing present a single chimney placed well in from the corner of the roof line. Just as striking are the different treatments of windows in the west wall. The First and Third Views show four floors of windows, as with the south wall of Stoughton, across from Hollis. It is easy enough to discern that these west and south walls belong to the same building. In the Second View and the original drawing, though, only three floors of windows appear in Stoughton's west wall, so that the west and south walls seem to belong to two different buildings.

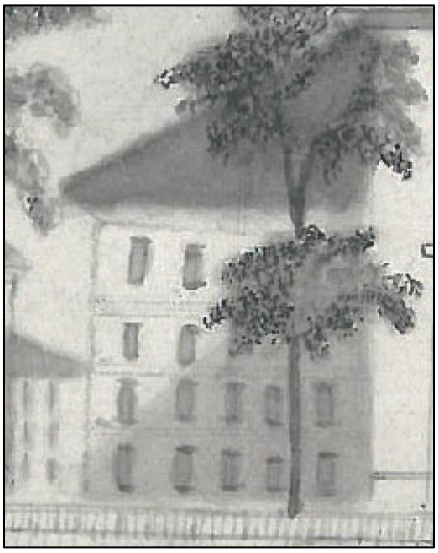
We can draw several conclusions from these comparisons. The similarities between the First and Third Views--and the differences between these and the Second--lead us to suggest that the Third View is derived from the First View, even though Second and Third were both published in American editions. While surprising, perhaps, this is easily explained. Stauffer, in his *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, writes that James Archer, the engraver of the Third View, was

First Hinton View (1830)

Second Hinton View (1834)



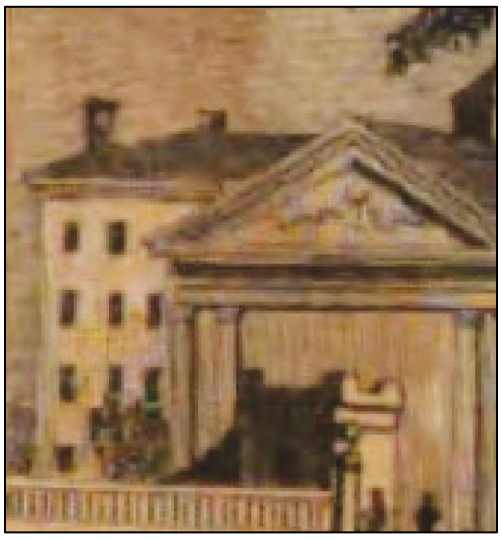
Third Hinton View (1843)



Original pen and ink wash

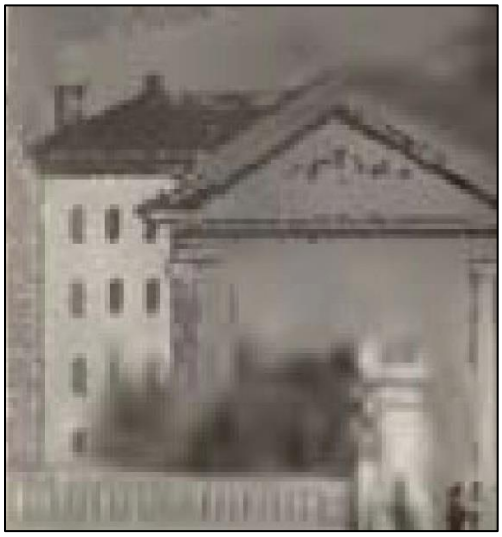
probably the same James Archer who had produced engraved landscapes for London publishers during the 1830s. He proposes that Archer came to the United States specifically to engrave plates for this second American edition. If such was the case, and given that his Third View is so clearly derived from the First, he probably carried with him from London the drawings or plates used in the first English edition, which he used in turn as guides while producing his engravings for the second American edition. For reasons unknown, the drawings or plates used in producing the first American were either unavailable or deemed unsuited for reuse.

This means, then, that the First and Second Views must have had different original source drawings. While both were inspired by the Davis-Pendleton View (itself based on Davis's earlier drawing) and display a similar overall configuration, the consistently patterned differences are enough to indicate two original sources, rather than the single "entirely separate original" that



First Hinton View (1830)

Second Hinton View (1834)



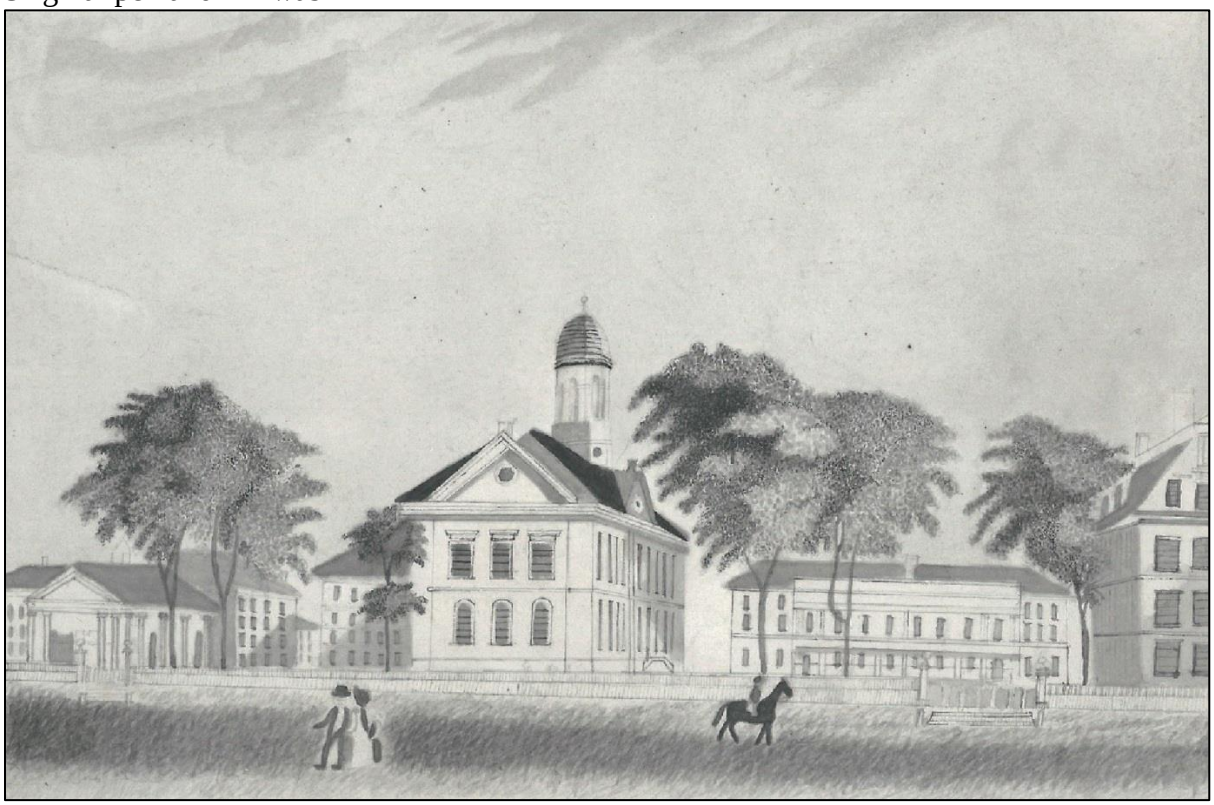
Third Hinton View (1843)

Original pen and ink wash

Bail proposed. Both engravings identify Davis as the artist, and while admittedly speculative, we think it likely that he created original drawings for both the First and Second Views while under contract to Hinton. The lithographic views of New York City and New England that Davis had produced in the 1820s, including the Harvard view, likely came to Hinton's attention while he was planning his *History*. Assuming that Davis's experience was like that of American painter Thomas Cole, who also supplied original art for Hinton's project, he would have contracted to produce a specified number of views; Cole presented some of these to Hinton as finished oil paintings--with the understanding that they be returned--and others as simple pen and ink drawings. We suspect that Davis took the latter option, sending smaller scale versions of his lithographs to Hinton, where London engravers prepared them for publication. A few years later, during the production of the 1834 American edition, **Davis completed the pen and ink wash of Harvard University that we present for the first time here, the original source of the Second Hinton View**.

Second Hinton View (1834)

Original pen and ink wash



Davis's view, in all of its various forms, would become the most popular image of Harvard produced in the early 19th century. It appeared in a vast array of the expected print formats such as magazines and books, but was even transferred to non-print media as diverse as Staffordshire china and scrimshaw. All primary source material related to Alexander Jackson Davis is extremely rare in the trade. Most original art has long been held by major institutional collections; the most extensive of these holdings are at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library at Columbia University, the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, and the Winterthur Museum. Original evidence of his earliest works--whether manuscript or art--is particularly scarce. **We believe that this iconic view is among the most significant of Davis's works ever offered in the trade; moreover, it is the most important original view of Harvard University to come to light in many years**.

Relevant sources:

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Voorsanger, Catherine Hoover, and John K. Howitt
2000 *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*. Metropolitan Museum of Art and Yale University Press, New Haven.

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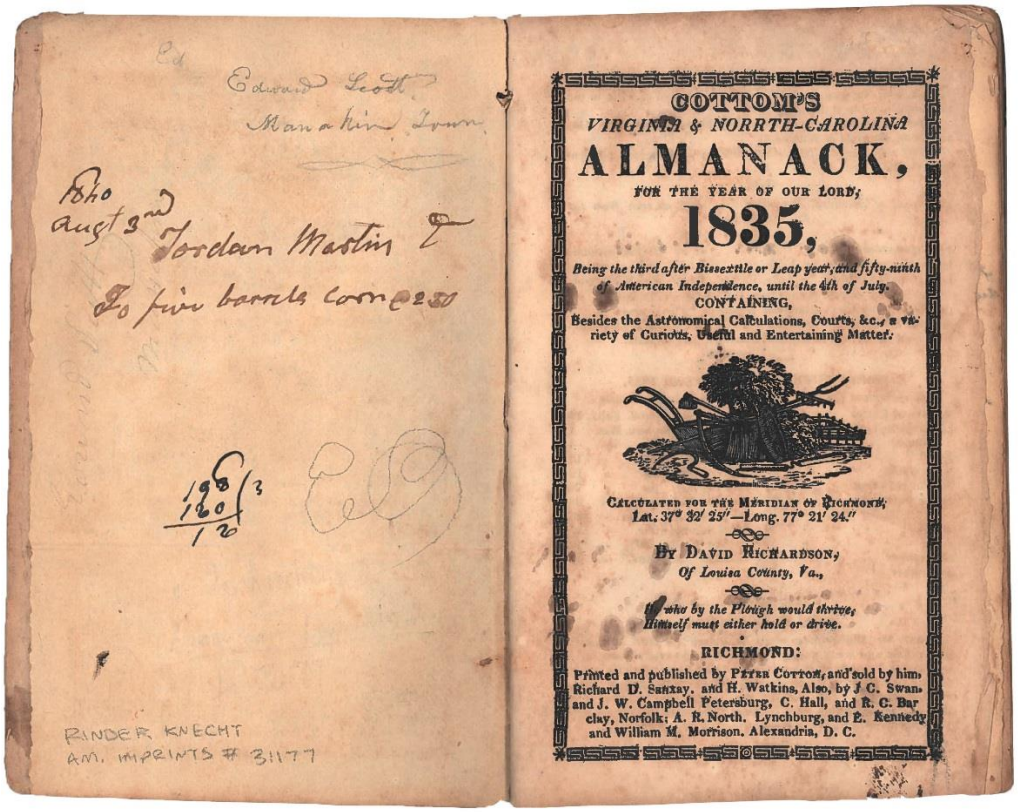
[Harvard University]: [Alexander Jackson Davis]: HARVARD UNIVERSITY CAMBRIDGE [manuscript caption title]. [N.p., n.d., ca. 1834]. Pen and ink drawing with black and gray wash and graphite on wove paper watermarked "J. Whatman/Turkey Mill." Image measures 7 1/2 x 4 3/4 in. (19 x 12 cm) on sheet measuring 9 7/8 x 7 7/8 in. (25 x 20.5 cm). Very good. In a protective cloth box with marbled boards and labels.

5. **$20,000**.

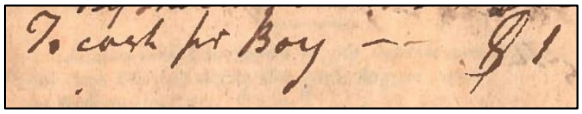
A Rare, Unrecorded Issue of *Cottom's Virginia & North-Carolina Almanack*

By the time he retired from the trade about 1840, Peter Cottom's family printing business was among the most commercially successful in the mid-Atlantic states. As David A. Rawson has observed, "The name of Cottom was perhaps the single best known of those associated with the sale of books, almanacs, prints, and music in early Republic Virginia" (Online Index of Virginia Printing, 107). Cottom had immigrated to Virginia from Ireland in the mid-1790s, and by 1797 he had already opened a small store in Alexandria that sold a range of printed materials. He soon formed a partnership with fellow Irishman James Stewart that lasted for 15 years and included the opening of a new Cottom & Stewart bookstore in Fredericksburg. In 1813, when the partnership dissolved, Stewart kept the store in Alexandria (the Fredericksburg store had closed in 1810), and Cottom started a new store in Richmond, where he stayed for the rest of his career.

For more than nearly 40 years, the most prominent and profitable part of Cottom's business was his annual almanac. These were published under a bewildering variety of titles for different markets, though the content for any particular year was the same. The first of these almanacs may have appeared as early as 1803 or 1804, but none have survived in institutional collections. The earliest surviving examples from the Alexandria press of Cottom and Stewart are *The Town and County Almanack, The Jefferson Almanack,* and *The Virginia Almanack,* all of which were printed in 1805 for the year 1806. After moving to Richmond, Cottom issued his first *Virginia & North Carolina Almanack* in 1817. He would publish a new edition annually until at least 1840, when he seems to have left the management of his business to others.



Despite their great popularity and longevity, **all of Cottom's almanacs are scarce in the antiquarian market**; per RBH, only two examples published during his working years--for 1819 and 1821--have appeared at auction in the past century, and these two were bound into the same sammelband of late 18th- and early 19th-century Virginia almanacs. Copies are more frequently found in institutional holdings, but very few specific issues have survived in more than one or two examples, with most of these held in Virginia collections. Long runs of *Cottom's Virginia & North Carolina Almanack* are in the collections of the AAS, the Virginia Historical Society, and the State Library of Virginia, yet none of these libraries hold the 1835 issue that we offer here. **Neither is it included in James A. Bear's *Checklist of Virginia Almanacs, 1732-1850* (1962), though his comprehensive bibliography does include the editions of 1834 and 1836**. **Indeed, we have not been able to locate a copy of this issue in any institutional collection, such that it seems to be a unique survival**. This example, in contemporary stiff blue wraps, is particularly interesting, as it is interleaved with manuscript ledger entries kept by Virginian Edward Scott, whose family had owned the Manakin Town Ferry across the James River since 1745. Significantly, Scott used some of these entries to record the payments he received for hiring out his slaves. **Altogether, a very interesting example of a rare and possibly unique Virginia almanac.**



Relevant sources:

Bear, James A.
1962 *A Checklist of Virginia Almanacs, 1732-1850*. Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Rawson, David A.
1998 "Guardians of Their Own Liberty:" A Contextual History of Print Culture in Virginia Society. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

2018 Index of Virginia Printing (http://indexvirginiaprinting.org/about/).

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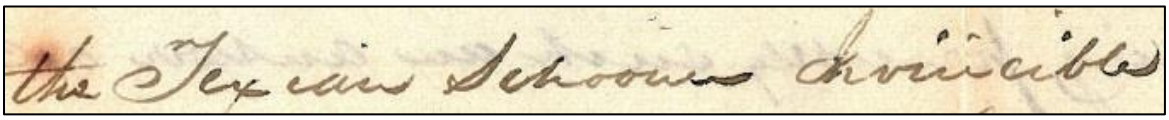
Cottom, Peter. COTTOM'S VIRGINIA & NORTH-CAROLINA ALMANACK, FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1835, BEING SECOND AFTER BISSEXTILE OR LEAP YEAR, AND FIFTY-NINTH OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE UNTIL THE 4th OF JULY. CONTAINING, BESIDES THE ASTRONOMICAL CALCULATIONS, COURTS, &.c, A VARIETY OF CURIOUS, USEFUL AND ENTERTAINING MATTER. Calculated for the Meridian of Virginia by David Richardson of Louisa County, VA. Printed and Published by Peter Cottom, Richmond [1834]. [36] pp., title vignette. 12mo (18 cm). Original paper covered, flexible leather wraps, interleaved with xx pages of manuscript account entries and notations in the hand of Edward Scott, his signature on front pastedown. Light edge wear, spotting, and scuffing to covers, occasional foxing. Very good. Not in Bear (see 311, 315 for 1834, 1836 issues).

6. SOLD.

The Only Military Engagement Between the United States and Texas

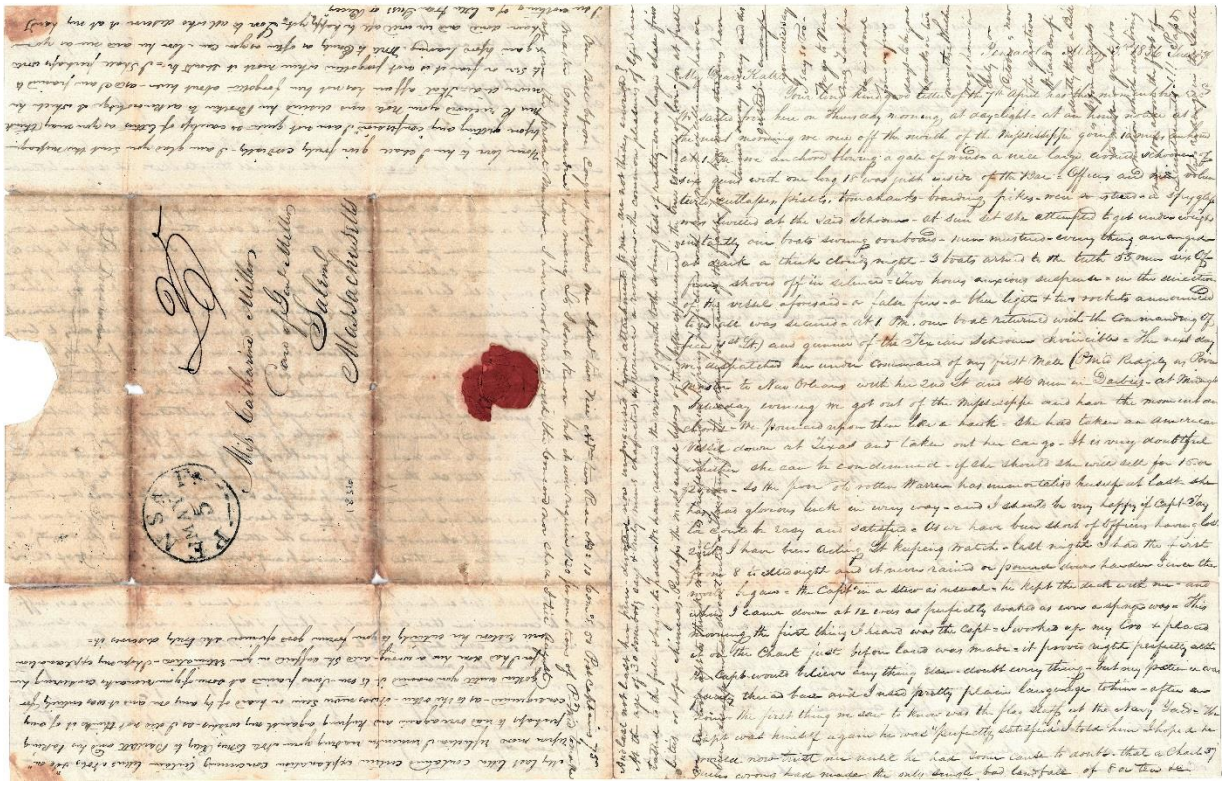
On April 21, 1836, along a plain of the San Jacinto River near modern La Porte, Texas, the Texian Army under General Sam Houston delivered a devastating defeat on the Mexican forces of Antonio López de Santa Anna. The Battle of San Jacinto lasted 20 minutes, yet all but ensured that the Texas Revolution would conclude with an independent Republic of Texas. Less than two weeks later, the Texas Republic faced its only clash against the other foreign power on its borders when the pride of its Texian Navy, the schooner *Invincible*, met the USS *Warren* near the mouth of the Mississippi River. **This letter, written aboard the *Warren* by 2nd Lieut. James F. Miller just two days after the engagement, is the only known first-hand account of the only military confrontation between the United States and the Republic of Texas**.

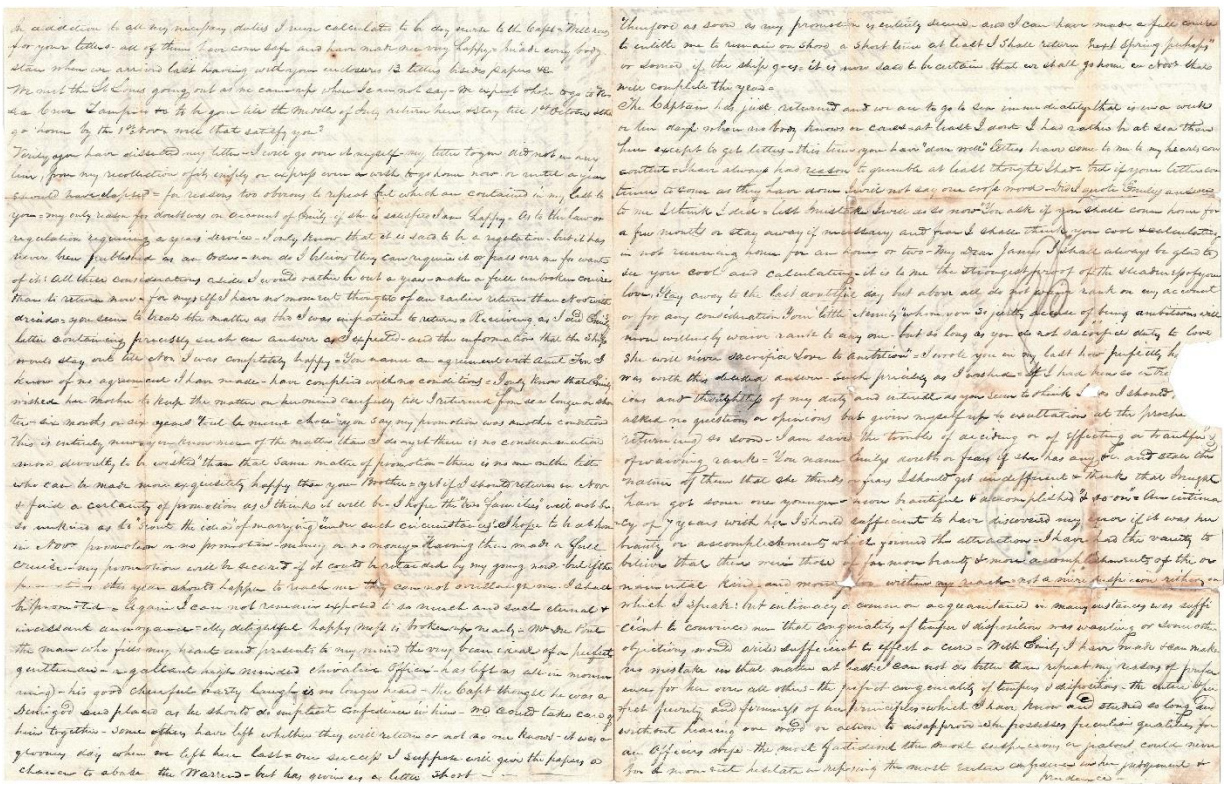


The Texas provisional government had issued an ordinance creating a navy on November 24, 1835, but it was not until the following January that its agents had opportunity to purchase the four schooners--*Invincible*, *Brutus*, *Independence*, and *Liberty*--that formed what is known today as the First Texas Navy. Given the limited capabilities of Mexico's own tiny naval force, the Texian Navy vessels and an active flotilla of pro-Texas privateers greatly disrupted shipping in the Gulf, particularly along the routes between New Orleans and Mexico that delivered reinforcements and supplies for Santa Anna's army. Perhaps the most important naval action of the war occurred on April 3, 1836, when the schooner *Invincible*, under command of Captain Jeremiah Brown, met the Mexican man-of-war *General Bravo* near the port of Matamoros.

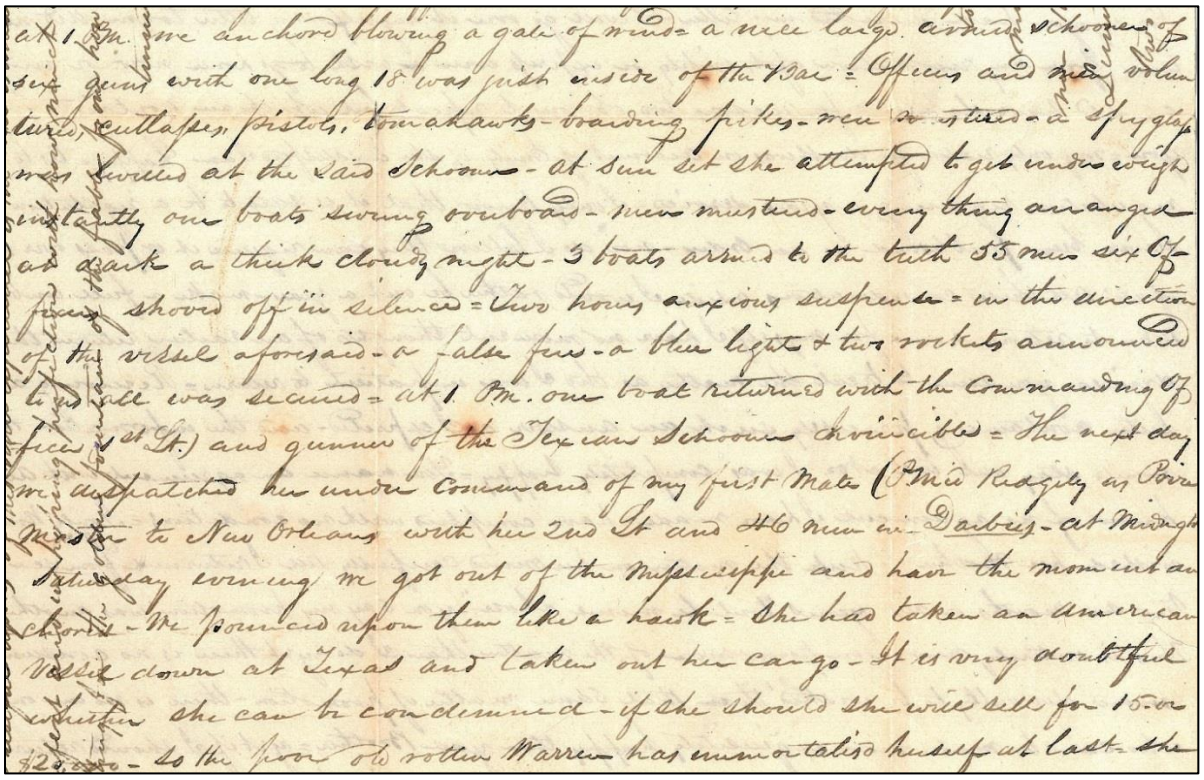
The *Invincible* was originally built in Baltimore as a slave ship, but then was purchased by Texas special agents Thomas McKinney and Samuel Williams for about $12,500 and delivered to New Orleans. The Texas government agreed to buy her on January 8 for about $14,000 (including commission for McKinney and Williams), then spent another $6000 to outfit her in New Orleans with two 18-pounder long guns, two 9-pounder guns and four 6-pounders. She was commissioned ten days after the purchase, on January 18. When Jeremiah Brown took command of the ship on March 12, he received a very specific first charge--to defend the Texas coast against the Mexican warship *Montezuma* (which was soon to be renamed the *Bravo*). Less than a month later, he found her at Matamoros, where she had just crossed the bar at the mouth of the Rio Grande and promptly lost her rudder. Though armed with 20 guns herself, the *Bravo* was immobilized and waiting for a refit. She was thus at a tremendous disadvantage against the agile *Invincible*. When the *Bravo* tried to flee the scene, the *Invincible* made chase. The *Bravo* could not be steered and ran aground on a sandbar; helpless, she was wrecked by a broadside from the Texas schooner.

Watching all of this unfold from a safe distance was the captain and crew of the American brig *Pocket*. Hailing from Boston and under the command of Elijah Howes, the *Pocket* was on its way to Matamoros. In its cargo hold was a load of contraband food and weapons intended for the Mexican Army, bought in New Orleans by Lizardi and Co., agents of Santa Anna himself. When Captain Howes determined that the *Invincible* was fully engaged with the doomed *Bravo*, he tried





to slip beyond the two combatants and into the safety of the Mexican port. Instead, after delivering his first and ultimately decisive volley against the *Bravo*, Captain Brown swung his *Invincible* about and bore down upon the slower cargo ship. Brown's schooner quickly caught the *Pocket*, and on boarding the brig he demanded to see its papers. Although the manifests claimed that the ship was on a commercial venture for her American owners and carrying only a small cargo of provisions for Matamoros, Brown discovered something very different. Besides the aforementioned supplies of food and weapons meant for Santa Anna's army, there were messages for the Mexican general from his spies in Texas and Louisiana, containing detailed information on Texas troop movements and instructions for carrying Mexican troops elsewhere along the coast. There were descriptions of Texas warships and a carefully drawn chart of the Texas coast. There were even several officers on board with commissions in the Mexican Navy. Brown claimed the ship and its contents for the Republic of Texas and set out for Galveston with his spoils.



On reaching port, the *Pocket's* cargo was quickly delivered to Sam Houston's forces, who were desperately in need of supplies. About two weeks later, those very same supplies--food and weapons intended for their adversaries--went on to play a vital role in the Texas Army's victory at San Jacinto. Captain Howe of the *Pocket*, meanwhile, made his way back to New Orleans with his passengers and crew, where he marched directly to the United States district attorney and filed a protest against Brown and the *Invincible's* men for the crime of piracy. New Orleans merchants stoked the rising flames, recognizing the broader threat to their own commerce with Mexico. In mid-April, the *Invincible* sailed into New Orleans for supplies, and Brown went ashore on official business. While he was away from the ship, his first mate learned that the city marshal intended to arrest the entire crew and take the vessel. The mate gathered the crew, hoisted sail, and fled to the safety of the gulf. Yet word of both the *Invincible's* so-called piracy and its flight had reached

Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, commander of the United States naval squadron at Pensacola, who ordered one of his own sloops, the *Warren*, to capture the fugitive Texas vessel. On Friday night, May 1, she overtook the *Invincible*. The letter that we offer here, written two days after the encounter by an officer of the *Warren*, James F. Miller, sets the dramatic scene:

> …We sailed from here on Thursday morning at daylight…and the next morning we were off the mouth of the Mississippi going 10 miles an hour…We anchored blowing a gale of winds. A nice large schooner of six guns with one long 18 just inside of the Bar. Officers and men volunteered, cutlasses, pistols, tomahawks, boarding pikes --men mustered--a spy glass was leveled at said schooner. At sunset she attempted to get under weigh. Instantly our boats swung overboard --men mustered everything arranged at dark, a thick cloudy night, 3 boats armed to the teeth 55 men six officers shoved off in silence, two hours anxious suspense--in the direction of the vessel aforesaid--a false fire--a blue light & two rockets announced to us all was secured…

While newspapers in New Orleans would later carry news of the *Invincible's* capture, **this letter, so far as we can determine, is the only first-hand account of the confrontation between the two vessels. Moreover, we can find no evidence of any comparable military engagements between the United States and the Texas Republic**. After describing the capture of the Texas schooner, Miller also details the aftermath and shares his pride in the *Warren*:

> At 1 Pm. our boat returned with the commanding officer (1st Lt.) and gunner of the the Texian Schooner Invincible. The next day we dispatched her under command of my first Mate…to New Orleans with her 2nd Lt and 46 men…At midnight Saturday evening, we got out of the Mississippi…We pounded upon them like a hawk. She had taken an American vessel down at Texas and taken out her cargo. It is very doubtful whether she can be condemned. If she should she will sell for 15, or $20,000 so the poor old rotten Warren has immortalized herself at last. She has glorious luck in every way.

On arriving in New Orleans, the crew of the *Invincible* was imprisoned for about a week while awaiting trial. After a brief postponement, the trial began on May 6 before Judge Rowle of the United States district court. Only four witnesses testified, three of whom were officers of the *Warren*. The next day, finding no evidence of piracy, Rowle dismissed all the charges against the *Invincible's* crew and ordered their immediate release. Captain Brown then appeared and turned himself in, but was freed on the spot. The New Orleans *Commercial Bulletin* of May 7 summed the case up thus: "We have never seen a finer collection of robust, and honest faced tars, than the prisoners, and for a good cause, we should ever hope, that they might prove invincible…"

Alas, neither the *Invincible* nor any of her sister ships in the First Texas Navy were to live up to her optimistic name. Indeed, in little more than a year not a single of these ships would fly the Texas flag. On May 22, *Liberty* was detained in New Orleans for repairs, then was sold to pay for their cost. The *Independence* surrendered to the Mexican Navy after the Battle of Brazos River

on April 17, 1837. Her captain and crew were later released, but Mexico kept the schooner, which was recommissioned as *La Independencia*. Then on August 27, *Brutus* and *Invincible* met their fates on the same day. As the two vessels were returning to Galveston after successful operations along the Mexican coast, *Brutus* crossed the sandbar and safely made the port. *Invincible*, though, was delayed by two Mexican warships, the *Iturbide* and the *Libertador*. *Brutus* turned to help the *Invincible* in fending off her attackers, but ran aground on a sandbar. Shortly after, Invincible ran aground, too, and was shattered by breakers. In 1839, the Texas Republic would acquire six new ships, known today as the Second Texas Navy. And when Texas joined the Union as its 28th state in 1846, these ships likewise received commissions in the United States Navy. Any primary source material related to the Texas Navy, particularly its first four ships, is extremely rare. **A letter such as this, the only known first-hand account of the Republic's single military engagement with the United States, is a rare and significant find indeed**.

Relevant sources:

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1909 *The Navy of the Republic of Texas*. Privately printed, Temple, TX.
Hardin, Stephen L.
1994 *Texian Iliad: A Military History of the Texas Revolution, 1835-1836*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
Meed, Douglas V.
2001 *The Fighting Texas Navy, 1832-1843*. Republic of Texas Press, Plano, TX.
Miller, Edward L.
2004 *New Orleans and the Texas Revolution*. Texas A & M University Press, College Station.
Streeter, Thomas W.
1955 *Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845*. Part 1, Volume 1. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

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[Texas Revolution--First Texas Navy]: James F. Miller: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM 2ND LIEUT. JAMES F. MILLER, IN PENSACOLA, TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE MILLER OF SALEM, MASS., DESCRIBING THE MILITARY ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE USS *WARREN* AND THE TEXAS NAVY SCHOONER *INVINCIBLE*]. Pensacola. May 3, 1836. [4] pp. with integral address leaf and Pensacola postmark. Remnant of wax seal and corresponding seal tear, affecting a few words of personal news but none regarding the capture of the *Invincible*. Old folds with several pin holes, not affecting any pertinent text, and professional repairs to old separations. About very good.

7. SOLD.

Isaac McCoy Seeks Support for his American Indian Mission Association

By the time that Isaac McCoy founded the American Indian Mission Association in 1842, he had labored in the mission fields of Native America for a quarter-century. McCoy was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania in 1784, but as a young child he had accompanied his family down the Ohio River to Kentucky, where they eventually settled in Shelby County. He married Christiana Polke in 1804, then moved soon after from Kentucky to Vincennes, Indiana. Here, though lacking any religious training or formal education, he answered the call to preach, becoming an ordained Baptist minister in 1810. Seven years later, at his request, the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions in America sent him to work among the frontier settlers and Indians of Illinois and Indiana, along the Wabash River north of Terre Haute. This--his first experience as a missionary--brought him into immediate contact with the Wea, Kickapoo, and Miami Indians, and although it was ultimately a failure, it would set the course for the rest of his life.

In 1820, McCoy moved to Fort Wayne and established a mission among the Miami. Two years later, he moved again, this time to the St. Joseph River near modern-day Niles, Michigan, where he ministered to the Pottawatomis. Then in 1826 he moved again, to a site near what is now Grand Rapids, and founded Thomas Mission among the Ottawas. He and his family and followers were the first white settlers in either of these communities. During these years among the Indians of the upper Midwest, McCoy became convinced that their future depended on the establishment of a permanent Indian country in the west, one where native peoples would be protected from the corrupting influence of white settlers. He was thus one of the first and most vocal advocates for removal. Beginning in the late 1820s and continuing through much of the next decade, McCoy surveyed western lands--operating under appointment by Secretary of War John C. Calhoun--in what are now the states of Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma, laying out future reservations for the Miamis, Ottawas, Delawares, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees. He also founded the Shawanoe Baptist Mission, where in 1832 he published the first English-language book printed in Kansas, *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs in the Indian (Western) Territory*.

To the Benevolent throughout the United States.

The American Indian Mission Association, now in session in the City of Louisville, Kentucky, earnestly solicits the attention of all who are disposed to do justice, and to extend kindness to suffering fellow-men, to the claims of the Aborigines of America.

That they were vastly numerous at the time that Europeans first visited this continent, is well known; that their number has since been reduced to less than a fourth part of what it then was, is fully believed; that this diminution of numbers has been occasioned by the ingress of white men, none will pretend to deny; and that their decrease is evidence of accumulated sufferings, is equally plain. Nevertheless, it is believed that, in North America, the remnant still in existence amounts to more than four millions; and these, with slight exceptions, are still perishing by causes emanating from white men. The latter, with the advantages which civilization gave themover barbarous habits, have crowded out of their homes those who occupied the territory of these now prosperous United States; and, though the vast territory inhabited by the natives, adjoins our settlements, and the opportunity of making them some amends for the damages they have sustained, have always been favorable, they have, nevertheless, been negiected.

That they have strong claims upon our sympathies, none will deny. Are not these claims equal to those of any other nation? And the claims of *justice* in their behalf are equally palpable — they are imperious, and cannot be innocently disregarded. The brevity of this appeal forbids argument and a detail of facts demonstrative of these truths; but neither is necessary. All admit that we owe the Indians a debt which we can never fully discharge. Hence their claims upon us are paramount to those of foreign nations, whom we have not injured.

Brethren, why has so much less sympathy been felt for the heathen in America than for the heathen in Asia? Are the souls of these of less value, or their happiness on earth less desirable? Are these comparatively few? *We* have reduced their number. Is there something appalling in their present rapid decline? The causes are from *us*. Shall we say to them, We occupy the country of your fathers; we destroyed them, and you are in like manner perishing under the evils which result from our acquaintance with you; you are by our side; we hear your groans, and see you dying under our feet, and yet we cannot help you, because men beyond the seas whom we have not injured at all, need the light of the gospel? Where is consistency?

Should any question the premises here assumed, that the Aborigines of our country have not received a proper share of attention from the benevolent; we would remind such, that, until very recently, so little interest was felt for the salvation of the Indians, that no feasible plan for their improvement was adopted. There was nothing peculiarly forbidding in the Indian character; there was no obscurity about the means to be employed for their relief. All was plain. Their wants were like the wants of others; and the gospel and civilization embodied all that their wants demanded; and, yet, only a few isolated efforts have been made to impart to them the blessings of either. Even up to the time of the organization of this Association, they who were doing most for Indian Missions, deemed it sufficient that they should occupy merely a secondary place in the attention of benevolent societies, the main object of which was the support of foreign missions.

This Association has avowed its regard for foreign missions. Their prosperity excites gratitude to God, and earnest desire that they may advance with the increase of fervency in prayer and liberality in contributions. It aims *not* to obstruct in the slightest degree missions in foreign fields, but *to promote proper efforts for the salvation of the Aborigines*. It is esteemed a just cause of grief, that so little sympathy has been felt for the heathen at our doors: especially as we cannot expect any other nation to embark zealously in this good work. It properly belongs to Christians in America.

After more than twenty years' efforts of a few in the Baptist ranks to promote a feasible plan of Indian reform, we have the satisfaction to perceive that such a plan has been adopted. Its success is astonishing. To a sufficient number to form a State, a country has been assigned, and there, believing that they had, *at last*, found a resting place, tribes of hunters have suddenly formed settlements of farmers; and, with gladdened hearts and busy hands, are daily adding to the enjoyments of civilized life. But a few years ago, and before their emigration to the west, the Delawares, Shawanoes, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Weas, Peorias, and others, were really bands of hunters. Now they are cultivating farms. Others from the south, who were far advanced in civilization before their immigration west, are now encouraged by the fact, that they are not now as they were formerly, within the chartered limits of any State, and they are where they may enjoy the advantages of all civil and religious institutions which are necessary to their future prosperity.

Here are over ninety thousand, who belong to about twenty tribes, most of whom have emigrated from the east side of the Mississippi; and not one of the immigrant tribes depends materially upon hunting for subsistence; but all depend almost wholly on the fruits of their industry at their homes.

Their personal comforts and their hopes, have awakened among them a desire to enjoy the advantages of education, never before known among the Indians. But the most pleasant feature in their affairs is readiness to receive religioes instruction.

This Association was organized with special reference to the salvation of the Aborigines; and in the hope of combining, so far as necessary, the energies of the Baptist denomination throughout the United States, in carrying forward the plan now fairly before the public, and which so strongly commends itself by success, so far as the experiment has been made. As soon as resources, and affairs within the present Indian Territory, will admit, it is designed to originate other settlements—other Territories; and to furnish them with the Word of God and the living teacher. And it is hoped that this design will be followed up until not a single band of Aborigines, in either North or South America, will be left destitute of the light which guides to happiness on earth and to heaven.

The Association is now celebrating its second anniversary; but its *actual* operations have little exceeded a year and a half. Thus far the Lord has smiled upon its efforts in an uncommon degree. About eighty have been baptized by the missionaries within the last year, and a very encouraging state of things in regard to religion continues. Four churches, embracing in the whole, over one hundred and eighty members, are in its connection. It has fifteen missionaries in the field, viz: nine males, of whom three are natives, two of the white brethren are single; and six females, two of whom are unmarried. The Gospel by Matthew, and the Acts of the Apostles translated into the Putawatomie language, have been printed, and, in neat binding, is now ready to be distributed to that tribe; Buildings and a farm of considerable value, have been obtained from the government of the United States, for the purposes of a school upon an enlarged scale among the Weas. The Choctaw nation has recently appropriated $2,900 00 for the erection of buildings, &c. for an Academy among them; and have endowed it with an annuity in future of $2,900 00, upon the condition that this Association will also apply in support of the institution, an annuity of $1000 00. Six hundred dollars have been placed in the treasury, for the establishment of a Female Academy among the Osages, and will be applied as soon as suitable missionaries can be obtained for that station.

The responsibilities of the Association have suddenly become considerable; but the calls for help to which it has responded, appeared to be of a character too impressive to be denied; and such, it is believed, will be the view taken by the readers of the history of our affairs of the last year, as given in the Annual Report of the Board. Calls for help are multiplying, and increasing in interest, and the fields appear rapidly whitening for harvest. All is a moral and literal waste beyond a little skirt which is beginning to bloom on the border of the vast region inhabited by the aboriginal tribes. But all are accessible by the Missionary of the Cross. Some of the natives have already become preachers of the Gospel to their countrymen; and re-inforcements to our missionary ranks will, doubtless, continue to be obtained from that quarter in proportion as the transforming influences of the Gospel are felt.

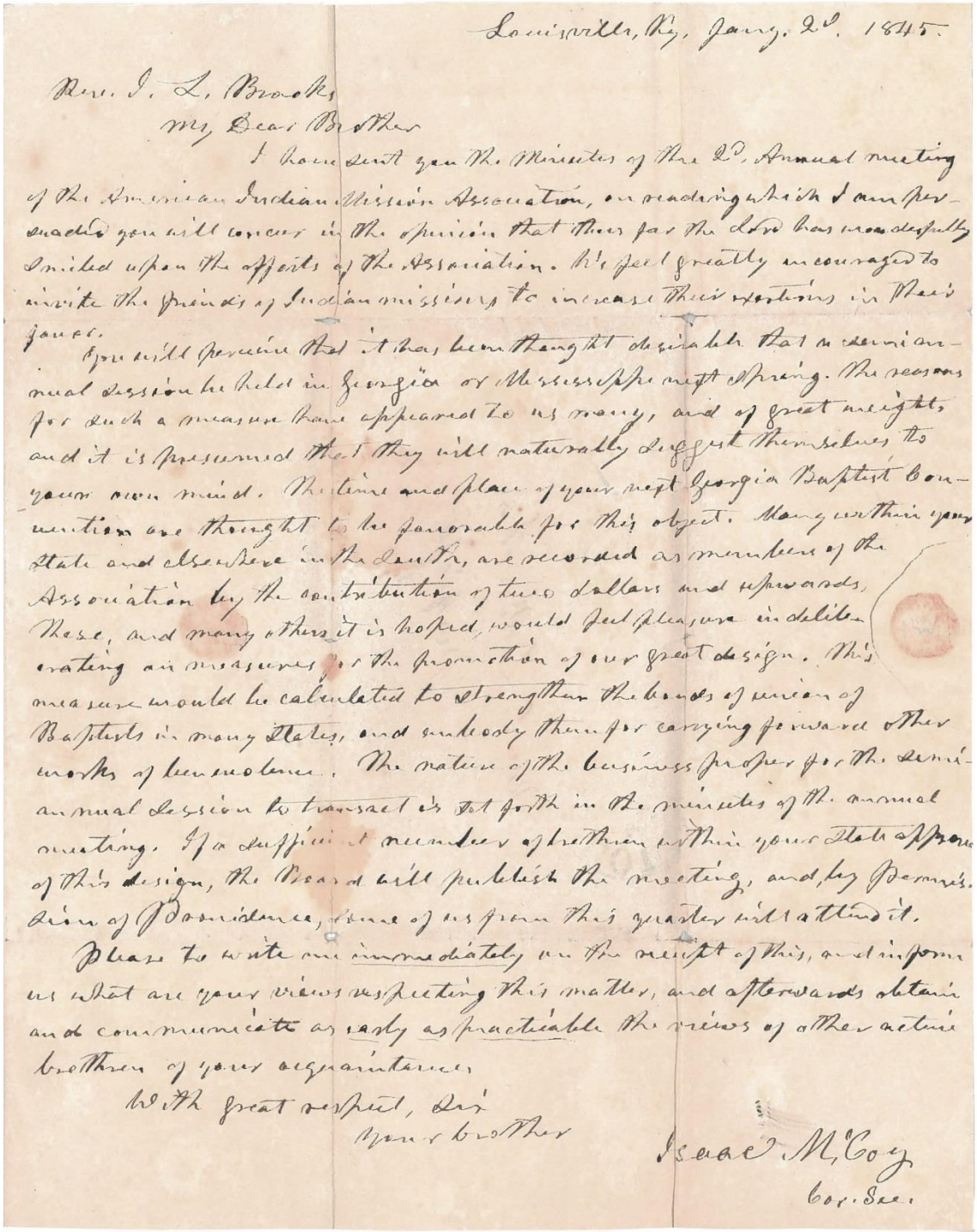
Brethren, will you co-operate with the Association in this great and good work—this work of *justice* as well as mercy? We repeat, that we do not desire you to relax your efforts for the support of Foreign Missions. No. Send abroad the light of the Gospel, that distant nations may call you "blessed;" but do not, we entreat you, reject the claims of the poor Indian, wrapped in his buffalo skin, seeking a precarious subsistence by the chase, or by digging roots, who, by his wretchedness and moral darkness, implores relief, predicating his plea upon the principles of common justice, and Christian benevolence, enforced by reference to the beneficence of our Divine Lord and Master. Will you not do something to assure him that he is *not friendless*, as he has long been taught to believe, but that he has friends on earth—that he has a Friend in Heaven?

You are entreated to adopt systematic measures for co-operation in Indian Missions. Remittances to the treasury, may be made either to the undersigned Secretary and Agent, or to C. Van Buskirk, Esq., both of Louisville, Ky.

The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in this City, commencing on the last Thursday in October, 1845. The attendance of brethren is affectionately invited. By order of the Association,

ISAAC McCOY,
Corresponding Secretary and Agent.

Louisville, Ky., Oct., 1844.



Louisville, Ky. Janry. 2d. 1845.

Rev. J. L. Brooks

My Dear Brother

I have sent you the Minutes of the 2d. Annual meeting of the American Indian Mission Association, on reading which I am persuaded you will concur in the opinion that Thus far the Lord has manifestly smiled upon the efforts of the Association. We feel greatly encouraged to invite the friends of Indian missions to increase their exertions in their favor.

You will perceive that it has been thought desirable that a semi-annual session be held in Georgia or Mississippi next Spring. The reasons for such a measure have appeared to us many, and of great weight, and it is presumed that they will naturally suggest themselves to your own mind. The time and place of your next Georgia Baptist Convention are thought to be favorable for this object. Many within your State and elsewhere in the South, are recorded as members of the Association by the contribution of two dollars and upwards. These, and many others it is hoped, would feel pleasure in deliberating on measures for the promotion of our great design. This measure would be calculated to strengthen the bonds of union of Baptists in many States, and embody them for carrying forward other works of benevolence. The nature of the business proper for the semi-annual session to transact is set forth in the minutes of the annual meeting. If a sufficient number of brethren within your State approve of this design, the Board will publish the meeting, and by Providence, some of us from this quarter will attend it.

Please to write me immediately on the receipt of this, and inform us what are your views respecting this matter, and afterwards obtain and communicate as early as practicable the views of other active brethren of your acquaintance.

With great respect, Dear
Your brother

Isaac McCoy
Cor. Sec.

In 1842, after more than a decade in the west, McCoy moved his family back to Kentucky, settling at Louisville and establishing the American Indian Mission Association. McCoy believed with good cause that the Baptist Foreign Mission board was devoting far more of its resources to overseas mission activities than to work with the American Indians. McCoy's new organization, non-denominational in its scope, would aim to rectify this shortcoming. His founding of the AIMA coincided with a schism in the Baptist Church over the issue of slavery. McCoy was not opposed to slavery and had even owned two or three slaves while living with his family in Missouri during his surveying years. As such, most of the AIMA's support would come from the South, and the organization itself, with McCoy as corresponding secretary from its establishment until his death in 1846, would remain a pro-slavery missionary society.

The broadside printed circular and autograph letter that we offer here illustrate both sides of McCoy's character. The circular, **unique and unrecorded**, touts his society's success converting the native peoples among whom he had labored from "bands of hunters" to civilized Christian farmers. It seeks support from "all who are disposed to do justice, and to extend kindness to suffering fellow-men, to the claims of the Aborigines of America." The circular was printed on the recto of a folded folio sheet and mailed to the Rev. Iveson L. Brook[e]s of Penfield, Georgia. On the conjugate leaf, McCoy wrote a letter to Brookes seeking support and suggesting that the society plan a "semiannual meeting in Georgia or Mississippi next spring." Brookes, an alumni of the University of North Carolina and principal of Penfield Female Academy, was a plantation owner and an ardent defender of southern slavery. It is difficult today to understand how men like these could hold such incompatible views--advocating "kindness to suffering fellow-men," but not extending that kindness to those they enslaved. Such material in McCoy's hand is very rare in the market; even the Siebert collection contained no McCoy manuscripts. **In fact, we do not believe that any McCoy letter has ever been offered at auction or in the trade**.

Relevant sources:

Ella, George Melvin
2003 *Isaac McCoy: Apostle of the Western Trail*. Particular Baptist Press, Springfield, MO.
McCoy, Isaac
1840 *History of Baptist Indian Missions*. H. and S. Raynor, New York.
Wyeth, Walter Newton
1895 *Isaac McCoy: Early Indian Missions. Isaac McCoy--Christiana McCoy, a Memorial*. W. N. Wyeth, Publisher, Philadelphia.

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[American Indians--Missions]: Isaac McCoy: TO THE BENEVOLENT THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES [caption title]. Louisville, Kentucky, October 1844. Broadside circular printed on recto of folded folio sheet, signed in type by McCoy as corresponding secretary. Autograph letter signed by McCoy on recto of the conjugate leaf, January 2, 1845; address leaf on verso of conjugate. Wax seal, light spotting, old folds, small pinholes at folds. Very good.

8. SOLD.

The First San Francisco Imprint: A Remarkable, Unrecorded, 1847 Broadside

It is no hyperbole to say that 1847 was the year of San Francisco's birth. Certainly, Spain had founded Presidio de San Francisco in 1776, placing it at the tip of the eponymous peninsula to provide the Crown a claim both to the Bay of San Francisco and to the broader territory of Alta California. In the 1830s, an Englishman named William Richardson built the first civilian house beyond the presidio and began to lay out the streets of a new town, Yerba Buena, so named for an aromatic herb that grew to abundance in the area.

But in 1847--less than a year after the Bear Flag Revolt that turned California from a district of Mexico to a territory of the United Sates--the town obtained its first paper, the *California Star*, which debuted on January 9. On January 30, the first American alcalde (or mayor) of Yerba Buena, Lt. Washington Allon Bartlett, issued an ordinance that officially changed the town's name to San Francisco. Then on March 10, Brigadier General and Governor of California, Stephen W. Kearny, broke established protocols and granted the renamed pueblo all legal rights to its beach and water lots. Just one week later, the next American alcalde, Edwin Bryant, announced that the town would auction all of those lots to the highest bidder, an act that ultimately proved as pivotal as any in San Francisco's early years. Incredibly, this unique and previously unknown broadside--issued by the town's first printer, Samuel Brannan, from the press of the *California Star*--captures each of these momentous events. **We might even describe it as San Francisco's birth certificate**.

The *California Star*

Sam Brannan had learned the printer's trade as a young man in Ohio, where he converted to Mormonism at the age of 23 in 1842. Following the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, he had led the exodus of some 238 eastern Mormons from New York to California--which was still Mexican territory--by way of a six-month voyage around Cape Horn on the ship *Brooklyn*. The *Brooklyn* left New York City on February 4, 1846, arriving at the sleepy port of Yerba Buena on July 31, just a few days after the town was taken by U. S. Navy Commander John B. Montgomery and his ship, the *Portsmouth*. Brannan's small Mormon community nearly tripled Yerba Buena's population. He quickly established himself as one of its leading citizens, opening a flour mill with equipment loaded aboard the *Brooklyn* in New York and--even more importantly--setting up the portable Franklin printing press that he had likewise carried around the Horn.


San Francisco, March 16, 1847.

[California Star Office, Printer.]

After printing an extra "advance" issue of the *California Star* in October, Brannan released its first number in January 1847. It ran as a weekly until June 1848, when the departure of its staff for the gold fields required its offices to close temporarily. It would later join with *The Californian*, California's first newspaper--founded in Monterey in August 1846--and continue as the *Daily Alta California* through June 1891. Excluding those first numbers of the *Star* and its early extra, there are only a handful of recorded Brannan imprints from San Francisco that predate the broadside we offer here. Cowan finds but one; Greenwood and OCLC each locate three. Moreover, we find no evidence that any Brannan issue from California, other than numbers of the *Star*, has appeared in the trade since Anderson Galleries auctioned the only known copy of his 1848 *Laws for the Better*

GREAT SALE
OF VALUABLE REAL ESTATE
IN THE TOWN OF SAN FRANCISCO,
Upper California.

BY the following decree of his Excellency, Gen. S. W. Kearny, Governor of California, all the right, title, and interest of the United States, and of the Territory of California, to the

BEACH AND WATER LOTS

on the East front of the Town of San Francisco. have been granted, conveyed, and released. to the People, or Corporate authorities of said Town.

DECREE OF GOV. KEARNY.

"I BRIGADIER GEN. S. W. KEARNEY, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA, By virtue of authority in me vested, by the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES Of America, do hereby grant, convey, and release unto the Town of San Francisco, the People, or Corporate authorities thereof, all the right, title, and interest of the Government of the United States, and of the Territory of California in and to the Beach & Water Lots on the East front of said Town of San Francisco included between the points known as the Rincon and Fort Montgomery, excepting such Lots as may be selected for the use of the United States Government by the Senior Officers of the Army and Navy now there; Provided the said ground hereby ceded, shall be divided into Lots, and sold by Public Auction to the highest bidder, after three months notice previously given: the proceeds of said Sale to be for the benefit of the Town of San Francisco.

Given at Monterey capital of California, this 10th day of March, 1847, and the 71st year of Independance of the United States.

S. W. KEARNY,
Brig. Gen'l & Gov. of California.

In pursuance of and in compliance with the conditions of the foregoing decree, all the ungranted tract of ground on the East front of the Town of San Francisco lying and situated between Fort Montgomery and the Rincon, and known as the Water and Beach Lots, (the reservations by the General and Town Governments excepted,) will be surveyed and divided into convenient building Lots for warehouses and stores, and offered at

PUBLIC AUCTION

To the Highest Bidder, on TUESDAY THE 29th DAY OF JUNE NEXT, at 10 o'clock A. M. A plan of Lots in connection with a general map of the Town, will be made out and exhibited on or before the day of Sale

Terms of Sale, one fourth Cash,—one fourth in six months,—one fourth in twelve months,—and one fourth in eighteen months, the purchaser giving approved security bearing an interest of 10 per cent per annum from the day of Sale.

Other conditions made known on or before the day of Sale.

The Site of the Town of San Francisco is known by all navigators and mercantile men, acquainted with the subject, to be the most

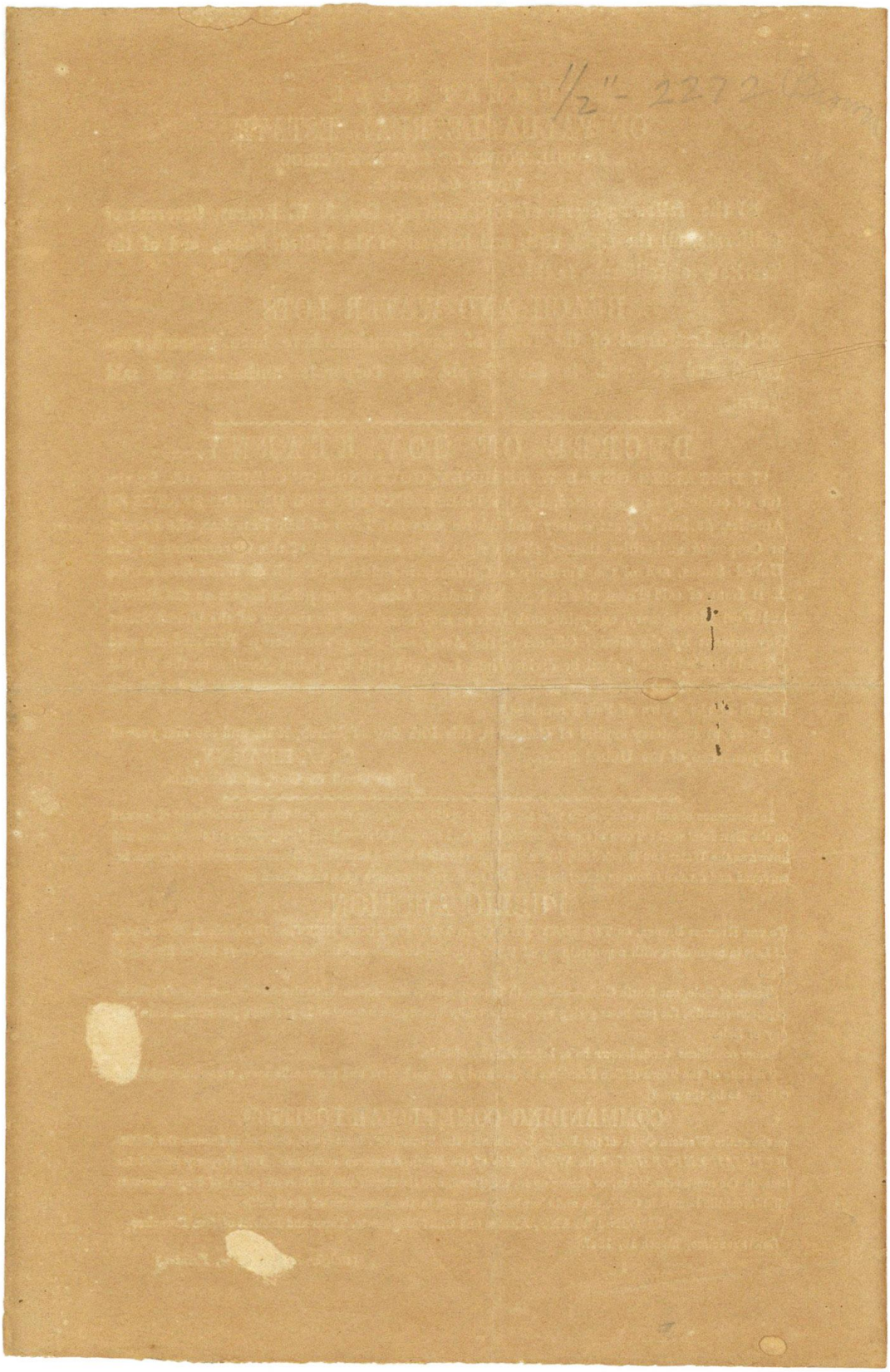
COMMANDING COMMERCIAL POSITION

on the entire Western Coast of the Pacific Ocean, and the Town itself is no doubt, destined to become the *COMMERCIAL EMPORIUM* of the Western side of the North American continent. The Property offered for Sale, is the most valuable in, or belonging to, the Town, and the acquisition of it, is an object of deep interest to all Mercantile houses in California and elsewhere, engaged in the commerce of the Pacific.

EDWIN BRYANT, Alcalde and Chief Magistrate, Town and District of San Francisco.

San Francisco, March 16, 1847.

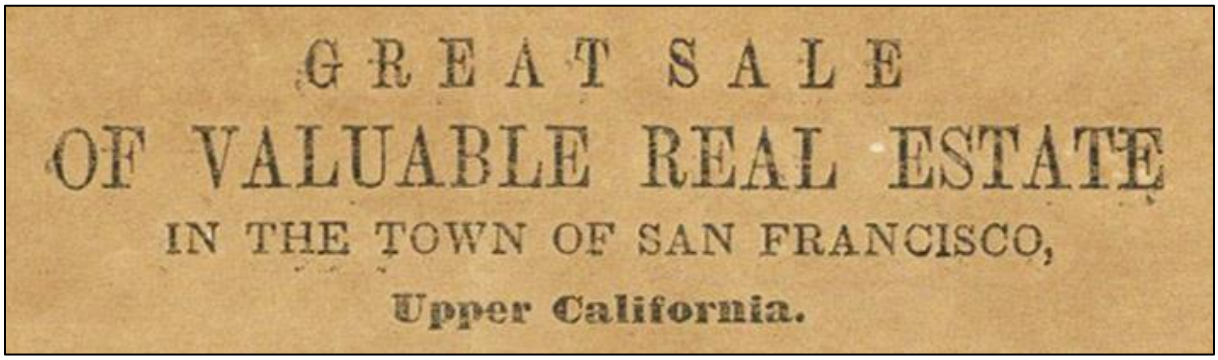
[*California Star Office, Printer.*]



Government of California (obtained by the Huntington) in 1923. **This broadside is the first such Brannan issue offered on the market in nearly a century, and it is the only known item with the caption imprint, "*California Star Office, Printer*."** To put this in perspective, no collection of Western Americana assembled in the 20th century, including those of Everett D. Graff, William R. Coe, and Thomas W. Streeter, held a single such item from Brannan's press.

The Town of San Francisco

Bartlett--the first American alcalde and Montgomery's second in command--was elected to office in September 1846, after having served at his commander's discretion since August. In January 1847, he seized the opportunity to leave his permanent mark on the suddenly bustling little town. That month, Robert Semple, co-founder of Monterey's *Californian*, obtained a five-square-mile tract of land opposite the bay from Yerba Buena. Together with its previous owner, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, a wealthy *Californio* rancher, Semple planned to found a new city on the spot. There was only one condition: Semple had to name the town after Vallejo's wife, Doña Francisca Benicia Carrillo. He agreed, and chose a name that would link his town with the bay on which it sat, Francisca. Back in Yerba Buena, Bartlett learned of Semple's plan, and recognizing the value of names and associations, used one of his last acts in office to issue an ordinance that was simple, direct, and visionary. Yerba Buena was out. From January 23 onward, according to his decree, "the name of SAN FRANCISCO shall hereafter be used in all official communications and public documents, or records appertaining to the town."


GREAT SALE
OF VALUABLE REAL ESTATE
IN THE TOWN OF SAN FRANCISCO,
Upper California.

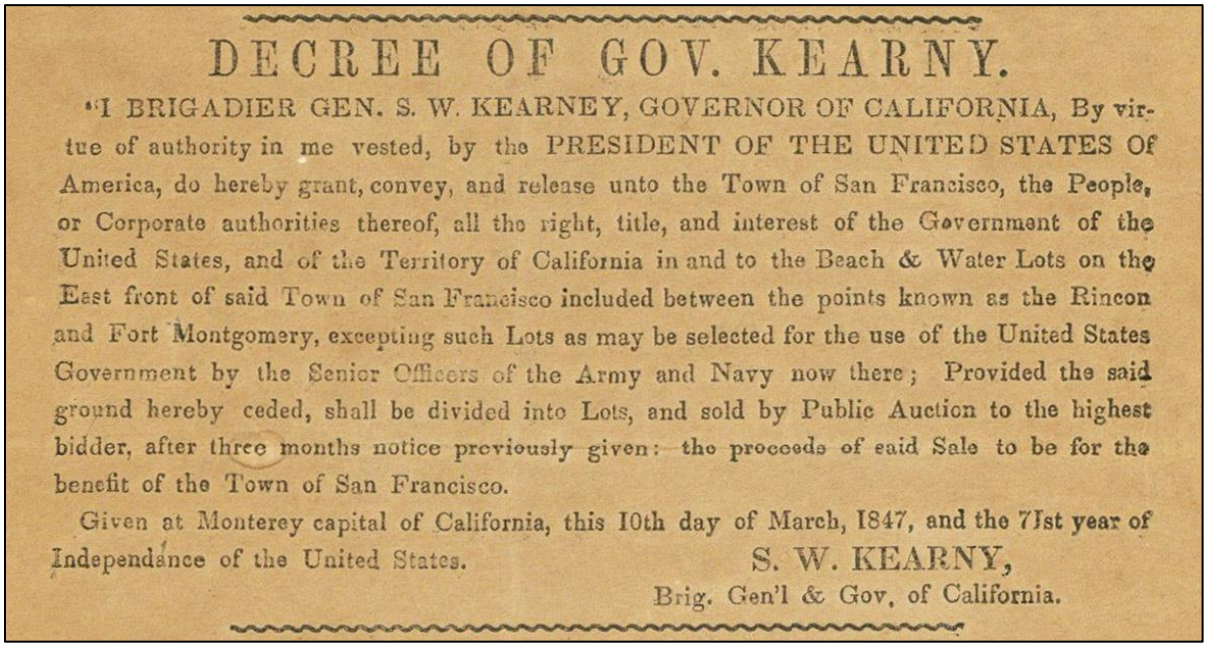
Semple was not the only Bay-area resident unhappy with Bartlett's unilateral edict. Weeks later, Sam Brannan still refused to acknowledge the change on his paper's masthead, retaining the officially retired Yerba Buena. Yet when Brannan obtained the commission to print this broadside in March, a public document signed in type by the second alcalde, Bryant, he finally relented. The March 13 issue of his *Star* (Vol. 1. No. 10) was the last to feature the town's old name. He printed this broadside on March 16, and the following issue of the *Star* (March 20, Vol. 1, No. 11) was the first to accept Bartlett's change of name. Significantly, we find no evidence of any earlier, separate imprint to reflect the change from Yerba Buena to San Francisco, and Bartlett's original ordinance seems not to have been issued in separate form.

This broadside, printed four days before that March 20 issue of Brannan's *California Star*, is thus the first imprint to carry the name of San Francisco. Fahey (81) and Greenwood (104) identify a broadside printing of the text in Spanish, also unique, that was issued in Monterey and likewise dated March 16; the only known copy is held by the Bancroft ("Remate o Venta, en subasta publica…"). Of the change to San Francisco, Brannan notes in his editorial written for the

March 20 issue: "We acquiesce in it, though we prefer the old name. When the change was first attempted we viewed it as a mere assumption of authority, without law of precedent, and therefore we adhered to the old name--Yerba Buena." As for Semple, he had little choice but to let go of Francisca. Instead, he called his new town Benicia, the name it retains today.

The Governor's Decree

Kearny, California's military governor, had only arrived at Monterey a few weeks before the publication of this broadside, and he had not assumed the governor's office until March 1. The previous August, he had seized New Mexico for the United States in a nearly bloodless campaign that saw him take Santa Fe without firing a shot. Having secured the territory, he left for California with a force of about 300 men, travelling southwest along the overland route that was later known as the Gila Trail. Kearny's force arrived in time to help Commodore Robert Stockton and Major John C. Frémont stamp down the *Californio* uprising in southern California, though Kearny and Stockton--of equal military rank--soon fell into conflict over which man held authority. Stockton appointed Frémont as military governor on January 16, 1847, despite Kearny's insistence that he carried orders from President Polk to serve as such. Initially, Frémont refused to yield, but when Stockton left California and Kearny received reinforcements, he grudgingly stepped aside. Kearny had therefore just settled into his office when he issued this decree.



DECREE OF GOV. KEARNY.

"I BRIGADIER GEN. S. W. KEARNEY, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA, By virtue of authority in me vested, by the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES Of America, do hereby grant, convey, and release unto the Town of San Francisco, the People, or Corporate authorities thereof, all the right, title, and interest of the Government of the United States, and of the Territory of California in and to the Beach & Water Lots on the East front of said Town of San Francisco included between the points known as the Rincon and Fort Montgomery, excepting such Lots as may be selected for the use of the United States Government by the Senior Officers of the Army and Navy now there; Provided the said ground hereby ceded, shall be divided into Lots, and sold by Public Auction to the highest bidder, after three months notice previously given: the proceeds of said Sale to be for the benefit of the Town of San Francisco.

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S. W. KEARNY,
Brig. Gen'l & Gov. of California.

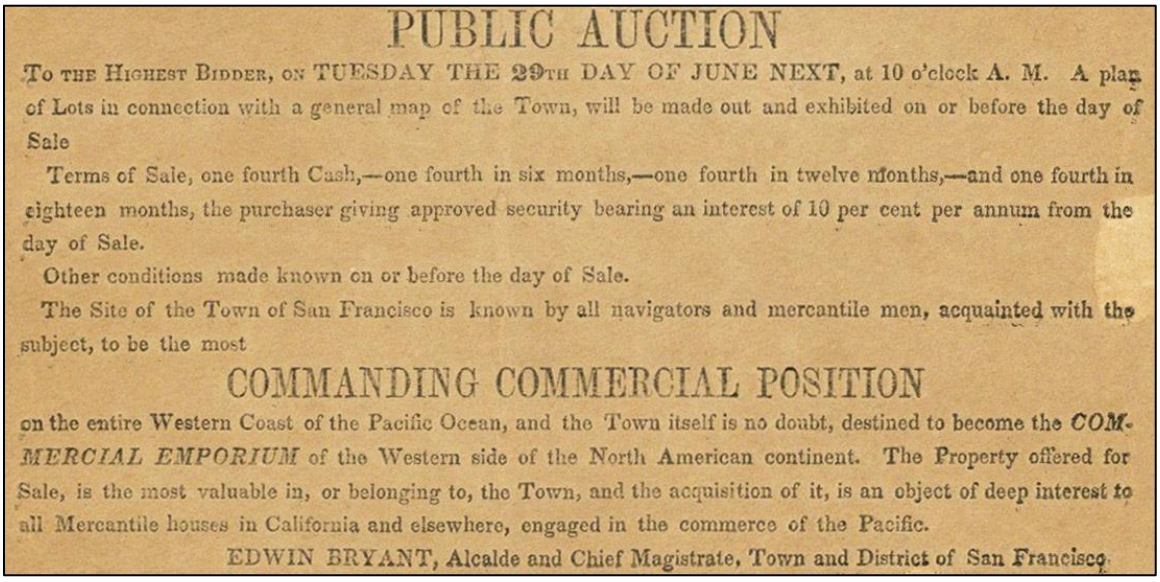
The Governor seems clearly to have overstepped his official capacity when he granted San Francisco title to its beach and water lots. Indeed, the act was likely illegal. Only two years before, the U. S. Supreme Court had ruled that the federal government held tidal lands in trust for future *states*. As Matthew Booker has observed, "The court affirmed the 'equal footing' doctrine: since the original thirteen states inherited their tidelands upon admission to the Union, new states should also own their tidelands" (2013:46). Kearny's opening statement, that his standing to release such lands to the *town* was derived "By virtue of authority in me vested, by the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES Of America," was exactly counter to the Court's ruling. **This broadside is the only separate imprint that contains the full text of this decree in English**; the aforementioned

broadside held by the Bancroft, printed at Monterey, offers the text in Spanish. It was printed in both the *California Star* and *The Californian* shortly after.

The Alcalde's Auction

Kearny may have yielded to pressure from San Francisco's merchant community, many of whom believed--correctly, as it turns out--that opening tidelands to commercial development could attract immigrants and promote the development of a major American port on the Pacific. In any event, Alcalde Bryant wasted little time contemplating the town's good fortune. Less than a week later, he issued this broadside, announcing a plan to survey those areas specified in Kearny's decree and then to sell them all at "PUBLIC AUCTION to the Highest Bidder, on TUESDAY THE 29TH DAY OF JUNE NEXT, at 10:00 o'clock A.M." The terms of sale were one fourth cash, a second fourth in six months, the third in one year, and the final in eighteen months. The purchaser would also need to give approved security at an interest of 10% per year. As it happens, the great sale was postponed until July 20 by order of the third alcalde, George Hyde. Over the course of three successive days, some 200 lots--each 16 1/2 yards wide across the front and 50 yards deep--were disposed of at auction, with prices ranging from $50 to $100. That low, soggy ground was soon to become the most valuable stretch of earth on the entire Pacific Coast. As the broadside itself proclaims in its prescient apotheosis:

> The Site of the Town of San Francisco is known by all navigators and mercantile men, acquainted with the subject, to be the most
> COMMANDING COMMERCIAL POSITION
> on the entire Western Coast of the Pacific Ocean, and the Town itself is no doubt, destined to become the *Commercial Emporium* of the Western side of the North American continent.



PUBLIC AUCTION

TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER, ON TUESDAY THE 29TH DAY OF JUNE NEXT, at 10 o'clock A. M. A plan of Lots in connection with a general map of the Town, will be made out and exhibited on or before the day of Sale

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EDWIN BRYANT, Alcalde and Chief Magistrate, Town and District of San Francisco.

Almost immediately, the lucky owners of those plots began putting men and machines to work turning the otherwise useless land--most was barely land at all, being submerged beneath the waters of the bay at high tide--into waterfront real estate. Anything that could be used to fill the mudflats was: countless tons of rock, sand, garbage, dirt, even whole scuttled ships. Booker notes

that "An 1849 map of San Francisco was outdated within a year because of the speed with which the city authorities surveyed and sold the land lying under Yerba Buena Cove. By 1850, all 444 lots surveyed three years previously had been filled" (2013:47). If the Bartlett ordinance gave the town a name that secured its prominence along the bay, then Bryant's auction guaranteed its greater destiny as the commercial heart of America's West. Gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill just ten months later, and as the throngs descended on California by the thousands in 1849, San Francisco was waiting, its waterfront beckoning with quays and piers, docks and berths. **As with Kearny's decree, this broadside and the Monterey version in Spanish are the only surviving, separate announcements of Bryant's great sale**. The *California Star* carried its first notice of the auction on March 20, *The Californian* one week later on March 27.

All California items from this early period of the American press are extraordinarily rare. For 1846 and 1847, the first two years of the U. S. military government, Wagner could locate physical copies of only ten (non-newspaper) imprints. Greenwood increased the number to 18, of which 26 actual copies were noted; OCLC reports 24 copies of 16 total imprints. The reasons for this absolute scarcity--in the numbers both of surviving imprints and actual, physical copies--are well understood. As Greenwood has noted, there were few early presses (two during the period of interest here), and these were mechanically incapable of producing large editions. Neither San Francisco nor Monterey, the seats of those two presses, had even a thousand people in 1847, and their meager populations likewise kept print runs small. But among the reasons that so few early California imprints survive today, none compares with fire. San Francisco was all but destroyed by at least seven great blazes in the first three years of the Gold Rush, wiping out most materials printed prior to 1849. Half a century later, the great earthquake and fire of 1906 reduced both the Mercantile Library and the Spanish Archives to ashes, along with their contents. Of all the city's major collections, only the library of H. H. Bancroft, purchased by the University of California the previous year, escaped the flames. In May 1906, just weeks after the disaster, the collection was moved to Berkeley, where today it forms the core of the Bancroft Library.

The broadside that we offer here is thus a remarkable discovery. Although it uses the same type and text as the advertisement placed in the March 20 issue of the *Star*, the setting of the type is distinct. It thereby expands our knowledge of the early American press in California by adding a new and bibliographically unknown imprint to the handful of surviving items produced at Samuel Brannan's office. It is the first separate imprint to name the town of San Francisco as such. And it contains the only separate printings in English of both Gen. Kearny's decree and Bryant's auction announcement, the combination of which laid the foundations for San Francisco's ascendency in the Pacific. In tacking back and forth between Greenwood, OCLC, and RBH, we observed a rather striking fact: not a single new imprint from this period of the American press--whether from Yerba Buena, San Francisco, or Monterey--has appeared since the arrival of Greenwood's monumental bibliography in 1961. This example is the first and only. It is difficult to overestimate its historical significance for the development of California and the broader American West.

San Francisco's very first imprint: vital, interesting, and exceptionally important.

Not in Cowan, Wagner, Fahey, American Imprints Inventory 31 (California), Graff, Greenwood, Streeter; no copies in OCLC, Online Archive of California (OAC); not at Bancroft, Huntington, Yale, California Historical Society, California State Library, San Francisco History Center.

Relevant sources:

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Stellman, Louis J.
1953 *Sam Brannan: Builder of San Francisco*. Exposition Press, New York.

Storm, Colton, compiler
1968 *A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana*. Published for the Newberry Library by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Wagner, Henry R.
1922 *California Imprints: August 1846-June 1851*. Printed for the author, Berkeley, CA.

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[California--San Francisco]: [Edwin Bryant]: GREAT SALE / OF VALUABLE REAL ESTATE / IN THE TOWN OF SAN FRANCISCO, / UPPER CALIFORNIA [caption title]. California Star Office, Printer, San Francisco, March 16, 1847. Letterpress broadside, signed in type by Edwin Bryant as Alcalde and Chief Magistrate, Town and District of San Francisco. 7 x 10 3/4 in. (18 x 27 cm). Evenly tanned, old folds, lightly wrinkled, penciled numbers on verso; overall still in very good condition. In a protective cloth box with marbled boards and labels.

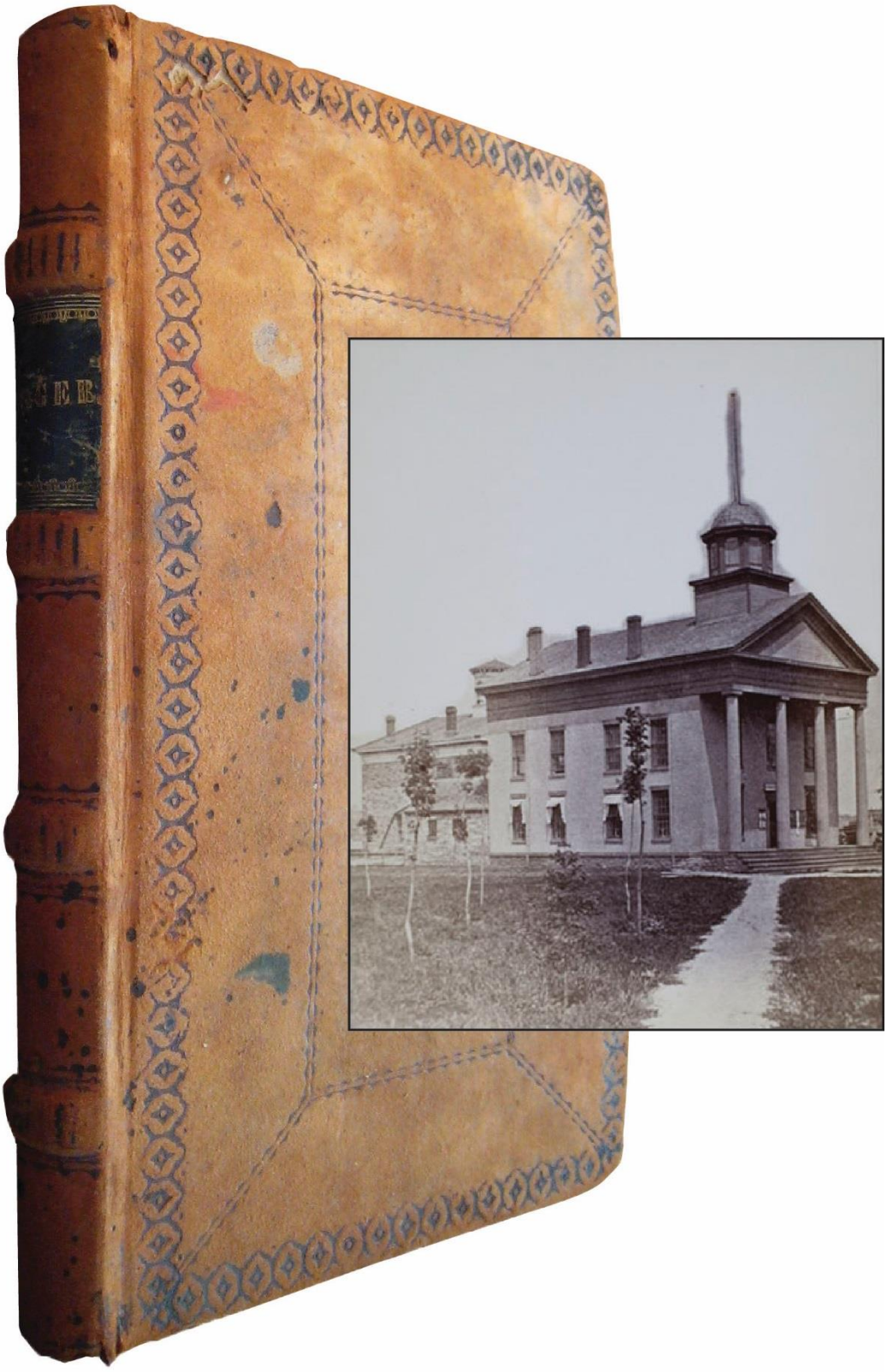
9. SOLD.

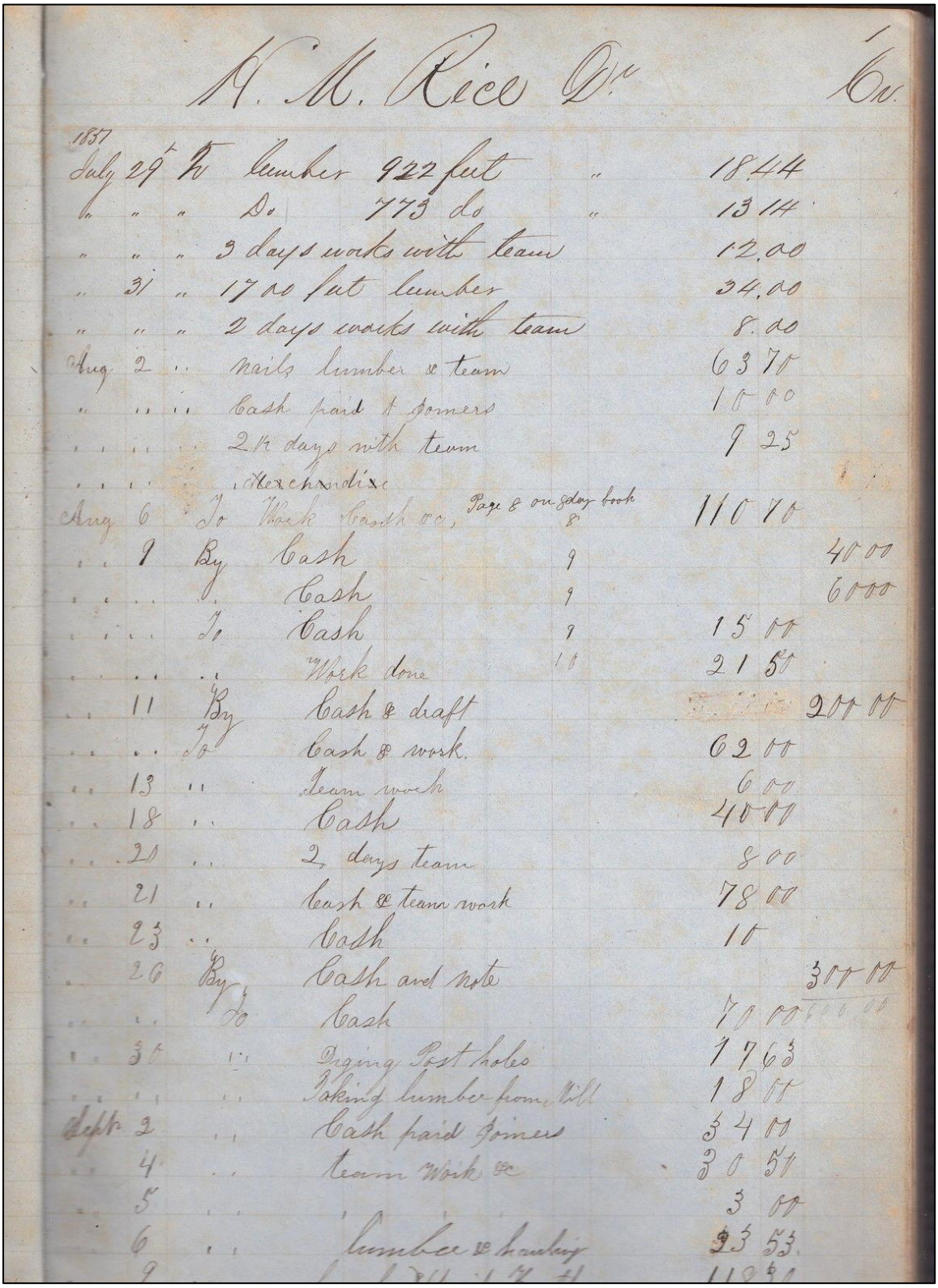
A Courthouse for Territorial St. Paul: Builder Joseph Daniels's Ledger

Saint Paul--Minnesota's capitol and second most populous city (after Minneapolis)--began in 1838 when a French Canadian fur trapper named Pierre "Pig's-Eye" Parrant built a shack on the east bank of the Mississippi River, just upstream from what is now the city's downtown. He soon opened a tavern, which in little time became the center of a community referred to locally as Pig's Eye Landing. Pig's Eye would not receive a more dignified name until Lucien Galtier, a Catholic priest, founded the settlement's first chapel in 1841 and named it after the apostle Paul. The newly christened town of St. Paul opened its first post office in 1846. Then in March 1849, when an act of Congress created Minnesota Territory from the westernmost portion of Wisconsin Territory and the northeastern part of what had been Iowa Territory, St. Paul was named both territorial capitol and seat of the newly created Ramsey County. In the time from its founding to its designation as capitol, its size had ballooned from fewer than a dozen souls to nearly a thousand.

By the following August, after the first county elections produced two new constables, the pioneers of St. Paul recognized the need for a more permanent civic infrastructure, particularly a courthouse and jail, the thriving community having outgrown the old guardhouse at nearby Fort Snelling that had served both purposes since before Ramsey County was organized. The town of Stillwater had built Minnesota's first courthouse just a year before, but like most other examples of frontier architecture, it was a single-floor, wood-frame building. St. Paul and Ramsey County had something grander in mind. Dr. David Day, a physician, earned $10 for drawing up plans for the proposed courthouse, only the second in Minnesota Territory. It was to rise two stories and incorporate a Greek Revival theme, including a four-column Doric portico, a full pediment, and an unadorned freeze. Its walls would be of brick, its steps, columns, and trim of stone.

To finance such an impressive building, the county issued bonds in the amount of $5000 bearing 10% interest. Meanwhile, the contract for taking Dr. Day's plans from paper to brick and mortar was won by local "master builder" Joseph Daniels. Workers laid the structure's cornerstone in July 1851, and labor would continue through the summer of 1852. **This account book, among the earliest surviving examples from the beginning years of Minnesota Territory, is the very ledger that Daniels used to track his oversight of the building's construction**.

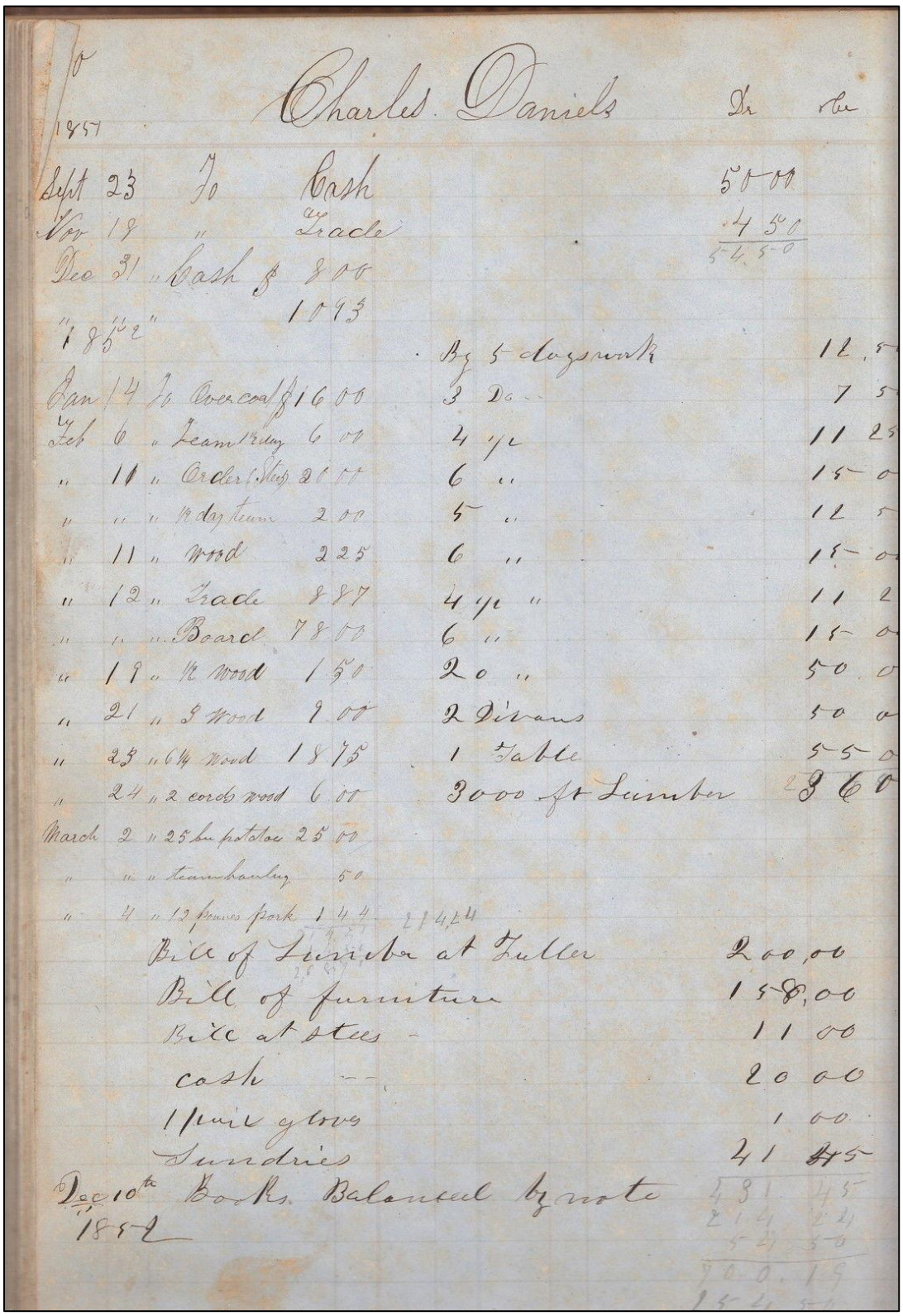




N. M. Rice Dr. 1

1857

July 29	To	Lumber 922 feet			18 44	
" " "		Do 773 do		"	13 14	
" " "		3 days work with team			12 00	
" 31	"	1700 feet lumber			34 00	
" " "		2 days work with team			8 00	
Aug 2	"	nails lumber & team			63 70	
" " "		Cash paid 4 joiners			10 00	
" " "		2½ days with team			9 25	
" " "		Merchandize				
Aug 6	To	Work Cash &c,	Page & ou[r] day book	8	110 70	
" 9	By	Cash		9		40 00
" "		Cash		9		60 00
" "	To	Cash		9	15 00	
" "		Work done		10	21 50	
" 11	By	Cash & draft				200 00
" "	To	Cash & work.			62 00	
" 13	"	Team work			6 00	
" 18	"	Cash			40 00	
" 20	"	2 days team			8 00	
" 21	"	Cash & team work			78 00	
" 23	"	Cash			10	
" 26	By	Cash and note				300 00
" "	To	Cash			70 00	100 00
" 30	"	Digging Post holes			17 63	
" "	"	Taking lumber from Mill			18 00	
Sept 2	"	Cash paid Joiners			34 00	
" 4	"	Team Work &c			30 50	
" 5	"				3 00	
" 6	"	Lumber & hauling			23 53	
" 9					119 31	



1851

Charles Daniels Dr Cr

Sept	23	To	Cash	50 00	
Nov	19	"	Trade	4 50	
				54 50	
Dec	31	"	Cash	8 00	
				1093	
"1852"					
			By 5 days work		12 50
Jan	14	To	Overcoat	16 00	
			3 Do		7 50
Feb	6	"	Team 1 day	6 00	
			4 ½		11 25
"	10	"	Order Slip	20 00	
			6 "		15 00
"	"	"	½ day team	2 00	
			5 "		12 50
"	11	"	Wood	2 25	
			6 "		15 00
"	12	"	Trade	8 87	
			4 ½ "		11 25
"	"	"	Board	7 80	
			6 "		15 00
"	19	"	½ Wood	1 50	
			20 "		50 00
"	21	"	3 Wood	9 00	
			2 Divans		50 00
"	23	"	6¼ Wood	18 75	
			1 Table		55 00
"	24	"	2 cords wood	6 00	
			3000 ft Lumber		28 60
March	2	"	25 bu potatoes	25 00	
"	"	"	Team hauling	50	
"	4	"	12 pounds pork	1 44	2 44
			Bill of Lumber at Fuller		200,00
			Bill of furniture		158,00
			Bill at Stees		11 00
			cash		20 00
			1 pair gloves		1 00
			Sundries		41 45
Dec	10th		Books Balanced by note		431 45
1852					214 24
					52 50
					700 19
					154 50

Daniels's ledger fills more than 140 manuscript pages and records his expenses for a broad range of labor and materials. Thomas Thomas was paid for cutting stone caps and sills bought at Galena, the booming Illinois river town located 250 miles downstream from St. Paul. There are payments made to "Gurney" for lumber, loads of rock, windows and window frames, 36 pounds of nails, and 3000 shingles. Walter Doheney was paid for a door lock and for quarrying 10 cords of stone. Ruben Haus is listed here for "work on court house," which St. Paul historian Thomas McLean Newson notes included the construction of the judge's seat; Haus went on to serve both as state legislator and city constable. Charles Daniels, himself a builder and possibly a brother of Joseph, contributed 3000 feet of lumber. He would later move to Fargo, North Dakota, where he became one of that territory's first architects. St. Paul businesses of note include the hardware and merchandise store of J. McCloud, Jr. and Co., which supplied "spittoons, tongs & shovels" and Elfelt & Brothers, pioneer Jewish merchants, who provided carpeting.

The most important name in Daniels's ledger was also among the most important in all of early Minnesota, both its territorial period and its path to statehood. Henry Mower Rice, born in Vermont in 1816, moved to Detroit at the age of 18, then quickly found work helping to survey a canal route around Sault Ste. Marie. In 1839, he arrived at Fort Snelling at the confluence of the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, where he went to work for Minnesota pioneers Henry H. Sibley and Franklin Steele. All three men had become quite wealthy by the mid-1840s, thanks to shrewd investments in the fur trade and highly speculative land ventures. Rice was especially successful in his relationships with the Ho-Chunk and Ojibwe Indians, and the treaties that he negotiated with these tribes resulted in the cession of extensive lands to the United States. He was a vocal lobbyist for the bill that created Minnesota Territory, then served as its congressional delegate from 1853 to 1857. His sponsorship of the Minnesota Enabling Act opened the door to statehood, and when Minnesota became the 32nd state in 1858, he was elected one of its first two senators.

Rice figures more prominently in Daniels's account book than any other individual or business; indeed, its first four pages are fully devoted to documenting Rice's contributions to the construction of the Ramsey County Courthouse. These include over 3000 feet of lumber in July 1851 alone, as well as many payments for "wood," for "work done" and "team work," for "digging Post Holes," and for "cash paid joiners." None of the secondary historical sources that we have consulted seems to have recognized Rice's deep involvement in this, St. Paul's first major civic undertaking. Daniels's account book thus provides unique insight into the political interests that underlay St. Paul's development and Minnesota's earliest public architecture.

As for Joseph Daniels himself, he appears to have been born in Vermont about 1818, and in the U. S. Census of 1840 he was living with wife and family in Leon, Cattaraugus County, New York. Not coincidentally, we suggest, the aforementioned Charles Daniels was born in Leon in 1828. Joseph moved to St. Paul sometime in 1850, where that year's U. S. Census lists him as a carpenter. The same census lists Charles as a cabinet maker in Ellicottville, New York, about 25 miles east of Leon; he joined Joseph at St. Paul in late 1851. After completing the Ramsey County Courthouse in 1852, Joseph won the contract to build Minnesota's first Territorial Capitol. Work began in 1852 and was completed two years later. Several of the records in this ledger, from the summer of 1852, reference the beginning of that larger project. Like the courthouse, it was based on a Greek Revival theme with a four-column Doric portico and an unadorned frieze. Joseph built several other buildings in St. Paul and nearby areas--houses primarily--and then in the U. S. Census

of 1860 was identified as a practicing attorney. After the Civil War he moved with his wife and children to Washington, D. C., where he would practice law for the remainder of his life. He died there in 1892 and is buried in historic Greenwood Cemetery.

The First Ramsey County Courthouse stood at the heart of St. Paul, at the intersection of Fourth and Wabasha streets, until 1889. By that time, the city's population had grown to more than 130,000 people; there were barely 2000 when the courthouse opened its doors in 1852. So Daniels's old structure was brought down, with a combined St. Paul City Hall and Ramsey County Courthouse built practically atop the ruins of the old. Yet this structure, too, could not keep pace with the city's continued growth and was razed itself in 1932, after the current impressive building was completed. Daniels's State Capitol building had disappeared before his courthouse, having been completely destroyed by fire in 1881. Although Millett, in *Lost Twin Cities*, describes both of Daniels's buildings as "small and provincial in character" and "cheaply built" (1992:45), Hess and Larson observe more charitably that "The architectural significance of these two government buildings…transcends the nature and quality of their designs" (2006:17). Indeed, the success of these ambitious projects helped to bring St. Paul--and Minnesota itself--from the territorial period into the age of statehood. **Joseph Daniels's ledger offers an essential and heretofore unknown link between St. Paul as frontier and St. Paul as metropolis**.

Relevant sources:

Hess, Jeffrey A., and Paul Clifford Larson
2006 *St. Paul's Architecture: A History*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
Logue, Mary
2006 *Courthouses of Minnesota*. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
Millett, Larry
1992 *Lost Twin Cities*. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.
Newson, Thomas McLean
1886 *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers: From the Earliest Settlement of the City, Up to and Including the Year 1857*. Volume 1. Published by the Author, Saint Paul.
Smith, Dane
1993 A Short and Happy History of St. Paul and Its Two Earlier Courthouses. *Ramsey County History* 28(3):19-22.

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[Minnesota Territory]: Joseph Daniels: [MANUSCRIPT LEDGER OF ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, BUILDER AND CONTRACTOR JOSEPH DANIELS, DOCUMENTING CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST RAMSEY COUNTY COURTHOUSE]. [St. Paul, MN, 1851-1852]. 8 x 12 3/4 in. (20 x 32.5 cm). 144 pp. of entries in Daniels's hand, all ink; about 12 pp. of entries in hand of later owner from Leon, NY (1874-1883). Original reverse calf binding with tooled boards. Edge wear to spine and boards, boards with some scuffing, spotting, and bowing. Black morocco label on spine, raised bands. Text pages with light foxing, clean and entirely legible. Very good.

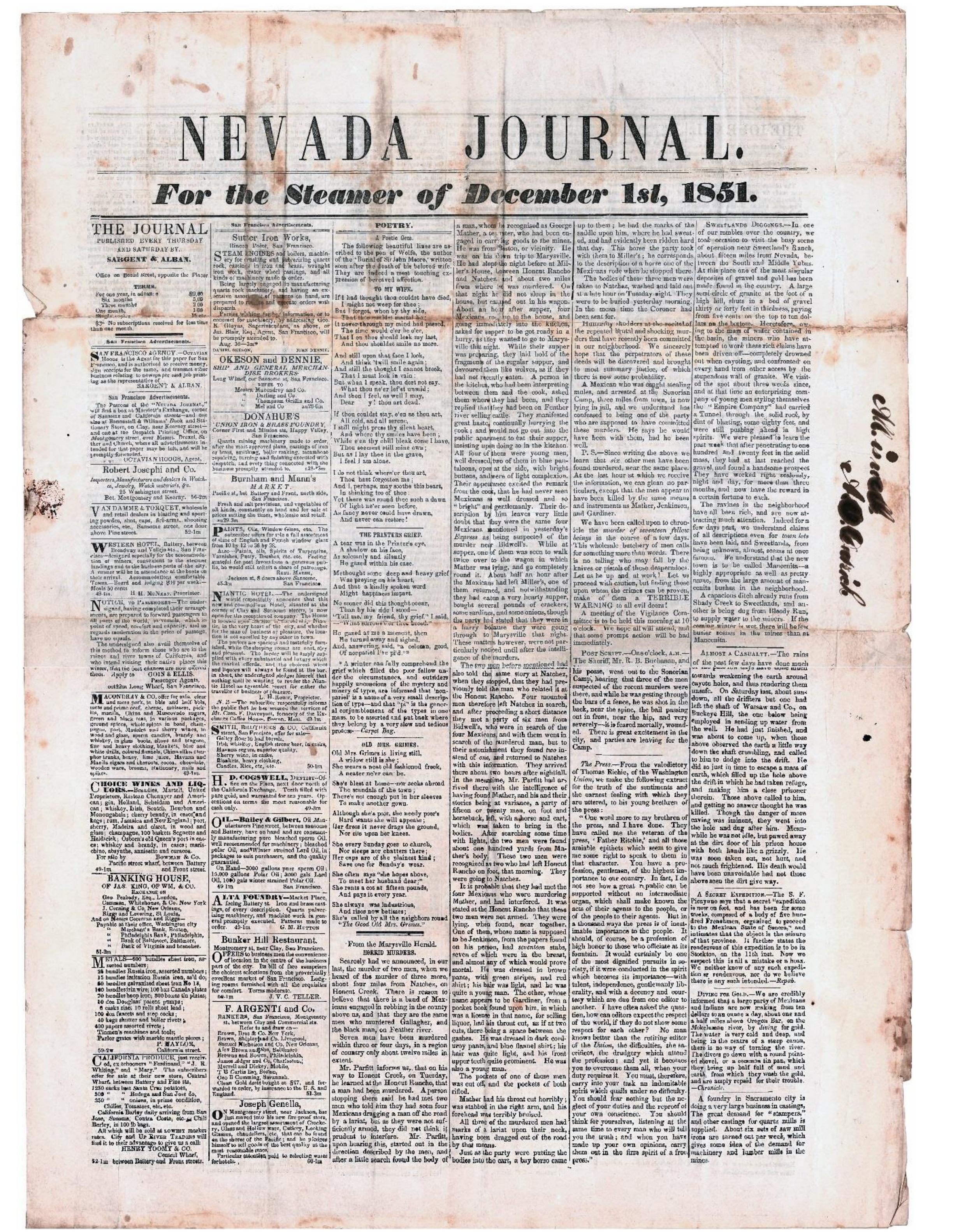
10. SOLD.

Unique Steamer Editions of the *Nevada Journal*, Nevada City, California

Among the most important but least frequently encountered primary sources for everyday life in California's mining camps are the dozens of newspapers that sprang from pioneer presses throughout the gold fields. As J. Heckendorn, editor of Calaveras County's *Big Tree Bulletin* put it in a May 1858 editorial, "One of the most interesting and wonderful features of California is her newspaper press…It has become one of the most powerful agents known among us, and holds a high and honorable rank throughout the land" (in Giffin 1954:xi). Most of these frontier imprints lasted for only a few years, and many for only a few issues. Their editors and publishers all served immigrant readerships, people drawn from countless farms, towns, and cities thousands of miles away by a lure of wealth that for most would prove a chimera. They were people uprooted, largely cut off from family and friends, with little personal connection to one another or to the claims they worked. Newspapers such as those established during the first years of the mining camps, under some of the most challenging conditions imaginable for printing, helped to forge community and shared experience along the farthest reaches of this American frontier.

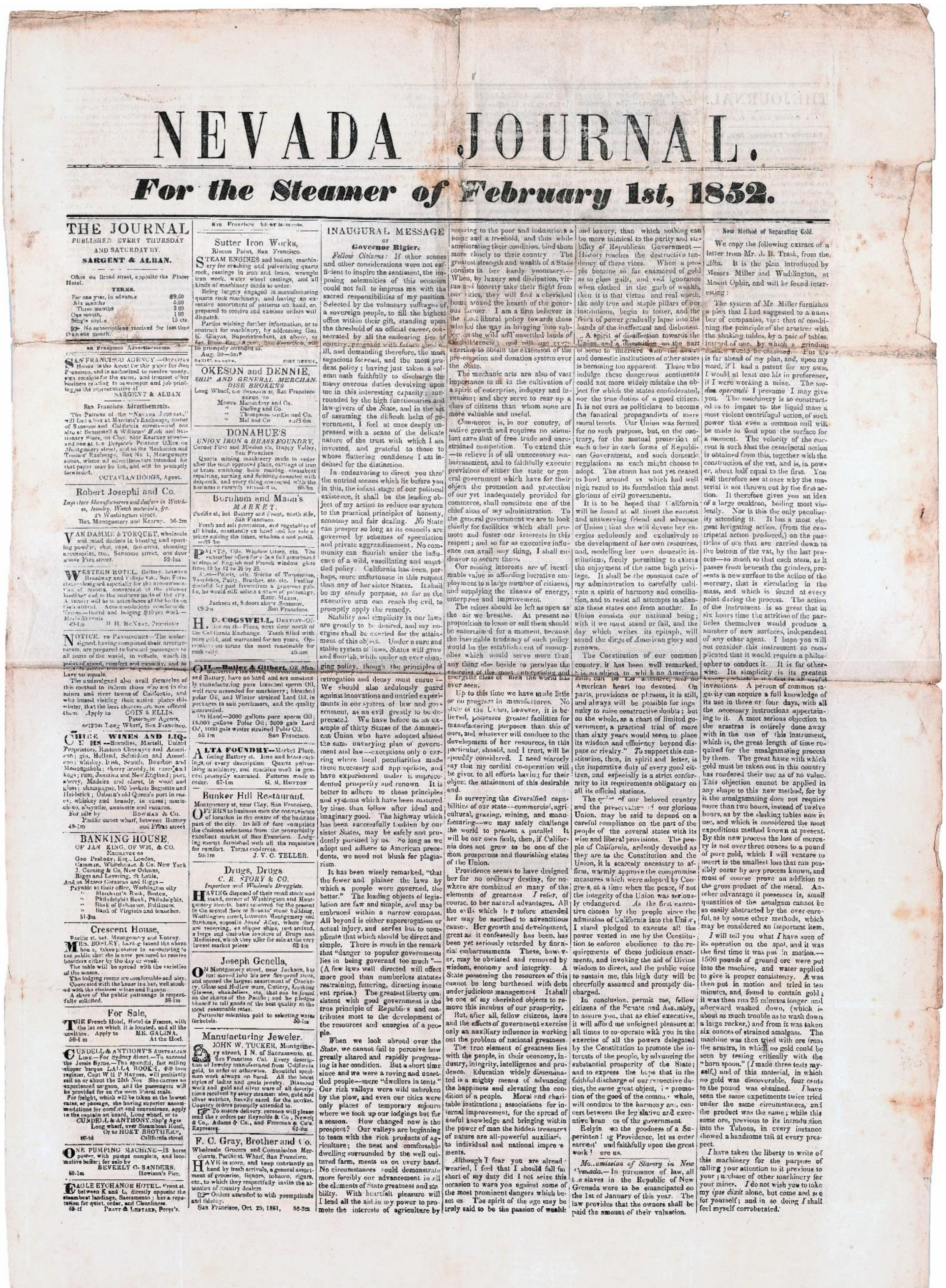
The earliest paper from a California mining town, issued on July 4, 1850, was the *Sonora Herald* of Tuolumne County. Its first numbers, foolscap in size, were printed on wrapping paper (no newsprint was available) and issued from the original Zamorano press. **The second mining town newspaper--and the first to issue from the northern mines--was Nevada City's *Nevada Journal*, appearing in April 1851**. Nevada City, known as Deer Creek Dry Diggins or Caldwell's Upper Store by the miners who settled this section of Deer Creek in 1849, was officially named Nevada, "snow covered" in Spanish, in 1851; the "City" was only added in 1864 to avoid confusion with the neighboring new state. By the time that its *Journal* arrived in 1851, Nevada was the most important and populous mining town in California. Warren B. Ewer was the *Journal's* first editor and publisher, but before the end of the year its reins were taken by Aaron A. Sargent, who would later serve three terms in the U. S. House of Representatives and become the first person elected to the U. S. Senate from California. During its first year, the *Journal* was issued on Thursdays and Saturdays, thereafter becoming a weekly until it ceased publication in 1863.

The two copies of the *Nevada Journal* catalogued here--issued December 1, 1851 and February 1, 1852--appear to be the only ones ever offered in the trade. Institutional holdings are almost as scarce. OCLC and the Library of Congress website, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, record only a handful of physical copies: AAS has four numbers, two each from 1857 and 1859; the Lilly Library has two issues, March 10, 1854 and February 16, 1855; the NYHS has two issues from November 23 and 30, 1855; the Wisconsin Historical Society holds a single issue from December 23, 1853; and the Center for Sacramento History adds an issue from March 20, 1862. Wagner noted in *California Imprints* that the only copy of the *Journal* he had seen was Vol. 1, No. 1 at the Bancroft Library. All mining town papers are rare today, particularly in the market. Per RBH, we find that issues from only four different papers published in the years from 1850 to 1860 have appeared at auction or in the trade over the last half-century. These include an 1853 issue of the *El Dorado News* auctioned at Christies in 2017; an 1857 issue of *Yankee Jim's Placer Courier* auctioned by Dorothy Sloan in 1994; one complete and one partial 1850 issue of the *Sonora Herald* offered by Warren Howell in 1979; and a long run of 42 issues of the *Sonora Herald* from 1851 that were part of the Streeter collection auctioned in 1968.



NEVADA JOURNAL.

For the Steamer of December 1st, 1851.



NEVADA JOURNAL.

For the Steamer of February 1st, 1852.

Wagner also notes that the first issue of the *Nevada Journal* he examined at the Bancroft contained notice that a steamer edition would be published semi-monthly. **The two examples that we offer here are unique copies of this semi-monthly steamer edition; no other steamer issues of the *Nevada Journal* are known to have survived, either as physical copies or in a microfilm format**. This is quite significant. As Gudde observes in his geographical and historical dictionary of early California gold camps, the steamer issue "was a special edition of a newspaper for delivery by steamers to ports along their routes. Publication was irregular and **content differed from the local edition of the same date**" (1975:422, emphasis added). These issues of the *Journal*, unique and bibliographically unknown, thus expand the corpus of recorded imprints from the earliest years of this important gold rush town. They are also fascinating to read. The December issue contains news of the horrid knife murders of as many as 17 men near Marysville, all believed to have been perpetrated by a band of four well-dressed Mexicans, "two of them in blue pantaloons, open at the side, with bright buttons." A meeting of the vigilance committee was planned. The February issue contains the inaugural message of California's third governor, John Bigler, as well as an account of a new means for separating gold. A wonderful, unrecorded pair of mining town newspapers in remarkably fresh condition. A snapshot of life in the goldfields.

Relevant sources:

Giffin, Helen S.
1954 *California Mining Town Newspapers, 1850-1880*. J. E. Reynolds, Bookseller, Van Nuys, CA.

Gudde, Erwin G.
1975 *California Gold Camps: A Geographical and Historical Dictionary of Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold Was Mined; Wayside Stations and Trading Centers*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Kemble, Edward C.
1962 *A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858*. Edited and with a foreword by Helen Harding Bretnor. Talisman Press, Los Gatos, CA.

Wagner, Henry R.
1922 *California Imprints: August 1846-June 1851*. Printed for the author, Berkeley, CA.

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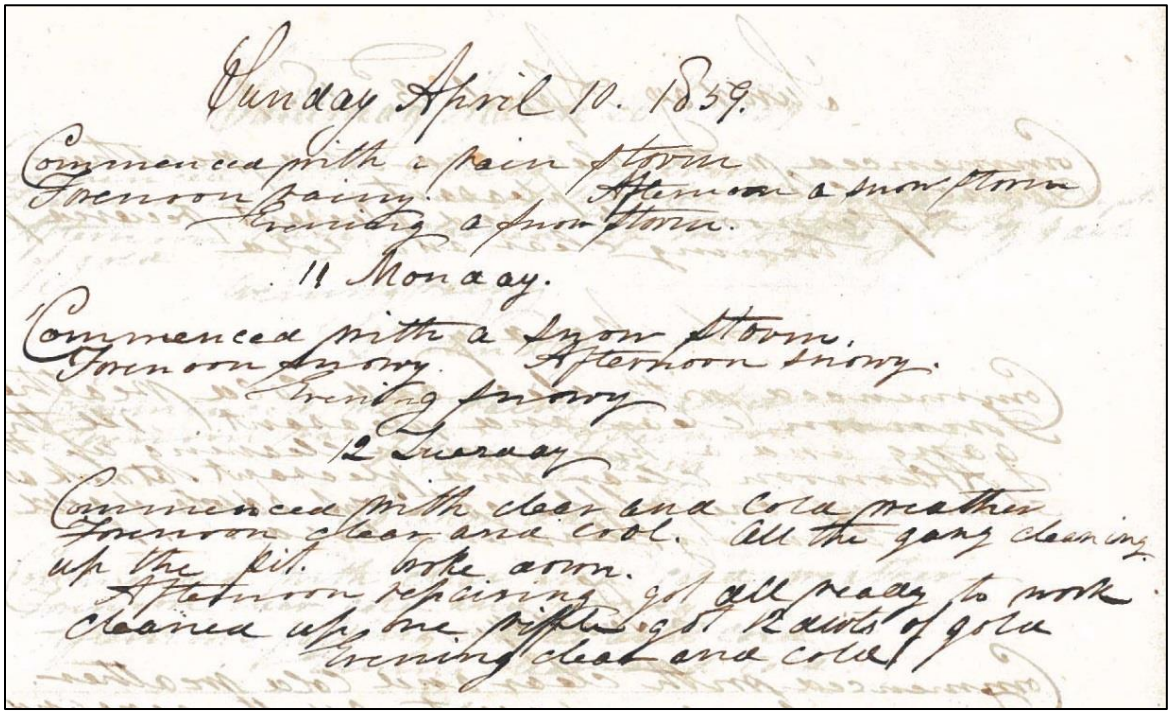
[California Gold Rush]: NEVADA JOURNAL. FOR THE STEAMER OF DECEMBER 1, 1851 [and] FEBRUARY 1, 1852. Nevada [City], California. Published by Sargent & Alban, Office on Broad Street, opposite the Placer Hotel. Two issues, each four pages. Steamer editions with no volume or number specified. Folio, untrimmed and never bound. Old folds, minor edge wear and short marginal tears, scattered foxing (heavier on Dec. 1 issue), otherwise supple and fresh. Old ink inscription in margin of front page on Dec. 1 issue. Both issues very good.

11. SOLD.

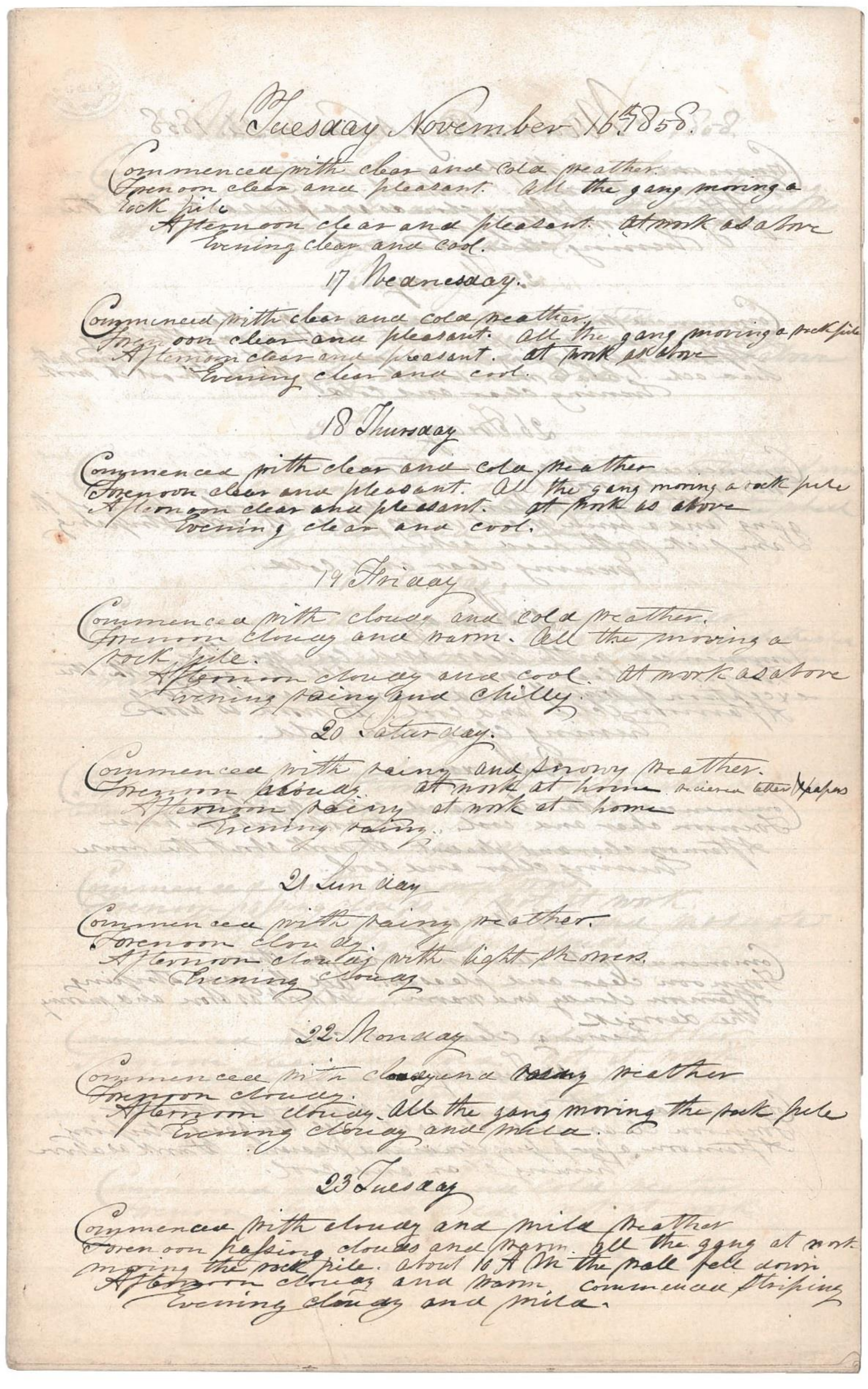
After the Rush: A Gold Miner's Journal from Yuba River

In September of 1849, just over a year and a half after the first discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill, a prospector named Francis Anderson working the North Yuba River made a strike himself at a place soon known as Jim Crow Diggins. A town was laid out nearby and simply called The Forks until "Major" William Downie, a Scotsman, arrived later that fall with a large party of miners and bribed enough locals to have it formally renamed Downieville. The area around Downieville quickly became one of the most productive of all the California gold fields. One claim on Durgan Flat, 60 feet square, earned Anderson and three partners $12,000 in 11 days (more than $350,000 in today's money) and $80,000 in six months. Others took a 25-lb. nugget from the river two miles upstream. By 1851, 5000 immigrants had descended on the town and its diggings. There were 15 hotels, four bakeries, four butcher shops, and saloons for all tastes. Downieville vied to be named state capitol in 1853 but lost to Benicia, which lost in turn to Sacramento in 1854.


Sunday April 10. 1859.
Commenced with a pain storm
Forenoon rainy. Afternoon a snow storm
Evening a snow storm.
11 Monday.
Commenced with a snow storm.
Forenoon snowy. Afternoon snowy.
Evening snowy
12 Tuesday
Commenced with clear and cold weather
Forenoon clear and cool. All the gang cleaning
up the pit. broke down.
Afternoon repairing. got all ready to work
cleaned up the riffles. got 8 Dwts of gold
Evening clear and cold

Within a few years, though, Downieville's miners had all but exhausted the easily reached surface gold in riverbeds accessible to pans and improvised wooden sluices or rocker boxes. Many of its people began to melt away, in search of the next easy strike. The ones who stayed behind would develop far more destructive methods to extract the gold that remained. **This journal, kept by the foreman or operator of a Yuba Valley mine from November 1858 to July 1859, dates to this period of California's mining history, when the promise of easy riches gave way to the methodical, industrialized production that brought down mountains**.

Miners throughout the gold regions recognized that vast quantities of the metal were still trapped high above rivers and streams in the gravels of fossil river beds. How, then, to best gain access to those untold riches, tantalizingly close but buried under tons of soil deep inside the valley walls and ridges? The answer, at Downieville and countless other mining towns and camps across



Tuesday November 16 1858.
Commenced with clear and cold weather.
Forenoon clear and pleasant. All the gang moving a rock pile.
Afternoon clear and pleasant. At work as above
Evening clear and cool.

17 Wednesday.
Commenced with clear and cold weather.
Forenoon clear and pleasant. All the gang moving a rock pile
Afternoon clear and pleasant. At work as above
Evening clear and cool.

18 Thursday
Commenced with clear and cold weather
Forenoon clear and pleasant. All the gang moving a rock pile
Afternoon clear and pleasant. At work as above
Evening clear and cool.

19 Friday
Commenced with cloudy and cold weather.
Forenoon cloudy and warm. All the moving a rock pile.
Afternoon cloudy and cool. At work as above
Evening rainy and chilly.

20 Saturday.
Commenced with rainy and snowy weather.
Forenoon cloudy. At work at home science letters & papers
Afternoon rainy at work at home
Evening rainy.

21 Sunday
Commenced with rainy weather.
Forenoon cloudy.
Afternoon cloudy with light showers.
Evening cloudy

22 Monday
Commenced with cloudy and rainy weather
Forenoon cloudy.
Afternoon cloudy. All the gang moving the rock pile
Evening cloudy and mild.

23 Tuesday
Commenced with cloudy and mild weather
Forenoon passing clouds and warm. All the gang at work moving the rock pile. About 10 A.M. the wall fell down
Afternoon cloudy and warm. Commenced striping
Evening cloudy and mild.

the Sierra Nevada, was high-pressure water. In hydraulic mining, jets of water were forced under high pressure through hoses and nozzles at the gold-bearing gravels. The technique was first put into practice near Nevada City--about 50 miles south of Downieville--by a miner named Edward Matteson in 1853. Keith Meldahl provides a vivid description of the process:

> The miner's solution was to build wood-and-stone dams far upstream and send the impounded water through miles of ditches and flumes to points *above* the fossil riverbeds. From there, the miners directed the water steeply downhill through riveted steel pipes and canvas hoses to monitors--huge, swivel-mounted water cannons. Backed by intense pressure, the water roared from the monitors at one hundred miles per hour in columns as thick as a telephone pole. The sprays arced hundreds of feet through the air and crashed with devastating force against the auriferous hillsides, turning them into brown torrents of clattering rock. The turbid slurries were funneled through sluices where the heavy gold particles collected against riffles, aided by largen doses of mercury [Meldahl 2011:38-39, italics in original].

The writer of our journal oversaw operations at a hydraulic operation on the North Yuba River near Downieville; he mentions short day trips to several places within just a few miles of the town, including O'Donnell's Flat and Kanaka Mine. There is an entry for practically each day from Tuesday, November 16, 1858 through Saturday, July 30, 1859--most pages have six to seven entries--and while most of the entries are short and terse, they convey significant insight into the technical details of hydraulic mining. Our unnamed manager offers a daily record of the weather and the labor accomplished by "the gang," presumably those workers who owned a claim in the mine, and "hired men" who worked for wages only. The work included: cleaning the pit; moving piles of rock; clearing the ditch; "striping" (sic--stripping the hillside with jets of water); removing snow; "fishing the boom" (strong derricks consisting of a mast and a boom were used to remove large boulders; raising and lowering the boom with tackle was known as fishing); maintaining the wheel (the water wheel that operated the derrick); maintaining the pump and pump belts that kept the pit dry; sitting sluices for washing; and cleaning the riffles--baffle-like obstructions fixed in place along the bottom of the sluice box to trap small gold particles. For each riffle cleaned by the gang, our manager records the gold recovered in ounces and pennyweights.

By the 1870s, hydraulic mining had managed to reverse California's post-gold rush decline in gold production. Yet for all its success as a means for recovering tons of previously inaccessible gold, its destructive force was almost incalculable. In all, estimates suggest that hydraulic mining washed 40 billion cubic feet of gold-bearing gravels from the Sierra Nevada. Worse, much of this slurry was mixed with liquid mercury; of the nearly 2.5 million gallons that miners used to bind up the gold in their sluices, perhaps 75,000 gallons leaked out and still contaminates many of the region's rivers and streams (Meldahl 2011:38). It also resulted in California's first environmental injunction, one of the first such in the United States. The tons of stone and silt pouring into the Yuba, Bear, Feather, and American rivers forced the streams from their beds and sent them raging across farms and towns downstream. Silt was filling San Francisco Bay at the rate of a foot per year, while all of the major streams were forced to close to steamboat traffic. Finally, in 1884, a consortium of Marysville farmers, ranchers, and townspeople--styling themselves the Anti-Debris

Association--won a protracted lawsuit in federal court against the mining companies. The judge's decision banned the flushing of debris into the Sacramento and San Juan Rivers, effectively ending the practice of hydraulic mining.

Our unnamed Yuba River foreman seems to have moved on long before. The last entry in his journal, for Saturday, July 30, reads simply "Commenced to clear and cold weather. Forenoon clear and warm. Afternoon clear and warm. Sold my claim. Evening clear and pleasant." Where he went from Downieville is anyone's guess. An earlier section of this foreman's journal, from October 15, 1857 through November 15, 1858--likewise unbound on folded folio sheets--was sold by Swann Galleries in 2017, where it brought $1500. **Altogether, a rare record of work in the California gold fields, when the rush was becoming an industry**.

Relevant sources:

Beesley, David
2004 *Crow's Range: An Environmental History of the Sierra Nevada*. University of Nevada Press, Reno and Las Vegas.

Gudde, Erwin G.
1975 *California Gold Camps: A Geographical and Historical Dictionary of Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold Was Mined; Wayside Stations and Trading Centers*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Meldahl, Keith Heyer
2011 *Rough-Hewn Land: A Geologic Journey from California to the Rocky Mountains*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Swindle, Lewis J., compiler
2000 *The History of the Gold Discoveries of the Northern Mines of California's Mother Lode Gold Belt, as Told by the Newspapers and Miners, 1848-1875*. Trafford Publishing, Vancouver, Canada.

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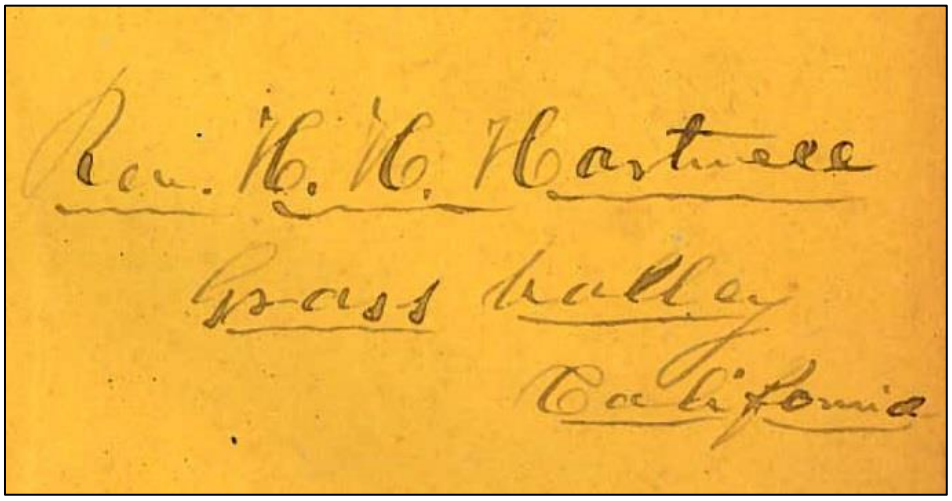
[California--Hydraulic Gold Mining]: [MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF A HYDRAULIC GOLD MINE MANAGER ON THE NORTH YUBA RIVER]. [Near Downieville, California, November 1858 to July 1859]. Approximately 227 entries over [36] manuscript pages, unbound folio. Very light wear and soiling, bright and clean, about fine.

12. SOLD.

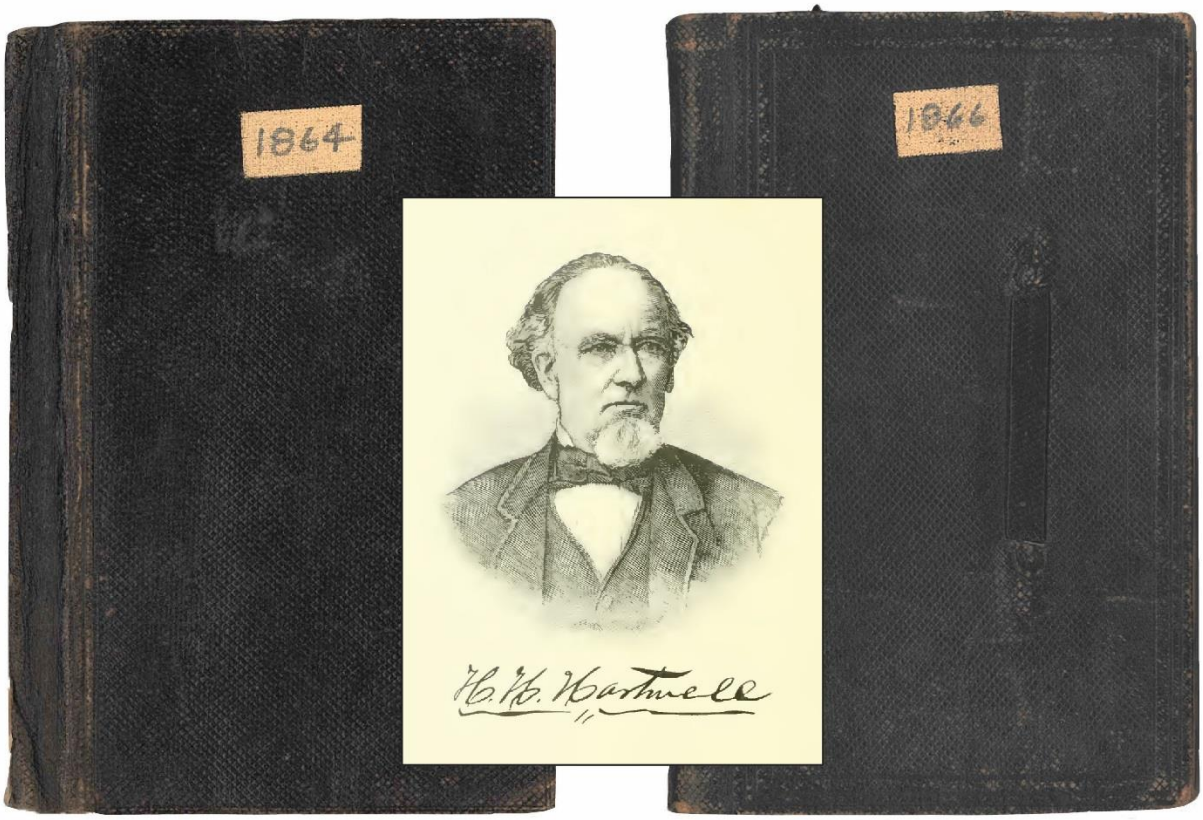
Henry H. Hartwell on the Panama and Central Overland Routes

Carved indelibly into the story of America's West are a handful of now-iconic routes--over both land and water--that joined its destiny with that of the East. From the Oregon, Mormon, and Santa Fe trails to Route 66, from Tierra del Fuego to the Panama Canal, those many thoroughfares that carried people and goods from east to west, and often back again, have long captivated students of the American experience, scholars and collectors alike. Not surprisingly, the primary sources that bring those routes to life through personal experience have long held pride of place themselves among the most desirable forms of Americana. **These two manuscript journals, kept by New Hampshire native and Methodist minister Henry H. Hartwell, record his own journeys over two such legendary routes, from New York to California via the Isthmus of Panama in 1864 and from Sacramento to Nevada via the Central Overland Stage Route in 1866**. The latter is of special interest, as it is among the only known diaries set in and around Austin, Nevada, during the period of its short-lived silver boom. And it appears to be the only surviving manuscript linked to the ill-fated mining operations of the Methodist Church in Nevada.



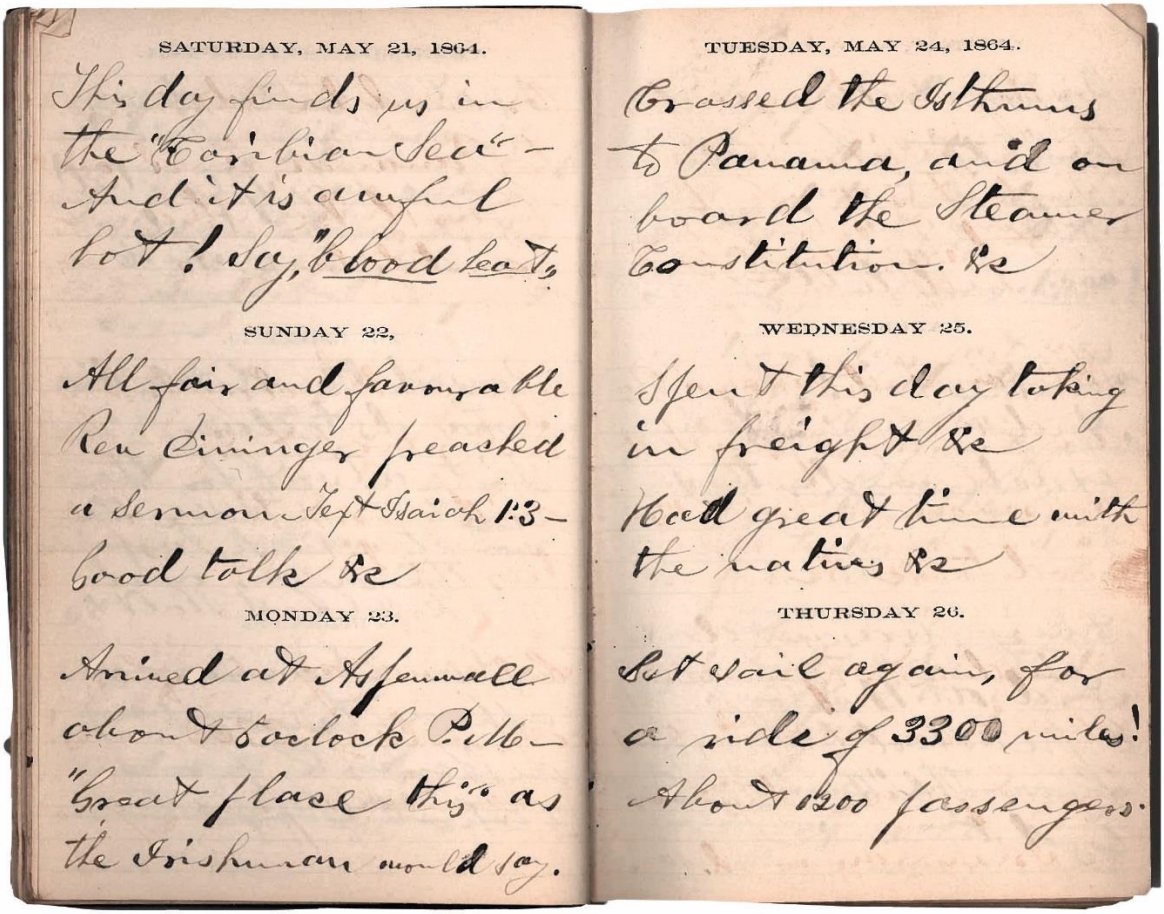
Henry Hamilton Hartwell was born into abject poverty in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, in 1819. At the age of 14 he went to work as a carpenter's apprentice, continuing his education as he could during the fall and winter months. Several years later he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, and then at 21--despite the opposition of family and friends--he answered a deeper calling and started out on horseback as a circuit-rider, spreading the word across New Hampshire: at Great Falls, Rochester, New Market, Manchester, Nashua, Lawrence, and Portsmouth. He soon became known on the circuit as an ardent supporter of abolition and prohibition. Duane H. Hurd, in his *History of Merrimack and Belknap Counties, New Hampshire*, offers an anecdote about Hartwell that gives us some flavor of the Reverend's personality:

> Physically he was perfect, and the early muscular training he received was of much benefit at times during his ministry. He was assailed, when in his prime, by three men who had taken offence at something he had said in a temperance-meeting, and with much profanity they informed him of their intention to thrash him. He



> replied solemnly, "Boys, I don't want my ministerial coat soiled; allow me to take it off and I am ready." When his coat dropped from his hand, the better of the three went to the ground also, and the second was treated in a like manner. Mr. Hartwell then said to the third, "*David, if I strike you, you will never rise without help*!" And David gave him his hand and the two together got the others up, washed off the blood and assisted them to their homes. This experience was to the three in after-years a source of merriment when they met together (1885:167, italics in original).

After preaching in New Hampshire for more than twenty years, Hartwell was transferred to the California Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1864. A second biographical sketch, however, notes that "his voice failed, and he was forced to retire….Afterward he spent four years in California and Nevada, resting and recuperating" (*Biographical Review* 1897:337). These diaries cover two of those years that Hartwell resided in the West, and if their contents offer any indication, his sojourn was hardly a sabbatical. On Friday, May 13, 1864, Hartwell writes that he, his wife, and daughter "Arrived safely in N. York and soon got on board the Ocean Queen bound for California." Just two days later, on Sunday, disaster nearly struck. The steamer *Ocean Queen* was the property of Cornelius Vanderbilt, who in 1861--at the start of the Civil War--had chartered her to the U. S. War Department. Hartwell writes in his diary that "Of[sic] Cape Hatteras--Some Marines which were being transferred to the Pacific Coast raised a Mutiny, with an intention to take the Steamer and go alone! Two were shot dead! And six put in irons!"



SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1864.

This day finds us in the Caribbean Sea — And it is awful hot! say, "blood heat"

SUNDAY 22,

All fair and favorable Rev Cuninger preached a sermon Sept Isaiah 1:3 — Good talk &c

MONDAY 23.

Arrived at Aspinwall about 6 o'clock P.M. — "Great place this" as the Irishman would say.

TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1864.

Crossed the Isthmus to Panama, and on board the Steamer Constitution. &c

WEDNESDAY 25.

Spent this day taking in freight &c

Had great time with the natives &c

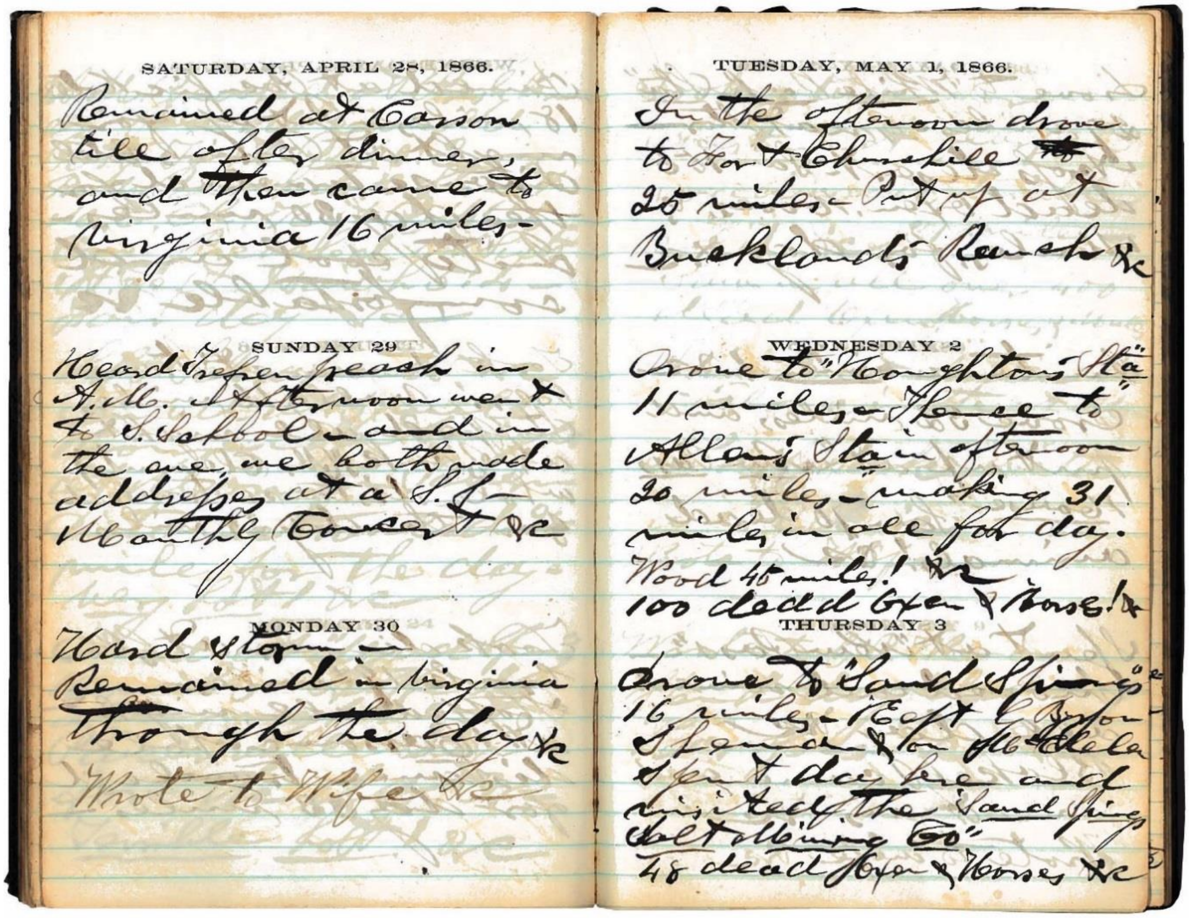
THURSDAY 26.

Set sail again, for a ride of 3300 miles! About 1200 passengers.

1864 diary, description of the Panama route

This incident is one of just two recorded mutinies of U. S. soldiers at sea and was the only such to occur during the Civil War. Two hundred and seventeen seamen were onboard the *Ocean Queen*, most having been transferred from the Army to the Navy and all intended for the Pacific Squadron. Several dozen of these men had concocted a plot before leaving New York, and once on the open sea they launched their attack on the ship's captain, Edward Tinklepaugh, as well as on their own commanding officer, Commander (later to be Admiral) Daniel Amman. Amman was forewarned of the conspiracy, and he and Tinklepaugh each shot one of the two ringleaders dead in the moments after the mutiny began. The others promptly surrendered and were put under arrest. After the ship arrived at Aspinwall, Panama, news of the attempt soon spread back to the States, where it was covered in the June 16th number of the *New York Times* and has since been discussed in scores of military histories. **So far as we can determine, this is the only first-hand reference to the mutiny to have survived in manuscript form**.

The rest of the journey unfolded with relative ease. Hartwell and his family crossed the Isthmus on Tuesday, May 4, and boarded the steamer *Constitution* for the Pacific leg of the trip, a 3300-mile jaunt north to San Francisco. Near Acapulco, Hartwell notes that "We have seen plenty of black fish and whales playing about our vessel to day." On Wednesday, June 8, which opened "As fine a day as ever dawned on creation," they "passed the golden gate…and arrived at San Fran

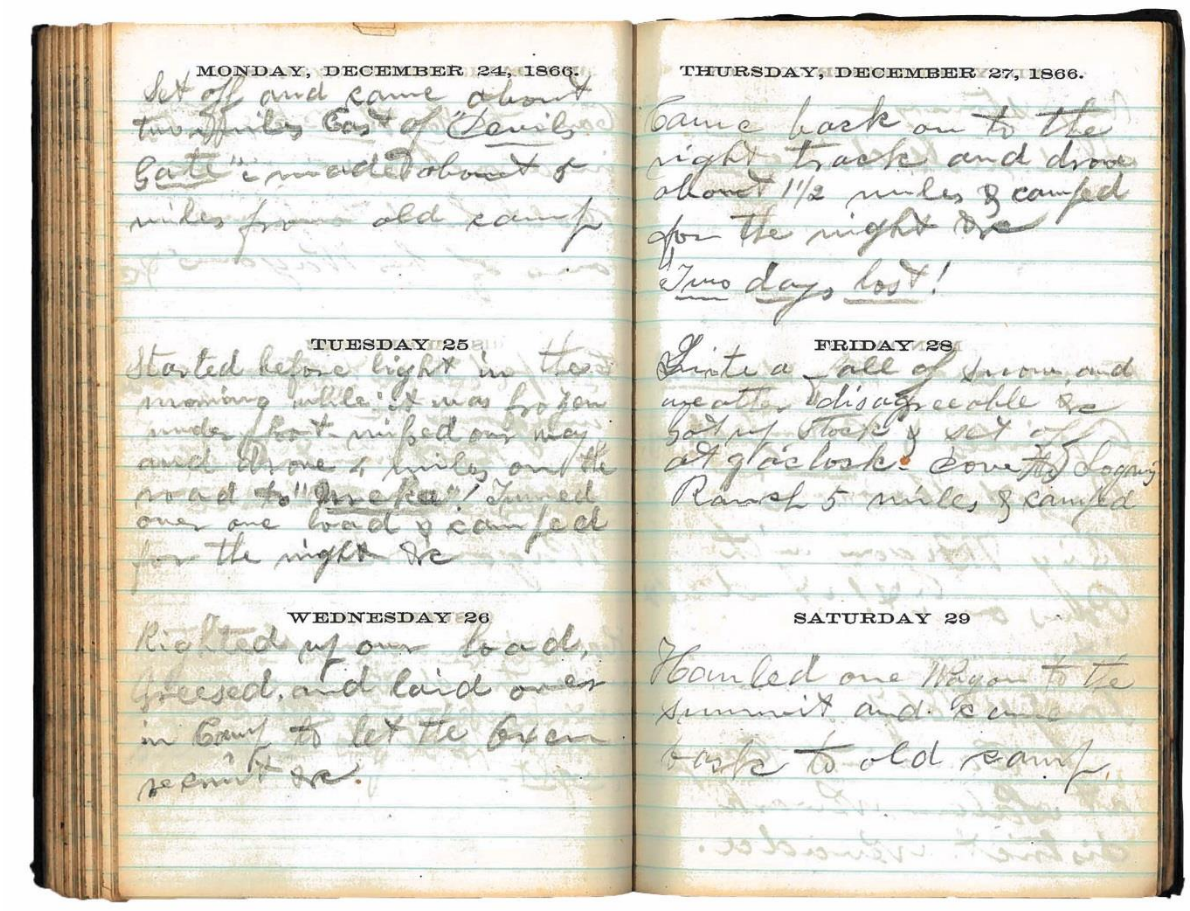


1866 diary, description of the Central Overland Route

at 12 noon." They spent a day "tramping about the city" before moving on through Oakland and Sacramento, arriving at Grass Valley on June 11. Hartwell promptly gave two sermons.

Most of the remainder of the 1864 diary is focused on life in Grass Valley, where Hartwell was stationed until 1865. In the fall of that year, he became pastor of the original Methodist Church in Oakland, founded just four years earlier and only a decade after the city's incorporation. Our second diary begins with Hartwell and his family residing in Oakland. By April 1866, though, he had received another commission: to join pioneering Methodist minister J. L. Trefren at the newly founded boomtown of Austin, Nevada. Austin had exploded in 1862, when legend has it that the horse of a Pony Express rider kicked over a rock containing silver. Less than a year later, it boasted a population of more than 10,000 people. Hartwell traveled to Austin via Ben Holladay's Overland Stage Route, which Holladay had purchased from the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company--**also known as the Pony Express**--in 1862. Hartwell passed along the former Pony Express route from Sacramento to Placerville, including stops at now-famous stations such as Mormon Tavern, Strawberry, and Yanks before entering Nevada near Lake Tahoe.

Hartwell arrived at Carson City on Friday, April 27. On Saturday he left for Virginia City, where he heard Trefren preach for the first time. Over the next ten days of travel, Hartwell would



1866 diary, description of a route to the Diamond Mountains

either stop at or pass by several stations previously associated with the Pony Express route through Nevada, including Fort Churchill; Buckland's Ranch; Houghton's [i.e., Hooten] Station; Allen's Station [i.e., Wildcat Station, established by Lemuel Allen on the "Old Pony Road" in 1864, two years after the Pony Express came to an end]; Sand Springs; White Rock Station [i.e., Middle Gate Station. Interestingly, the exact location of this station is unknown, though White Rock Springs has been identified as a possible site--Hartwell's diary seems to confirm it]; and New Pass, where he and Trefren "put up at New Pass House" for two full days while it rained and snowed outside ("Quite a winter!). On Monday, May 7, they "Took stage for Austin--A fearful road and terrible cold," finally arriving on Tuesday at five o'clock in the morning.

Diaries and journals covering this section of the Central Overland Route, particularly with reference to so many named stations along the former route of the Pony Express, are of the utmost rarity. Since the Central Overland Route only saw extensive use in the decade from 1859 to 1869, well after the migrations of the 1840's and 1850s, first-hand accounts of its use are far scarcer than accounts of other routes. We do not believe that any comparable example has ever been offered in the trade, and we trace but a handful of such items in institutional collections, none of which appears to contain such a direct link to the Pony Express. Hartwell recorded the distances between each stop or station. He also--and rather morbidly--kept a daily count of the dead animals

and livestock he observed along the road. In the 29 miles across desert to White Rock Station, for example, he counted no fewer than 156 such corpses; there were 48 in the 16 miles between Allen's Station and Sand Springs. By the time that he arrived in Austin, Hartwell records that he "Saw in all over 400 dead oxen, horses & mules," making this California-to-Nevada portion of the Central Overland/Pony Express Route a veritable boneyard.

Hartwell remained at Austin for about a month, residing with Trefren and fellow Methodist minister William G. Blakely, who were making plans for a church that would be the next-to-largest brick building in the state, second only to the new Roman Catholic Church in Virginia City. Trefren was, like Hartwell, a native of New Hampshire, and he concocted a financial scheme that would draw on the desire of New England Methodists to serve the church and simultaneously profit from their beneficence. Austin was awash in potential sources of wealth but exceedingly poor in ready cash. Everyone wanted to contribute to the church, but no one had real money to do so. Yet all of those would-be philanthropists owned mining claims, and many offered Trefren an interest in these towards the construction. Then, as Myron Angel puts it in his 1881 *History of Nevada*, "A brilliant idea seized the reverend canvasser" (1881:210). He accepted donations of this sort and pooled the various claims, then hurried back to Boston in January 1866 to establish the New England & Nevada Silver Mining Company. He sold its stock across New England, finding particular success among the Methodist congregations of New Hampshire. Trefren returned to Austin in May with our own Henry H. Hartwell, having raised $250,000 for working the silver mines, erecting a mill to process the ore, and building a grand brick church in Austin.

Blakely was to oversee the construction of the company's mill in Kingston, an even rougher boomtown located 30 miles south of Austin. On Monday, June 4, Hartwell joined him there to set up and operate a boarding house for its mining crew. He returned to Austin later that week to meet his wife and daughter, who had just arrived from Oakland. The following Sunday, Hartwell writes that he "Preached in Snider's Hotel," delivering "The first sermon ever preached in Kingston State of Nevada to 50 men and 4 women and Indians." For most of the next few months, Hartwell and his family seem to have enjoyed life in Kingston, in spite of his constant references to being hard at work. They saw an "Indian phandango" one evening, and on another day they "went to the tip top of Mt. Diablo. 12000 feet above the level of the sea. A splendid prospect."

But problems were developing with the milling operation. Hartwell's diary does not specify the nature of the problems, but the boom in Kingston, which had only begun the previous year, was waning by late 1866, when most of its half dozen mills were running at less than capacity. In early November, Hartwell writes: "Trefren, S. H. Folsom, & T. S. Adams are here from Boston and have shut all all down. Stopped the mill, & are investigating matters generally. Oh what a magnificent fizzle! I pity Blakely!" Later in the month, he notes that he "Had men come from Mother [Ledge] Mine to board with us. Business all closed up at the mill and investigations going on." He and his family were "Hard at work preparing for the 22 men left on our hand to feed free of charge til they shall be paid!" After two weeks, "House still full of dead head boarders." Not until November 30 did their situation improve: "Seven of the men left today. The miners from "Mother Mine" are paid and have left. There [sic] free board amounts to $172.75!"

With the miners' departure, though, came days of boredom as Kingston began its inexorable decline. On Wednesday, December 5, for example, "Nothing has occurred to break the monotony.

Cook & eat! Cook & eat!!" The emptied boarding house would all too quickly prove the beginning of the end of Hartwell's time in Kingston. The very next day, G. P. Griffin--who appears to have replaced Blakely as superintendent of the Methodist mill--returned "with instructions to take down the office and blacksmith shop and move all to Diamond Mountain!" Earlier in the year, brothers Stephen and John Beard had discovered silver on the eastern slope of the Diamond Range, about 120 miles northeast of Kingston, founding a mining camp and mill called Newark. Hartwell and his companions would make their move in December, with winter fully upon them. And rather than traveling by stage, they would go by wagon, driving their livestock and carrying all of their supplies and possessions over the treacherous, rugged roads.

On Wednesday, December 12, after seeing his wife and daughter taken to Austin by stage, Hartwell "started for Diamond with Holt's team." For the next three weeks, he and his fellow companions trudged through daily snows and frigid weather across central Nevada, making only a few miles each day. Along the route, their stock frequently strayed away, they took wrong turns (Tuesday, December 25: "Started before light in the morning while it was frozen underfoot, missed our way and drove 4 miles on the road to "Eureka"!....Two days lost!"), and overturned the wagons (Monday, December 31: "Came over the summit 6 miles & camped. Upset Hooton's Big Wagon with Pans on it! And left it.") Finally, on New Year's Day, 1867, the company "Came into camp at Salem, Newark District, Nevada." This is the final entry in Hartwell's 1866 diary, and we have been unable to learn more about his residence in the Diamond Mountain area. Later that year, he and his family returned to New Hampshire, settling in Allenstown, where he became a prominent member of the community and lived to the age of 93.

As for Trefren's scheme, he saw his great brick church built in Austin--including a splendid organ and a 400-pound bell--but when the Kingston operations all failed, he was unable to pay off the debt on his mining company's stock, and the entire property was sold to Lander County for a courthouse. The Methodist Episcopal Church later purchased it back, and it was used as a church by Austin Methodists until 1935. It still stands today and serves as the Austin community's Town Hall, having been added to the U. S. National Register of Historical Places in 2003. Together, Hartwell's diaries tell the remarkable story of a Methodist minister in the West, from New York to San Francisco by steamer, from Sacramento to Austin by stage, and from Austin to Newark on foot. **Just as importantly, we have traced no other primary source documenting the rise and fall of J. L. Trefren's Methodist mining operations in Nevada, making Hartwell's account an indispensable record of this unlucky pairing of church and earthly treasure.**

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[California--Panama Route]: Henry Harrison Hartwell: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF HENRY H. HARTWELL, DESCRIBING HIS 1864 JOURNEY FROM NEW YORK CITY TO CALIFORNIA VIA THE PANAMA ROUTE, AND WITH A RECORD OF HIS EXPERIENCES AS A METHODIST MINISTER IN GRASS VALLEY]. [Various places on route from New York through Panama to San Francisco, Oakland, and Grass Valley, California. January to December, 1864]. Entries for nearly every day, approximately 135 pp. with text, about 6500 words; written in ink and pencil, all generally quite legible. Memoranda at rear contains lists of church members in Grass Valley. 16mo (12.5 cm). Dark brown pebbled calf, all edges gilt, lacks rear cover, spine slightly rolled. Light wear and scuffing. About very good.

[Nevada--Central Overland Stage Route]: Henry Harrison Hartwell: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF HENRY H. HARTWELL, DESCRIBING HIS 1866 TRIP FROM SACRAMENTO TO AUSTIN, NEVADA VIA THE CENTRAL OVERLAND STAGE ROUTE, AND FROM KINGSTON, NEVADA TO THE DIAMOND MOUNTAINS, AND WITH A RECORD OF HIS EXPERIENCES AS A METHODIST MINISTER AND BOARDING HOUSE OPERATOR IN KINGSTON]. [Various places on route from Sacramento to Austin, Nevada, and from Kingston, Nevada to the Diamond Mountains. January to December, 1866]. Entries for nearly every day, approximately 125 pp. with text, about 6000 words; written in ink and pencil, all generally quite legible. 16mo (12.5 cm). Dark brown pebbled calf, marbled edges, lacks cover flap. Light wear and scuffing. Very good.

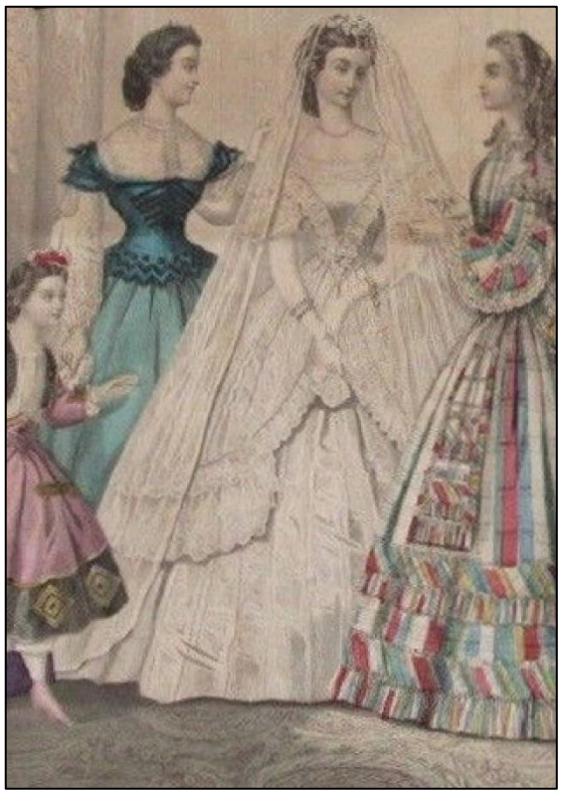
For the pair:

13. SOLD.

Couture for the Masses: Ellen Louise Demorest's *Mirror of Fashions*

Before the middle of the 19th century, fashion's role as a signal of wealth, status, and--for women--femininity, was largely the prerogative of the rich. There were three primary ways that American women could acquire new clothing. For the upper classes, skilled dressmakers working in East Coast fashion emporiums copied the latest styles from Europe. For middle class customers in large cities and rural towns, seamstresses working from ladies' journals and fashion magazines depended on their own abilities to produce less expensive (but also less stylish) options. For most women, though, even this was not possible. Instead, they made their own clothes, and as Margaret Walsh notes "More often than not, homemade dresses ranged not from good to passable, but from poor to bad" (1979:300). Enter Madame Ellen Louise Demorest, who after 1860 would launch a revolution in American fashion. **This large, unique, and previously unrecorded broadside for the magazine that Demorest founded with her husband, William J. Demorest, captures the spirit of this democratization, one that continues to shape how trends in *haute couture* make their way from salons and runways to households around the world**.

Mme. Demorest, as she came to be known after about 1860, was born Ellen Louise Curtis in Schuylerville, New York, in 1824. After graduating from Schuylerville Academy, Curtis moved to nearby Saratoga Springs and--with the help of her father, who owned a hat factory--opened a millinery shop that proved quite successful. Enough so, in fact, that she decided to move again some years later to Brooklyn, a place much closer to the heart of American taste and fashion in New York City. There her business continued to flourish, and she made the acquaintance of a young merchant and widower named William Jennings Demorest, whom she married in 1858. Demorest had enjoyed far less success in his business ventures (he was bankrupted a few years before the marriage) and had relocated to Philadelphia to make a new start. Ellen joined him there with his two young children.



It was in Philadelphia that Ellen had the great epiphany that changed her family's fortunes and the wider world of American fashion. One day, she later recalled, she was watching as her African American maid cut dress patterns from course brown wrapping paper. How difficult could it be, she thought, to cut such patterns from cheap, thin tissue paper and put them directly into the hands of customers for home dressmaking? William was enthused with the idea and moved the family back to New York City, where in 1860 he and Ellen produced a magazine, *Madame Demorest's Quarterly Mirror of Fashions*. Each issue featured Ellen's own designs and contained colored fashion plates like those published in other popular magazine such as *Godey's Lady's Book* and Frank Leslie's *Ladies Gazette*. Most importantly, each included a tissue paper sample pattern

THE MODEL PARLOR MAGAZINE OF AMERICA.

DEMOREST'S

MONTHLY

MAGAZINE.

WHAT DISTINGUISHES MYRTLE OF FASHIONS

We scarcely know how appropriately to speak our high opinion of Demorest's Monthly, the leading journal of the kind in the United States, and recently enlarged to double its former size. It is the oldest monthly—is the very best that can be found in magazine form—and is universally published for the ladies. Its colored fashion plates are beyond all question the most splendid and truthful that we have seen in any other magazine, and its subject steel engravings are, some of set, and also the wood engravings, which are very numerous. Each number contains a piece of music, illustrated. Patterns of all kinds without number, and patterns of full size printed on separate sheets. The work is a complete repository of fashion, and of all that is useful and ornamental to ladies. We wish it success, and feel sure that success will attend all to be found within the covers of the Monthly for the price at which it is furnished—only $3 a year. Moreover, here the publishers can afford all to be found within the covers of the Monthly for the price at which it is furnished—only $3 a year. Moreover, here the publishers can more than worth the money. In addition to the Magazine, a premium of a splendid steel engraving, or two dollars worth of fashionable patterns is given to every subscriber.—*Weekly Gazette.*

In now the oldest and most useful Magazine issued. It has obtained a celebrity unparalleled. As a literary magazine it has merits which are fact bringing it into favor. There is no publication in the United States that can compete with it in the number and superb style of its fashion and patterns.—*Pittsburgh Journal.*

An excellent Magazine. Its original stories, poems, music, practical receipts, splendid engravings colored and beautiful fashion plates, full size patterns sketches, and other entertaining matter, renders this the cheapest publication of the kind in the country.—*Boston Olive Branch.*

No lady can well do without it.—*Boston Weekly Republican, 31.*

A Handsome Publication.—Demorest's Monthly.—We have no hesitation in pronouncing it one of the finest publications of the kind extant. The steel engravings and typographical execution are surpassed by no other Magazine, while as a fashion publication it has no superior, and few equal in this country. Besides its beautiful plates, by the assistance of which every lady can cut and make, is the most fashionable style, her own or her children's clothes.—*Trimont Republican, 31.*

Demorest's Monthly eclipses anything of the kind published in America. One number alone is worth the price of the Magazine for a year.—*Saint Louisian, 31.*

based on Ellen's designs stapled inside the cover. Styling herself as "Madame Demorest," Ellen opened her Emporium of Fashions, a dressmaking and millinery shop in the heart of the city, on Broadway, that catered to wealthy clients and patrons.

Yet the magazine, far more than the shop, would establish Madame Demorest as America's doyen of fashion and launch a revolution. The moment was ripe for change. Joy Spanabel Emery has discussed three factors that unfolded in the mid-19th century that enabled Demorest's idea. Just ten years before, in 1851, Isaac Singer had perfected the first practical sewing machine with up-and-down needle action; earlier machines had worked side to side. Moreover, Singer's sewing machine operated by foot pedal, unlike the hand crank of earlier efforts, freeing both of the user's hands to work with the fabric itself. In 1856, the first lightweight machines became available for use in the home, and the drudgery of sewing would never be the same. Changes in the U. S. Postal Service, too, offered the Demorests and likeminded entrepreneurs unprecedented opportunities to reach a wide national audience. In 1845, the service expanded from accepting only personal letters to allowing all printed materials, including magazines, broadsides, and circulars. Joy Emery notes that "The expanded service allowed fashion-related publications to be sent to even the most remote location" (2014:32). Finally, the paper-making industry had shifted to steam-driven machines that were capable of producing paper from wood pulp, a far cheaper source material than rag or cloth pulp and well-suited to producing both newsprint and thin tissue paper.

In 1864, the Demorests expanded the scope of their magazine, taking it from a quarterly to a monthly and rebranding it *Demorest's Illustrated Monthly Magazine and Madame Demorest's Mirror of Fashions*. Despite the distractions of the ongoing Civil War, the magazine's circulation soon surpassed 60,000 and would reach nearly 100,000 at its height in the next decade. Customers could also buy patterns directly. By 1875 the Demorests were selling more than three million a year through their mail-order enterprises and through a nationwide network of shops, Demorest's Magasins des Modes. These establishments--numbering 300--employed 1500 sales agents, mostly widows and spinsters. The patterns themselves were inexpensive, those for blouses priced at only 18¢, those for elegant dresses at $1. Ellen traveled to Paris and London each year, obtaining insight into the latest styles, then she and her sister, Kate, would create new patterns on the basis of these first-hand observations. Ishbel Ross, Ellen's biographer, notes that:

> Presiding over her Emporium, Madame Demorest was an impressive figure, tall and erect, with dark hair, a high forehead, and aquiline features. Her twice-yearly openings became a social event, and by the mid-1860's she was acknowledged to be the unchallenged dictator of American fashion (1971:459).

The broadside that we offer here, featuring a hand-colored steel engraving of nearly a dozen women and young children at a bridal gathering--though undated--is from the period immediately after the Demorests began to issue their magazine as a monthly. It also lists the Emprium's address as 473 Broadway, which the business occupied from 1860 to 1874. Given the fashions depicted in the image, we place its date at circa 1865. Beneath the large, striking title and colorful image are glowing testimonials or reviews from five American newspapers. We believe it is significant that four of these are from rural areas of either upstate New York (Chenango) or Illinois (Princeton, Salem, and Tazewell); the fifth, referred to as the *Weekly Gazette*, cannot be linked to a particular

place. Much of the Demorests's success was based on their ability to bring high fashion to women living in America's heartland, away from the urban centers of the East Coast. This broadside, with its glowing reviews from rural newspapers, appears to have been a part of that effort. We likewise suggest that the chipping at or near both upper corners and the lower left corner is a result of the broadside having been displayed for viewing, perhaps in one of Mme. Demorest's many stores or agencies. **Although the company produced several chromolithographic trade cards during the 1870s, no other example of an advertising broadside is known to have survived**.

The Demorests's pattern business reached its peak in the mid-1870s. Unfortunately, Ellen and William had neglected to patent her designs, not even her innovation of producing tissue paper patterns, and their output was eventually surpassed by that of rival operations, particularly the firm of Ebenezer Butterick (which exists today as part of the McCall Pattern Company). As Ellen and William began to turn more of the day-to-day business over to their four children, they shifted their own attention to favored social causes and philanthropy. Both had been staunch abolitionists before establishing their magazine during the war years, and afterward they followed a remarkably progressive and liberal policy of employing young African American women on the same terms as their white co-workers, with equal pay and shared workplaces. While William became deeply involved in the temperence movement, Ellen threw herself into women's causes--particularly the controversial issue of women's employment--and family welfare. She was a founder of Sorosis, the pioneering women's club, and served on the boards of both the New York Medical College for Women and the Welcome Lodging House for Women and Children. William died in 1895, having retired from the business five years earlier. Ellen died three years later at the age of 73. Although less renowned today, perhaps, Mme. Demorest stands with Lydia Pinkham among the most successful American businesswomen and advocates of women's labor in the 19th century. And the tissue paper pattern prints she invented still bring fashion to millions of households in the United States and around the World.

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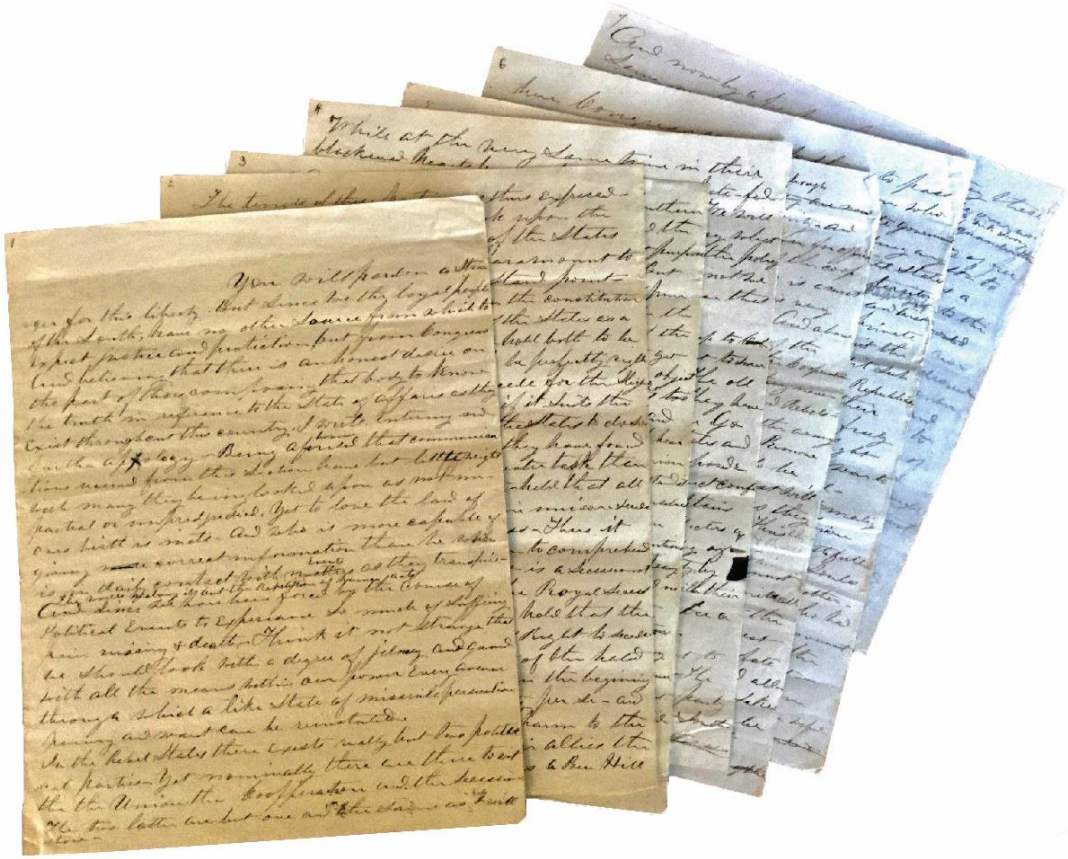
[Women's Fashion]: [Ellen Louise Curtis Demorest]: THE MODEL PARLOR MAGAZINE OF AMERICA. / DEMOREST'S / MONTHLY / MAGAZINE [caption title]. N.p, n.d., but likely New York City, ca. 1865. Broadside. 19 x 24 in. (48 x 61 cm). Lacking a small piece at upper left corner, small chips at upper right and lower left corners, and at lower center fold, none affecting any part of the image or text. Old folds, light offsetting, light toning along upper, right, and lower edges, moderate toning and small stains on verso. Very good.

14. SOLD.

A Southern Unionist Drafts an Appeal to Congress for Reconstruction

After Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, the states of the former Confederacy gained rapid reentry to the Union, though with shockingly few concessions from or consequences for the southern politicians who had goaded their people to war. Indeed, with little more demanded than a simple oath of fealty to the United States, these instigators of rebellion began to reconstitute southern state governments as though the war itself had never happened, refusing to yield any of the power and privileges their planter class had long enjoyed. Among the first sets of laws passed by most of these postwar legislatures were the so-called Black Codes, which aimed to perpetuate political and economic domination over recently freed African Americans.

Both blacks and Unionists--those citizens of southern states who had remained loyal to the Union throughout the war--thus found themselves excluded from power and targeted for violence by the resurgent white supremacy. Many were unwilling to accept their relegation to non-citizen status and appealed to the United States Congress for support. When the 39th Congress convened in December 1865, its Republican majority created a Joint Committee on Reconstruction, holding hearings from January to June 1866 on conditions in the former Confederacy. **While we do not know the author of this draft letter to Congress--we suspect that the writer was a citizen of Georgia, as only Georgia politicians are singled-out for approbation in the text--it stands as a fiery and unyielding call for Radical Reconstruction.**



The letter's opening lines could not offer a more direct response to the Joint Committee's information-seeking mandate:

> You will pardon a stranger for this liberty. But since we the loyal people of the south, have no other source from which to expect justice and protection, but from Congress and believing that there is an honest desire on the part of those composing that body to know the truth in reference to the state of affairs as they exist throughout this country, I write.

The writer notes that three political parties were actively operating in the formerly rebel states: the "Union" (i.e., National Union, whose members had advocated remaining in the Union before the war); the "Cooperation" (i.e., Cooperationists, former Whigs and conservative Democrats who had advocated secession only as a last resort and only with the cooperation of all other southern states); and the "Secession" (i.e., the immediate or "royal" secessionists, as our writer also refers to them in this letter; these politicians had demanded breaking from the Union at any cost). Yet while there were three parties in name, the author reports that "the two latter are but one and the same." He notes that "The truly loyal Union men look upon the Constitution and the Union of the States under that constitution as paramount to all else." The Cooperationists, on the other hand, "look upon the constitution as a mean contract--the Union of the States as a matter of conveniences." Lastly, "the Royal Secessionists, as they style themselves hold that the Republic is a failure--that it is right to secede by states--any way to get out of the hated Union."

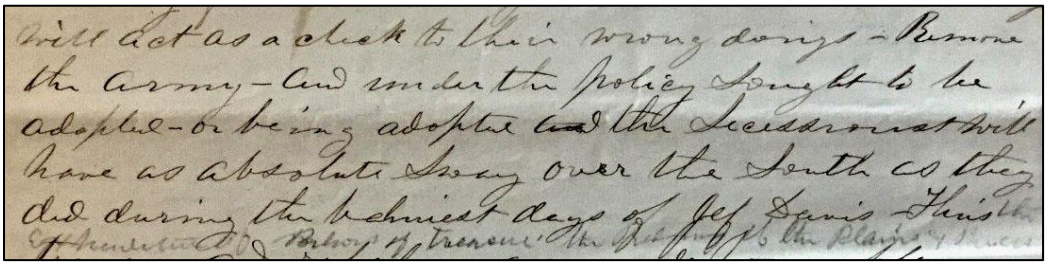
Although these so-called "Royal Secessionists" were thus the fiercest, loudest advocates for smashing the Union, the author claims that "this latter party was from the beginning and is yet a harmless minority per se, and could never have accomplished any harm to the government but for the aid of their allies the Cooperationist--an A. H. Stephens a Ben Hill a J. E. Brown and others of other southern states equally prominent" These men, for whom the writer reserves his sharpest anger, had merely pretended their opposition to immediate secession, gradually turning "the honest hearted yeomanry of the south" to their true rebellious cause. "Verily in the greater day of reconing [sic]," he notes, "these men will have more to answer for than any other class….These are the men who now like spaniels fondle on Gen. Grant as he makes his tours through the South--and tell him all is well." This last comment refers to the 10-day trip that Gen. Ulysses Grant took through the former Confederate states in November 1865, arranged at the behest of President Johnson to assess the feelings of southerners. That the writer references it here in the present tense suggests that he drafted this letter late in 1865, perhaps even before Grant's tour had ended.

The writer then turns his ire on Johnson's amnesty policies, under which "The old political tricksters are busily at work--They have but to <u>swear</u> and are again returned to office. Go examine the ledgislatures [sic] of the rebel states and of what material will you find them composed? The Hon members of Congress of the defunct Confederate States." These are the very men, the writer maintains, "who have gained notoriety by claping [sic] their unholy hands and shouting with their stentorian voices over the victories of a Johnson [i.e., Joseph E. Johnston] or the massacre of a Forest [i.e., Nathaniel Bedford Forrest, clearly referencing the Fort Pillow Massacre, during which Forrest's men slaughtered hundreds on black Union soldiers trying to surrender]." How, then, did the Cooperationists manage their return to power? Our writer claims that "the Loyal Union Party

and the Cooperation Party are nearly equally balanced throughout the South--Hence the royal Secest holds the balance of power."

The fact that brought the Cooperationists and the Secessionists together was the continued presence of Federal troops on southern soil. The author inquires, "Why this anxiety on the part of the cooperationist and secessionists--because they know that they never breath[e] a loyal breath they are traitors and rebels and they fear that the Yankee soldier and the army will act as a check to their wrongdoings." Then he issues a warning, one that all too soon came to pass:

> **Remove the army…and the secessionist will have as absolute sway over the South as they did during the balmiest days of Jef Davis**. Thus treason and rebellion are made honorable. His Excellency the President says "A state cannot commit treason" But if he and the congress permit all the power in these Rebel States to pass into the hands of traitors and Rebels, it requires no great stretch of the immagination [sic] to picture the fate of the truly Loyal Union man, who has suffered all, endured all and lost all for his government's sake. Such the Yankee and the Freedman will be forced by pure dint of ledgislation [sic] to quit the country.



Finally, our writer insists that Congress owes it to those who stood for the Union "to pass a general law, prohibiting any person who has held any office under the Confederate government either civil or military from ever holding any office of profit or trust under the United States or any state or territory of the United States." He continues, reaching the peak of his rhetorical broadside against the former Confederates who sought a return to antebellum days:

> Let them writhe and twist under the hand of Justice--sink back to private life…or quit the country--Go to Mexico where they can sit submissive at the feet of an Emperor--Hate Republican governments, law, order, and prosperity to their soul's content. We will breathe more freely when they depart.

We do not know if the final draft of this remarkable letter ever made its way to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction that convened at the Capitol during the spring of 1866. Yet the 39th Congress certainly acted in accord with its author's sense of outrage. In April 1866, over the veto of President Johnson, its members passed the nation's first Civil Rights Act, which stated that all persons born within the United States--regardless of race, color, or previous condition--were fully

citizens of the United States. Then in 1867, again over Johnson's veto, it passed the Reconstruction Acts, under which the South was divided into five military districts headed by military governors until each state produced an acceptable constitution approved by Congress. The act specified that all males regardless of race, but excluding former Confederate leaders, would be guaranteed the right to participate in the constitutional conventions; that all of the state constitutions were required to include universal manhood suffrage; and that prior to readmission, all states must ratify the 14th Amendment, which brought the Civil Rights Act of 1866 into the U. S. Constitution.

Following these Reconstruction Acts and the readmission of former Confederate states to the Union, African American voters from across the South elected the first black legislators to the U. S. House of Representatives, and Mississippi sent two black members to the Senate. Black men likewise gained seats in state houses and were elected to state government offices throughout the region. But as our writer presciently warned, the presence of Federal troops on southern soil was necessary to ensure the new rights of African Americans. The Reconstruction Acts spurred the birth of the Ku Klux Klan, which began as a Tennessee social club but soon became the terrorist arm of white rule. And with the disputed presidential election of 1876, after which Democrats and Republicans agreed to end the military occupation, those hard earned rights of black southerners were undone by the unchecked resurgence of southern white supremacy. **Although the writer of this remarkable letter remains unknown, his passionate plea foreshadows the coming of Jim Crow and the sanctification of the Lost Cause**.

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2003 *The Scalawags: Southern Dissenters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

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[Reconstruction--Southern Unionists]: [DRAFT HOLOGRAPH LETTER, UNSIGNED, FROM AN UNIDENTIFIED SOUTHERN UNIONIST TO THE U. S. CONGRESS, DEMANDING RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION]. [N.p, n.d., but perhaps Georgia, written during the fall /winter of 1865]. [7] pp, approx. 1500 words, small 4to sheets, last page shorter. Old folds with wrinkling and light edge wear; majority of text in ink with numerous strike-throughs and revisions, last few sentences of text in pencil. All quite legible and very good.

15. SOLD.

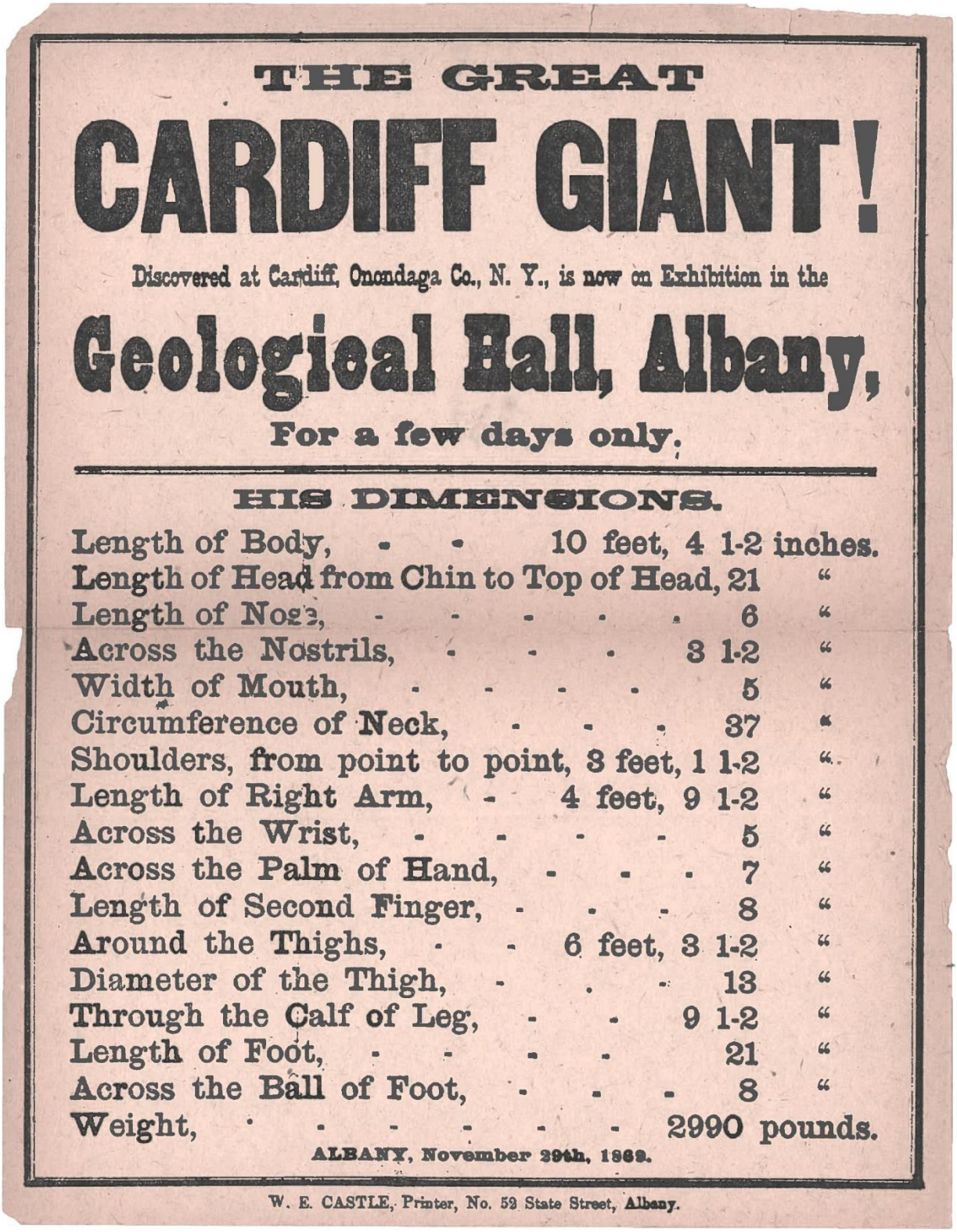
An American Humbug: The Cardiff Giant on Display in Albany

The greatest American humbug of the 19th century began to play out on October 16, 1869, as laborers Henry Nichols and Gideon Emmons dug a well on the farm of William "Stub" Newell near Cardiff, New York. Nichols and Emmons commenced to digging in a marshy meadow behind Newell's barn about 8:00 o'clock in the morning, but after three hours of work had only managed to produce a 2 1/2 foot hole in the thick, wet soil. It was at this point that they hit what appeared to be a large rock, and Newell sent them back to the barn for a pickaxe. As the men worked to widen the shaft, they found that their rock was no common, everyday stone. Instead, it had the shape of a human foot--a very large human foot, measuring more than two feet in length. In a short time, the two laborers--joined by a third man, neighbor John Haynes--had exposed the stone colossus in its entirety: the body of what seemed to be an enormous man, who when alive would have stood some ten feet tall. **The broadside handbill offered here, announcing an exhibition of the body at Geological Hall, Albany, is an extremely rare relic from those first few weeks of public pandemonium, before the actual story of the Great Cardiff Giant was exposed**.

The discovery of a giant man, apparently petrified, was received with enthusiasm by locals in upstate New York. This area, west of the Catskills and Adirondacks, would later be referred to as the "Burnt-over District," a hotbed of religious fervor and evangelical conservatism that gave rise to Mormonism, Spiritualism, and Millerite movements such as the Adventists and Jehovah's Witnesses. The Old Testament contains reference to several races of giants (e.g., the Nephilim and Anakim), as well as to named individuals such as Goliath, so the Cardiff Giant easily accommodated biblically-derived narratives of the past.

Later that first afternoon, a Saturday, a crowd had surrounded the pit and its extraordinary contents at Newell's farm. Over the weekend, word of mouth spread rapidly through Onondaga County (there were no weekend newspapers to carry news of the discovery), and later accounts would estimate that by Sunday evening as many as 10,000 residents of neighboring Syracuse had so learned of the giant. Monday's newspaper headlines proclaimed "A New Wonder," and Newell wasted little time putting his friends to work. First they enlarged the pit and installed a pump to keep it dry, then fenced it in and erected a white tent over the excavation. By noon, Newell was charging all visitors 25 cents, a price he doubled when the *New York Daily News* carried the story on Tuesday. Viewers arrived by the wagon load, with 3000 waiting in line the following Sunday. Just ten days after its discovery, Newell sold 75 percent interest in the giant to a syndicate of local businessmen, led by David Hannum, for $23,000--nearly half a million dollars today--a staggering sum for a farmer whose entire estate was worth perhaps $3000.

The colossus, of course, was a colossal hoax. Newell's brother-in-law, George Hull, was a tobacconist and sometime con artist. He was also an avowed atheist, and at six foot three, dressed



THE GREAT

CARDIFF GIANT!

Discovered at Cardiff, Onondaga Co., N. Y., is now on Exhibition in the

Geological Hall, Albany,

For a few days only.

HIS DIMENSIONS.

Length of Body,	10 feet, 4 1-2	inches.
Length of Head from Chin to Top of Head,	21	"
Length of Nose,	6	"
Across the Nostrils,	3 1-2	"
Width of Mouth,	5	"
Circumference of Neck,	37	"
Shoulders, from point to point,	3 feet, 1 1-2	"
Length of Right Arm,	4 feet, 9 1-2	"
Across the Wrist,	5	"
Across the Palm of Hand,	7	"
Length of Second Finger,	8	"
Around the Thighs,	6 feet, 3 1-2	"
Diameter of the Thigh,	13	"
Through the Calf of Leg,	9 1-2	"
Length of Foot,	21	"
Across the Ball of Foot,	8	"
Weight,	2990	pounds.

ALBANY, November 29th, 1869.

W. E. CASTLE, Printer, No. 52 State Street, Albany.

all in black, and sporting a thick black mustache, the 48-year-old made an impression. Three years before the hubbub in Cardiff, while visiting family in Iowa, Hull had carried on a late-night debate over the literal interpretation of scripture with Methodist circuit-rider Henry Turk. Hull was unable to shake the conversation, which had included a back-and-forth about the existence of antediluvian giants, and at last he decided to create a stone giant of his own and then to pass it off as a petrified man. At the least, such a con might make fools of gullible believers like Turk. But if the con was played just right, it could also make Hull the fortune that had thus far eluded him.

In June 1868, Hull returned to Iowa, and near Fort Dodge he found a gypsum-like material that he believed would suit his purposes well. He paid a stonemason at the quarry to cut a massive block that measured twelve by four by two feet in size and weighed nearly five tons. The nearest train station, though, was located in Boone--almost 40 miles away--and after several local bridges and even his wagon collapsed under the load, Hull was forced to cut part of the block away before finally getting it onboard a train bound for Chicago. There, a German stonecutter named Edward Burghardt and his two assistants chiseled away at the gypsum throughout the summer months, and using Hull himself as the model they shaped the tranquil-faced giant that would so enthrall a nation the following year. In November, Hull had his great bamboozle boxed in a crate and shipped by rail to the depot at Union, New York. From there it made its way by wagon to the meadow behind Newell's barn, where the brothers-in-law planted it in the ground. Giving it a year to weather and age, Hull returned to selling cigars and awaited its 'discovery.'

About a year later, on November 5, 1869, Hannum and his associates--who had bought a three-quarter interest in the giant from Newell and his silent partner, Hull--had it winched from its pit and pulled 15 miles by wagon to Syracuse. The Great Cardiff Giant, as it had already come to be billed, was housed at an exhibit hall in Vanderbilt Square. The following day, a Monday, more than 6000 people paid $1 each to view the marvel. Showman P. T. Barnum was so impressed that he offered to buy a quarter share for $50,000. When the syndicate rebuffed him, he commissioned his own plaster replica and displayed it in New York City, claiming that his was the original and the original a fraud. Hannum was astounded to learn that Barnum's fake was soon proving more successful than his own, which the syndicate had subsequently shown at Albany's Geological Hall and at the Apollo Hall in New York City. When asked to comment on the popularity of Barnum's exhibit, he is reputed to have uttered the famous phrase later ascribed to Barnum himself, "There's a sucker born every minute."

Yet the days of either hoax were numbered. Yale paleontologist O. C. Marsh published a report in late November that declared the Cardiff Giant "a most decided humbug….I am surprised that any scientific observers should not have at once detected the unmistakable evidence against its antiquity" (Rochester *Daily Union*, Nov. 24). Then came a story from the Onondaga National Bank that Newell had made a large withdrawal to the benefit of none other than George Hull. With that news, local farmers began to recall the strange, massive box drawn by wagon across the roads to Cardiff the previous year, and the stoneworkers at Fort Dodge likewise recalled the huge block of gypsum that Hull had hauled away from the quarry. Recognizing the end when he saw it, Hull made a public confession in early December, with the *Chicago Tribune* publishing a full exposé on February 2, 1870, including interviews with Burghardt's two assistants. Nevertheless, none of the principal characters involved in the competing scams--neither Hull and Newell nor Hannum and Barnum--were ever called upon to return a single penny of the fortunes they earned from their

respective fakes, which continued to draw a steady stream of the gullible and the curious long after any questions about their authenticity were settled.

The Great Cardiff Giant undoubtedly ranks among the most extraordinary (and successful) hoaxes of all time. But it was more than that. Marsh's printed critique marked the emergence of American science as an authority in matters of public discourse. It was also an opening salvo in the particularly American conflict between fundamentalist faith and scientific analysis, prefiguring later debates over evolution, creationism, and the teaching of religion in public schools. **Although reams of paper have been devoted to the story of the Cardiff Giant, primary source materials from those first few weeks after its discovery are quite scarce**. Two pamphlets were published in Syracuse that November, *The American Goliah* (two editions) and *The Onondaga Giant*; these are each represented in about a dozen institutional holdings, but only a single copy of the latter has been offered on the market in nearly a century (per RBH). Several stereoviews were produced, as well. The NYPL holds the microfilm of a brochure documenting the giant's December exhibition at Apollo Hall in New York City, but we have found no trace of any physical copy. This copy of the Albany broadside handbill, dated November 29, does not appear in OCLC, but we have located two extant copies in institutional holdings, one at the New York State Historical Association (now the Fenmore Art Museum) and another in the Ringling Museum Herald Collection at Florida State University. A scarce survival from this quintessentially American humbug.

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Sears, Stephen W.
1975 The Giant in the Earth. *American Heritage Magazine* 26(5).

Tribble, Scott
2009 *A Colossal Hoax: The Giant from Cardiff that Fooled America*. Rowan and Littlefield, New York.

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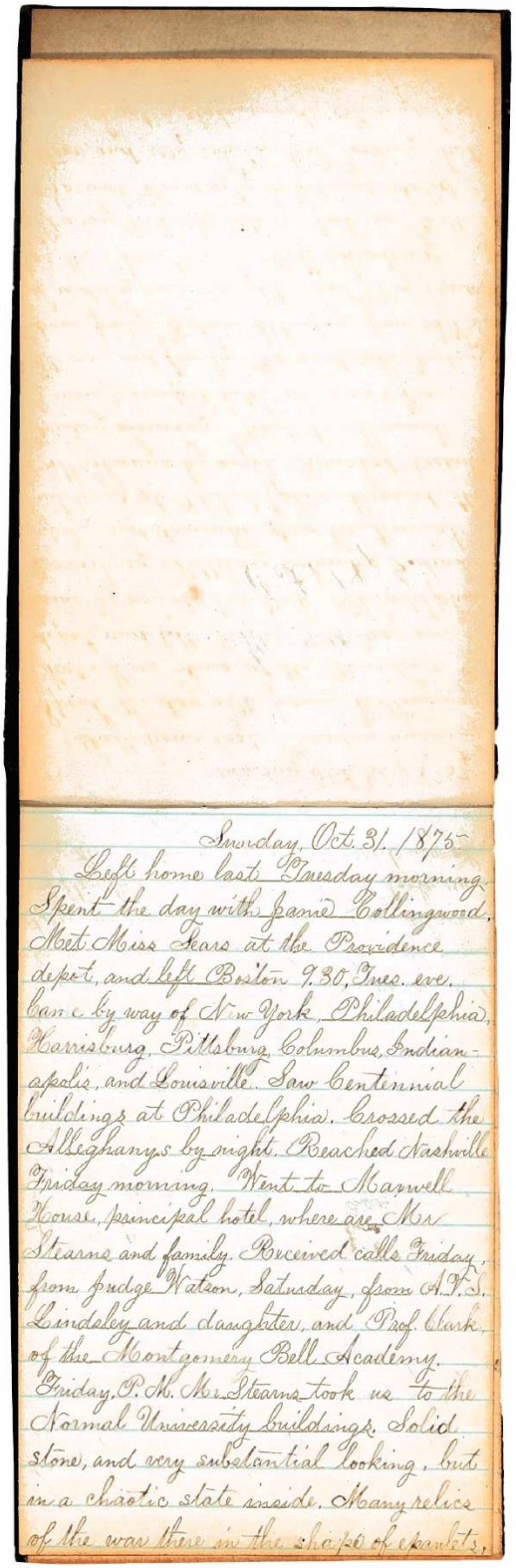
[Western New York--American Hoaxes]: THE GREAT / CARDIFF GIANT! / DISCOVERED AT CARDIFF, ONONDAGA, CO., IS NOW ON EXHIBITION IN THE / GEOLOGICAL HALL, ALBANY [caption title]. W. E. Castle, Printer, No. 52 State Street, Albany, November 29, 1869. Broadside or handbill for exhibition of Cardiff Giant at Albany's Geological Hall. 6 x 8 in. (15 x 20 cm). Thin newsprint paper, 1 1/2 inch tear along left edge of old center fold, light wear and chipping to edges and left corners. Very good.

16. SOLD.

Emma M. Cutter Joins the Tennessee State Normal College, 1875

Following the devastation of the Civil War, few areas of southern life were more in need of rehabilitation than a moribund system of higher education. Antebellum education served little more than to offer a classical curriculum to the elite sons of the white planter class. Both that class and its plantation economy were shattered during the war, so that southern colleges and universities demanded repurposing from the ground up. Yet funding such an overhaul in the defeated South posed a Herculean task. Republican legislatures across the region imposed higher taxes than their antebellum predecessors, in part to increase revenues for public schooling at all levels, but these were insufficient to close the gap. Into that chasm, though, stepped northern philanthropists--none to greater effect than financier George Peabody and his Peabody Education Fund.

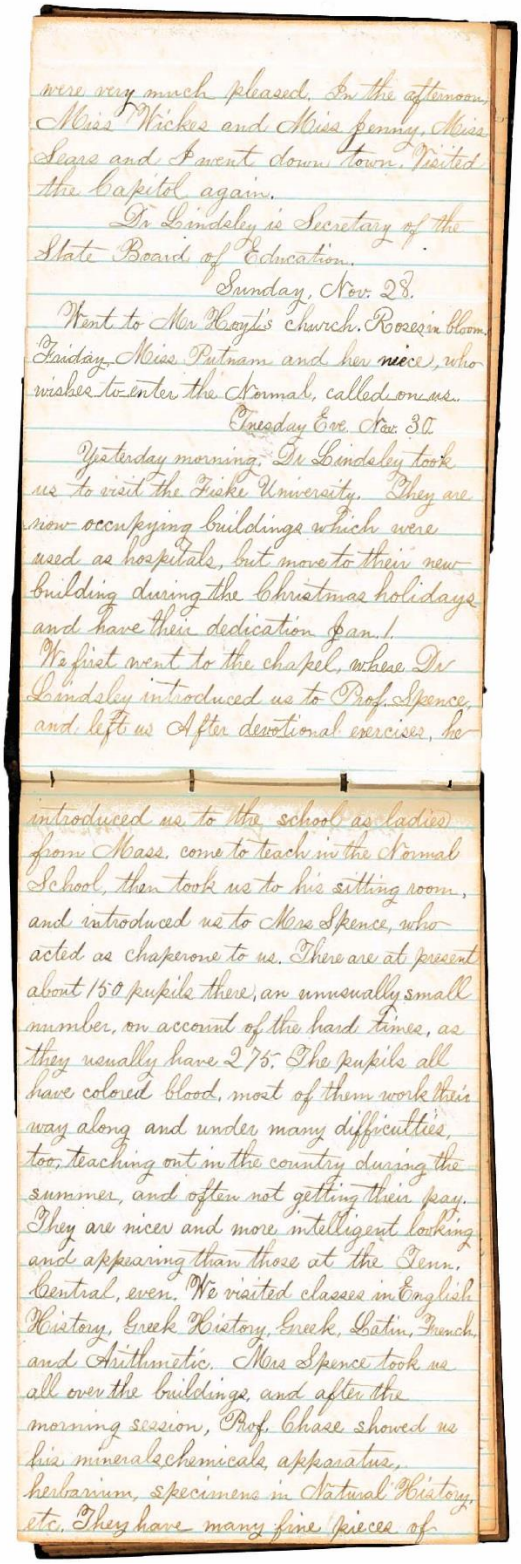
Peabody died in 1869, two years after establishing the fund, but its operations were left in the able hands of Dr. Barnas Sears, who traveled across the South promoting education and seeking opportunities to invest in public schools. In 1875, after long negotiations with Tennessee's state legislature, the Peabody trustees under Dr. Sears's personal leadership successfully founded the Tennessee State Normal College--the state's first school for the training of teachers--in association with the University of Nashville (later Vanderbilt University). On September 28, Dr. Eben Perry Stearns was elected its first president. A native of Massachusetts and graduate of Harvard, Stearns was serving as president of West Newton Normal, the first state normal in the nation, at the time of his new appointment. Before leaving Massachusetts, he offered positions at Tennessee to a pair of graduates from Bridgewater (Mass.) State Normal School, Julia Sears and Emma Cutter. Both accepted, joining Stearns at Nashville that October. **Here we are pleased to offer the diary that Emma M. Cutter kept during her first year in Tennessee**, offering unparalleled insight into the very beginnings of the institution known today as the Peabody College of Education and Human Development at Vanderbilt University, widely recognized as among the finest graduate schools of education in the United States.



Sunday, Oct. 31, 1875.

Left home last Tuesday morning. Spent the day with Jamie Collingwood. Met Miss Sears at the Providence depot, and left Boston 9.30, Tues. eve. Came by way of New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburg, Columbus, Indianapolis, and Louisville. Saw Centennial buildings at Philadelphia. Crossed the Alleghanys by night. Reached Nashville Friday morning. Went to Maxwell House, principal hotel, where are Mr Stearns and family. Received calls Friday, from Judge Watson, Saturday, from A.V.S. Lindsley and daughter, and Prof. Clark, of the Montgomery Bell Academy.

Friday, P.M. Mr. Stearns took us to the Normal University buildings. Solid stone, and very substantial looking, but in a chaotic state inside. Many relics of the war there in the shape of cannons,



were very much pleased. In the afternoon Miss Wickes and Miss Penny, Miss Sears and I went down town. Visited the Capitol again.

Dr Lindsley is Secretary of the State Board of Education.

Sunday, Nov. 28.

Went to Mr Hoyt's church. Roses in bloom. Friday Miss Putnam and her niece, who wishes to enter the Normal, called on us.

Tuesday Eve. Nov. 30

Yesterday morning Dr Lindsley took us to visit the Fiske University. They are now occupying buildings which were used as hospitals, but move to their new building during the Christmas holidays and have their dedication Jan. 1.

We first went to the chapel, where Dr Lindsley introduced us to Prof. Spence, and left us. After devotional exercises, he introduced us to the school as ladies from Mass. come to teach in the Normal School, then took us to his sitting room, and introduced us to Mrs Spence, who acted as chaperone to us. There are at present about 150 pupils there, an unusually small number, on account of the hard times, as they usually have 275. The pupils all have colored blood, most of them work their way along and under many difficulties, too, teaching out in the country during the summer, and often not getting their pay. They are nicer and more intelligent looking and appearing than those at the Penn. Central, even. We visited classes in English History, Greek History, Greek, Latin, French, and Arithmetic. Mrs Spence took us all over the buildings, and after the morning session, Prof. Chase showed us his minerals, chemicals, apparatus, herbarium, specimens in Natural History, etc. They have many fine pieces of

Emma Maria Cutter--born on June 7, 1853, in Jaffrey, New Hampshire--was the eldest of two daughters born to Julius Cutter, a farmer, and his wife, Caroline. She graduated from Jaffrey High School and the Melville Academy before enrolling at Bridgewater State Normal School (now known as Bridgewater State University), then the most prominent school in the nation for teacher training. She had completed her studies at Bridgewater in 1871, a year before Stearns offered her the position in Nashville, though we have not been able to determine how she came to his attention as a potential teacher of teachers. Cutter begins her diary on Sunday, October 31, 1875, one month before the Tennessee State Normal College opened its doors for the first time. She writes that she had left home the previous Tuesday and met "Miss Sears" in Boston. They traveled south by train for several days before arriving at Nashville on Friday morning, where they met Stearns and his family at the city's grand Maxwell House hotel. Later that afternoon, Stearns took them both on their first tour of the "Normal University buildings:"

> Solid stone and very substantial looking, but in a chaotic state inside. Many relics of the war in the shape of epaulets, bayonets, knapsacks, broken apparatus and torn books. Mr. Stearns pointed out to us "the American Eagle, as it was during the war" and "the globe cut in two for the benefit of the Confederacy."

Cutter details her search for a permanent place of boarding and her thoughts on Nashville itself. By mid-November she had found a place to live ($7 per week, 50¢ for washing) and had made an effort to visit several other schools in and around the capitol. Not surprisingly, many of her entries during these first few months focus on education. In early November she met the State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. John B. Lindsley. Lindsley was a Presbyterian minister, Professor of Medicine at the University of Nashville, and co-founder of its Medical Department (a precursor to the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine). Prior to the war, he had worked among slaves and the poor, then afterward had co-founded the Montgomery Bell Academy in addition to serving as Superintendent of Schools. Lindsley would take Cutter and Julia Sears for a visit to "Fiske [sic] University" at the end of the month. Fisk was one of the first schools in the Reconstruction South devoted to training African American teachers, and here Cutter met professors Adam Spence--the first academic dean of Fisk and founder of the Fisk Jubilee Singers--and Frederick Chase, who established the college's science department:

> We first went to the Chapel, where Dr. Lindsley introduced us to Prof. Spence, and left us. After devotional exercises, he introduced us to the school as ladies from Mass. come to teach in the Normal School….There are at present about 150 pupils there, an unusually small number, on account of the hard times, as they usually have 275. The pupils all have colored blood, most of them work their way along and under many difficulties, too, teaching out in the country during the summer, and often not getting their pay. They are nicer and more intelligent looking and appearing than those at the Tenn. Central, even. We visited classes in English History, Greek History, Greek, Latin, and Arithmetic….and after the morning session, Prof. Chase showed us his minerals, chemicals, apparatus, herbarium, specimens in natural history, etc.

During these first weeks of the academic year, Cutter also visited the capitol city's "Blind Asylum," the Howard School ("the largest school in the city"), and the Trimble School for colored students, where she seems to have been genuinely astonished at the arbitrary assignment of racial identity in the caste-like South ("Some pupils perfectly white, with straight fair hair.") Although Cutter appreciated these schools, as well as the difficult work of local educators striving to improve their communities, she was appalled at the general plight of education:

> Tenn. is next in ignorance to N. Carolina, the most ignorant state of the union. Whole counties here with no public schools. System combatted by two classes; rich, who wish to have nothing to do with other children but their own, and poor, who do not wish the bother of an education.

Cutter maintains a deep fascination with the South and a wonder at living there in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, its wounds still fresh:

> [the newspaper] Louisville Christian Observer...speaks of Ex President Jefferson Davis. No Jeff here. I can hardly realize that I am here in one of the rebel, one of the slave holding states. Our school buildings and grounds and Dr. Lindsley's grounds, were used as barracks, first by the Confederate, afterwards by the Federal soldiers. There were rifle pits on both sides of Dr. Lindsley's house, within five feet of the house, and still they remained here through it all, enduring everything for four years. The soldiers used the back porch for a guard house. The Dr. said to try and save the University buildings, and his wife would not leave him. They would have been blown up if it had not been for him, as were the buildings of the Blind Institute. Dr. Lindsley is, I think, a Unionist.

On December 1, with Stearns and Sears, "We examined fifteen candidates…and although their papers as a whole were poor, admitted them all…In the evening, was the public opening at the Capitol in the House of Representatives. Gov. Porter introduced the speakers. The afternoon was beautiful and warm: seemed like summer." Cutter writes that on Friday morning, December 3, "I had the honor of conducting the first exercise of the Peabody Normal School of the Nashville University…It was in grammar." By January 9, 1875, and much to her satisfaction, the school's student body had increased to 37 scholars.

Cutter's diary contains much more on life in Nashville and the curriculum and students of the State Normal School, as well as events related to the school and holiday occasions. Throughout its pages, Cutter offers her evocative perspectives on race and ethnic relations in Reconstruction Tennessee. Interspersed with these are interesting accounts of the many different church services she attended (she seems to have visited houses of worship for nearly every religious denomination in the city)--including trips to St. Paul's African Methodist Church and the dedication of the city's Jewish Temple on May 28. The day before, she notes, had been "Commodore Vanderbilt's 82nd birthday, and Vanderbilt University was splendidly illuminated last night. It looked like a great skeleton building full of fire inside." Vanderbilt had only been endowed by Cornelius Vanderbilt in 1873, and the construction of its first building, Main Hall (later known as Kirkland Hall), had begun in 1874; this was likely the "skeleton building" to which Cutter refers.

In June, when classes ended for the summer months, Cutter returned north. Along the way she visited Mammoth Caves in Kentucky with Julia Sears and two of their other colleagues from the Normal School--a tour that merited five full pages in her diary. In Philadelphia, she saw the 1876 Centennial Exhibition with her family, filling dozens of pages with extraordinarily detailed descriptions of the event, capturing its sights, sounds, and smells in her breathless prose. Cutter's diary concludes in October with her return to Nashville. As she observes, "our full number of old scholars has not come together again, but we hope for more tomorrow. We have admitted six new ones. The work progresses slowly, but we hope we are accomplishing something." Cutter would teach in Nashville for five more years, until her marriage in 1881 to Scotsman John Mitchell, with whom she lived the rest of her life in Mansfield, Massachusetts. **This diary of her first year at the Tennessee State Normal College offers a unique, first-hand account of this remarkable institution at the onset of its educational mission**.

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2005 *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good."* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

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[Tennessee--Reconstruction, Education]: Emma M. Cutter: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF EMMA MARIA CUTTER, CHRONICLING HER FIRST YEAR AS A TEACHER AT THE TENNESSEE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL IN NASHVILLE, 1875-1876, INCLUDING AN EXTENSIVE DESCRIPTION OF HER VISIT TO THE 1876 CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION IN PHILADELPHIA]. [Mostly Nashville, Tennessee, and Philadelphia]. Diary filled, recto and verso of most leaves; 106 pp. of text on 53 leaves (about 16,000 words); approximately half concerning Nashville, Tennessee, its environs, and the State Normal School, and half detailing the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia; written in ink throughout in a clear, entirely legible hand. 16mo (12.5 cm). Flexible, navy blue leather, marbled edges. Very light wear, about fine.

17. SOLD.

Fannie Davis and Friends: An Autograph Book from Montana Territory

The tradition of keeping autograph books dates to the 16th century and likely originated in the German and Dutch speaking parts of Europe, where they were referred to as *album amicorum* (book of friends) or *stammbuch* (friendship book). These earliest examples were maintained by university students to keep the names and sentiments of friends, classmates, and mentors, both as personal mementos of their studies and as a sort of portable list of references. The tradition made its way to America with German and Dutch immigrants during the late 18th century, soon finding a ready audience among college students as well as those in secondary, preparatory, and finishing schools. While autograph books have long been recognized and collected for the value of specific signatures--those of the famous and powerful--it has only been in recent years that scholars have begun to explore these albums for information about social networks among the young people who kept them, particularly young women. As Christie Farnham observes:

> These books were passed around, advertising who was friends with whom as well as the depth of that friendship. In addition, they also made it patently clear who was not popular among their peers. Through these practices of inclusion and exclusion, young women constructed their position in the social world of the school [1994:148].

Likewise, Anya Jabour notes that, for these girls and young women "autograph albums constituted a material culture of female friendship, providing both evidence of girls' attachment to each other and a venue for them to express their emotions" (2007:77).

Such autograph books from the mid to late 19th century are not especially scarce in today's antiquarian market. Fannie Louise Davis kept this example from about 1881 to 1886, spanning her days as a young schoolgirl in Virginia City, Montana, and her college years at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois. **What distinguishes this example from other 19th-century autograph books is that Fannie and her circle of friends in Virginia City were among the first generation of pioneer children born and raised in Montana Territory**.

Fannie was born in Virginia City in 1867, the oldest of six children born to Nathaniel and Jeanette Davis, who had moved to Montana from Colorado in 1862. Nathaniel worked as a miner before opening Virginia City's first mercantile establishment. Fannie signed and dated her album

on December 25, 1880--it was almost certainly a Christmas present--and over the next two years she acquired autographs and personal sentiments from nearly 30 of her friends and classmates in and around Virginia City. According to our research, nearly all of these friends were born between 1861 and 1868, most in Montana but others in Missouri, Iowa, Colorado, and Ohio. Their parents were among the pioneers of Montana Territory. In fact, of the 26 children and young adults who signed Fannie's album in Virginia City--and whose genealogy we have traced--all but three were from families that immigrated to Montana between 1862 and 1865. **The extent to which Fannie's circle of friends consisted of pioneer children, to the seeming exclusion of those children who arrived with families between 1865 and 1880, is striking evidence of how Montana's pioneer settlers reckoned and perpetuated status in the years before statehood**.

Fannie left Virginia City in 1887 for Galesburg, Illinois, where she attended Knox College and studied music at the Knox Conservatory. In 1892, after returning home, she married William Ennis, whose father had founded Ennis, Montana, in 1863 (William and his sister, Jennie, had both signed Fannie's album in 1881). Fannie would maintain a lifelong interest in the story Montana's pioneering families, serving twice as president of the Society of Montana Pioneers. Several of her speeches and essays are housed today at Montana State University.

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Farnham, Christie Anne
1994 *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South*. New York University Press, New York.

Sanders, James U., editor
1899 *Society of Montana Pioneers: Constitution, Members, and Officers, with Portraits and Maps*. Volume 1. Published for the Society, Akron, OH.

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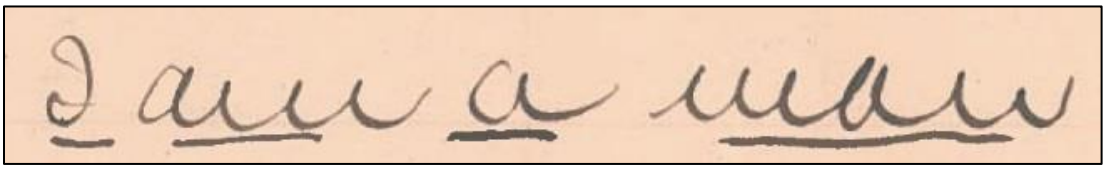
[Montana--Autograph Album]: Fannie L. Davis: [AUTOGRAPH ALBUM OF FANNIE LOUISE DAVIS, RECORDING AUTOGRAPHS AND SENTIMENTS OF FRIENDS AND FAMILY IN VIRGINIA CITY, MONTANA, AND AT KNOX COLLEGE IN GALESBURG ILLINOIS]. [Mostly Virginia City, Montana, and Galesburg, Illinois]. Autograph album, 50 leaves, filled with signatures and sentiments of friendship, recto and verso of many leaves; all entries written in ink in clear, legible hands. 16mo (12.5 cm). Soft, brown calf binding, all edges gilt, gilt title on front cover. Light edge wear and scuffing, very good.

18. SOLD.

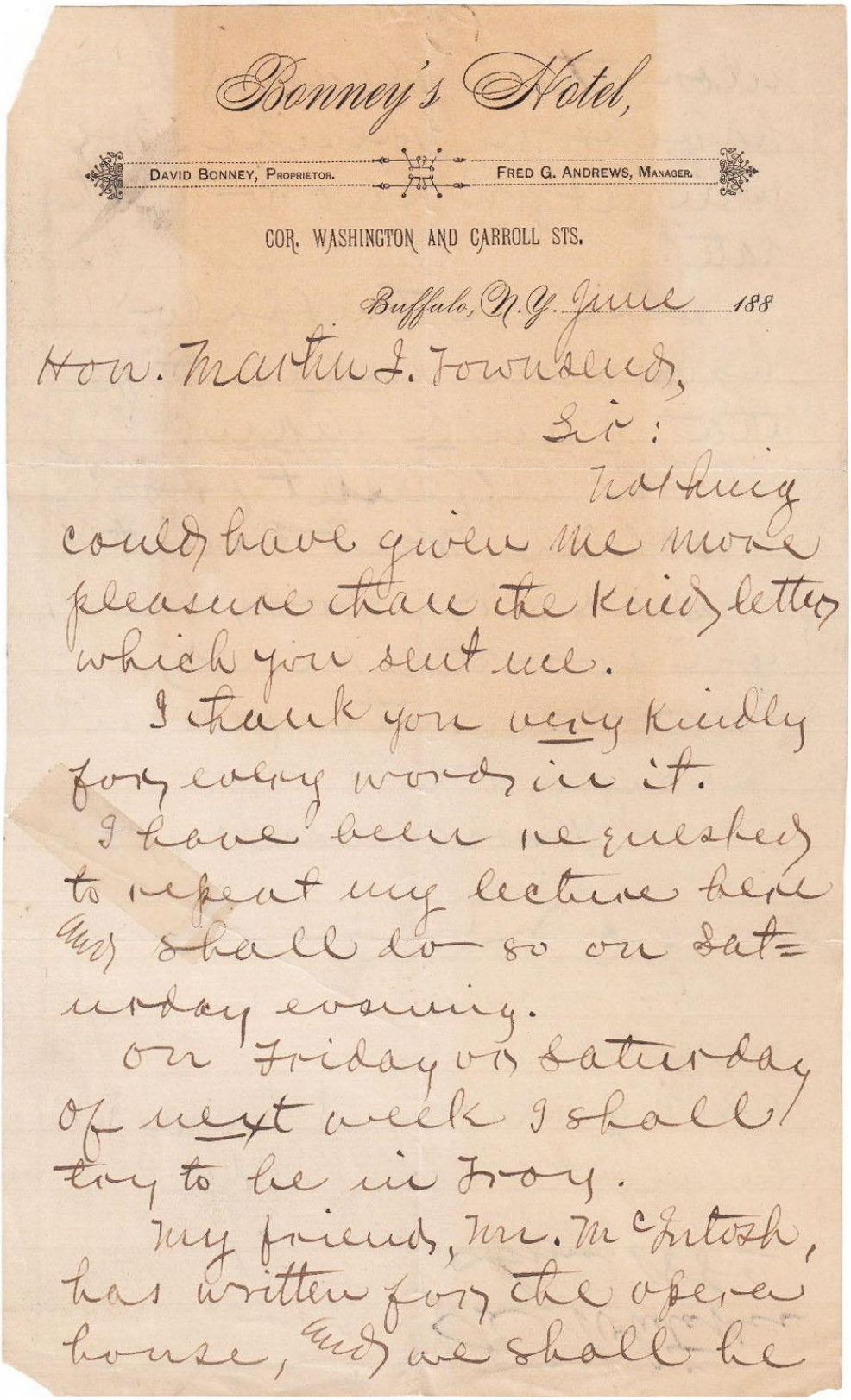
I Am a Man: Johnson Chesnut Whittaker Overcomes West Point

On July 25, 1995, President Bill Clinton awarded a posthumous commission in the United States Army to former West Point cadet Johnson Chesnut Whittaker. A century before, on June 10, 1881, a supposedly impartial panel of officers had court-martialed Whittaker and ruled that he was to be dishonorably discharged from the Military Academy, to be compelled to pay a fine of one dollar, and to be confined at hard labor for one year at a penitentiary chosen by the reviewing authority. Most such courts-martial would merit little attention, much less the national exposure Whittaker's case drew at the time. Whittaker, though, was no ordinary cadet, and his case was no ordinary court-martial. Whittaker was only the third African American man to win an appointment in the United States Military Academy at West Point. And he was expelled for the crime of having been found bloodied and tied to his bed, an offense he compounded by insisting that the attack was perpetrated by three of his white, fellow classmates. **This letter, written by Whittaker to U. S. Attorney Martin I. Townsend--who had earlier represented the young cadet at the behest of President Rutherford B. Hayes--is an extraordinary document, one that uniquely captures Whittaker's indomitable spirit in the immediate aftermath of West Point**.



Johnson C. Whittaker was born into slavery on Mulberry Plantation near Camden, South Carolina, on August 23, 1858. His mother, Maria, the wife of freedman James Whitaker (Johnson later spelled his own name with two t's), was the personal servant of Mary Boykin Chesnut, whose journal, *A Diary from Dixie* (1903), is still considered among the best pieces of writing on southern planter society during the throes of the Civil War. Whittaker's abilities were evident at an early age, and by 1869 he was attending a freedman's school in Camden. In 1874, he enrolled as one of the first black students at the newly integrated University of South Carolina, where his superior academic performance brought him to the attention of Richard Greener--Harvard's first African American graduate and Chair of Philosophy at USC. Whittaker studied with Greener at Columbia for two years, then in 1876 Greener nominated his young pupil and protégé for an appointment at West Point, then as now among the most prestigious universities in the nation. Whittaker won a coveted spot in that year's class and arrived on August 23--his 18th birthday. He was soon to find himself the only black student on a deeply bigoted campus.

West Point had admitted its first black cadet, fellow South Carolinian James W. Smith, in 1870. Foreshadowing Whittaker's own experience, Smith was expelled after four years of racist hazing and constant physical abuse at the hands of his classmates, having been deemed deficient in his philosophical studies. Henry Ossian Flipper, from Georgia, earned an appointment in 1873 and became West Point's first African American graduate in 1877. He was the only black cadet on campus when Whittaker arrived in the fall of 1876, and the two young men shared a room for the academic year. After Flipper graduated in June 1877, Whittaker was alone, his isolation all but absolute. White cadets refused to socialize with their black classmates, or even to speak with them except in the most cursory way. Whittaker was rebuffed by his peers if he tried to sit next to



Bonney's Hotel,

DAVID BONNEY, PROPRIETOR. FRED G. ANDREWS, MANAGER.

COR. WASHINGTON AND CARROLL STS.

Buffalo, N.Y. June 188

Hon. Martin L. Townsend,

Sir:

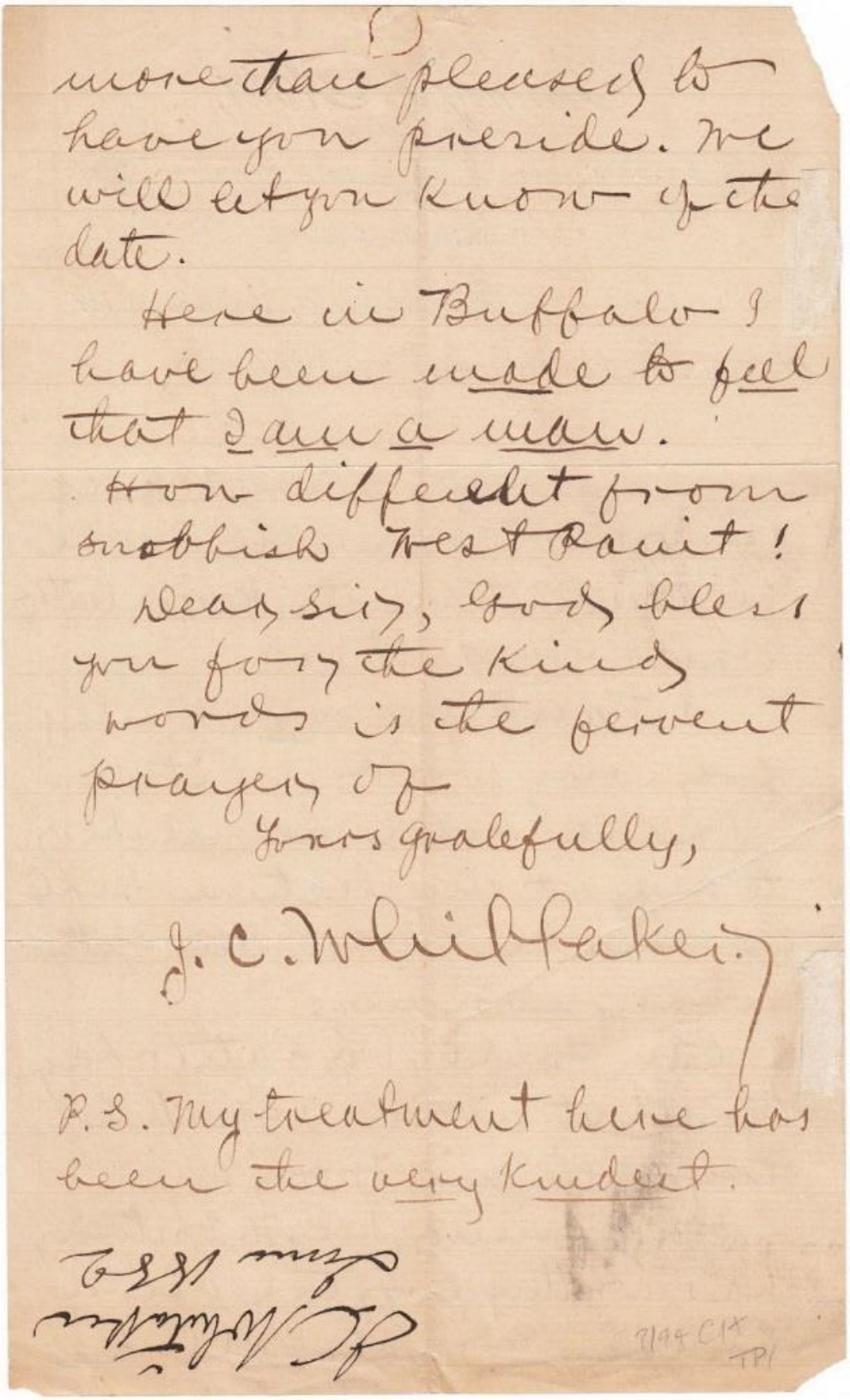
Nothing could have given me more pleasure than the kind letter which you sent me.

I thank you very kindly for every word in it.

I have been requested to repeat my lecture here and shall do so on Saturday evening.

On Friday or Saturday of next week I shall try to be in Troy.

My friends, Mr. McIntosh, has written for the opera house, and we shall be



more than pleased to
have you preside. We
will let you know of the
date.

Here in Buffalo I
have been made to feel
that I am a man.
How different from
snobbish West Point!

Dear sir, God bless
you for the kind
words is the fervent
prayer of
Yours gratefully,

J. C. Whitaker.

P. S. My treatment here has
been the very kindest.

them at mess or even to fall in alongside them at formation. After Flipper's departure, Whittaker roomed, ate, and studied alone. The unyielding ostracism, not surprisingly, seems to have had an effect on his academic performance. Although he had proved himself an exceptional student at USC, his grades suffered at the Academy, and at one point he had come close to disqualification on academic grounds. Yet he had begun to recover by 1880; as a second classman (the equivalent of a junior in college), he stood as head of the sixth, or lowest, section.

Early on the morning of April 5, 1880, Whittaker did not appear at formation. When the cadet officer--dispatched by the officer in charge--knocked on Whittaker's door, he received no answer. Discovering the door unlocked, he entered the quarters of the missing cadet and stumbled onto a shocking scene. Whittaker lay sprawled upon the floor, bloodied and unmoving. His arms were tied together in front of his body, his ankles bound and lashed to the bedrail. The room itself was a shambles. The frightened cadet officer retreated at once but quickly returned with the officer in charge, and together they freed Whittaker from his bindings. The post's surgeon, Maj. Charles Alexander, arrived just a few minutes later, followed by the commandant of cadets, Lt. Col. Henry Lazelle. The two men managed to rouse Whittaker, whose first confused utterance was, "Oh, don't cut me, I never hurt you." Alexander treated his wounds, and Whittaker was directed to the post hospital, where he was briefly examined and sent to class. Later that evening, the post's assistant surgeon, Henry Lippencott, gave the young cadet another examination on the command of General John M. Schofield, superintendent of the Academy.

The two physicians generally agreed in their assessments of Whittaker's injuries. Each of his earlobes was lacerated by a single cut that measured about half an inch deep; a small portion of his left lobe was missing. His left hand had a shallow cut, and two parallel cuts ran across the top of the big toe on his left foot. Given what had seemed to be large quantities of blood, the cadet officer who discovered the scene believed that Whittaker had suffered a skull fracture, but the two doctors found no evidence of any severe head injuries. Whittaker's assailants, though, had roughly shorn his hair, leaving it in patches and ragged in appearance. All of these details were consistent with Whittaker's story of what had occurred the night before, a story he held to through multiple interrogations and trials and from which he never deviated in any meaningful way.

About 2 o'clock in the morning, Whittaker claimed to have been awakened by the sound of his door latch rattling. He returned to sleep, but sometime soon after was brutally dragged from his bed and thrown to the floor by three men, two dressed in black and one in a gray suit. All were masked. He struggled, but was struck on the temple and his nose bloodied. One of the three men took him by the throat and coldly warned that, "If you don't be still, you will be a dead man; don't you holler." Another said, "Let's mark him as we mark hogs down South." Then the attackers trussed his hands and feet and began cutting his ears--Whittaker threw up his hands to protect his head and received the cut to his hand. After slicing at Whittaker's ears, they crudely chopped out chunks of his hair. One of the assailants produced a hand mirror and forced Whittaker to look at himself, then smashed it angrily against his forehead. The three men then slipped away, leaving as they had entered. Whittaker said that the last words he heard before losing consciousness, likely from shock as much as injury, were "then he will leave." (Marszalek 1971).

Regardless of Whittaker's story (or his faithfulness to it) the authorities at West Point soon arrived at a strikingly different conclusion. On April 8, three days later, Lt. Col. Lazelle declared

the investigation over and submitted his report to Gen. Schofield: Whittaker, he determined, had cut and bloodied himself, chopped off his own hair, bound his legs to the bed, and then bound his wrists, all in an effort to shame and discredit the Academy. Schofield accepted Lazelle's findings and reported as much to Whittaker that same day. The young cadet boldly rejected the report and demanded further investigations. Schofield agreed and issued Special Order No. 55, authorizing a court of inquiry "to examine into and investigate the facts and circumstances connected with the assault upon Cadet Whittaker and the imputation cast upon his character in relation thereto." Four officers were appointed to the court, and Whittaker retained a fifth as defense counsel. The court was scheduled to begin session the following day. By that time, the national press had learned of Whittaker's story, and most newspapers were closely following each day's proceedings. Multiple witnesses, including Whittaker himself, gave testimony, and on April 12, Richard Greener--now dean of Howard University's law school--arrived to assist the defense.

Aware that the inquiry had become much more than a military matter, President Rutherford B. Hayes sent a trusted friend, Martin I. Townsend--Unites States district attorney for the northern district of New York--to manage the inquiry on behalf of the government. West Point suddenly found itself on trial, and despite Townsend's skeptical stance toward the Academy (on his arrival he had stated that "I don't say the cadets did it, but if it was not a hostile attack then the world is a farce"), the court of inquiry issued its full judgement against Whittaker on May 29. But the case was hardly over. Schofield, summoned to Washington by President Hayes in August, learned that the Academy needed new leadership; he was to be replaced by General Oliver Otis Howard, for whom Howard University had already been named. Whittaker, meanwhile, received an indefinite leave of absence and departed the Academy. In December he appealed directly to Hayes to grant him a formal court-martial. Hayes deferred to Howard, who agreed with the request, and the trial began on February 3, 1881, in New York City's Army Building. No new evidence was introduced by either side, and the result was the same; in the end, the ten officers on the panel sided with the Academy's prosecution. In issuing their sentence, however, six of the ten did suggest remitting Whittaker's fine and imprisonment "on account of his youth and inexperience."

Yet the Army's Judge Advocate General, D. E. Swain, savaged both the prosecution's case and the proceedings themselves in a formal report he presented to Secretary of War Robert Lincoln in December 1881. All of it, he argued, was null, void, and should be disapproved. The following March, President Chester A. Arthur ordered that Whittaker be released from arrest, declaring the trial invalid and the sentence void. Whittaker should have returned to West Point. Instead, because of a marginal performance on his June 1880 examinations--taken in the immediate aftermath of his first trial--he was expelled from the Academy and never returned.

In June 1882, two months after President Arthur's decision, Whittaker traveled to Buffalo, New York, and delivered several well-received speeches on his West Point experience. According to the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* of June 2,

> The famous cadet narrates the story of his grievances in a calm, dispassionate, and interesting manner, and no one, unless it be a West Pointer, a Southerner, or aristocrat, can listen to him without having his sympathy excited for the persecuted youth. His lecture will win for him many friends.

These few speeches were to be the only public comments that Whittaker ever made on the events that consumed his final years as a cadet. Whittaker wrote the manuscript letter that we offer here during his stay in Buffalo, on the stationery of Bonney's Hotel. **We find no trace of any other Whittaker manuscript ever appearing in the trade**. **This letter is especially significant and revealing, as it was addressed to none other than Martin Townsend, who had come to the young cadet's defense during the first court of inquiry two years earlier**. Whittaker writes in response to a "kind letter" from his supporter, announcing plans to deliver a speech in Troy, New York, the following week and inviting Townsend to preside over the event.

Whittaker then makes an extraordinary statement. "Here in Buffalo," he writes, "I have been <u>made</u> to <u>feel</u> that <u>I am a man</u>. How different from snobbish West Point!" First, this may be the only extant manuscript by one of West Point's early African American cadets that specifically references the Academy. **Even more remarkably, we can document no earlier use of the now-iconic phrase, "I Am a Man," which Whittaker underlines here for effect, and which played such a key role in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s**. The phrase itself is a reworking of the abolitionist credo, "Am I not a man and a brother?" Yet where abolitionists posed a question, usually inscribed alongside an image of the supplicant, pleading slave, the phrase takes on quite a different meaning in its simple, declarative use. Manhood--what it means, how it is claimed, and who can claim it--has long been a contested ideal, but never has its denial been so institutionally sanctioned as in the American South, where generations of African American men were casually denigrated with the epithet, "boy." "I Am a Man," then, emphatically refutes such denials, not with a question but with a clear declaration. Ironically, it was not at the United States Military Academy that Johnson Chesnut Whittaker felt empowered to make his declaration. It was at Buffalo, where he publicly overcame West Point's denial.

After Buffalo, Whittaker returned to his native state of South Carolina, becoming a teacher at the Avery Institute in Charleston. He began studying law and was admitted to the state's bar in 1885, practicing briefly in Sumter. In 1890 he married Page E. Harrison, and the couple had two sons, Johnson Whittaker, Jr. and Miller Whittaker. Both would serve as U. S. Army officers during World War I. Whittaker was unhappy at practicing law and returned to education after starting his family. He was the principal of Sumter's first black school, then from 1900 to 1908 served as a professor at South Carolina's Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural, and Mechanical College (now South Carolina State University in Orangeburg; his son, Miller, would become president of the college in 1932). In 1908, he took an opportunity to raise his sons outside the Jim Crow south and moved west to Oklahoma City, where he worked as a teacher and later as principal at Douglass High School. There, in the early 1920s, he mentored and served as role model for a young African American student whose father had died several years earlier--Ralph Ellison, whose *Invisible Man* is widely considered among the greatest English-language novels of the 20th century. Whittaker returned to South Carolina in 1925, dying at Orangeburg six years later. He never spoke again of West Point, burning all of his papers to keep his sons from growing up bitter. In his speech at Buffalo, he had declared that "With God as my guide, duty as my watchword, I can, I must, and I will win a place in life." There is no more fitting epitaph for this remarkable man.

Relevant sources:

Ellison, Ralph
1986 *Going to the Territory*. Random House, New York.

Editorial
1994 Seeking 'Fair Deal' for a Black Cadet. *New York Times* (January 31).
Editorial
1995 After a Century, A Black Cadet is Vindicated. *New York Times* (July 20).
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1878 *The Colored Cadet at West Point: Autobiography of Lieut. Henry Ossian Flipper, U. S. A., First Graduate of Color from the U. S. Military Academy*. Homer Lee & Co., New York.
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Marszalek, John
1971 A Black Cadet at West Point. *American Heritage Magazine* 22(5).
1994 *Assault at West Point: The Court-Martial of Johnson Whittaker*. Prentice-Hall, New York.

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[African Americana--West Point]: Johnson C. Whittaker: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER, SIGNED, FROM JOHNSON CHESNUT WHITTAKER, IN BUFFALO, TO U. S. DISTRICT ATTORNEY MARTIN I. TOWNSEND, REFERENCING HIS SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS IN BUFFALO AFTER HIS EXPULSION FROM WEST POINT]. Buffalo, New York, June 1882. [2] pp. on stationery of Bonney's Hotel, Corner of Washington and Carroll streets, Buffalo. Small sections clipped from two of four corners, not affecting text. Short tear on recto with old, unobtrusive tape repair; old folds, docketed in ink on verso, perhaps in Townsend's hand. About very good. In a protective cloth box with marbled boards and labels.

19. SOLD.

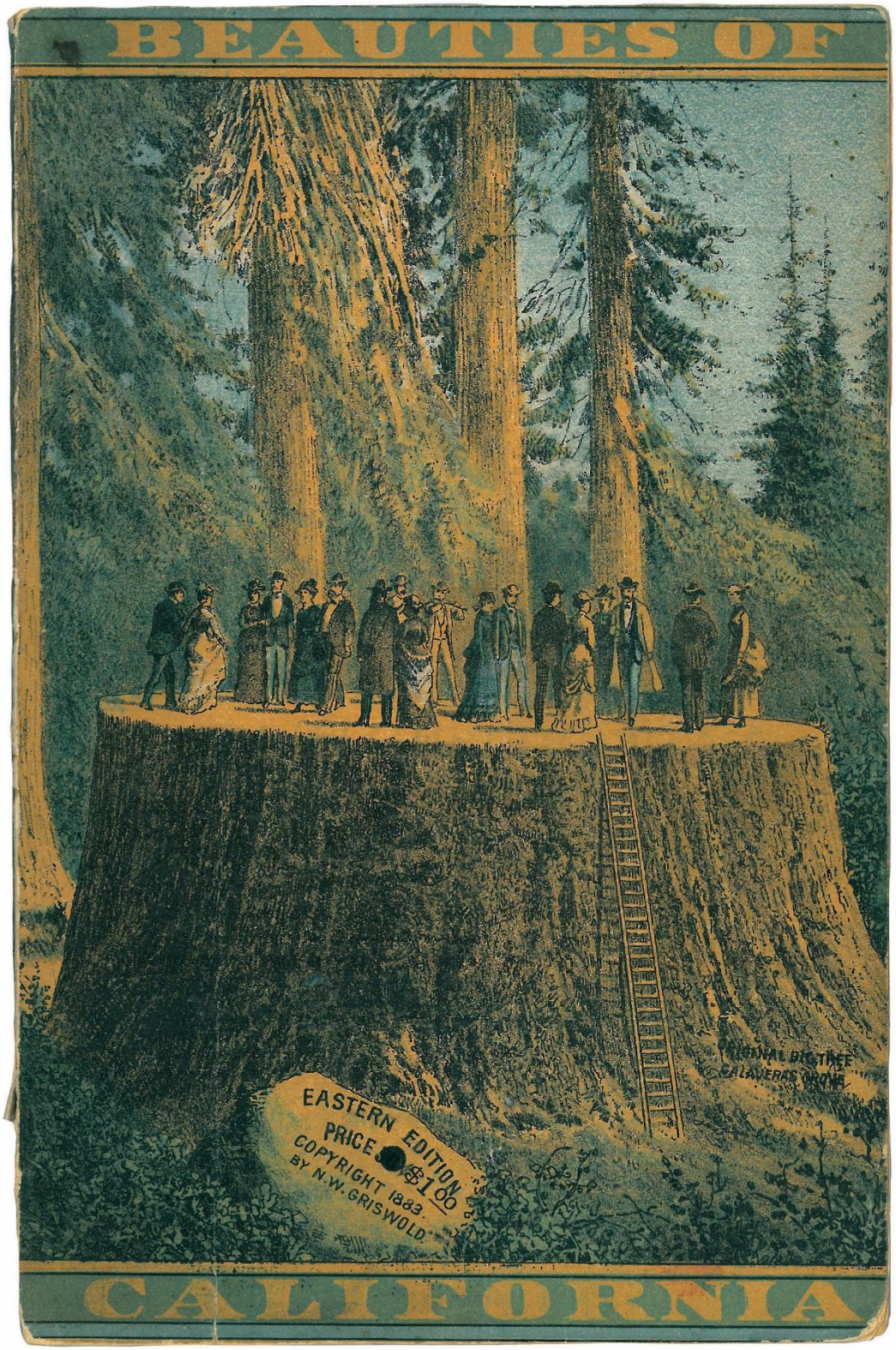
Norman W. Griswold Makes His Biggest Pitch: *Beauties of California*

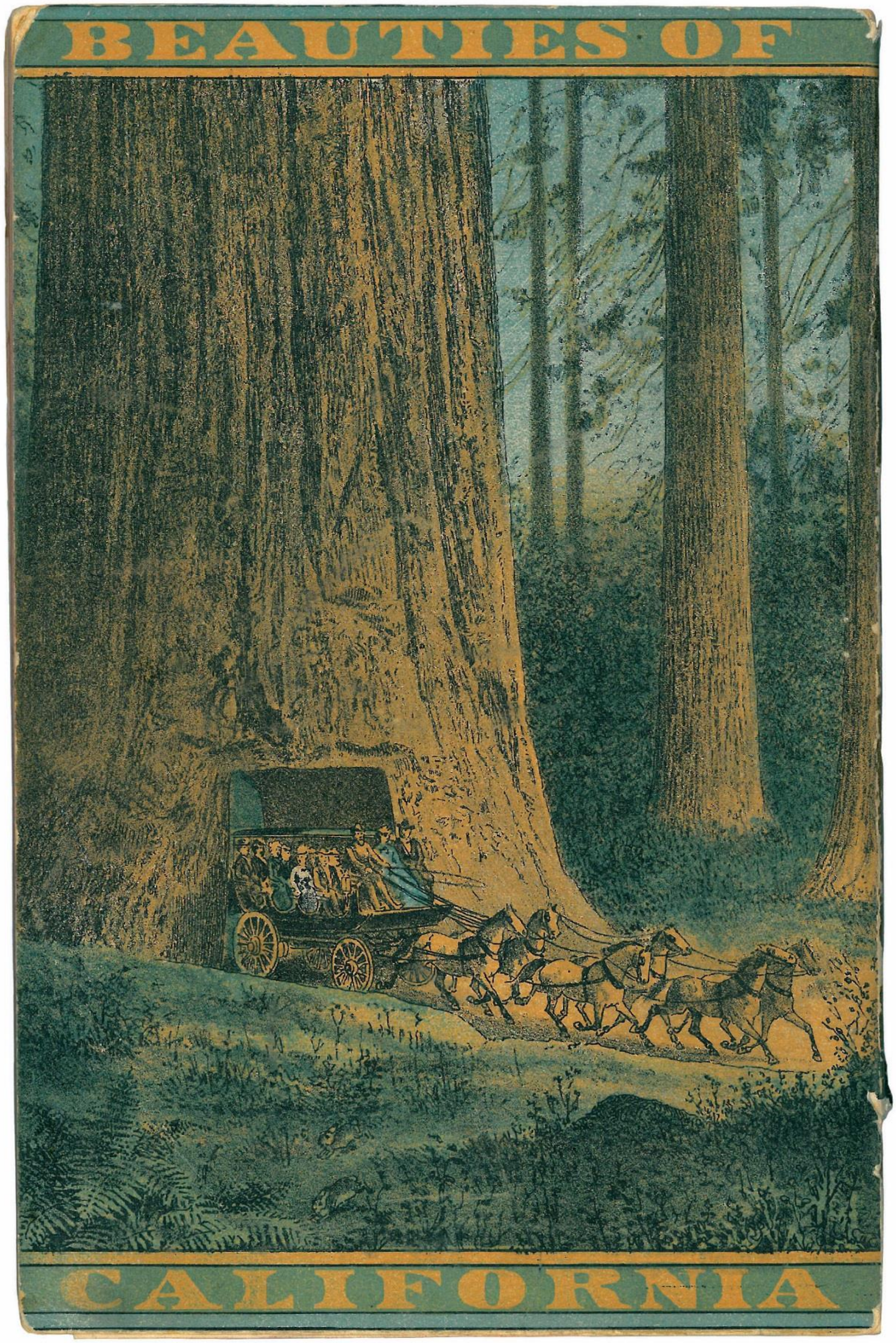
Perhaps it would be unfair, so many years after the fact, to label Norman W. Griswold a failure. If nothing else, he was a prolific and very enthusiastic salesman. In New Orleans in the 1870s, he sold groceries. Not just any groceries, notes the *Times-Picayune* of Sept. 14, 1872, but a "Revolution in 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 were used for both editions. The result was this colorful production. No less an authority on rare


BEAUTIES OF
EASTERN EDITION
PRICE $1.00
COPYRIGHT 1883.
BY N.W. GRISWOLD.
CALIFORNIA


BEAUTIES OF
CALIFORNIA

Californiana than Warren Howell observed 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 26 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. 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.

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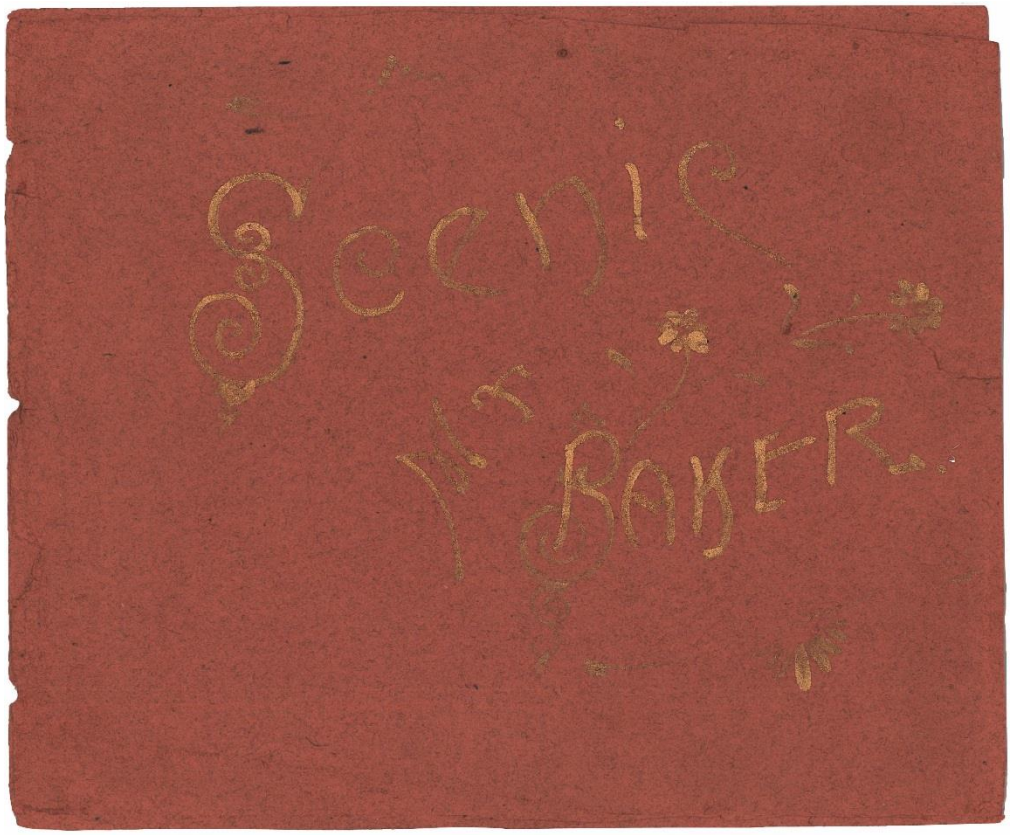
Griswold, Norman W. BEAUTIES OF CALIFORNIA. VIEWS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF YOSEMITE VALLEY, BIG TREES, GEYSERS, LAKE TAHOE, DONNER LAKE, SAN FRANCISCO, '49 & '83, LOS ANGELES, AND TOWNS, ORANGE GROVES AND VINEYARDS OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. H. S. Crocker & Co., Printers, Lithographers and Publishers, 1884. [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).

20. **$1250**.

The First Photo-Documented Ascent of Mt. Baker, Washington, 1891

Given the combination of its sizable population centers and its concentration of challenging summits, it is not surprising that the Pacific Northwest holds a central place in the development of American mountaineering. The region's topography is dominated by the imposing peaks of the Cascade Range, which runs from northern California through Oregon, Washington, and southern British Columbia. Mt. Rainier is the greatest of these, rising to a height of 14,411 feet (4392 m) above sea level. Two of the most storied climbing organizations in North America, the Mazamas of Portland and the Mountaineers of Seattle, originated here, and two of America's most illustrious international climbers, Jim Whittaker and Ed Viesturs, call Seattle home. Yet before the growth of those climbing clubs in the early 20th century--and the subsequent celebrity status accorded to a few, particularly adept climbers--most early efforts at scaling the Cascades unfolded with little fanfare and even less documentation. This collection of a dozen images records an 1891 ascent of Mt. Baker, Washington, led by Valentine Lowe of Billingham. **It was only the second successful summiting of Mt. Baker, the first recorded by camera, and the second photo-documented ascent of any peak in the Cascade Range.**



Mt. Baker, an active volcano known among the Lummi tribe of Puget Sound (Coast Salish) as Koma Kulshan, meaning broken or damaged, rises to a height of 10,781 feet (3286 m). It is the third highest peak in Washington State and ranks fifth among all Cascade volcanoes. Its summit was also the first in the Cascades to have been successfully reached. Edmund Coleman, an English

immigrant to Victoria and member of London's famed Alpine Club, made the ascent in 1868 after several failed attempts. Two years later, a pair of his climbing companions, Hazard Stevens and Philemon Van Trump, achieved the first documented ascent of Mt. Rainier. During the next two decades, there were several more ascents of Mt. Rainier, as well as first-time ascents of Mt. Shasta and Mt. Hood. In 1888, a party that included famed naturalist John Muir climbed Mt. Rainier with a Seattle-area photographer, Arthur Churchill Warner. His photographs of the climb--the first such documentation of a Cascades expedition--survive in a single known set of 15 images housed in the University of Washington's Special Collections; three additional prints from this set are housed in the John Muir papers at the University of the Pacific.

Despite this flurry of climbing activity, the next attempt at Mt. Baker would not come until 1884, when Valentine V. Lowe and L. L. Bales ascended Sherman Peak, a sub peak of Mt. Baker with an elevation of 10,160 ft. (3098 m), via the South Fork Nooksack River. Fred Beckley notes that they appear to have climbed Easton Glacier and come to within 150 yards of the true summit (Grant Peak) on June 19. Four years later, in late June 1891, Lowe and seven companions--his brother, Henry, Edward Whitstruck, Percival Parris, G. W. Smith, Tom Skatbo, Hobert Clark, and W. O. Amsden--undertook just the second ascent of Grant Peak.

Amsden, like Warner of Muir's party, was a photographer based in Seattle, a partner of Chester B. Walsworth at the Seattle Photo Company. Unlike Warner, though, Amsden was already an experienced climber and high altitude photographer, having joined four others on an ascent of Mt. Rainier in 1890. That climb had included the first woman to reach its summit, Fay Fuller, and Amsden is recorded as having taken along a "heavy, eight by ten view camera" (Haines 1962:115). Unfortunately, he broke the camera's ground-glass while putting on his pack after a rest. A piece of glass sufficiently large for focusing remained in the instrument, though, so he did obtain some impressive views of the valley below. Amsden took no photographs at Rainer's summit, as the altitude left him feeling unwell. Returning to Seattle, he prepared a series of Mt. Rainier views, of which the party's leader, Ernest C. Smith, later wrote: "Amsden's photographs have a historic interest. Without them, there would have been no illustrated lecture in Washington at the crucial time for the proposed park" (in Haines 1962:115). Smith's 1894 lecture before a committee of the National Geographic Society, illustrated with Amsden's lantern slides, had proved instrumental in obtaining Society support for making Mt. Rainier the nation's fifth national park, a designation it received in 1899. We find no evidence that any of these views have survived.

Valentine Lowe, leader of the 1891 Mt. Baker ascent, was born in New York in 1857 but had moved west to Whatcom County, Washington, by the mid-1880s, where he would work as an upholsterer and mattress maker for the next four decades. Of the other members of the party, we have learned even less: Whitstruck and Parris appear to have been laborers, Skatbo a painter. What drew them to attempt the climb is a mystery, as Valentine is the only one of their number who is known to have had any previous climbing experience. The group left Whatcom on June 27, and seven of them reached the summit of Grant Peak via Coleman Glacier just under a week later, on July 3. In an account he wrote for the *Whatcom Reveille* of July 8, Lowe reports that,

> As soon as we reached the highest point, our feelings gave vent to huzzas of victory. We dug a hole in the snow and put in two staffs tied together, with an American flag tied on. We wrote our names

> on a card and placed it in a cigar box which we tied to the staff. We discovered the real crater off to the east of the dome. It is half way between the summit and a peak 2000 feet away. Amsden and Clark took about a dozen views from the top of the mountain. These were the first pictures ever made with a camera on the top of Baker [in Webster and Bailey 1916:30].

Similarly, a short notice in the *Blaine* (Washington) *Journal* of July 1891, observes that:

> Monday, Geo. W. SMITH, of Fairhaven, was in Blaine with photographs of the recent ascent of Mt. Baker. The pictures are certainly convincing to anyone that the LOWE party made the trip as they claimed to have done. They were taken from every stage of the journey from the Nooksack river to the dome. The crater, the glacier, the various camps, etc., and the party was photographed after the trip showing their worn out condition. They deserve credit for their grit and endurance, and the reminiscences and pictures which they have secured will be of much interest to all viewers of the ragged old peak. Mr. SMITH says they feel repaid for their hardships.

The images that we offer here are those referenced by Lowe and in the *Blaine Journal* and document all stages of the ascent, from the densely wooded landscape near the base camp to the lower slopes of the mountain to the summit itself. Each is captioned in the negative with a general title, "Mt. Baker series," and a specific number and descriptive text as follows:

No. 101. Mountain From Camp Buher [?]
No. 103. Mountain From Timber-line
No. 104. Group on Summit, July 3, 1891 [**see catalogue covers**]
No. 105. Looking West From Summit
No. 106. "The Sisters" Taken from the summit of Baker
No. 107. The Crater 50 x 75 feet 1500 feet below summit
No. 108. Looking North From Summit
No. 109. Looking West From Base of Dome
No. 110. Snow-storm, Camp Buher July 5, 1891
No. 112. Mount Baker from Glacier Creek
No. 113. Mount Baker from North Fork Nooksack River
No. 117. Mountain from Glacier Creek

These large photographs from Amsden's Mt. Baker series are among the earliest images of mountaineering in the American West. They are also among the most accomplished, especially in comparison with A. C. Warner's better known views of Mt. Rainier. The details are sharp and vivid; the colors are rich and warm. And we are confident that the image of the climbers atop the mountain's summit--appropriated for the covers of this catalogue--must surely be ranked among the greatest American mountaineering photographs ever captured. We see the improvised flagstaff Lowe described, fashioned from two staffs tied together. We see the joyous face of each exhausted

climber. We can almost hear their exultant "huzzas of victory." Amsden left no record as to the number of sets he prepared, nor of the number of photographs included in each. **The group that we offer here, with its original paper cover, is among the only surviving sets; we are aware of at least one--and possibly a second--in private collections. Yet just a single image from the group (No. 108, Looking North From Summit) is reported in any institutional holdings, this a copy in the University of Washington's Special Collections**.

Primary source material related to early mountain climbing in the American West, much less a collection of images with such historical and aesthetic significance as this, is of the utmost rarity. **An important and long lost record from near the beginning of what Chris Jones has referred to as The Heroic Age in American mountaineering**.

Relevant sources:

Bragg, Lynn
2011 *More than Petticoats: Remarkable Washington Women*. Morris Publishing, Guilford, CT.
Haines, Aubrey L.
1999 [1962] *Mountain Fever: Historic Conquests of Rainier*. University of Washington Press, Seattle.
Isseman, Maurice
2017 *Continental Divide: A History of American Mountaineering*. W. W. Norton, New York.
Jones, Chris
1976 *Climbing in North America*. Published for the American Alpine Club by the University of California Press, Berkeley.
Metcalfe, Gertrude
1907 The Ascent of Mt. Baker. *Mazama: A Record of Mountaineering in the Pacific Northwest*, Mt. Baker Number 3(1):9-21. Published by the Mazamas, Portland, OR.
Webster, Mae, and Winona Bailey
1916 Early Explorations on Mt. Baker. *The Mountaineer* 9:26-31. Published by the Mountaineers, Seattle.

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[Washington State--Mountain Climbing]: [William O. Amsden]: [SET OF TWELVE ALBUMEN PHOTOGRAPHS DOCUMENTING THE ASCENT OF MT. BAKER, WHATCOM COUNTY, WASHINGTON, LED BY VALENTINE V. LOWE IN 1891]. [On and near Mt. Baker, Whatcom County, Washington, June and July 1891]. 12 albumen photographs, each measuring 9 x 6 3/4 in. (23 x 17 cm), original paper cover with manuscript gilt title, "Scenic Mt. Baker." Evidence of old glue remnants from early mounting on verso, moderate toning, summit photographs with some spotting in the negative. Overall very good.

21. SOLD.

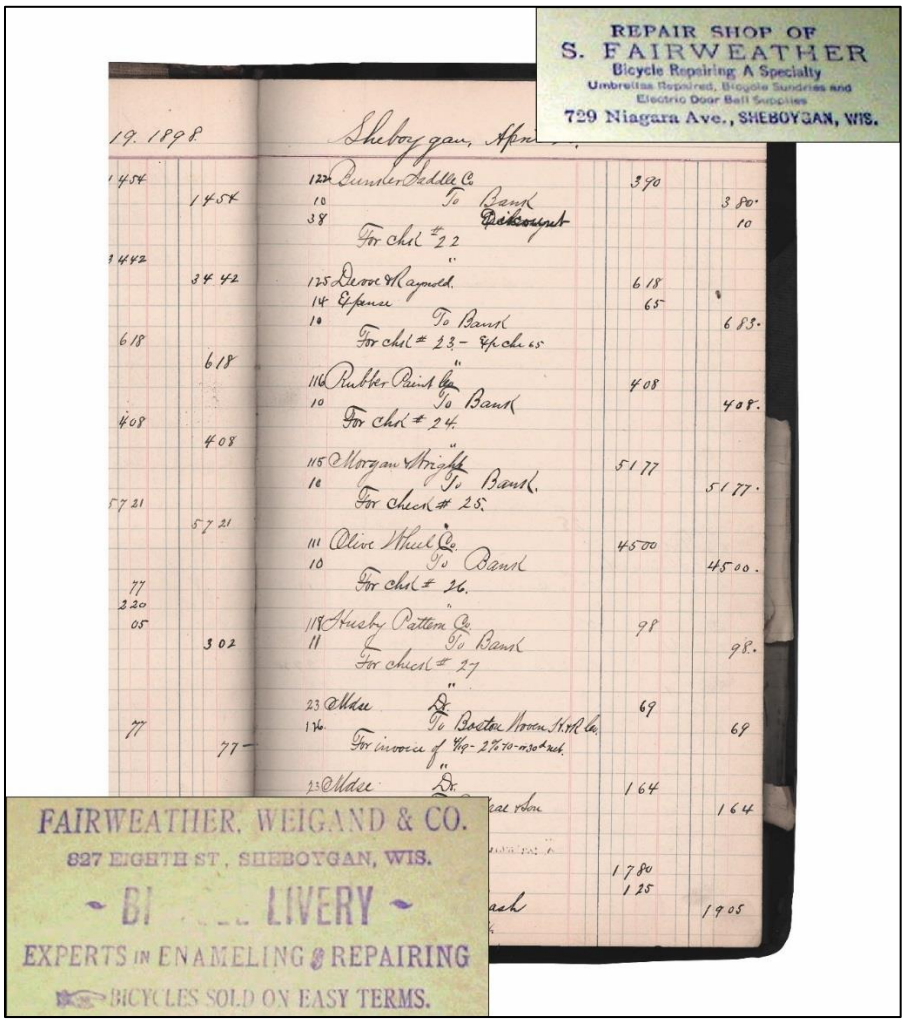
A Sheboyagan, Wisconsin Bicycle Livery After the 1890s Bike Boom

Between about 1885 and 1890, two developments unfolding almost simultaneously would transform the way we move, turning the dangerous and bone-rattling, high-wheel bicycles known at the time as "penny-farthings" into the bikes of today, the most popular vehicles of any kind in the modern world. First, Englishman John Kemp Starley--nephew of high-wheel innovator James Starley--produced the first rear-wheel-drive, chain-driven cycle with two wheels of about equal size. Earlier front-wheel-drive cycles had forced riders to choose between speed and safety: the lower the bike's front wheel, the slower (but safer) the bike; the higher the wheel, the faster (but more dangerous) the bike. Not surprisingly, the smaller, slower models sold poorly. The taller models, some with front wheels as large as five feet in diameter, were expensive but popular among wealthy young men. Women and older gentlemen favored tricycles.

Yet even as Starley's chain-driven cycle--first manufactured in 1885 and sold as the Rover Safety Bicycle--reduced the risks of falling at speed, it offered a much rougher ride, since the high wheels that had increased the velocity of earlier cycles also served as shock absorbers, providing riders a much-needed cushioning on rutted streets. Then, in 1887, Scotsman John Boyd Dunlop developed the first practical pneumatic or inflatable tire as a solution for the headaches his young son suffered after bicycle riding (the name "bone-shaker" was well earned). Starley's firm added the innovation to its Rover immediately. Before the end of the year, the Overman Wheel Company of Chicopee, Massachusetts, had introduced a safety bicycle to the American market. And with that, the 1890s bike boom was on.

In the United States, the banner years of the boom coincided with an economic depression that persisted from 1893 to 1896. Because the bicycle industry was one of the few sectors of the economy still growing during this prolonged downturn, hundreds of manufactures leapt headlong into bike production. The timing could not have been worse: the bicycle boom ended abruptly in 1897. David Herlihy, noting a "near total collapse of the American recreational market," observes that "No doubt a crisis of some sort was inevitable once the fad faded, prices plummeted, and the automobile emerged" (2004:296). Even the venerable Overman Wheel Company was unprepared for the end and had shut its doors entirely by the close of the 1897 season.

Yet as the market for new bicycles crashed, the demand for repairing, renting, leasing, and even boarding bicycles remained strong. To meet these continued needs, there was a proliferation of so-called "bicycle liveries" throughout the 1890s, based on the idea of the livery yard, a stable where horses, teams, and wagons were kept for hire. In November 1897, Samuel Fairweather and Paul Wiegand opened a bicycle livery and repair shop in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. Fairweather's brother, James, had operated a livery stable since the 1860s, and it is possible that Samuel worked there prior to entering the bicycle repair and livery business. **This ledger contains more than 160 pages of entries from the first two years of the bicycle shop and includes accounts for local customers (mainly rental and repair); for bicycle parts and accessories; and for dealings with national bicycle, sporting goods, and parts companies including Spaulding Bros., B. F. Goodrich, Hero Bicycle, and others**. Fairweather and Wiegand appear to have remained in the bicycle business until the former's death in 1909. The ledger itself offers a fascinating and detailed perspective on the bike business just after the greatest bicycle craze of all.



Relevant sources:
Herlihy, David V.
2004 *Bicycles: The History*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
Sheboygan County Historical Society
2002 *Sheboygan County: Pioneers of Commerce*. Arcadia Publishing, Chicago.
Smethurst, Paul
2015 *The Bicycle: Towards a Global History*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

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[Wisconsin--Bicycles]: [MANUSCRIPT LEDGER RECORDING BUSINESS ACCOUNTS OF THE FAIRWEATHER, WEIGAND & CO. BICYCLE LIVERY]. [Sheboygan, Wisconsin, 1897 and 1898]. 4to (xx cm). Approximately 160 pp. of entries in ink. Original cloth and 3/4 red morocco binding, gilt ruling, spine covering lost but binding tight. About very good.

22. **$450**.

Remember the Maine! Hawking Dry Goods in Myrtle Point, Oregon

We are often assailed by advertising that beats the drum of patriotism. Worse, there is all too rarely any honest effort to link the proffered goods with actual, patriotic values. **Few modern examples, though, can match the outright shamelessness of this colorful example from the southern Oregon coast**, printed in the summer months of 1898 as the United States was advancing its war with Spain over the suspicious sinking of an American battleship.

Early in the evening of February 15, 1898, a tremendous explosion ripped through the USS Maine, moored in Cuba's Havana Harbor to safeguard American interests in the midst of Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain. In a matter of minutes, the great battleship sank, and with her more than 250 of the 350 crew and officers on board. The American press immediately placed the blame on Spain, claiming on little substantive evidence that an external mine or torpedo had caused the tragedy. Congress conducted a cursory investigation over the rising din of "Remember the Maine! To Hell with Spain!" The Spanish government formally declared war first, on April 24, with the United States following suit the next day. It was all over in less than two months. By the time that Spain sued for peace in late July, American forces had taken the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam, while Cuba had won her independence (though as an American protectorate). A little-known Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Theodore Roosevelt of New York, had become a national hero and household name, his leadership of the "Rough Riders" in Puerto Rico launching him from the governor's mansion to the vice-presidency to White House in just three years. The Spanish-American War simultaneously ended Spain's long reign as a major colonial power and marked the birth of American imperialism.

Throughout the conflict abroad, American patriotism (or jingoism) was reaching its zenith back home. This outpouring, however, had less to do with pride in the war itself--which pitted the United States against a badly overmatched foe--than with healing the still-fresh wounds between North and South that persisted nearly four decades after the U. S. Civil War. Businesses added to the fervor, using the public's fascination with the war effort to hawk their various wares. One such was A. H. Black & Co. of Myrtle Point, Oregon, exhorting its customers to "Remember the Maine! But Don't Forget that the Best Place to Buy Dry Goods and Notions…is A. H. Black & Co." Black had operated a creamery in Myrtle Point before purchasing an imposing brick building on Spruce Street in 1895 and opening a mercantile store. That structure, built five years before Black bought it, is the oldest brick building still standing in Coos County and was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1990. This ephemeral advertisement from Black's establishment appears to have been a form of wrapping paper. On the verso is an inscription to that effect:

Al,
On coming home I find the folks are using
this kind of wrapping paper, isn't that all right,
for patriotism!
How does the prospect for peace strike you?
We just got the papers last night stating
that the protocol had been signed.
Bert.


REMEMBER THE MAINE!
BUT
DON'T FORGET
THAT THE BEST
PLACE TO BUY
DRY GOODS AND NOTIONS,
Boots and Shoes,
Clothing and Furnishing Goods,
HATS AND CAPS, ETC.
General Merchandise
IS AT
A. H. BLACK & CO.'S,
MYRTLE POINT, OREGON.
From the Kemper-Thomas Paper Co., Cincinnati, Ohio

We have no additional information on the identities of "Al" and "Bert," except that both seem to have been veterans of the conflict recently returned to the States. The protocol that Bert refers to was signed on August 12, likely establishing the time he sent this memento to Al.

A unique (and almost cheeky) homefront relic of the Spanish-American War.

Relevant sources:

Dodge, Orville
1898 *Pioneer History of Coos and Curry Counties, Or: Heroic Deeds and Thrilling Adventures of the Early Settlers*. Capitol Printing Co., Salem, OR.

Marolda, Edward J., editor
2001 *Theodore Roosevelt, the U.S. Navy and the Spanish-American War*. Palgrave, New York.

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[Oregon--Spanish American War]: [A. H. Black & Co]: REMEMBER THE MAINE! / BUT / DON'T FORGET / THAT THE BEST / PLACE TO BUY / DRY GOODS AND NOTIONS… / IS AT / A. H. BLACK & CO.'S / MYRTLE POINT, OREGON [caption title]. Kemper-Thomas Paper Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, n.d., but probably mid-1898. Broadside or wrapping paper, vignette American eagle and flags with blue and red vertical stripes. 11 3/4 by 13 in. (30 x 33 cm). Old fold lines, old stain obscuring first two letters in "Maine!" Ink note on verso, very good.

23. **$400**.

The Rare First Edition of Minnie Buce Carrigan's Captivity Narrative

In the summer of 1862, the Dakotas were starving. They had signed the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the Treaty of Mendota a decade before, and had since been confined to a 20-mile wide reservation that extended 70 miles along the upper Minnesota River. After Minnesota gained statehood in 1858, they lost the northern half of their reservation and, worse perhaps, lost rights to the sacred quarry at Pipestone, a place that had been essential to the Dakotas' identity as a people for many centuries before the arrival of Europeans. Emigrants to the new state plotted out lands that were promised to the Dakotas. Farming and logging soon upended a landscape that had long supported their annual rounds of hunting, fishing, farming, and gathering wild rice. Then, when their crops failed, the federal government--distracted by a Civil War--failed to make payments that were part of their treaty obligations. And government traders at the Upper Sioux Agency refused to give the Dakotas food on credit. As the aptly named lead trader, Andrew Jackson Myrick, is reputed to have said, "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry let them eat grass or their own dung" (Schultz 1992:28). For Myrick and many of the new emigrants to Minnesota, there would be hell to pay for such cruelty.


The Author.

Gottfried and Wilhelmina Buce (sometimes spelled Buse or Busse) came to the United States from Germany in 1858, settling first in Fox Lake, Wisconsin, with their children, August, Minnie, and Augusta. In the spring of 1860, they joined five families from Fox Lake and moved farther west, to Cannon Falls, Minnesota, where a third daughter, Caroline, was born. After only a few weeks they moved west once more, to a German settlement on Middle Creek, near Flora Township in Renville County, just over the Minnesota River from the Lower Sioux Agency. Gottfried placed a claim on a parcel of improved land and moved his family into an old house that their neighbors helped them to repair. There were nine families at Middle Creek settlement that first winter, then 20 more arrived in early 1861. Minnie, writing years later in her narrative of subsequent events, notes that "In the spring of 1862 so many people came into the country that we did not know half of our neighbors" (1903:9). Most would lay in unmarked graves before autumn.

On August 17, the federal government's treaty payment arrived at Fort Ridgely near the Dakotas' reservation. It was already too late. That morning, four young Dakota men hunting near Acton Township--about 50 miles northeast of Flora--took eggs from a farm and then killed five white settlers. It was dark before the warriors slipped back to the reservation. Their chief, Red Middle Voice, listed to their account and concluded that war against the settlers might be preferable

CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS

Reminiscences of Pioneer Life

In Minnesota

By Minnie Bruce Carrigan.

to facing the consequences of the Acton killings passively. He and his men traveled downstream to seek the support of Little Crow (Taoyateduta). Reluctantly, the great Sioux chief agreed to lead his people into a conflict he knew they could not win. At an impromptu meeting of war and peace chiefs in Little Crow's house, he told the assembly that the whites were like locusts, and that to kill one or a hundred meant nothing. The peace chiefs thought that in making the case against war he was rejecting the cause of bloodshed. Yet Little Crow turned to the war chiefs, and over the din of the warriors gathering outside, is reported to have said "Taoyateduta is not a coward. He will die with you" (Schultz 1992:28). There was no turning back.

The Dakotas' first assault was against the despised Lower Sioux Agency, only two miles away and caught entirely by surprise. Myrick, who days earlier had suggested that hungry Dakota eat grass or dung, attempted to escape through a second floor window in his store but was cut down before reaching cover. He was shot, filled like a pincushion with arrows, and scalped; his mouth was stuffed with grass. After sacking and burning the agency, Little Crow and his men defeated Minnesota militia and volunteer infantry forces at the Battle of Redwood Ferry. Then they swept through the valley of the Minnesota River, the settlers of Flora and other small emigrant townships as unaware and ill-prepared as the government's men at the agency.

For Minnie Buce and her family, "That dreadful Monday," began like so many others late in the summer season" (Carrigan 1903:11). While her father was putting up hay about a mile from the house, her brother, August, climbed up to the roof to keep watch on their cows roaming at large on the prairie. He came down and told his mother that he had heard shooting and screams from the home of their neighbors, the Rosler family. Wilhelmina suspected that the noise was nothing more than games--the Indians shooting at targets, perhaps--and sent August over to borrow some sewing needles. He returned a few minutes later, reporting that the Roslers were all asleep on the floor with blood on their heads. Wilhelmina understood. As Minnie recalled: "O, my God,' she exclaimed, "the Indians have killed them. We must fly for our lives--You children stay here and I will go and call father" (1903:13). But the children refused to remain in the house. Wilhelmina told the two oldest, August and Minnie, to take their four younger siblings to the corn field, where they were to hide and wait for her and Gottfried. By the time they reached the corn, a group of Dakotas had begun sacking their home. The children were safe, though, and they quickly found their parents at the south side of the field.

Minnie believed that they could all have remained hidden, at least for a time, but Gottfried panicked: "father taking the baby..started out on the open prairie. Mother took Caroline from me and tried to stop father, but it was useless. The terrible circumstances must have unbalanced his mind, naturally being nervous" (1903:13). In moments the Dakotas were upon them. Gottfried and the baby, Bertha, were shot and killed, followed by Wilhelmina and Caroline. Minnie, frozen in shock at first--broke away and ran wildly; "next thing I remember was an Indian holding me in his arms, looking at my face. I screamed and he put me down" (1903:14). Two siblings, August and Amelia, were taken captive with Minnie. They were led away, and "As we turned the corner of the woods I took the last look at our home. I have never seen it since, neither do I care to see it again, although it is not many miles from our present home" (1903:15).

Of the estimated 1200 settlers in Renville County in 1862, more than 160 lost their lives in those 48 hours of August 17 and 18. More than 50 residents of Milford Township in neighboring

Brown County were also killed, nearly wiping out the community. Another 200 settlers, mainly women and children like the three surviving Buce siblings, were taken hostage. Over the course of the next month, at least 500--and perhaps as many as 800--white settlers died, along with about 100 soldiers. Refugees numbered in the thousands. Little Crow, though, was not mistaken in his assessment of the conflict and its consequences for his people. After meeting almost no resistance early in their offensive, hundreds of Dakota warriors were repulsed at the battles of New Ulm and Fort Ridgley between August 20 and 23. Despite minor victories in the weeks that followed, their failure to win either engagement cost them their only chance of winning the war.

On September 23, the Dakotas fought the seasoned troops of the 3rd Minnesota--under the command of Colonel Henry Hasting Sibley--at the Battle of Wood Lake. Their defeat was the end of Little Crow's coalition. His men returned to their camps, gathered up their families, and melted away. Dakota casualties during the war can never be accurately measured, but those who died in combat and in the reprisals to come numbered well into the hundreds. Sibley captured more than 400 Dakotas believed to have taken part in the war, and of these 303 were sentenced to death. On December 6, President Abraham Lincoln commuted the sentences of all but 38 to prison, angering white Minnesotans. And on Friday, December 26, those 38 were hung from a single gallows built for that purpose alone. It remains the largest mass execution in American history. Little Crow himself was not among those who hung that day. He had escaped to Canada with his family after Wood Lake, but was shot down a year later during an ill-advised return to the Minnesota Valley for stealing horses. He was picking raspberries with his son when he fell.

A Dakotas' peace faction had taken charge of all white hostages during the final days of the war, and these they turned over to Col. Sibley on September 26. Among the 269 captives were Minnie, August, and Amelia Buce. All three children were adopted by a family in Hutchinson. In 1879, Minnie married Owen Carrigan, with whom she raised five children of her own. It was not until 40 years after the pain of that summer that she put her memories into print. **Buce Carrigan's narrative was among the last primary accounts of the 1862 Dakota War, and it has long been recognized as one of the best**. It first appeared in serial form during the month of January 1903 in the *Buffalo Lake* (MN) *News*. Demand for copies of the newspaper prompted Carrigan to release her account in separate form that same year. **The copy offered here, with no date or imprint, is this first, privately printed edition of 1903. OCLC reports but six institutional holdings**: the Lilly Library at Indiana; the Clyde C. Walton Collection at Wayne State University; the Herman P. Chilson Collection at the University of South Dakota; Georgetown University, the Minnesota Historical Society; and the North Dakota Historical Society. **Per RBH, no copy has appeared at auction or for sale since 1920**. Although lacking an imprint, its crude and rudimentary quality suggests a local print job, perhaps at the *Buffalo Lake News* itself. A 1907 edition was published by the Forest City (SD) Press. **Howes, unaware of the 1903 separate, mistakenly identifies this Forest City edition as the firs**t **(C171)**. This is also a scarce imprint, with only nine copies listed on OCLC; a fair-only copy brought $1375 at Heritage Auctions in 2016. A 1912 edition, the last published during Carrigan's lifetime, is comparatively common.

Captured by the Indians is among the last published examples of the captivity narrative, a distinctly American literary genre that stretches back to the 17th century. Carrigan's style is plain and straight-forward, "without…polish or embellishment," as she puts it herself in the Preface to her small book. Yet the pathos she captures at its conclusion is profound in its simplicity:

> There are only three places that I would like to see again. One is the large flat lime rock on the bank of the Minnesota river where my brother and I used to go fishing. Years have passed and many a person has claimed my white rock since. The Indians that used to pass us in their canoes so silently they seemed like ghosts, you could hardly hear the dip of their oars, have long since fled from the bank of the river, and could not frighten now. The second place is the spring near my father's place where my playmates and I used to pick the yellow lady slipper. The third is the creek near our house where the lovely white cherry blossoms were so thick that they looked like a white sheet. Little Pauline and Minnie Kitzmann, my sister Augusta and I brought our aprons full home to make garlands out of them. Years after when I used to see the white cherry blossoms I used to wish that I could go back and cover the graves of my little friends with the flowers they loved so well [1903:xx-xx].

Relevant sources:

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1988 *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1863*. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

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1982 *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800-1915*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Schultz, Duane
1992 *Over The Earth I Come: The Great Sioux Uprising Of 1862*. St. Martin's Press, New York.

Varley, Molly K.
2014 *Americans Recaptured: Progressive Era Memory of Frontier Captivity*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Zeban, Carrie Reber
2012 Historical Introduction. In *A Thrilling Narrative of Indian Captivity: Dispatches from the Dakota War*, by Mary Butler Renville, edited by Carrie Reber Zeban and Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, pp. 1-112. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

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Carrigan, Minnie Bruce [sic, Buce]. CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS: REMINISCENCES OF FRONTIER LIFE IN MINNESOTA. N.p., n.d., but likely Buffalo Lake, Minnesota, 1903. First edition. 29 [3] pp., illus. Small 8vo (23 cm). Original yellow wraps, illustrated; some edge wear and chipping to wraps and spine, old dampstain along the top and bottom edges of front wrap, not affecting contents; contents lightly toned. Overall a good to very good copy of a fragile, extremely rare imprint. This edition not referenced in Howes (citing the 1907 ed.), Ayer supplement (citing the 1912 ed.), or Vaughn (citing the 1907 ed.).

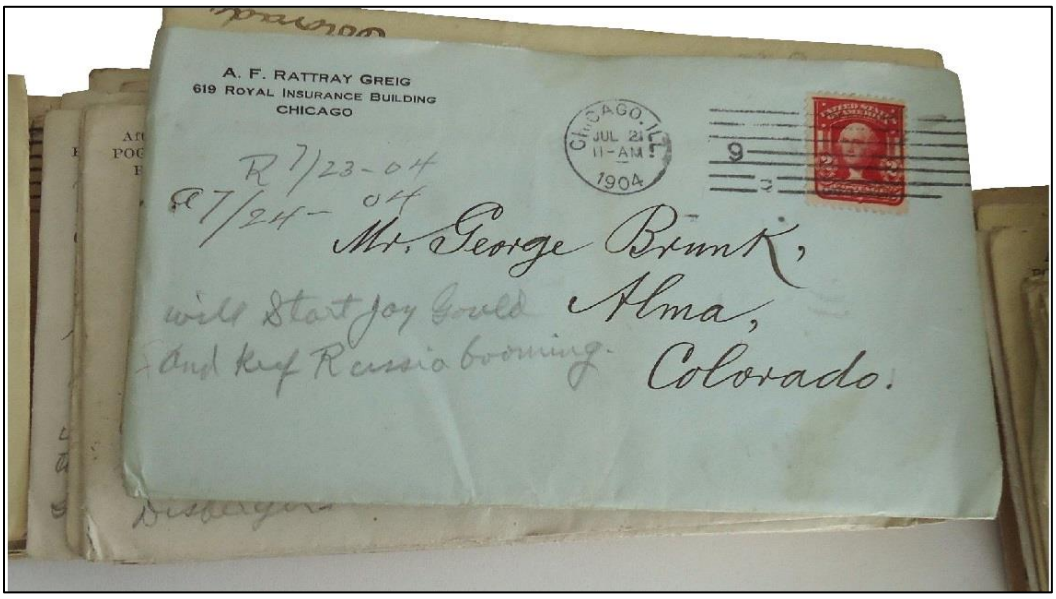
24. SOLD.

The Highest Mines in North America: An Alma, Colorado, Archive

The town of Alma--located in Park County, Colorado, at an elevation of 10,578 feet--is the highest incorporated community in North America. Rising over Alma is the Mosquito Range of the Rocky Mountains, with five peaks soaring over 14,000 feet. The slopes of these, particularly Mount Lincoln and Mount Bross, are honeycombed today with hundreds of abandoned shafts and tunnels, the derelict remains of the highest mines ever worked on the continent.

During Colorado's silver boom, until the collapse of the silver market in 1893, the lodes of Park County produced enormous quantities of high grade ore despite the difficulties of mining at such altitudes. After the depression of '93, many claim owners lost everything, and many of the mines shut down for good. Yet increased mechanization and improved milling techniques revived gold and silver mining across Colorado less than a decade later. In Park County, new investments poured into some of the more lucrative old lodes. Among these was the Russia Mine, located near the summit of Mount Lincoln about four miles north of Alma. **This archive of more than 200 letters, nearly all in original covers and dating from 1903 to 1906, consists of correspondence from the Russia Mine's owner, Americus L. Pogue, to his general manager in Alma, fellow Park County mining pioneer George W. Brunk**. This is among the largest archives of original Colorado mining correspondence ever offered at auction or in the trade.

Alma, incorporated in 1873 and named after the grocery store owner's daughter, grew out of a sprawling camp that surrounded smelter operations up Buckskin Gulch. Prospectors had first discovered gold in the mountains surrounding Alma about 1861, during the time of the Pike's Peak gold rush. Just as that furor was ending, Daniel "Captain" Plummer and Joseph Myers made the region's first silver strike at the Dwight lode--located high on Mount Bross--in 1869. Then they made an even better strike at the Moose lode in 1871. As Frank Fossett writes, "Other discoveries followed, and a stampede ensued from all quarters, succeeded by a grand rush in the spring and summer of 1872" (1876:415). Among the fortunate few who legitimately struck it rich during that ensuing stampede was the recipient of these letters, George W. Brunk.



Brunk was born in New York and moved to Colorado in 1860 at the age of 21. He was working as a miner and teamster in the Central City area when he learned of the Moose strike on Mount Bross, then immediately moved his family to Park County. There, he teamed with Assyria "Cy" Hall, who had been living and prospecting in the Buckskin area since 1860 and already had stakes in several productive gold and silver lodes. Hall had been elected sheriff of Park County in 1870, and may still have been serving in that role when he and Brunk began prospecting Mount Bross themselves in July 1871. In the fall of the next year, they made their big find, discovering a massive strike near the Moose lode that they named the Dolly Varden, after a popular character in Charles Dickens's novel, *Barnaby Rudge*. The two would go on to make additional discoveries in the region, separately and together, but it was Dolly Varden that made them rich and that stood at the heart of the Hall and Brunk Silver Mining Company.

Americus L. Pogue, who wrote the great majority of these letters to Brunk, never appears to have lived in Colorado or to have prospected himself. Instead, Pogue--born in 1828 in western Pennsylvania--made a fortune in Illinois and Indiana through retail merchandizing, groceries, and hardware. By the late 1870s, he owned stakes in four mines near Alma, including the Russia. We do not know who discovered the Russia lode, nor do we know when it was first opened, but Pogue established The Russia Silver Mining Company on December 4, 1876, with offices in Alma and Chicago; Pogue himself was President of the corporation. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the output of the Russia Mine made it the third most productive in the district, just behind the Moose and the Dolly Varden. In those peak years of Colorado's silver boom, Pogue and Brunk enjoyed great success as mine owners and operators in the high county. Both, though, seemingly suffered large losses in the crash of '93. Production at the Dolly Varden had already begun to slow a few years before, and the Russia lay idle for nearly a decade. By 1898, according to that year's issue of the *Colorado State Mining Directory*, Pogue and Brunk had joined together to launch new work at the Russia Mine, with Pogue listed as owner and Brunk as manager. Yet it was not until four years later that any of this announced activity actually began. *The Engineering and Mining Journal* of September 6, 1902, reports that:

> *Russia*.--Work has recently been commenced on this old property, situated on Mount Lincoln. Several men are at present at work in erecting a new cabin and getting ready to start a new tunnel. No work has been done on the property for a number of years, and the old buildings have gone to ruin. The new tunnel is aimed to prospect the contact between lime and quartzite. A large amount of silver ore was shipped from this property in an early day and was found in lime near the porphyry contact. The property is situated at a height of nearly 14,000 ft. above the level of the sea and is owned by Mr. A. L. Pogue. Mr. G. W. Brunk, of Alma, has charge of the work. It is the intention of the owners to give a contract for the tunnel as soon as it can be put in shape to work [1902:321].

This is the point that our archive begins. Excepting single letters from 1901 and 1907, this correspondence from Pogue (and occasionally from his accountants and his son, Charles) to Brunk consists of 220 letters that date between January 1903 and September 1906, several weeks before Pogue's death in October. All are addressed to Brunk in Alma; Pogue himself writes from several different places, including Richmond, Indiana (his home), Chicago, and Denver. All save one retain their original covers, which Brunk has annotated with brief descriptive notes about their contents. Nearly all of the letters concern business and operations at the Russia Mine, but many also report workings at the Jay Gould group, located on the other side of the Mosquito Range near Leadville. In total, there are 81 letters for 1903, 32 for 1904, 85 for 1905, and 20 for 1906, as well as the noted single examples for 1901 and 1907.

In January 1903, Brunk was managing the reopening of the Russia Mine while keeping an eye on operations at the Jay Gould. Pogue writes expectantly about the work and his high hopes for success [all spelling and punctuation verbatim]:

> *Richmond, Ind. Jan. 8th, 1903*
> Yours of the 5th received enquiring about about the T rail & splices spikes &c I telegraphed to Denver and this morning I received the shiping bill showing they had shiped on the 3rd I hope you have received it ere this.…after you get the car steel and suplys up I think you had better take Little Phils advice go back in and sit down by the fire…
>
> *Richmond, Ind. Jan. 19th, 1903*
> Yours of the 17th just received I was real glad to hear from you also glad to hear that the steel that you orderd had arrived at Alma and gone up the Hill which I hope arrived safe at the tunell….Thought in 1875 I noticed what you said about laying the tunnel that is all right what you say goes as you are runing that mater I would be awful glad to hear that you have got the tunell cleaned out and track laid and that you have struck a good body of ore in the brest of the tunell But this we must wait for…
>
> *Richmond, Ind. Jan. 27th, 1903*
> Yours of 24th after your talk with Mr. Berg [manager of Jay Gould] about Jay Gould tunell received…. Now I here with enclose you Mr Bergs letter and bills from Mr

> Monyhan These you can hold until the check comes to you to pay them you need not let him know about me sending his letter to you I had writen him that I wanted you to go up and look it over can you you tell about whare they comence on the 100 feet I think he is jelous of you…

After an especially brutal winter that seems to have slowed the labor of reopening the mine and getting necessary supplies to the top of Mount Lincoln (on January 30, Pogue had admonished Brunk that "I was hardley expecting to hear from you being up to the Russia….I am always glad to hear from you but I do not want you to expose yourself to much this kind of weather going up the mountain"), Pogue was becoming restless by April:

> *Richmond, Ind. April 27th, 1903*
> I have been anxiously expecting letter from you as I have been doing a lot of figuering on the last plat you sent me now I have been waiting to hear from you now I think our best plan is to drive our main tunell straight through the porhy before we make an change you said in your of the 18th that you could get the tunell run at 8.00 per foot and may be less I think this is our cheapest way to open the mine….I think we want two more 50 foot tunell before we comence days work but this we can change as we think best I want to get opened soon as we can so as to be able to put on a fair force of men when the proper time comes Say by the first or middle of June

June came, and the pace of work picked up with it. Brunk was managing three teams driving three different tunnels, one main 100-foot shaft and two long cross-cutting tunnels alongside it. Yet for all the stone-busting, there was little precious metal. Pogue suspected they were driving in at the wrong angle, writing on June 4 that "I have been greatly in hopes we would strike a good body of ore befor this I am inclined to think you are below the ore now I am comeing out soon as the weather get so that I can stand it." Pogue appears to have visited Alma in July, and writes in letters just after his return to Indiana that he was satisfied Brunk was doing all he could, but by September Pogue was all but finished with the effort:

> *Richmond, Ind. Sept. 8th, 1903*
> As I wrote you in answer to yours of Sep 2d to close down the mine unless you could put on one man to work with Mr. Durand and make the mine pay all exspenses now we have been working over 14 months and have produced nothing I am out of money to pay any further exspence and I feel that hole up throw the top of the mine has about ruined the mine or the prospect for a mine And I do not feel like taken in my friend whare it would be sinking their money now if you want to lease the mine make me a fair offer But do not put on any more men until we can see our way to pay them

Brunk was more optimistic, and by later that fall Pogue seems to have agreed that the mine still had potential, writing on October 10 that "You say you don't want to give up the ship just yet neither do I and I feel sure if we manage as we should we will make a good big mine…" Pogue and Brunk both began to put effort into finding additional investors, and Pogue was even willing to sell the property under the condition that Brunk be retained as its manager:

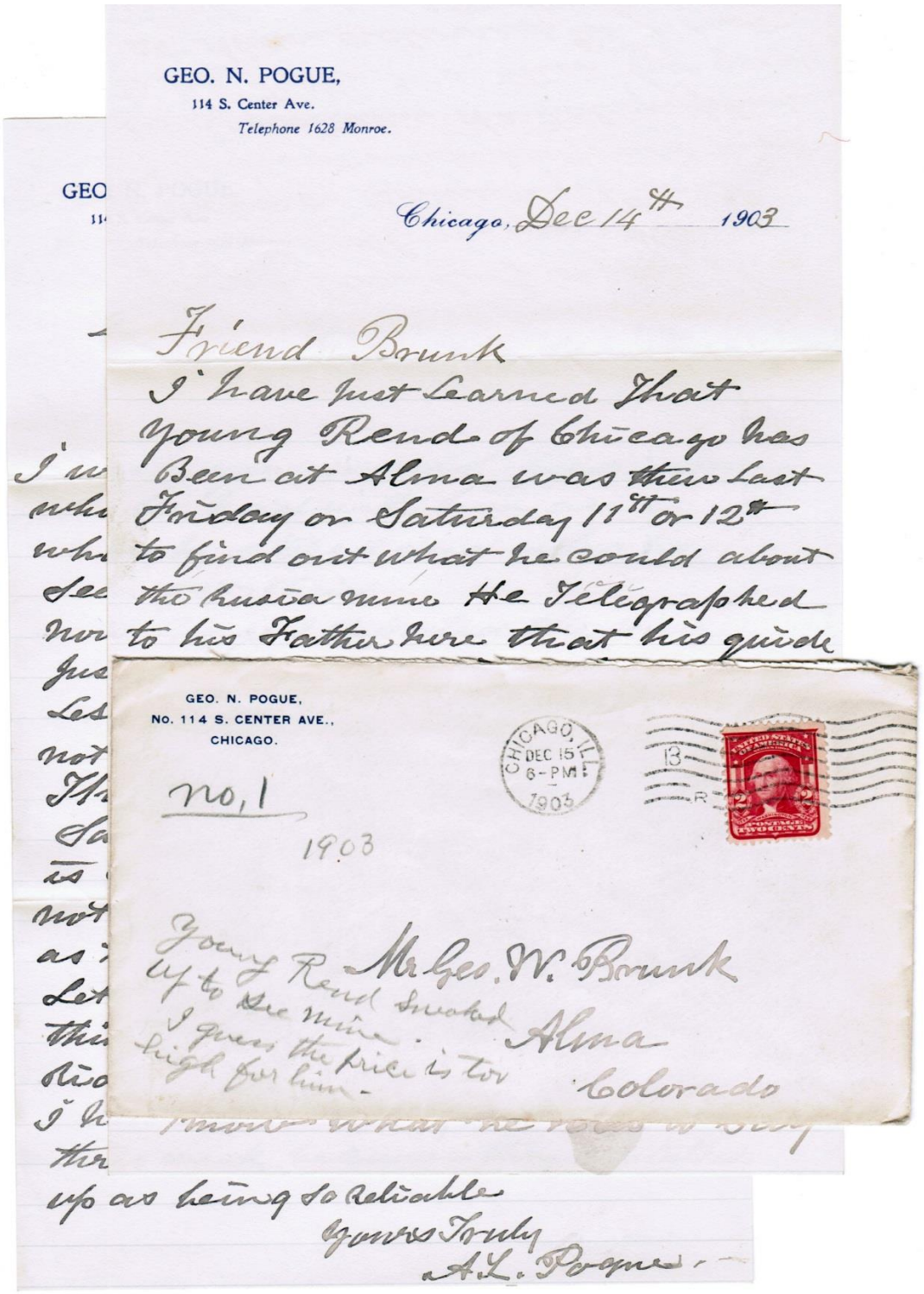
> *Richmond, Ind. Oct. 15th, 1903*
> I am as strong in the faith as you can be that we will have a good big mine if we can keep on working it You say there is good parties comeing over from Leadvill all the time that you might be able to make a deal with if you only knew what to do now I have told you my price was $200,000 that I was asking but may take less I have asked you several times what you thought we ought to get…

No small part of the problem was the fact that Pogue--thinking himself to be in worrisome financial circumstances after the failed sale of a large farm estate in Kansas--would commit no more money to the mine, regardless of how he described its potential. On October 25 he writes that "If I was able with my own money I would put on about four or five good men as I feel more than ever the Big Mine in that country was sent up in the great up heavell of Mount Lincoln near where we are working and that we will find it soon as we are able to push on the work…"

In late November, he writes to Brunk from the exclusive Palmer House Hotel in Chicago that he was meeting potential investors there who would commit to putting several additional men on the mine under Brunk's continued management, closing the letter with "answer quick." Brunk seems not to have responded quickly enough, for Pogue writes testily on December 1 that he had not received any answer. Things had become urgent: "I have a vary wealthy man and his son [later revealed to be coal baron William Patrick Rend and his son, Joseph] who will purchas the Russia Mine including our claims below if we can show the mine up in fair shape….They are mining men and believe in the Russia Mine…" He writes the next day of his concern that their new workings on the Russia would not be of sufficient scope for the Chicago men, who had "wanted a good large developed mine…" Brunk would need to put on a good show when the Rends came to Alma later that month; Pogue suggests that he seek help from his old partner, "Sy [sic] Hall."

Brunk began taking steps to prepare the mine for the expected visit, hiring additional men and exploring whether to clear the ice from the old diggings in time for the Rends' arrival--this an expensive proposition that Pogue wanted to delay until he knew more details about the seriousness of his potential buyers. But then, in a series of three letters postmarked December 15, 15, and 16 (the covers of which Brunk has labeled No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3), Pogue relays a development that shocks them both: the younger Rend had sneaked to Alma and up Mount Lincoln to see the Russia Mine for himself without the knowledge of either its owner or its manager.

> *Chicago, Dec. 14, 1903*
> I have just learned that young Rend of Chicago has been at Alma was there last Friday or Saturday 11th or 12th to find out what he could about the Russia Mine He telegraphed his Father here that his guide at Alma advised him not to attempt up to the Russia on account of the storm he claims he was come home and stoped of at Denver and concluded to go up to Alma and see the mine I think he sneaked up their to see what he could learn….I wish you would find out who he had with him and whare he stoped and who he seen out their
>
> *Chicago, Dec. 15, 1903*
> I think you have done just right I have not time to answer you fully But will say every way you have laid it out all right whether we make the deal or not I wrote



GEO. N. POGUE,
114 S. Center Ave.
Telephone 1628 Monroe.

Chicago, Dec 14th 1903

Friend Brunk
I have just Learned that young Rend of Chicago has Been at Alma was there Last Friday or Saturday 11th or 12th to find out what he could about the hussa mine He Telegraphed to his Father here that his guide

GEO. N. POGUE,
No. 114 S. CENTER AVE.,
CHICAGO.

CHICAGO, ILL. DEC 15 6-PM 1903

No, 1
1903

Young Rend Mr Geo. W. Brunk
up to see mine. Alma
I guess the price is too
high for him. Colorado

up as being so reliable
Yours Truly
A.L. Pogue.

> you a letter and mailed it about 2 hours ago as I was out of Patients with these people and had about made up my mind to drop this….I will do my best you have done your part well
>
> *Chicago, Dec. 16, 1903*
> Your two letters of dated 12th in which you spoke of Rend being their You say you gave him a good conservative statement of the mine Here is what I gave them 4 Patented claims 2 New claims taken up last year New House 14 by 60 which includes one house Blacksmith shop & tools about 400 feet of New tunell laid with steel T rails New steel car…
>
> …I told them there was nothing to be gained by going into the old workings That I had no dout but what their was any amount of good ore in the Teritory as it now stood it needed developing to make a good mine I did not do any big talkin I tried to talk them down If Rend went on the Mount [in] the kind of weather you are having he is dead in the shell…

By the end of the year, it was obvious that the younger Rend's report to his father on the state of the Russia Mine operation had scuttled any hopes of a deal. Pogue was angry and bitter:

> *Richmond, Ind., Dec. 28, 1903*
> As to Rand his Father was the man I did the talking with and the old man made a rather favorable opinion on me and so did the young man for the reason he kept his mouth shut But I must confess I was taken in After reading your letter I have come to the conclusion that they ought kept him in the Keeley Cure [then a popular treatment for addiction] I think Mr after a man proves himself a morfean fiend and goes through Keeley cure there is no man left in him that he is uterly unreliable and unfit for any kind of business Your letter describes the situation when he got in to the hands of the mob out their he was uterly lost the worst thing about it was for you to make the trip up their with the little dude But you did what you thought best But the way he sneaked around and went to Alma was enough for me I am glad you and Cy [Hall] are haveing such good luck on the Dolley [Dolly Varden] and I do hope we will have on the Russian when we get started up again I now have some money comeing to me about the middle of February Rend I supose he felt he would get right at the botom of the mineing business by going to every body that would talk mine to him I dont want any more of him…

Pogue's finances did improve over the following months, and so he continued to work the Russia lode with Brunk--writing almost continuously--until his death in October 1906 at the age of 78. These excerpts from 1903, covering less than a third of the archive, accurately reflect the nature of the correspondence from Pogue to his friend and manager in Alma. Subsequent dramas include legal wranglings over lumber and tunnel construction, Chicago accountants, and payroll irregularities. There is even an appearance by Wyoming mining and dam-building magnate Asmus Boysen, whose spies were lurking around Alma after a land deal with Pogue in Nebraska. George Brunk outlived Pogue by four years, passing in 1910 at the age of 71. His tombstone in Fairplay reads "A Colorado Pioneer / Born New York / Came to Colorado in 1860/ Died here." Pogue and

Brunk never made the big strike together on Mount Lincoln, and the Russia Mine never reclaimed its success of the 1880s. **But this Russia Mine archive offers personal insight into the realities of western silver mining after the boom years, from the unique perspective of two Colorado mining pioneers working among the highest lodes in North America**.

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[Colorado--Silver Mining]: Americus L. Pogue: [ARCHIVE OF 220 AUTOGRAPH LETTERS SIGNED, MOST FROM OWNER OF RUSSIA MINE, AMERICUS L. POGUE, TO MINE MANAGER GEORGE W. BRUNK IN ALMA, COLORADO]. [Mainly Richmond, Indiana, but also Chicago and Denver, 1903-1906]. 220 manuscript letters, all but three in the original covers, each 1 to 3 pp. in length, approximately 450 pp. total. Light wear and soiling to covers, contents folded but bright and clean, about fine.

25. SOLD.