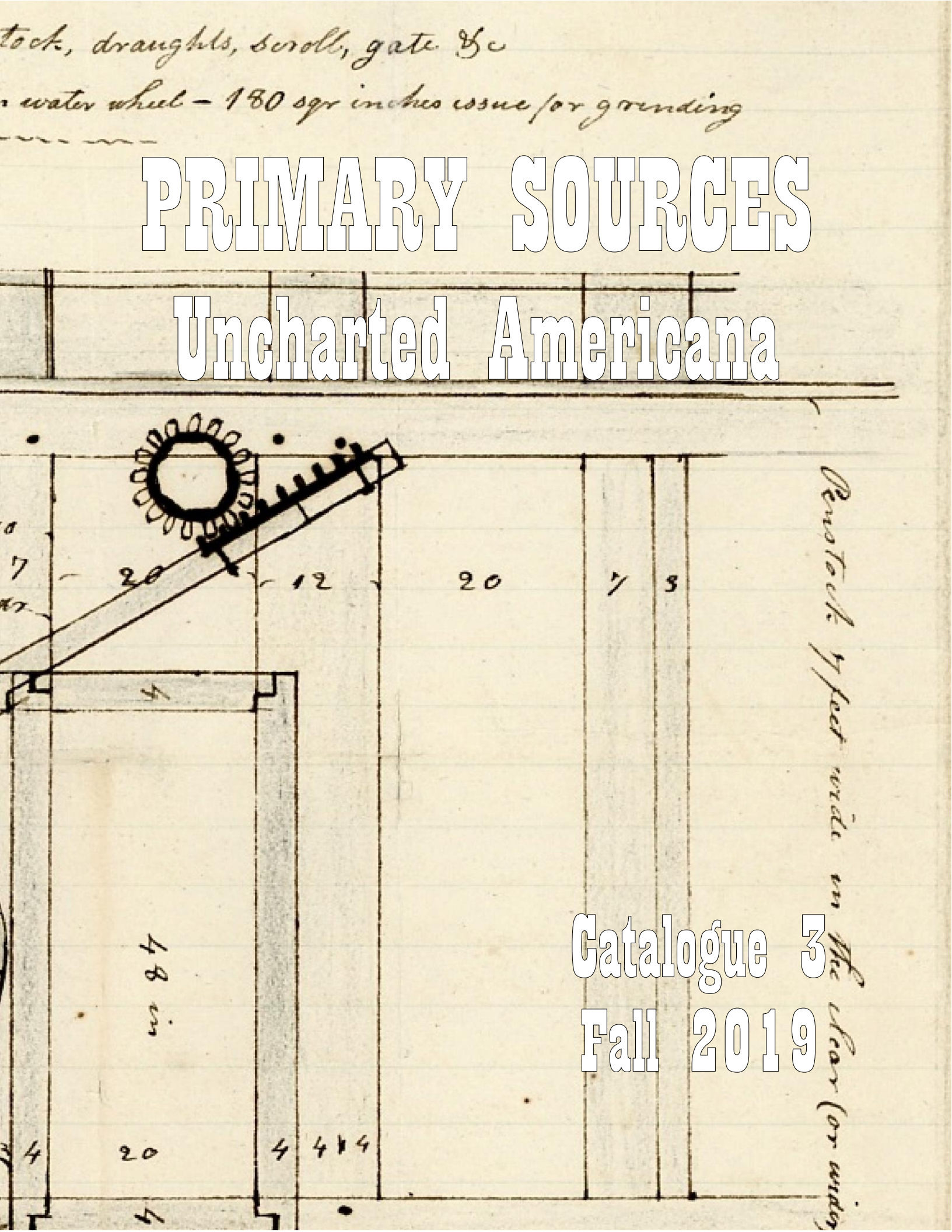
PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana



Catalogue 3

Fall 2019

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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Robin and Laoma Beck

This fall brings our third catalogue, once again containing twenty-five items with important stories to tell, stories that bring unique perspectives to the American experience at its broadest: from the prayer book and hymnal of an Anglican minister in Colonial Maryland to an eloquent address by Philadelphia's first black attorney; from an extensive archive that documents the activities of the first American diplomat in Fiji to a photograph album recording survey work in the highlands of Nayarit, Mexico; from the shipboard diary of a Liverpool emigrant crossing the Atlantic and seeing America for the first time to the journal of an Alabama planter crossing East Texas on horseback just months after the Civil War; and from an elaborate love token composed on the Oregon frontier to a rare card game featuring characters from Uncle Tom's Cabin. They all contribute to new ways of exploring the corners of American history. Our name is what they have in common. They are primary sources, and they are largely uncharted. Thanks again to everyone who has supported our first two efforts, and we hope that you enjoy browsing Catalogue 3.

We look forward to hearing from you.

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-- Libraries and institutions may be billed on approval according to budgetary requirements.
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On the covers: 7. Zebulon Parker and the Development of Hydraulic Science in America (detail).

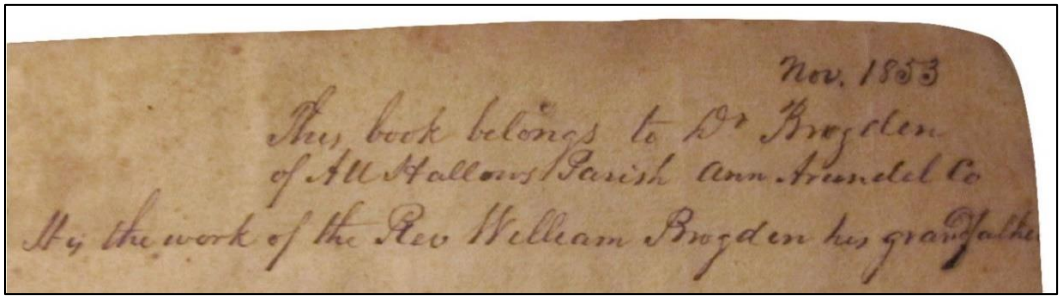
PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 3, Fall 2019

Contents

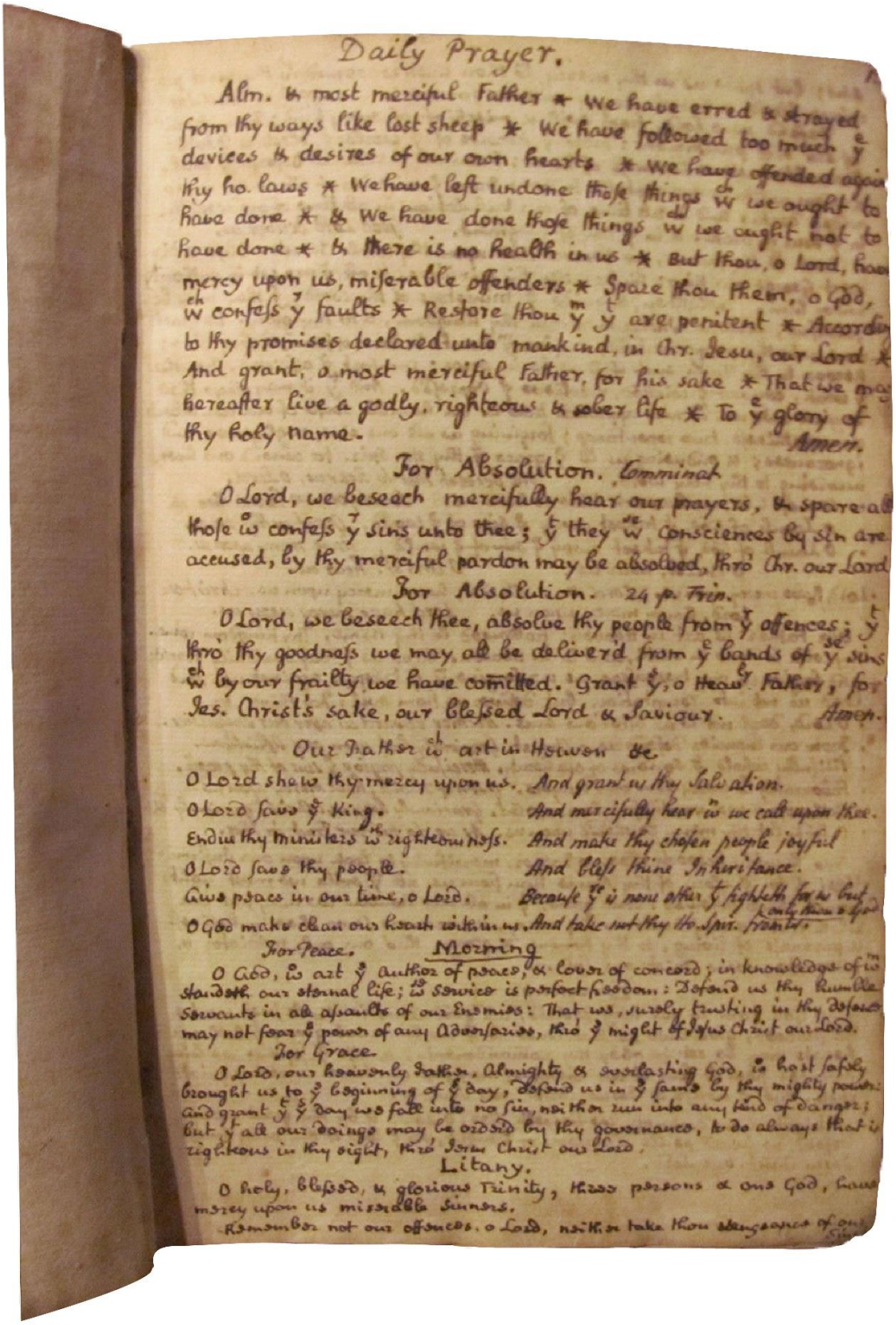
William Brogden's Prayer Book: Faith and Music in Colonial Maryland

Sometime during the fall of 1735--the exact date is lost--the Rev. William Brogden of Ann Arundel County became just the second rector of All Hallows Parish, located on the western shore of Chesapeake Bay in what was then the Province of Maryland. His predecessor, the Rev. Joseph Colbatch, had served the parish for nearly four decades prior to his death the previous year, and Brogden, upon completing his studies in England, had just returned to the colony after receiving ordination to the Anglican Church at Westminster. He quickly established himself as a fixture in Chesapeake society, serving All Hallows and later Queen Anne's parishes until his own death in 1770. This small manuscript volume, entirely in Brogden's meticulous hand, is the abridged *Book of Common Prayer* that he composed in the early days of his pastoral work while tending to his parishioners by horseback and on foot across the county. **More significantly, it also contains an extensive grouping of Psalms and hymns, many with musical notation, that appears to be the earliest surviving collection of music compiled in the American South**.



At the turn of the 18th century, Maryland's brief experiment with religious tolerance had all but expired. Founded in 1632 as a proprietary colony under Cecilius Calvert, the second Baron Baltimore, Maryland was intended as a place where English Catholics could openly practice their religion and hold public office, freedoms they were denied in Protestant England, where Calvert's father, George, had converted to Roman Catholicism in 1625. Calvert instituted a religious policy called The Maryland Toleration Act, which allowed all Christians--without regard to sect--to freely worship in the colony. For some sixty years, Maryland enjoyed a pioneering tolerance for religious difference (among Christians, at least). It was not to last. One year after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 ended the possibility of England declaring Catholicism as its official religion, Maryland's emboldened Protestants followed suit and seized the colony's government. Three years later, in 1692, they established Anglicanism as the official religion, banned all public worship by any other sects, and barred Catholics from holding public office.

William Brogden was born in Calvert County about 1710, just as this tumultuous period of overt religious strife was ending; in 1715, George I would restore proprietary control of the colony to Calvert's line, but only after the fourth Baron Baltimore renounced his Catholic faith. Little is known of Brogden's early life--his father owned property along the Patuxent River and seems to have been a successful tobacco merchant--but he was sent to England to receive his education and was there ordained as deacon in the Anglican Church on August 6, 1735, by the Right Reverend Edmund Gibson, Lord Bishop of London, at Whitehall, Westminster. Upon returning home to the colony and beginning his appointment, Brogden married a widowed parishioner who was several



Daily Prayer.

Alm. ℔ most merciful Father ✱ We have erred & strayed from thy ways like lost sheep ✱ We have followed too much ye devices & desires of our own hearts ✱ We have offended agᵉ thy ho. laws ✱ We have left undone those things wch we ought to have done ✱ & We have done those things wch we ought not to have done ✱ & there is no Health in us ✱ But thou, o Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders ✱ Spare thou them, o God, wch confess yr faults ✱ Restore thou them yt yt are penitent ✱ According to thy promises declared unto mankind, in Chr. Jesu, our Lord ✱ And grant, o most merciful Father, for his sake ✱ That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous & sober life ✱ To ye glory of thy holy name. Amen.

For Absolution. Comminat

O Lord, we beseech mercifully hear our prayers, & spare all those wo confess yr sins unto thee; yt they wch consciences by sin are accused, by thy merciful pardon may be absolved, thro Chr. our Lord

For Absolution. 24 p. Trin.

O Lord, we beseech thee, absolve thy people from yr offences; yt thro thy goodness we may all be delivered from ye bands of ye sins wch by our frailty we have comitted. Grant yt, o Heav. Father, for Jes. Christ's sake, our blessed Lord & Saviour. Amen.

Our Father wch art in Heaven &c

O Lord shew thy mercy upon us. And grant us thy Salvation.
O Lord save yr King. And mercifully hear us we call upon thee.
Endue thy ministers wth righteousness. And make thy chosen people joyful
O Lord save thy people. And blesse thine Inheritance.
Give peace in our time, o Lord. Because tho yt it none other yt fighteth for us but only thou o God
O God make clean our hearts within us. And take not thy ho. Spir. from us.

For Peace. Morning

O God, wo art yr author of peace, & lover of concord; in knowledge of wm standeth our eternal life; wo service is perfect freedom: Defend us thy humble servants in all assaults of our Enemies: That we, surely trusting in thy defence may not fear ye power of any Adversaries, thro yr might of Jesus Christ our Lord.

For Grace

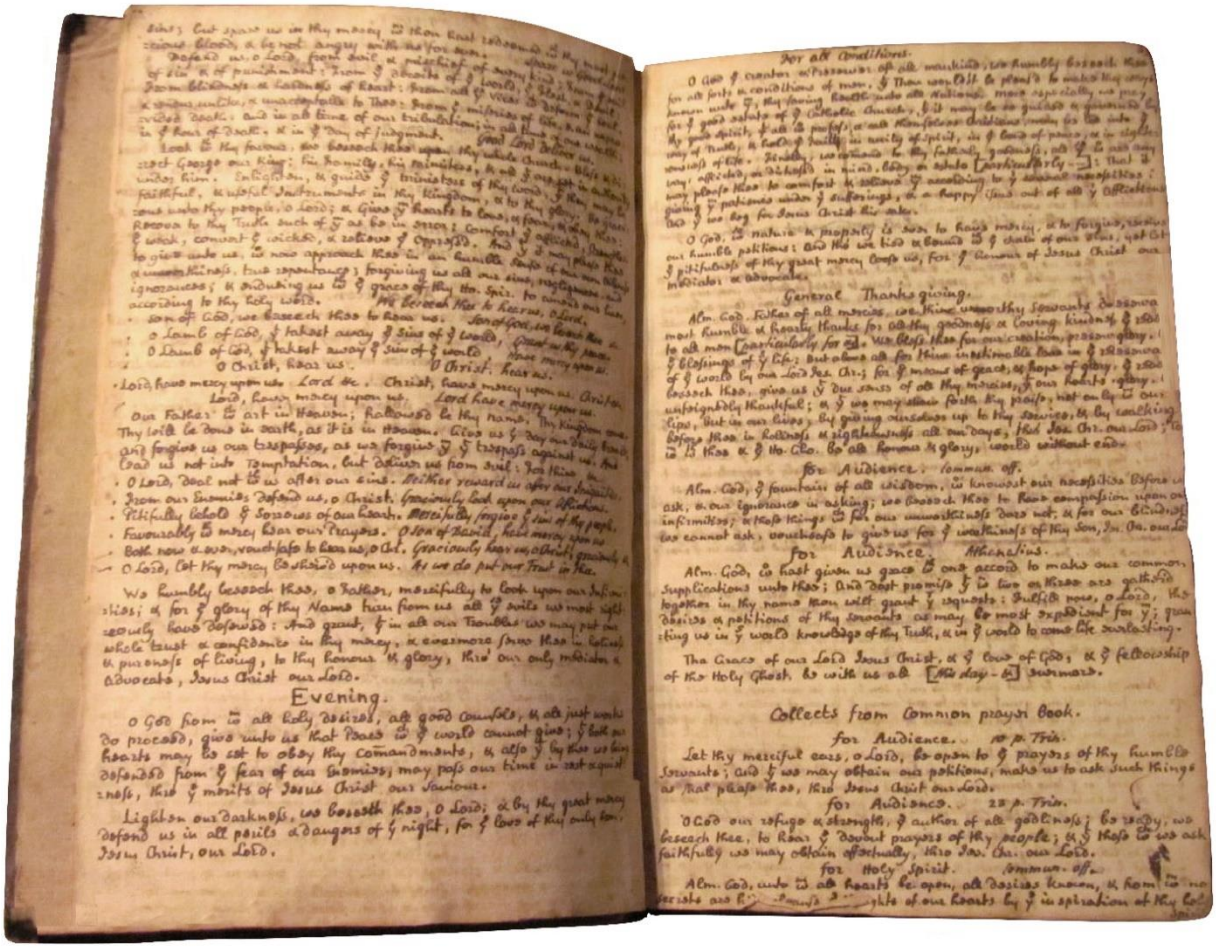
O Lord, our heavenly Father, Almighty & everlasting God, wo hast safely brought us to yr beginning of ye day, defend us in yr same by thy mighty power; and grant yt ye day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger; but yt all our doings may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that is righteous in thy sight, thro Jesu Christ our Lord.

Litany.

O holy, blessed, & glorious Trinity, three persons & one God, have mercy upon us miserable sinners.

Remember not our offences, o Lord, neither take thou vengeance of our Sins

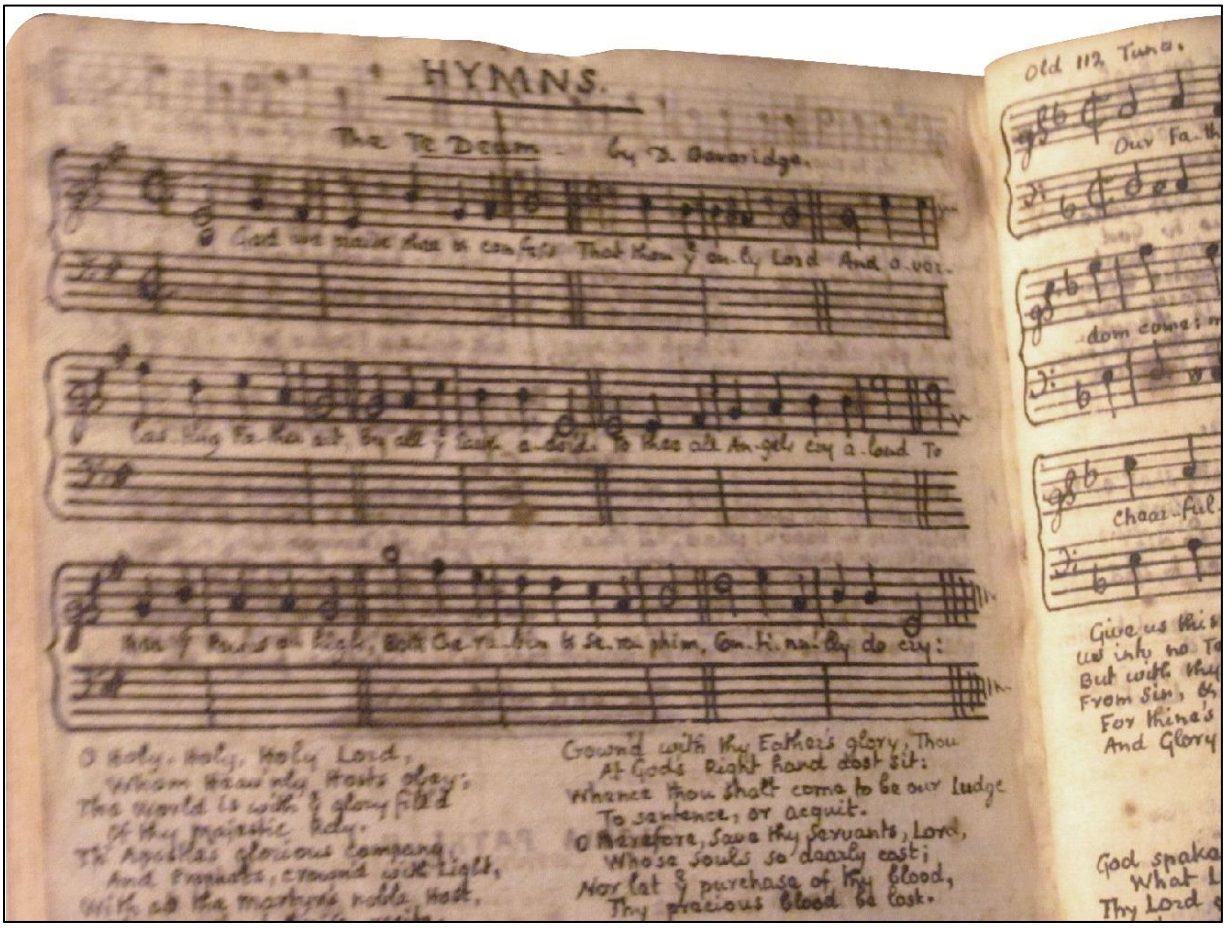
years his senior and who died shortly after. He married again in 1741, and then the following year he purchased the 1200-acre estate called Roedown (sometimes spelled Rowdown), located about 15 miles southwest of Annapolis, where he would reside for the rest of his life.



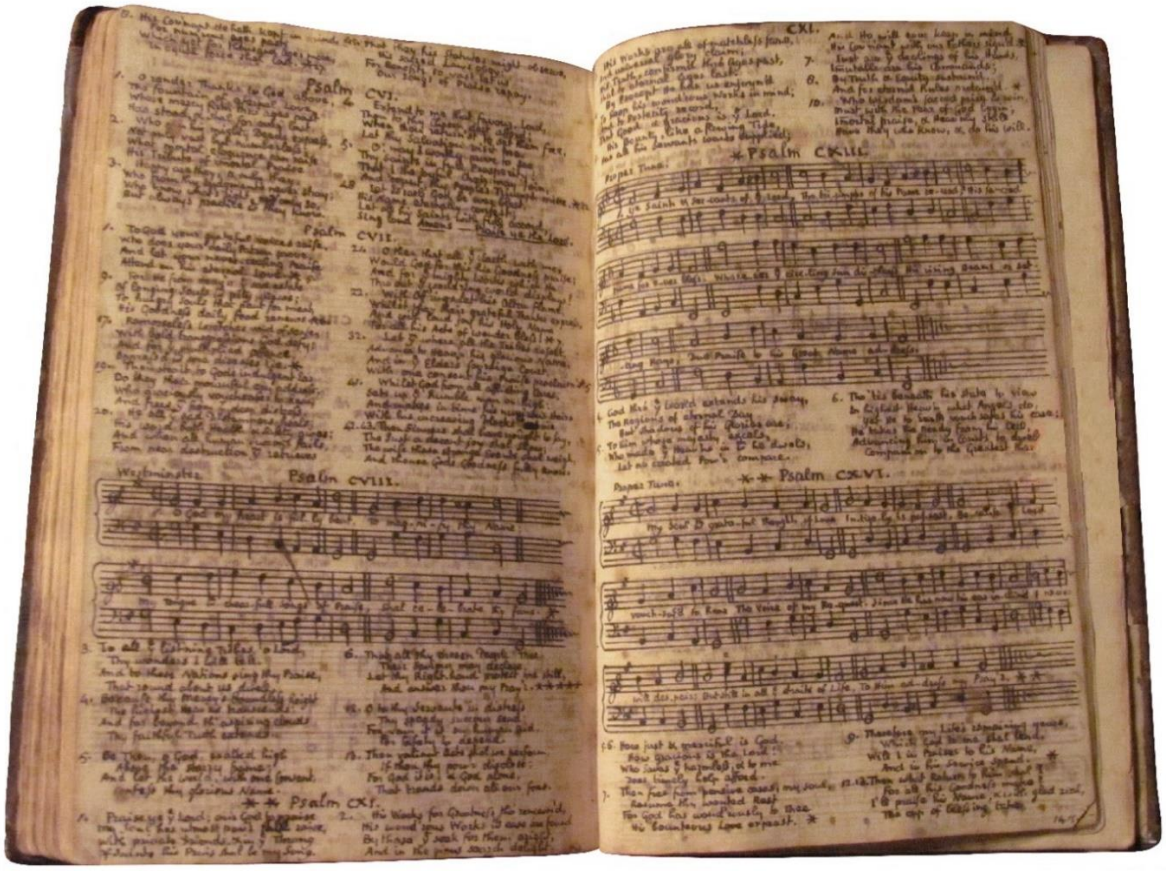
Brogden likely composed the manuscript prayer book and hymnal that we offer here during the early years of his ecclesiastical labors. The Rev. Ethan Allen, who wrote a brief biography of Brogden in the 1850s and obtained access to this book from the minister's grandson, notes that it "was doubtless written while he was Rector of All Hallow's [sic]" (1859:87). Allen was impressed with the little volume, further observing that

> It is not only an admirable specimen of penmanship, and of his untiring industry, but seems also to illustrate the character of his piety. It is a blank book, in the small octavo form, into which he copied the Prayers of the Book of Common Prayer, and others, with selections from the Psalms in metre, after the manner of those now in use in our American Common Prayer Book, with the Music set to them, and also a number of Hymns. It was evidently his pocket companion in his pastoral work, and reveals to us something of the spirit with which he engaged in it. It shows clearly his reverence for our admirable Book of Prayer [1859:87].

Brogden's prayer book--bound in its original, blind-tooled boards--contains 102 leaves, 37 of which are filled with manuscript prayers or music; the remainder of the leaves are unused. Most of the prayers are concentrated in the first 11 leaves (22 pages) of the volume, though additional examples appear on three leaves near the center. Remarkably, his handwriting is so fine that many of these pages contain more than a thousand words of text, such that the portion of the book he devoted to prayers holds more than 15,000 manuscript words. The Prayers section opens with the Daily Prayer and those for Absolution, Morning, Evening, All Conditions, and Thanksgiving, as well as the Litany (without responses). All of these are to be found on the first three pages. Next follow the Collects (short general prayers) for the year, then Petitions gathered from the Collects of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The final 13 pages of the Prayers section contain a selection of Family Prayers for Morning and Evening.



Most of the middle portion of the volume is unused, save for several pages where Brogden added a few more Collects: for the Protestant churches at home and abroad; for King George, the Prince, and Royal family; for the Universities of Britain and Ireland; for the King and people in time of war and dangers; and for before and after the Sermon. The final 23 leaves of the book (45 pages) contain a fascinating selection of hymns and Psalms, many of which are set to music. No fewer than 80 Psalms are included, 40 of which contain musical notations; Brogden also added the Te Deum, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed versified and set to music. Finally, this part of Brogden's manuscript contains a collection of 25 hymns, including four that were later included



in the first American editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* in 1786 and 1790: "While shepherds kept their flocks by night" (for Christmas); "Thou God all glory, honor, power" (for Good Friday); "Since Christ, our Passover, was slain" (for Easter); and "Come Holy Ghost, Creator, come" (for Whitsunday). Among the 21 others Brogden transcribed are five sacramentals, seven for Morning and Evening, and two expressing "a longing for glory." These include:

"Gloria Patri"
"The Ten Commandments"
"November" (beginning "Where shall thy mute its language find")
"for the Lord's Day" (beginning "This is the Day, the Lord's own Day")
"for Morning" (beginning "Lord, for the mercies of this Night")
"for Morning" (beginning "Night's dismal shades once more are fled")
"for Evening" (beginning "Indulgent God, whose bounteous care")
"for Evening" (beginning "Now sable night concludes the day")
"for Evening" (beginning "My God, my only help and hope")
"for Evening" (beginning "Now from the altar of my heart")
"The Welcome Evening" (beginning "Let those that know no other bliss")
"The Pious Sailor" (beginning "The man whose heart from vice is clear")
"A Contemplation of Death" (beginning "Death, not regarding birth or fame")
"The Pangs of Death" (beginning "While age lies --- quick from death")
"The Royal Penitent" (beginning "With conscious blushes, Lord, I come")

Beyond its extraordinary contents, the Brogden prayer and hymn book offers rare insights into colonial papermaking and bookbinding. The paper itself contains the watermarked letters I and G, which Bidwell (2012:4) associates with Germantown, Pennsylvania, paper mill owner and operator John Gorgas. Gorgas and his partner, William Dewees, had learned their trade working with Claus Rittenhouse--founder of British America's first paper mill--at Germantown in the early 1700s (Gorgas married Rittenhouse's daughter, Psyche). About 1728, Gorgas and Dewees built their own mill (No. 4 in Bidwell's survey of Pennsylvania mills) on Wissahickon Creek, about 11 miles north of Philadelphia, operating it for only eight to ten years before converting it to a grist mill. The Gorgas-Dewees paper mill supplied the sheets for Brogden's blank book.

Until William Parks established a mill at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1743, all of the paper used in the southern colonies was imported, either from Europe or from the Philadelphia-area mills of Rittenhouse and his associates. Before moving to Virginia, Parks owned and operated a print and binding shop in Annapolis, where from 1727 to 1735 he served as the first public printer for Maryland's government. Parks kept his Annapolis business until about 1739, when the colony's second printer, Jonas Green, opened a new shop. We suspect that Brogden purchased this blank book from Parks's shop--blank books were among his best-selling items--soon after his arrival in Maryland. Its binding is original, and the distinctive decorative roll is similar to others associated with Parks's Annapolis and Williamsburg work (Samford and Hemphill 1990). Additional study might definitively establish whether the binding is a production of Parks's shop.

Newly married and suitably settled at Roedown, Brogden quickly immersed himself in the intellectual and cultural life of Chesapeake society. For elite men in the colony, this meant the social clubs where members read original poems and essays, composed club songs, enjoyed drink and elaborate dinners, and created bonds of friendship. Brogden was the first Maryland minister to join a club: the surviving records of the South River Club--founded in the 1720s and still active today--indicate that he was a member at least as early as 1742. He was also a regular attendee of Dr. Alexander Hamilton's famed Tuesday Club in Annapolis, where he socialized with luminaries such as authors and fellow pastors, Thomas Bacon and Thomas Cradock, and printer Jonas Green. Brogden was also an original member of the Annapolis Freemasons lodge that Hamilton founded in 1748. The following year, he gave its anniversary sermon, printed at Annapolis in 1750 under the title *Freedom and Love: A Sermon Preached before the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons*, dedicated to Hamilton and published by Green. Just two copies of this tract appear to survive, at the British Library and the National Library of Scotland.

In 1751, Gov. Samuel Ogle appointed Brogden to serve as rector of Queen Anne's Parish in Prince George's County, a position he held until his death in 1770. County records and notices in the *Gazette* suggest that he was master of the county's free school from 1752 to 1766, when ill heath likely forced his resignation. During this period another of his sermons was published by Jonas Green, an anti-Catholic tract titled *Popish Zeal Inconvenient to Mankind and Unsuitable to the Law of Christ* (1754); what seems to be the only surviving copy of this work is held by the Virginia Theological Seminary's Bishop Payne Library. Besides these two published sermons and the manuscript volume that we offer here, the Rev. Ethan Allen described one other specimen of Brogden's writing--a commonplace book, "much decayed" (1856:106)--that is currently held by the Archives of the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland.

Primary sources pertaining to religion in the southern colonies (and to musical practice, in particular) are extremely rare in institutional holdings and all but non-existent in the history of the trade. **Remarkably, we trace no other surviving collection of music, in print or manuscript format, that was compiled in the American South prior to Brogden's volume**. A comparably early manuscript--begun at sea en route to Maryland in 1729 and containing 20 psalms in two parts for tenor and bass--was once held by the Carroll County (MD) Historical Society, but because it was later used as a tailor's account book, its musical significance was long unrecognized; while a microfilm record exists, the location of the original is unknown (Hildebrand 1992:221-223). The only contemporary musical text printed in the southern colonies, lacking notation, is John Wesley's rare *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, published at Charles-Town by Lewis Timothy in 1737 and surviving in just two copies (NYPL and the Methodist Archives, London). Wesley's work was "the first hymn-book produced specifically for use by an Anglican congregation" (Lloyd 2007:74). Brogden's prayer book and hymnal, compiled circa 1735-1740, thus provides a uniquely intimate perspective on Anglican worship along the southern colonial frontier. As for the remainder of his

extensive library and writings, little more is known, a fact of which Allen lamented more than 150 years ago, "these which remain make us regret that the others are lost" (1859:87).

Relevant sources:

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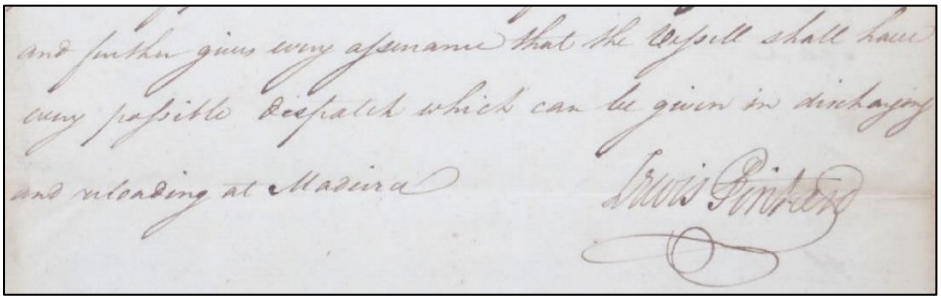
[Maryland--Colonial Religion and Music]: Rev. William Brogden: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT PRAYER BOOK AND HYMNAL OF WILLIAM BROGDEN, CONTAINING SELECTIONS FROM *THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER* AND INCLUDING A COLLECTION OF PSALMS AND HYMNS, MANY SET TO MUSIC] [n.p., n.d., but mainly All Hallows Parish, Ann Arundel County, Maryland, ca. 1735-1740]. Small 8vo (18 cm). Blank book with 102 leaves, 37 of which (72 pp.) contain manuscript prayers, psalms, and hymns (many set to music), in ink; approximately 20,000-25,000 words in a fine legible hand (with an index of tunes). Original full calf with blind tooled boards and spine, front board cleanly detached, rear board holding with old stitching; light scattered foxing, overall very good.

1. SOLD.

Lewis Pintard to Import General Washington's Favorite Wine from Madeira

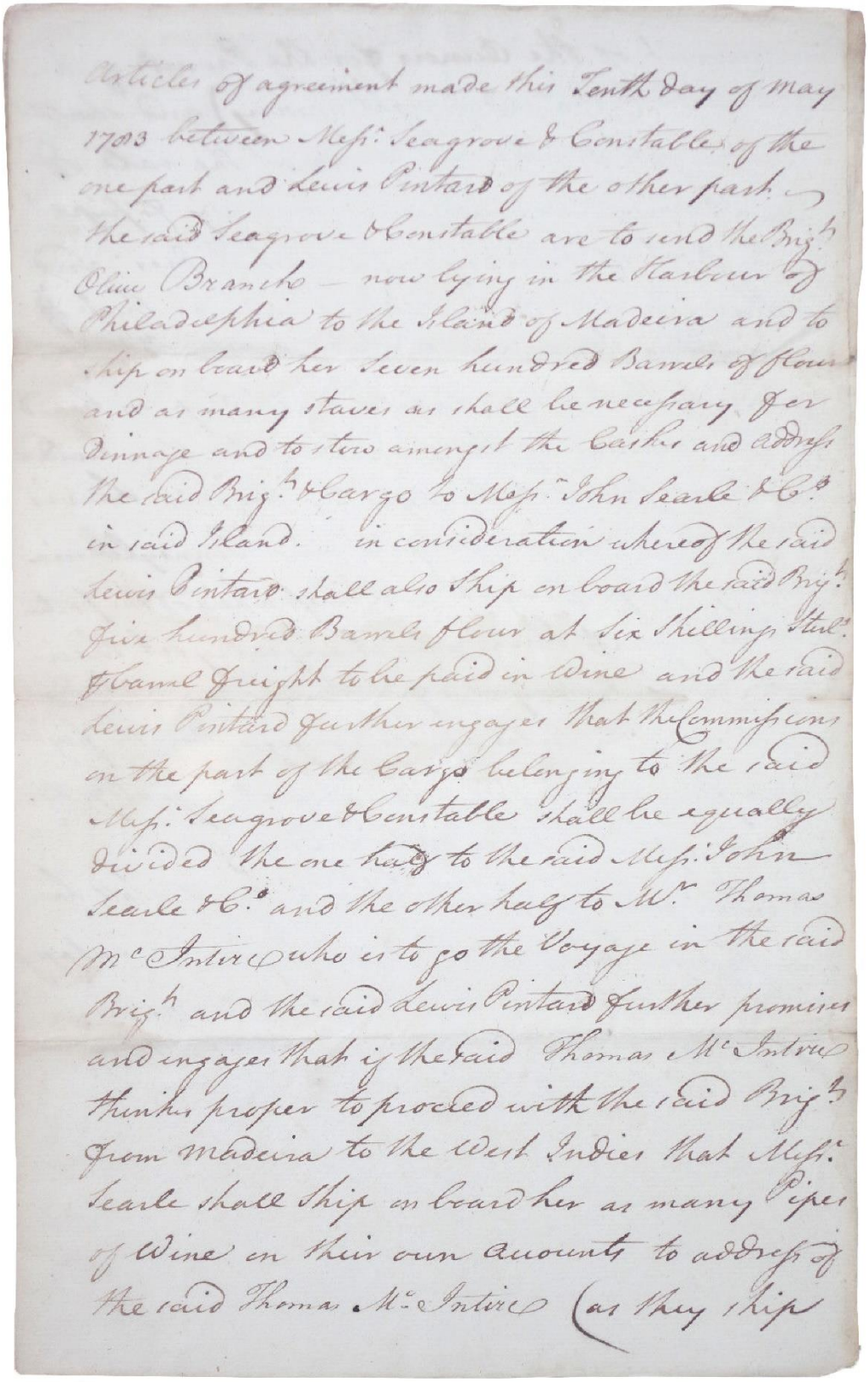
By the middle of the 18th century, few beverages in the American colonies could compete with the popularity of madeira, a sweet, fortified wine produced in the Portuguese archipelago of the same name. And few American colonists were more fond of the spirit than Virginia gentleman farmer George Washington. As early as 1759, Washington instructed his agents in London, Robert Cary & Co., to "Order from the best House in Madeira a Pipe of the best old Wine, and let it be Securd from Pilferers" (Abbot 1988:318). A pipe, for context, held about 125 gallons of wine, or enough to fill 700 standard bottles. Washington was not alone: between 1700 and 1775, fully 64% of all imported wine entering the North American colonies came from Madeira. Yet the American Revolution brought a steep decline in wine exports from Madeira to North America, due primarily to the dangers of transatlantic shipping and to the decision of the Portuguese government, allied with Great Britain, to bar American ships from Portuguese ports. Nearly all of the madeira wine imported by the Thirteen Colonies went to New York City, where the British Army and Navy were quartered. The rest of the colonies imported practically nothing from the islands.


and further gives every assurance that the Vessell shall have
every possible Dispatch which can be given in discharging
and reloading at Madeira
Lewis Pintard

For lovers of madeira like Washington, who was purportedly accustomed to having a full pint of the wine every evening with dinner, maintaining supplies throughout the conflict proved a challenge. Just two months into his command, in August 1775, Washington managed to acquire a cask (which held about the same volume of wine as a pipe), a pipe, and several hundred bottles for his personal wartime use (and to be shared with his officers and staff). This stock was entirely depleted by the summer of 1777, after which time Washington and his forces had only occasional access to their favorite spirit.

In early 1783, after the British and American delegations had drafted the Treaty of Paris (finally signed on September 3), regular transatlantic trade began to resume in earnest. On April 3, 1783, wine merchants John Searle & Co., a Madeira-based firm that had supplied Mount Vernon before the war, sent a flattering letter to the General, offering warm congratulations on his victory ("This Happy Event") and praising his role therein ("in which Your Excellency Under God was Undoubtedly the Principal Agent"). Recognizing that, after the long conflict, "choice Old Madeira Wines are exceedingly Scarce & Dear in the United States," Searle & Co. sought to restore their relationship with Washington, presuming that

> it might not be disagreable to your Excellency to receive a small temporary Supply of that Article to go on making Use off untill it may be agreable to you to Comunicate Your orders to Us for a larger One; We therefore have



Articles of agreement made this Tenth day of May 1793 between Messrs. Seagrove & Constable of the one part and Lewis Pintard of the other part. The said Seagrove & Constable are to send the Brigt Olive Branch — now lying in the Harbour of Philadelphia to the Island of Madeira and to ship on board her Seven hundred Barrels of flour and as many staves as shall be necessary for dunnage and to stow amongst the Casks and address the said Brigt & Cargo to Messrs. John Searle & Co. in said Island. in consideration whereof the said Lewis Pintard shall also ship on board the said Brigt five hundred Barrels flour at six Shillings Sterl. p Barrel freight to be paid in Wine and the said Lewis Pintard further engages that the commissions on the part of the Cargo belonging to the said Messrs. Seagrove & Constable shall be equally divided the one half to the said Messrs. John Searle & Co. and the other half to Mr. Thomas Mc Intire who is to go the Voyage in the said Brigt and the said Lewis Pintard further promises and engages that if the said Thomas Mc Intire thinks proper to proceed with the said Brigt from Madeira to the West Indies that Messrs. Searle shall ship on board her as many Pipes of Wine on their own accounts to address of the said Thomas Mc Intire (as they ship

> taken the Liberty to put a Couple of Pipes of the choicest Old Madeira Wine of a most excellent Quality & fine Amber Colour on board the Scooner Freemason…which we heartily Wish safe to you & that they may prove to your Excellency's Liking ["To George Washington from John Searle, 3 April 1783," *Founders Online,* National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-10986]

Enclosed with the letter was an invoice for £72 Sterling, which they invited Washington to pay at his leisure--and to place a larger order, if he desired--through their Philadelphia agent ("Relation & Friend"), Lewis Pintard.

Pintard, son of a Huguenot merchant who had immigrated to New York in the 1720s, took over the family's import business at the age of 16 in 1748. At the beginning of the Revolution, his brother--an officer in the British Army--refused to fight for or against the King and had removed to Madeira with his nephew, Lewis's son John Marsden. The younger Pintard became connected with the house of Searle & Co., and after the war, father and son became the new nation's chief importers of fine madeira wines. On May 14, 1783, only a few weeks after the letter from Searle & Co., Lewis Pintard wrote to Washington from Philadelphia:

> As I conceive its likely that your Excellency will shortly retire to your seat in peace and will want a supply of Wine for your table I take the liberty to inform you that **I am come to this City for the purpose of loading a Vessel for Madeira which will be dispatched soon to Messrs Searle & Co.** and as I know they have a Choice collection of old Wines of the best quality by them I have thought proper to acquaint you with it that you may if you think proper have the earliest choice being persuaded that they will make apoint to supply you with the best Wines that ever came to this Country (emphasis added). ["To George Washington from Lewis Pintard, 14 May 1783," *Founders Online,* National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/ documents/Washington/99-01-02-11267]

The document that we offer here--dated May 10, just four days before his letter to Washington at Mount Vernon--is Pintard's manuscript contract for this very vessel, the brig *Olive Branch*, owned by the Philadelphia-based shipping firm of Seagrove & Constable. The contract declares that the *Olive Branch* was to depart Philadelphia's harbor for Madeira bearing 700 barrels of flour belonging to Seagrove & Constable and 500 more belonging to Pintard, which were to be directed to John Searle & Co. and "to be paid in wine." Madeira produced only a minor wheat crop, so flour-wine exchanges such as those detailed in Pintard's contract supplied islanders with much of their food. The contract also specifies terms based on whether the vessel returned directly to Philadelphia or by way of the West Indies (a route that actually improved the quality of the madeira by exposing it to semi-tropical heat).

We do not know when the *Olive Branch* left Philadelphia, but Washington responded to Searle & Co. on May 21, ordering "two other Pipes of your very choicest (old) Madeira Wine--A Box of Citron & two Baskets of Figs (both fresh & good) the cost of which shall be paid to Mr Pintard if it is your desire," and requestng it be shipped "by the first <u>good</u> conveyance to Potomack

River in Virginia" ("From George Washington to Lewis Pintard, 21 May 1783," *Founders Online*, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11314). The *Olive Branch* returned to Philadelphia from Madeira in mid-September, though whether it came by direct route or after first passing through the West Indies is unrecorded. On September 12, the secretary of the Congressional Congress, Charles Thomson, wrote to his wife that:

> I have received a letter from Madeira with a bill of lading for my pipe of wine **which is arrived at Philadelphia in the brig Olive Branch** capt John Brice....if the wine be good as I hope it is I am glad I sent for it: but I find I shall be six or seven pounds sterling in debt for it over and above my 22 bbls of flour (emphasis added) [*Letters of Delegates to Congress: Volume 20, March 12, 1783-September 30, 1783,* Charles to Hannah Thomson, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:1:./temp/~ammem_6n06].

Washington, though, had far less reason to be pleased with the shipment of his wine. The General's pipes had left Madeira on a different ship, the *Hero*, based in Baltimore, and rather than deliver the order to his specified Potomack River port of Alexandria, just seven miles from Mount Vernon, the captain of the *Hero* had debarked the pipes at his own home port. Washington's wrath is still palpable in the September 14 letter he sent to the unfortunate Pintard:

> I have since received a Letter, Invoice, & Bill of Lading for two other Pipes of Wine from Mr Searle together with a Box of Citron, and two Baskets of Figs; but instead of their being sent to my House on Potomack River agreeably to my express request, and according to the Tenor of the Bills of Lading, I have received advice of their being Landed at Baltimore in Maryland; sixty odd Miles distant by Land, & more than 300 by water; how to Account for this I am at a loss, for it is not only contrary to my Order & expectation, but it is so contrary also to my wishes that I had infinitely rather they should be in Madeira...
>
> When I hear something further of these things, & have a satisfactory reason assigned for Landing them at Baltimore, instead of their being sent to Potomack as my order pointedly required, I shall be ready to pay the further Sum of £74-9.6 Sterlg to you, or your order; but I must confess, that in such an Article as Wine where age & its being of a good quality originally can alone render it valuable I can by no means reconcile it to myself to have it Landed in one State when it is ordered to another, thereby encountering almost the certainty of Adulteration by common Boatmen, or common Waggoners. I am Sir
>
> Yr Most Obt Hble Ser.
>
> Go: Washington
>
> ["From George Washington to Lewis Pintard, 14 September 1783," *Founders Online*, National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11817].

Pintard, responding on October 6, was as flummoxed by the captain's mistake as Washington was angry, but he quickly sought to mollify his client and to repair the damage:

> from the respect that all America have for Your Excellency I flatter myself that these Wines will receive no injury in their passage to your House...but if...any adulteration has happened I will very readily take them off your hands and write Messr Searle & Co. to send you two other pipes in lieu of them ["To George Washington from Lewis Pintard, 6 October 1783," *Founders Online,* National Archives, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-11904].

There is no record of Washington's reply, but given that he continued to purchase madeira wines and other delicacies through Pintard's son, John Marsden, well into the 1790s, it seems that neither Searle & Co. nor the Pintards suffered lasting ill effects from the incident; John Marsden was even appointed U. S. Consul to Madeira during Washington's first term as President in 1790. Lewis Pintard's 1783 contract with the owners of the *Olive Branch* opens a rare, intriguing window onto the resurgence of the transatlantic madeira trade, months before the Treaty of Paris would formally bring the War of American Independence to an end. And through its link to no less a figure in that great drama than Washington himself, it set the stage for a more pedestrian drama, one in which Messrs. Searle and Pintard narrowly avoided alienating the Father of His Country.

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[Madeira Wine--George Washington]: [Lewis Pintard]: AUTOGRAPH DOCUMENT SIGNED CONTRACTING THE BRIG *OLIVE BRANCH* OF PHILADELPHIA TO EXCHANGE FLOUR FOR WINE AT MADEIRA, CARE OF JOHN SEARLE & CO. Philadelphia, May 10, 1783. Folio sheet, folded to 7 5/8 x 12 3/8 in. (19.5 x 31.5 cm); manuscript text on recto and verso of first page, docketed on verso of second page. Faint marginal dampstain, old folds, very good.

2. **$1250**.

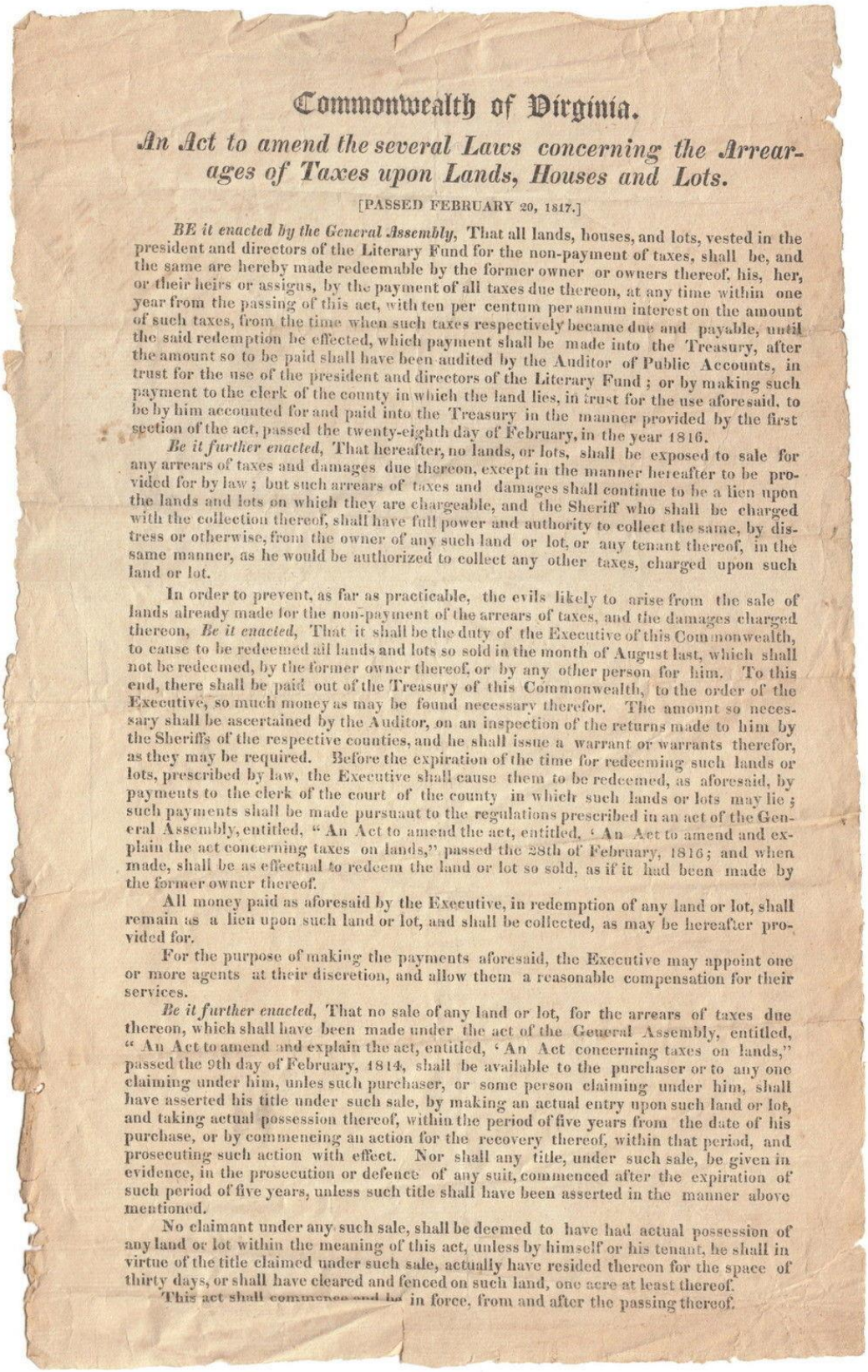
Raising Revenue for the Literary Fund: A Rare Virginia Broadside

Prior to the Revolution, the costs of education in colonial North America fell to individual families. Planter elites typically hired well-educated, private tutors for young children, sending older sons to private colleges in the colonies or to England to complete their studies. Less affluent families could pool their resources to hire teachers for room and board, while the poorest families had few better options than to apprentice their children to skilled workers for learning a trade. In 1779, Thomas Jefferson, then serving his first term as governor, introduced three bills to create a system of public education for Virginia, seeking support for the instruction of the poorest students alongside those from privileged circumstances. Such a program was essential, he believed, for creating "a system by which every fibre [sic] would be eradicated of antient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican" (in Peterson 1984:44). Enlightened as it was, Jefferson's plan failed to become law, primarily because it required the Legislature--made up almost entirely of local elites--to tax themselves to pay for it.

Not until February 10, 1810, did Virginia finally enact a law to fund public education, and this only after Governor John Tyler had rebuked the General Assembly the previous year for "its failure, by reason of a fatal apathy and a parsimonious policy, to provide state schools" (Maddox 1918:47). Through the work of assemblymen James Barbour and Charles Mercer--and with the continued support of Jefferson, who had since retired to Monticello--the new law established an account known as the Literary Fund. Yet rather than finance the Fund through direct taxation, as Jefferson's failed 1779 bills would have done, the 1810 legislation raised revenue by appropriating for the Fund "all escheats, confiscations, fines, penalties and forfeitures, and all rights in personal property accruing to the Commonwealth, as derelict, and having no rightful proprietor" (House *Journal*, 1810:14:15). The Act of February 12, 1811, further stipulated that:

> The President and the Directors of the Fund shall, as soon as sufficient funds be provided, establish schools for the education of the poor in each and every county and shall appoint an agent in every county to look after the returns to the fund and to prevent misappropriation [*Acts*, 1811:8:9].

From 1811 to 1818, the balance of the Fund increased nearly a hundredfold to more than a million dollars. Over this same period, additional legislation amended the law, specifying those circumstances under which lands, houses, and lots appropriated to the Fund for the non-payment of taxes might be offered for sale by its President and Directors. This broadside, **the only known surviving copy**, reports an Act passed by the General Assembly on February 20, 1817, "to amend the several laws concerning the Arrearages of Taxes upon Land, Houses, and Lots." Although the broadside is unique, it is not unrecorded. It is imprint No. 1817.019 in the online *Index of Virginia Printing*, compiled and edited by David A. Rawson; likewise, it is No. 8935 in Earl Swem's (1917) *Bibliography of Virginia, Part II*. Rawson describes it as "No copy known extant," while Swem notes "no copy seen" (1917:156). Its existence was known to both bibliographers only because the vouchers of state printer, Thomas Ritchie, indicate that he was ordered on the same date as its passage to print 1000 copies for distribution by members of the Assembly. **Indeed, of the dozens of public documents that Ritchie is known to have printed from 1804 to 1834, many of which were issued as broadside sheets, most have not survived in a single copy**.



Commonwealth of Virginia.

An Act to amend the several Laws concerning the Arrearages of Taxes upon Lands, Houses and Lots.

[PASSED FEBRUARY 20, 1817.]

BE it enacted by the General Assembly, That all lands, houses, and lots, vested in the president and directors of the Literary Fund for the non-payment of taxes, shall be, and the same are hereby made redeemable by the former owner or owners thereof, his, her, or their heirs or assigns, by the payment of all taxes due thereon, at any time within one year from the passing of this act, with ten per centum per annum interest on the amount of such taxes, from the time when such taxes respectively became due and payable, until the said redemption be effected, which payment shall be made into the Treasury, after the amount so to be paid shall have been audited by the Auditor of Public Accounts, in trust for the use of the president and directors of the Literary Fund; or by making such payment to the clerk of the county in which the land lies, in trust for the use aforesaid, to be by him accounted for and paid into the Treasury in the manner provided by the first section of the act, passed the twenty-eighth day of February, in the year 1816.

Be it further enacted, That hereafter, no lands, or lots, shall be exposed to sale for any arrears of taxes and damages due thereon, except in the manner hereafter to be provided for by law; but such arrears of taxes and damages shall continue to be a lien upon the lands and lots on which they are chargeable, and the Sheriff who shall be charged with the collection thereof, shall have full power and authority to collect the same, by distress or otherwise, from the owner of any such land or lot, or any tenant thereof, in the same manner, as he would be authorized to collect any other taxes, charged upon such land or lot.

In order to prevent, as far as practicable, the evils likely to arise from the sale of lands already made for the non-payment of the arrears of taxes, and the damages charged thereon, *Be it enacted,* That it shall be the duty of the Executive of this Commonwealth, to cause to be redeemed all lands and lots so sold in the month of August last, which shall not be redeemed, by the former owner thereof, or by any other person for him. To this end, there shall be paid out of the Treasury of this Commonwealth, to the order of the Executive, so much money as may be found necessary therefor. The amount so necessary shall be ascertained by the Auditor, on an inspection of the returns made to him by the Sheriffs of the respective counties, and he shall issue a warrant or warrants therefor, as they may be required. Before the expiration of the time for redeeming such lands or lots, prescribed by law, the Executive shall cause them to be redeemed, as aforesaid, by payments to the clerk of the court of the county in which such lands or lots may lie; such payments shall be made pursuant to the regulations prescribed in an act of the General Assembly, entitled, "An Act to amend the act, entitled, 'An Act to amend and explain the act concerning taxes on lands,'" passed the 28th of February, 1816; and when made, shall be as effectual to redeem the land or lot so sold, as if it had been made by the former owner thereof.

All money paid as aforesaid by the Executive, in redemption of any land or lot, shall remain as a lien upon such land or lot, and shall be collected, as may be hereafter provided for.

For the purpose of making the payments aforesaid, the Executive may appoint one or more agents at their discretion, and allow them a reasonable compensation for their services.

Be it further enacted, That no sale of any land or lot, for the arrears of taxes due thereon, which shall have been made under the act of the General Assembly, entitled, "An Act to amend and explain the act, entitled, 'An Act concerning taxes on lands,'" passed the 9th day of February, 1814, shall be available to the purchaser or to any one claiming under him, unles such purchaser, or some person claiming under him, shall have asserted his title under such sale, by making an actual entry upon such land or lot, and taking actual possession thereof, within the period of five years from the date of his purchase, or by commencing an action for the recovery thereof, within that period, and prosecuting such action with effect. Nor shall any title, under such sale, be given in evidence, in the prosecution or defence of any suit, commenced after the expiration of such period of five years, unless such title shall have been asserted in the manner above mentioned.

No claimant under any such sale, shall be deemed to have had actual possession of any land or lot within the meaning of this act, unless by himself or his tenant, he shall in virtue of the title claimed under such sale, actually have resided thereon for the space of thirty days, or shall have cleared and fenced on such land, one acre at least thereof.

This act shall commence and be in force, from and after the passing thereof.

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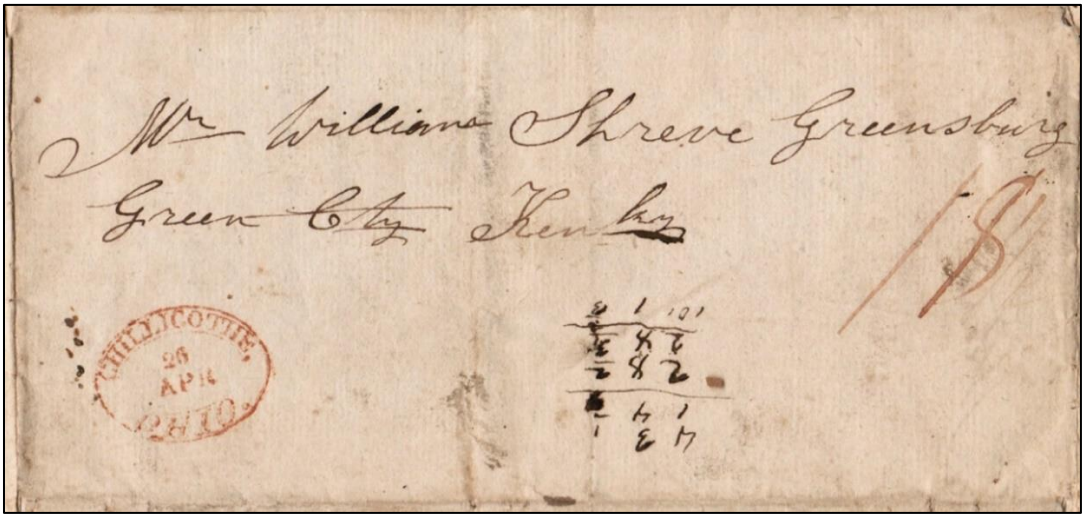
[Virginia--Public Education]: AN ACT TO AMEND THE SEVERAL LAWS CONCERNING THE ARREAR-/AGES OF TAXES UPON LANDS, HOUSES AND LOTS [caption title]. N.p., n.d., but Richmond, Virginia, February 20, 1817. Thomas Ritchie, Printer. Broadside. 8 1/2 x 13 1/2 in. (21.5 cm x 35 cm), docketed in ink with manuscript calculations on verso. Untrimmed, old folds and wrinkling, no loss, light edge wear. Swem 8935; Rawson 1817.019.

3. SOLD.

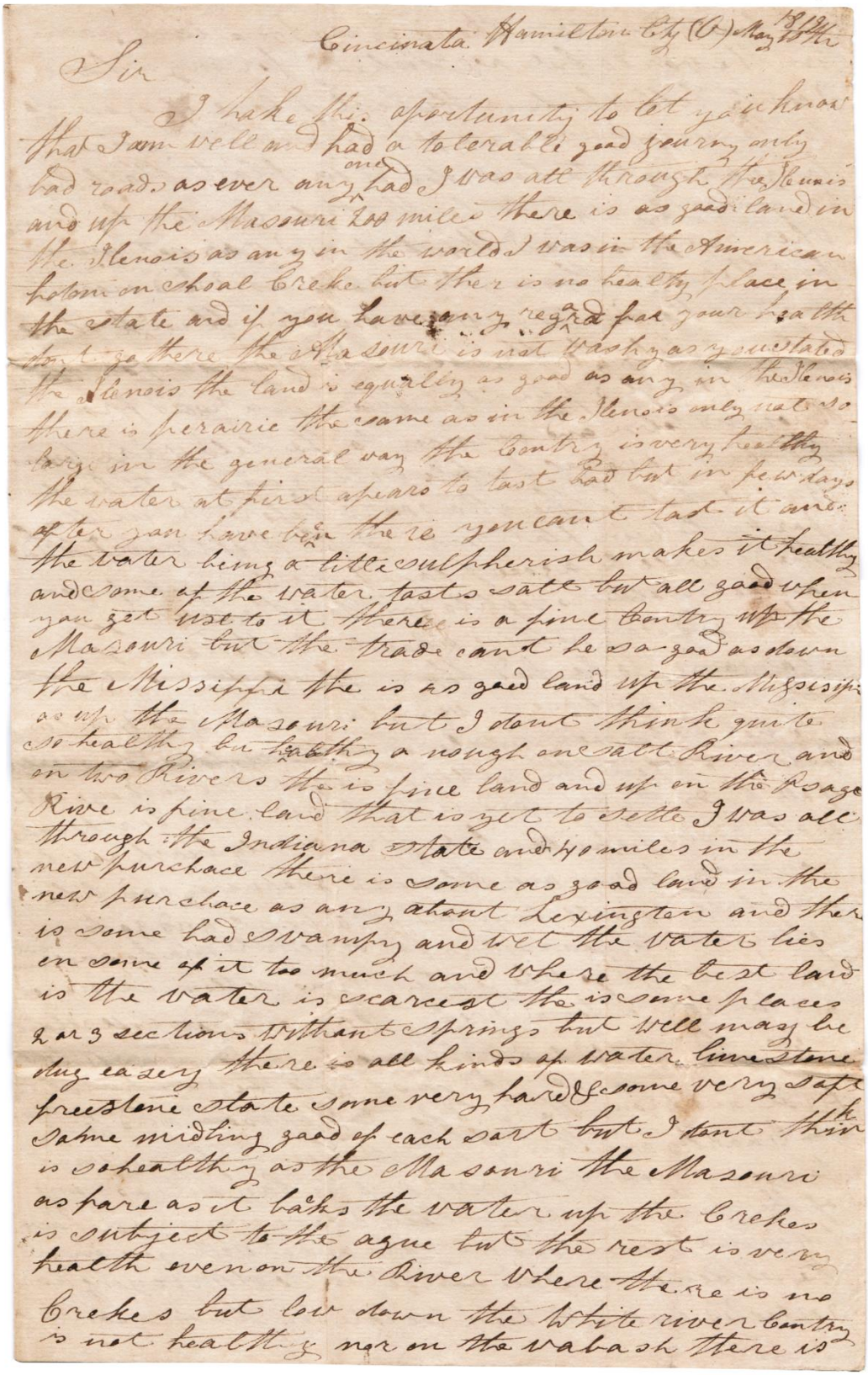
When the Midwest Was Young: Indiana and Beyond in 1819

When Indiana became the 19th state admitted to the union on December 11, 1816, only the lower third of its demarcated territory was formally secured and divided into counties, fifteen of which were strung along the Wabash River in the west and along the Ohio in the south. The rest its nominal area was still controlled by Native American tribes: the Miami, Wyandot, Wea, and Delaware. Then in October 1818, the state's first governor, Jonathan Jennings, negotiated a set of treaties with these Native peoples that would end in their removal to the west and open the entire central third of the state to survey and settlement by whites. Known collectively as the Treaty of St. Mary's or the New Purchase, these six separate agreements transferred almost 10 million acres of land to Indiana, which state surveyors would eventually carve into 35 new counties; a new state capitol, Indianapolis, was established near center of the tract in 1822. **This letter, from Virginian Thomas Mead to his cousin William Shreve of Kentucky, contains one of the earliest written descriptions of the New Purchase territory just after its acquisition**.



Thomas Mead was born in 1795 in Loudoun County, Virginia, where his grandparents had established a very large farm--later called Greenway--during the 1750s. We know little more of his youth or upbringing, save that a family history refers to him as "a highly educated man" (Rice 1904:56). We also know that both of his elder brothers survived to adulthood, such that Thomas likely had less of a claim to the choicest parts of the family estate. Such circumstances might explain why, at the age of 23 or 24, he undertook to journey across the Midcontinent, as well as why his written description of the trip is focused almost single-mindedly on the quality of the land he saw in different places along his route and its suitability for settlement. In May 1819, he had returned east as far as Cincinnati (the letter was posted from Chillicothe), writing to Shreve that "I am well and had a tolerable good journey only bad roads as ever anyone had." From this opening salutation he launches immediately into descriptions of the Illinois and Missouri countries, though most of his attention and interest lay in the New Purchase.

Mead reports that "I was all through the Ilinois and up the Masouri 200 miles there is as good land in the Ilinois as any in the world I was in the American botom on Shoal Creke but there



Cincinata Hamilton Cty (O) May 13th 1814

Sir

I take this opertunity to let you know that I am well and had a tolerable good journy only bad roads as ever any one had I was all through the Illenois and up the Missouri 200 miles there is as good land in the Illenois as any in the world I was in the American bottom on shoal Creke but there is no healthy place in the state and if you have any regard for your health don't go there the Missouri is not bushy as you stated the Illenois the land is equarley as good as any in the Illenois there is perairie the same as in the Illenois only not so large in the general way the Contry is very healthy the water at first apears to taste bad but in few days after you have been there you can't tast it and the water being a little sulpherish makes it healthy and some of the water tastes salt but all good when you get use to it there is a fine Contry up the Missouri but the trade cant be so good as down the Mississippi the is as good land up the Mississippi as up the Missouri but I dont think quite so healthy be hatthy a nough one salt River and on two Rivers the is fine land and up on the Osage Rive is fine land that is yet to settle I was all through the Indiana State and 40 miles in the new purchase there is some as good land in the new purchase as any about Lexington and there is some bad swampy and wet the water lies on some of it too much and where the best land is the water is scarcest the is some places 2 or 3 sections without Springs but well may be dug easey there is all kinds of water limestone freestone state some very hard & some very soft Same midling good of each sort but I dont think is so healthy as the Missouri the Missouri as fare as it takes the water up the Crekes is subject to the ague but the rest is very health even on the River where there is no Crekes but low down the White river Contry is not healthy nor on the Wabash there is

is no healthy place in the state and if you have any regard for your health dont go there" (spelling and punctuation verbatim). Mead's account expresses deep concern with the relative healthfulness of the lands he observed, as in his descriptions of water in the Illinois country: "the country is very healthy the water at first apears to tast bad but in few days after you have been there you cant tast it and the water being a little sulfurish makes it healthy and some of the water tasts salt but all good when you get use to it." Farther west, "the Masouri as fare as it backs the water up the crekes is subject to the ague but the rest is very health even on the river where the is no crekes but low down the White river country is not healthy nor on the Wabash there is no healthy place." He also reports that there "is as good land up the Missisipi as up the Masouri but I dont think quite so healthy but healthy a nough on Salt River...and up on the Osage River is fine land that is yet to settle."

Yet of all the places he observed, Mead reserves his the most detailed description for the lands he visited in the heart of Indiana's New Purchase:

> I was all through the Indiana state and 40 miles in the new purchace there is some as good land in the new purchase as any about Lexington and there is some had swampy and wet the water lies on some of it too much and where the best land is the water is scarcest the[re] is some places 2 or 3 sections without springs but well[s] may be dug easey there is all kinds of water limestone freestone slate some very hard & some very soft some midling good of each sort but I dont think is so healthy as the Masouri...
>
> I cant tell which is the best place if you go to the new purchace get on some stream large anough to boat down on Flat Rock River it is generally said to be the best country by those wher rangers and I think it is I was not much farther out than Flat Rock and I had no company and the Indians were midlin thick which I did not like to the delaware towns for they were 40 miles further ther is a road from Brownstown and vernon to the delaware towns there is several people sitting on Flat Rock But I think the Masouri is before it in the forke between flat rock and the driftwood I think there will be a good place for a town...
>
> the botom land in the new purchace is very larg from 1/4 to 4 miles and not so heavy timbered as the up land the soil from 4 to 8 feet the timber is sugar tree buckeye ash of all kinds the up land is timbered with beach oaks of all kinds popular but principaly beach...

Mead closes with suggestions to Shreve about establishing a settlement, advising that he should "go where you may if you and Abener & Joshuway [i.e., Abner and Joshua, two uncles of

Mead and Shreve] can like one place it will be much the best and go to a settlement to yourselves for one cant make a settlement by him self go where there is no settlement nere and lay out a town prety soon and you will stand a good chance for a County Seat." William Shreve would soon after follow his cousin's advice, at least as far as Indiana was concerned. In 1820 he left Lexington for Monroe County, located on the western edge of the New Purchase territory. In his *Genealogy and History of the Shreve Family*, Luther Allen notes that "he was very much opposed to slavery and came to Indiana, where he could rear his family away from its influences which he considered sinful and degrading" (1901:444). Shreve lived in Monroe County until his death in 1843. As for Mead, he would ultimately stay in Virginia, moving southwest from Loudoun County to the town of Liberty (renamed Bedford in 1890) in Bedford County. There he became the county's surveyor and outlived his cousin by just four years, dying suddenly in 1847.

Early, unrecorded accounts of Midwestern travel, especially beyond the Ohio country, are rarely offered in the trade today. **More importantly, Mead's letter is among the earliest known descriptions of the New Purchase--a transfer that nearly doubled the size of the nascent state of Indiana--his explorations taking place before the Delaware Indians had yet vacated their lands for the west**. In February 1819, the *Indiana Republican* newspaper published John Vawter's summary of his excursion with George Campbell into a portion of the same lands that Mead would describe in his letter, but we can find no earlier accounts of travel and exploration in what is now central Indiana during this period immediately following the New Purchase. An interesting report of the Indiana country when it lay on the cusp of the young nation's widening frontier.

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Editors
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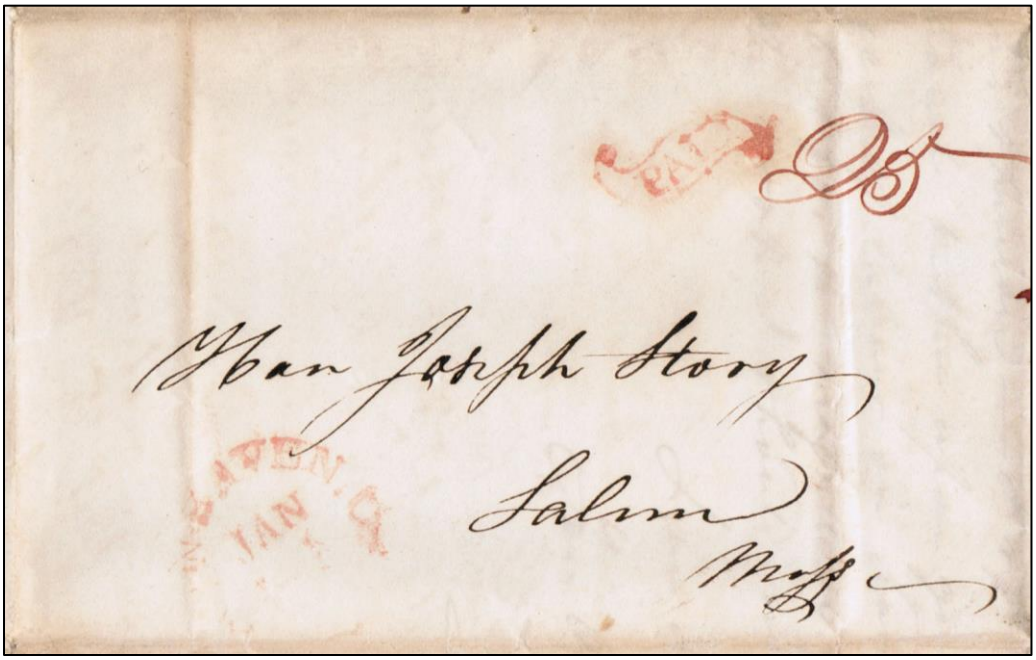
[Indiana--New Purchase]: Thomas Mead: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER, SIGNED, FROM THOMAS MEAD, IN CINCINNATI, TO WILLIAM SHREVE OF LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS IN THE MIDWEST, PARTICULARLY INDIANA'S NEW PURCHASE]. Cincinnati, Ohio, May 10, 1819. [2 1/2] pp., folio, on a folded sheet with integral address leaf and Chillicothe, Ohio, postmark. Old folds, minor separations at folds.

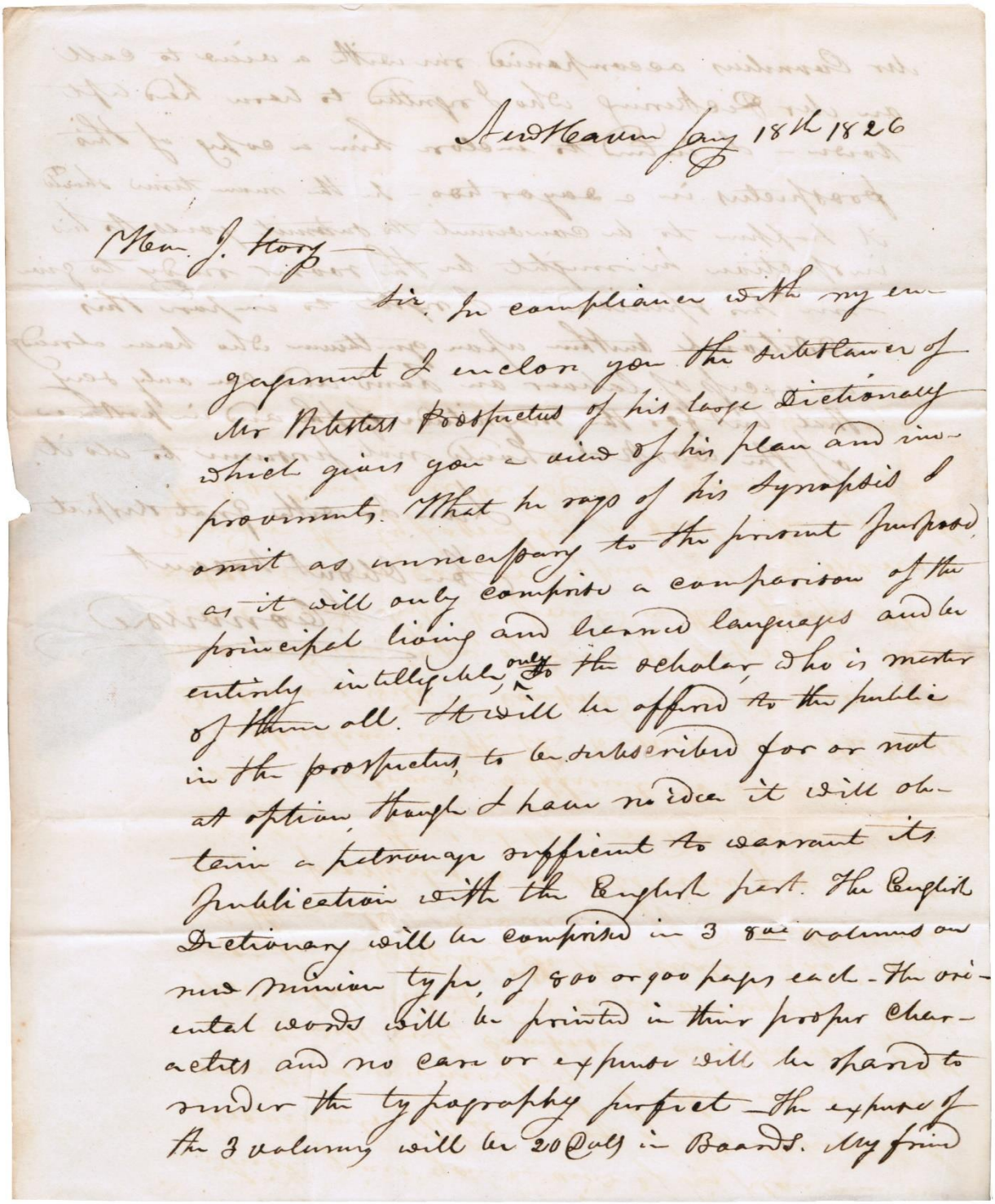
4. **$1500**.

Noah Webster's Publisher Seeks an Eminent Endorsement for his Dictionary

Noah Webster was a household name throughout the Early Republic, long before he began the remarkable achievement for which we know him best today. By 1800, his *American Spelling Book*, affectionately known as the "blue-backed speller" due to its distinctive boards, had already sold more than a million copies and gone through dozens of editions printed in a half-dozen cities across New England. Yet it is not because of this spelling book that Webster is still a household name, but rather because his name--for so many Americans--is practically synonymous with the dictionary that consumed almost a quarter-century of his life. In this 1826 letter, the publisher of Webster's *American Dictionary*, Sherman Converse, seeks a prepublication endorsement from the Hon. Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court and Professor of Law at Harvard University, widely recognized as the most penetrating American legal mind of the 19th century. **Converse's request to Justice Story, as well as containing an early description of the *Dictionary,* offers testimony to the practical and financial difficulties that nearly prevented this groundbreaking work from ever seeing publication**.



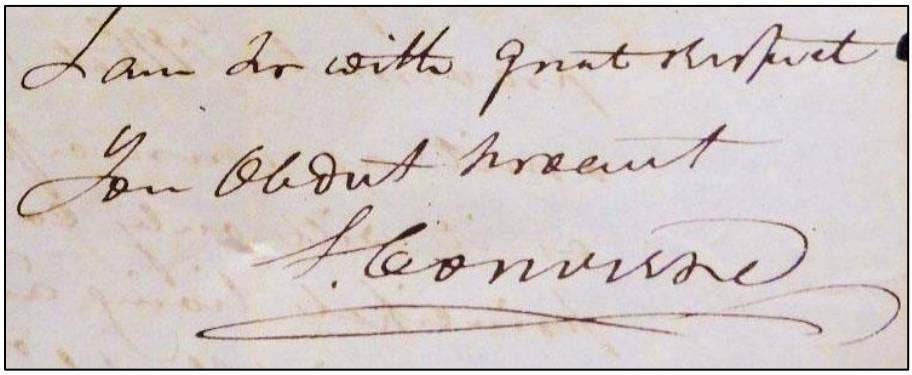
An American Dictionary of the English Language, which Converse finally brought to print in 1828, was not Webster's first dip into the American market for dictionaries; he had published an earlier such work, *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language*, at his hometown of Hartford in 1806. Loosely derived from John Entick's *New Spelling Dictionary*, first published in London in 1764 (Webster referred to his own *Compendious Dictionary* as "an enlargement and improvement" of Entick's book), his intent was both to expand the scientific vocabulary available to his American audience, bringing it up-to-date with recent discoveries in chemistry and natural science, and also to change the way his readers thought about their language and its spelling. His was not the first American dictionary--that distinction went to Samuel Johnson, Jr., (no relation to the famed English lexicographer) and his duodecimo *A School Dictionary* of 1798. What Webster



New Haven Jany 18th 1826

Mess. J. Story—

Sir. In compliance with my engagement I enclose you the subscriber of Mr Webster's Prospectus of his large Dictionary which gives you a view of his plan and improvements. What he says of his Synopsis I omit as unnecessary to the present purpose, as it will only comprise a comparison of the principal living and learned languages and be entirely intelligible only to the scholar who is master of them all. It will be offered to the public in the prospectus, to be subscribed for or not at option, though I have no idea it will obtain a patronage sufficient to warrant its publication with the English part. The English Dictionary will be comprised in 3 8vo volumes on new Minion type, of 800 or 900 pages each. The oriental words will be printed in their proper characters and no care or expence will be spared to render the typography perfect. The expence of the 3 volumes will be 20 Dolls in Boards. My friend



aimed to produce instead was the first dictionary written expressly for Americans, one that would trumpet, not correct or undo, those very same Americanisms that distinguished their speech from that of their English-speaking counterparts across the Atlantic.

The *Compendious Dictionary* proved a disappointment, neither a popular nor commercial success, yet Webster had found the calling he would pursue for most of the next two decades. And he believed that this was quite literally a calling, as his intense focus on a truly American dictionary followed his conversion to orthodox Calvinism in 1808, a spiritual awakening that worked its way into all of his later writings, including even the definitions in his steadily growing manuscript word lists. By January 1825, after completing the definition of his final word during a research trip to Cambridge University, he was ready to seek a publisher for what had ballooned into a gargantuan manuscript: Webster had defined in excess of 70,000 words, more than 12,000 beyond what even the most ambitious previous lexicographer had attempted. His jubilation soon turned to worry and doubt, though, as American publishers showed little interest in tackling the project. Webster began to fear that he might have no choice but to publish the work himself, at a cost that would likely ruin the comfortable life his family enjoyed off the proceeds of his *Speller*.

Webster's son-in-law, Chauncey Allen Goodrich, came to his aid and offered the finished manuscript to Sherman Converse, a young Connecticut publisher and fellow Yale graduate based in New Haven. Converse was enthused, recognizing the opportunity he had landed, but he could only go forward with assistance from the author himself. As James Leach notes, "Converse needed his financial help because the cost of producing the dictionary must have been breathtaking not only in the traditional expenses of paper, ink and printing but also in the special-ordering of several obscure typefaces from Germany to print Webster's etymologies" (1996:11). Converse also sought patronage from well-regarded statesmen, authors, and educators. Shortly after taking the job, by no later than January 1826, he began to write such men for statements of support that he planned to use in a prospectus announcing the dictionary to the general public. Along with a personal letter describing Webster's great undertaking, Converse included a manuscript draft of the prospectus and several printed extracts from the work. Over the next three months, his letters reached such luminaries as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Joseph Story. Jefferson, in poor health and having only a few months to live, politely declined. Madison, Story, and a dozen others--including DeWitt Clinton, Benjamin Silliman, Jared Sparks, and John Pickering--offered their support, and when Converse published the prospectus in May, it contained strong recommendations from each of these men. Story himself wrote that:

> I have examined the prospectus of Mr. Webster's dictionary, which you have sent me, and think his plan entitled to full public approbation. If the work is executed according to the outline (and I have no doubt of the fact,) the Dictionary will be far more complete and useful than any in our language. The specimen which I have seen of it impresses me with a high sense of its value, and of the learning and ability of its author, which seem fully adequate to this arduous and meritorious enterprise. I do not doubt that the work, when published, will receive an extensive patronage, and win the public favor.

The letter that we offer here is the request that Converse wrote to Justice Story from New Haven on January 18, 1826. **This is one of only three examples of Converse's query known to have survived, the others being his letter to Jefferson dated February 6 and to Madison dated March 3**. Each of these others is curated in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress among the Jefferson and Madison papers, respectively. Converse writes here that:

> The English Dictionary will be comprised in 3 8vo volumes and New Mission type, of 800 or 900 pages each. The Oriental words will be printed in their proper characters and no care or expense will be spared to render the typography perfect. The expense of the three volumes will be 20 doll in boards.

He notes, as well, that Webster had planned a "Synopsis" to accompany the dictionary as an extra volume. Although Webster would long consider this abstract--and badly flawed--work as equal in importance to his labors on the dictionary itself, Converse was already expressing doubts in his letter to Story (he ultimately opted against its publication, a decision that now seems prescient; the manuscript, still unpublished, lays in the collections of the New York Public Library):

> What he says of his Synopsis I omit as unnecessary to the present purpose, as it will only comprise a comparison of the principal living and learned languages and be intelligible only to the scholar, who is master of them all. It will be offered to the public in the prospectus, to be subscribed for or not at option, though I have no idea it will obtain a patronage sufficient to warrant its publication with the English part.

Finally, Converse asks Story to forward the prospectus and sample sheets to John Pickering, who he had been unable to meet in person during a previous visit to Salem. Story may well have done so, as Pickering--whose own vocabulary of Americanisms, published in 1817, had been sharply critical of Webster's earlier *Compendious Dictionary*--offered a surprisingly generous statement of support that Converse included in the published prospectus.

Despite the public recommendations of such eminent figures, subscriptions for the work were slow to materialize. The $20 price tag, equivalent to about $500 today, was undoubtedly a contributing factor. Yet both author and publisher pressed on. Webster began the two-year process of editing and revising his manuscript, while Converse contracted with printer Hezekiah Howe of New Haven to produce the completed project (without the "Synopsis"). In late 1828, *An American*

Dictionary of the English Language arrived at last, published in two massive quarto volumes under Converse's imprint in an edition of 2500 copies. It was an instant dud. Lowering the price to $15 improved sales a bit, but this first edition was not exhausted until 1836. Time has been far kinder to the author's effort and to his publisher's confidence in the work. The *American Dictionary* of 1828 was included in both the Grolier Club's 1946 exhibit, "One Hundred Influential American Books Printed before 1900" (no. 36) and the Lilly Library's 1973 exhibit, "Printing and the Mind of Man" (no. 291). The Grolier Club's catalogue described it as "The most ambitious publication ever undertaken, up to that time, upon American soil" (1947:71). Converse's letter to Joseph Story offers a compelling glimpse at a moment when the very future of the project--much less its eventual place in the pantheon of American imprints--was far from assured.

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[Publishing History--Noah Webster's *American Dictionary*]: Sherman Converse: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER, SIGNED, FROM SHERMAN CONVERSE, PUBLISHER OF NOAH WEBSTER'S *AMERICAN DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE*, TO SUPREME COURT JUSTICE JOSEPH STORY, SEEKING PATRONAGE FOR THE PROJECT]. New Haven, Connecticut, January 18, 1826. [2] pp., on a folded sheet with integral address leaf. Old folds, minor chip at center fold not affecting text.

5. **$2250**.

Touting Colonization after the Nat Turner Revolt: A Manuscript Address

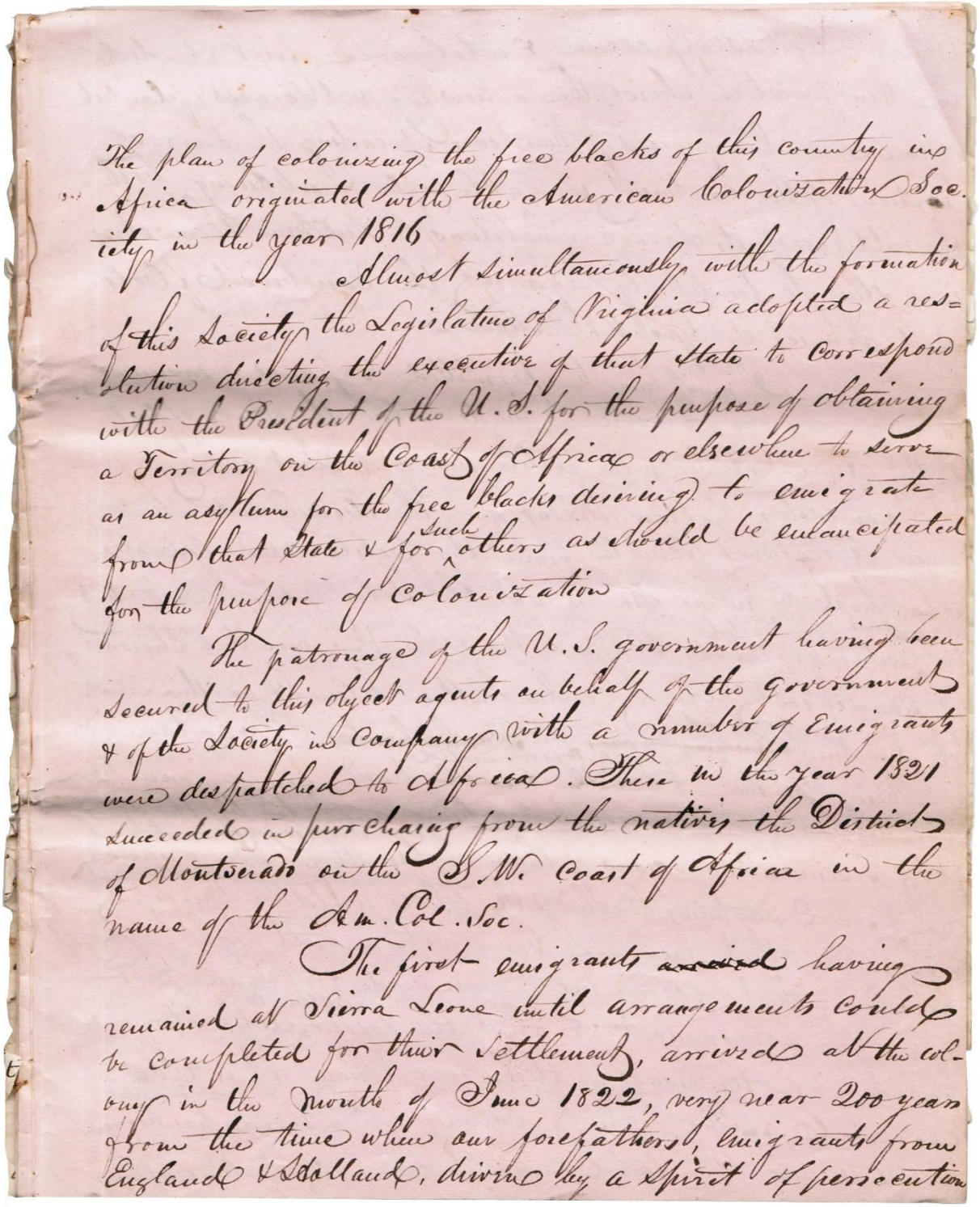
Colonization--the removal of freed Africans from America, whether voluntarily or by force and whether in the context of full emancipation or prolonged slavery--was among the most hotly debated, controversial movements in antebellum society. And perhaps the most pervasive of all sentiments underlying such debates, one that festered at the heart of notions that whites and blacks would never peacefully coexist, was the abject terror of insurrection, of enslaved peoples across the southern states rising up to overthrow and kill outnumbered whites. **This manuscript address, undated but probably composed in 1832 or 1833, links colonization to the most prominent slave rebellion ever undertaken on American soil, that incited by Nat Turner of Virginia in 1831**. In the history of the trade, we can find no comparable manuscript--written in the immediate aftermath of those events--that explicitly uses Turner's short-lived yet consequential rebellion to legitimize and promote the African colonization movement.

The Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America, better known as the American Colonization Society, was established in December 1816 by an improbable consortium of mostly northern, abolition-minded evangelicals and wealthy southern slaveowners, particularly from the Chesapeake region of Maryland and Virginia. The former fervently believed that freed Africans would have greater opportunities for self-determination in their original homelands, while the latter saw colonization (also referred to as repatriation) more cynically as a means of removing free blacks from slave states without endangering the institution itself. Among the society's early patrons included such luminaries as Thomas Jefferson, Bushrod Washington, Henry Clay, James Monroe, and James Madison, the last of whom would serve as the society's president during the early 1830s. Nevertheless, colonization remained a hotly contested idea and was actively opposed by many in both the abolitionist and pro-slavery camps. Then, in August 1831, a calamity unfolded in Southampton County, Virginia, that would shake the debate to its roots.

We will never know with any certainty what compelled Nat Turner to launch the rebellion that bears his name; only a single contemporary publication--the 1831 *Confessions* authored by Thomas Gray--purports to offer Turner's own perspective on those events, yet it was written by a white lawyer seeking to profit from his access to the doomed young man. What we do know is that Turner was born into slavery on October 2, 1800, and spent the entirety of his life within the bounds of Southampton County. He learned to read and write as a child and was said to have been very religious, showing great interest in the Bible and prayer. Some of the early accounts published immediately after his uprising report that Turner had been married about 1820, possibly to woman named Cherry. The couple may have had a child together, a son named Riddick, but the boy and his mother were sent to a neighboring plantation a short time later. It was during this time, when he was in his early 20s, that Turner began holding services for his fellow slaves and experiencing spiritual visions. Other slaves came to call him the 'Prophet.'

Sometime in early 1828, according to Gray's *Confessions*, Turner was at work in the fields when he experienced the vision that set him on a path to rebellion:

> I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne



The plan of colonizing the free blacks of this country in Africa originated with the American Colonization Society in the year 1816

Almost simultaneously with the formation of this Society the Legislature of Virginia adopted a resolution directing the executive of that State to correspond with the President of the U. S. for the purpose of obtaining a Territory on the Coast of Africa or elsewhere to serve as an asylum for the free blacks desiring to emigrate from that State & for such others as should be emancipated for the purpose of colonization

The patronage of the U. S. government having been secured to this object agents on behalf of the government & of the Society in company with a number of Emigrants were despatched to Africa. There in the year 1821 succeeded in purchasing from the natives the District of Montserado on the S. W. coast of Africa in the name of the Am. Col. Soc.

The first emigrants arrived having remained at Sierra Leone until arrangements could be completed for their settlement, arrived at the colony in the month of June 1822, very near 200 years from the time when our forefathers, emigrants from England & Holland, driven by a Spirit of persecution

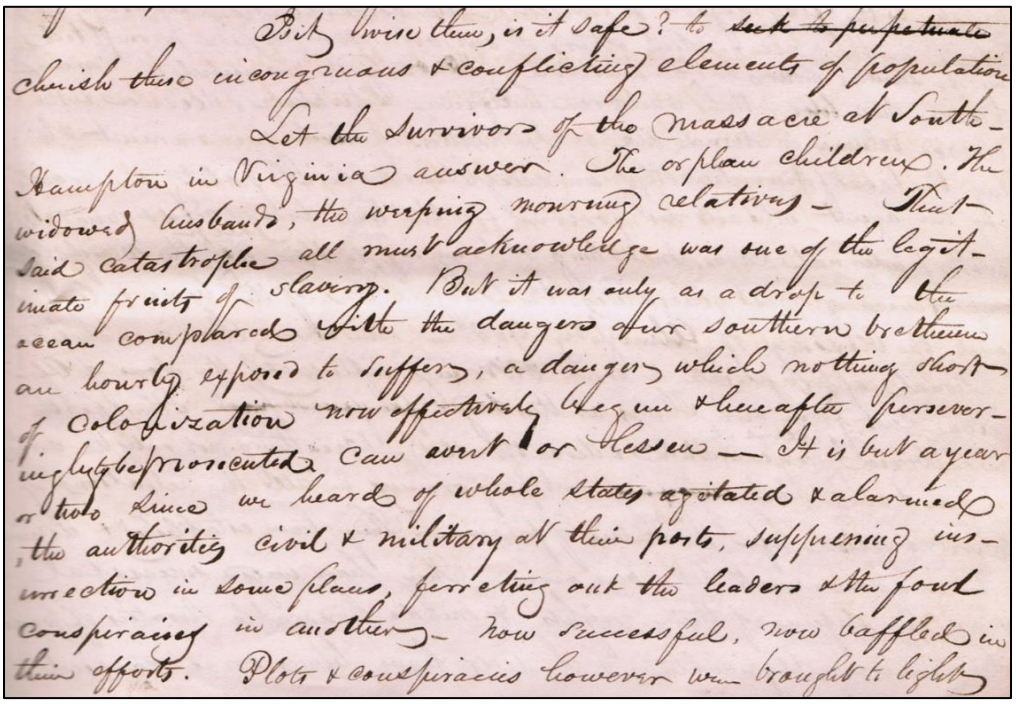
> for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first [Gray 1831:11].

For the next three years he waited. In February 1831, after viewing a solar eclipse, he finally began to lay the groundwork for an assault, drawing a few trusted co-conspirators into his plans. At first they timed the uprising for Independence Day, July 4, but when Turner fell ill he postponed the date and awaited another sign. Then on August 13, the appearance of another solar anomaly that turned the sun a bluish-green color convinced him that the moment was at hand. A week later, in the early morning hours of August 21, Nat Turner and a small group of rebels struck at the white families of Southampton. Over the next day, the size of his force would increase to as many as 70 men--both free and enslaved, many on horseback--and by the evening of the 22nd, no fewer than 57 whites--men, women, and children--lay stabbed, clubbed, or shot to death in their homes or in the surrounding fields. It was the largest such toll in American history.

And then it was over. By midday on August 23rd, little more than a day and a half after it began, Turner's revolt was all but shattered, his men repulsed and scattered by white militia. Most were captured over the next few days, though Turner himself managed to remain at large for nearly two months, hiding in the woods of Southampton not far from the scene of his revolt. Retribution was swift, for guilty and innocent alike. In the weeks to come, whites indiscriminately killed or tortured dozens, if not hundreds, of free and enslaved blacks across eastern Virginia and even into neighboring states. After Virginia state militia leaders ordered an end to such violence, largely to protect the "property" of white slaveowners, most of the co-conspirators--56 people, including a woman named Lucy--were tried, convicted, and hung in Southampton County. Turner was finally captured on October 30, and after trial and conviction was hung on November 11.

Yet the consequences of Turner's rebellion reached far beyond the lives that were lost. In the months that followed, more than two thousand Virginians signed petitions urging the General Assembly to address the issue of slavery, advocating positions that ranged from colonization and removal of free blacks to full emancipation. In January 1832, the House of Delegates held an open debate on slavery, though it ended soon after in deference to the status quo. Over time, sentiment in Virginal and across the South hardened against any form of abolition, associating the movement with northern agitation. Laws pertaining both to free blacks and to slaves became even more harsh and draconian, making it illegal to teach slaves to read and write, curtailing freedom of movement and denying both slaves and free blacks the right to conduct religious exercises, and banning the dissemination of abolitionist literature. In curtailing the rights of freedmen, such laws ultimately aimed to force all free blacks from the state. For institutions such as the American Colonization Society, Turner's rebellion seemed to provide visceral evidence that whites and blacks could not peacefully coexist, thereby justifying the case for removal.

So it is with the manuscript speech that we offer here. The anonymous author begins with a history of the ACS, focusing on its support for the Liberia colony--founded in 1822--whose early struggles he compares with those faced by the first English colonies in America: "We ourselves, fellow citizens, are but a few generations remote from the the feeble bands of exiles who had no where else to rest the soles of their feet but the wilds around Plymouth rock, the mouth & shores of Connecticut river, Manhattan Island & farther south the hunting ground of Powhatan." He then


But with them, is it safe? to ~~seek to perpetuate~~
cherish these incongruous & conflicting elements of population.

Let the survivors of the massacre at South-
Hampton in Virginia answer. The orphan children, the
widowed husband, the weeping mourning relations. That
said catastrophe all must acknowledge was one of the legit-
imate fruits of slavery. But it was only as a drop to the
ocean compared with the dangers our southern brethren
are hourly exposed to suffer, a danger which nothing short
of Colonization now effectively begun & hereafter persever-
ingly prosecuted can avert or lessen — It is but a year
or two since we heard of whole states agitated & alarmed,
the authorities civil & military at their posts, suppressing ins-
urrection in some place, ferreting out the leaders & the foul
conspiracy in another — now successful, now baffled in
their efforts. Plots & conspiracies however were brought to light

extolls the colony's recent progress before moving to a discussion of the benefits that colonization brings "to our country, to Africa, to the world at large." First, he warns of the dangers of a black population that would soon rival the proportion of white populations in much of the United States and that already outnumbered whites across the South. Moreover, he suggests that the systematic exclusion of blacks from political, economic, and social opportunities in America would make any integration impossible: "The means of intellectual and moral elevation here hold out to them no objects of desire, no incentives to ambition, for to them all are alike inaccessible." Finally, he has come to the question at the heart of his case:

> But with them, is it safe? to cherish these incongruous & conflicting elements of population.
>
> Let the survivors of the massacre at Southampton in Virginia answer. The orphan children, the widowed husband, the weeping mourning relations. That said catastrophe all must acknowledge was one of the legitimate fruits of slavery. But it was only as a drop to the ocean compared with the dangers our southern brethren are hourly exposed to suffer, a danger which nothing short of colonization now effectively begun & hereafter perseveringly prosecuted can avert or lesson. It is but a year or two since we heard of whole states agitated & alarmed, the authorities civil & military at their posts, suffering insurrection in some place, ferreting out the leaders of the foul conspiracy in another, now successful, now baffled in their efforts. Plots and conspiracies however were brought to light near their consummation, which if only partially on the scale intended would have filled the land with desolation & mourning...

Contemporary manuscript material pertaining to Nat Turner's rebellion is extremely rare in the trade. We trace but a single item having appeared at auction, a letter written in January 1832 from Madison County, Virginia (more than 150 miles north of Southampton) that contained news of the executions of Turner and his co-conspirators; this letter brought $3250 at Swann Galleries in March 2019. Given that the historical significance of Turner's rebellion was recognized almost from its beginning, most primary source references to the event have long been held in institutional collections. Manuscript material related to the ACS is also quite scarce, and the only comparable item we have identified in the trade is an anonymous, handwritten address on colonization authored about 1863 and offered by Between the Covers Rare Books in Catalogue 157 for $3500 (this item is now a part of the Carol Mundy African American Legacy Collection at the University of Central Florida). Finally, we have traced no surviving manuscript that explicitly uses Turner's revolt to legitimize the colonization movement. **A unique primary source that bridges two dramatically different responses to the stain of American slavery.**

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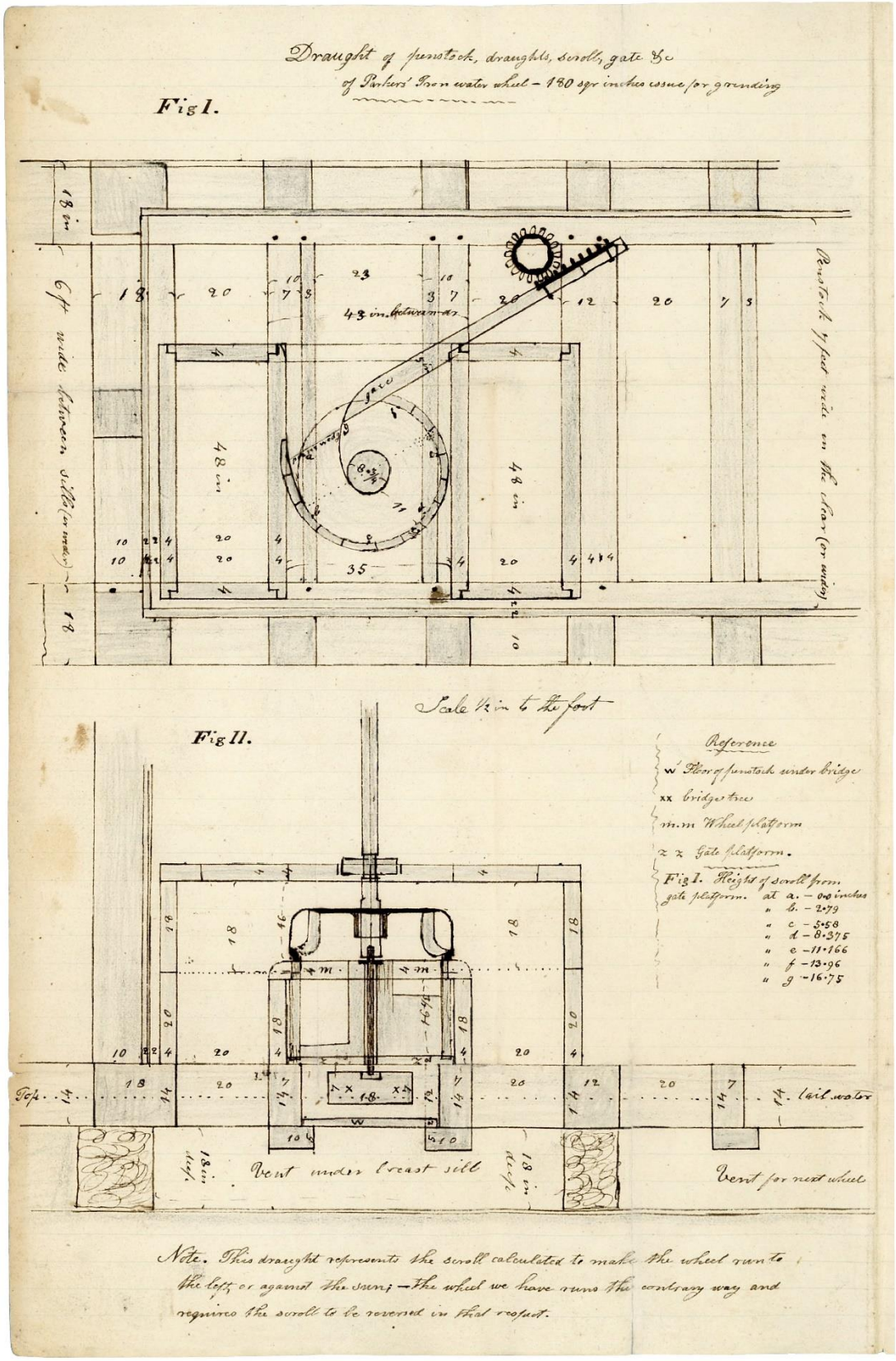
[African Americana--Nat Turner's Rebellion and Colonization]: Anonymous. [MANUSCRIPT ADDRESS ON THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY THAT USES NAT TURNER'S RECENTLY QUELLED REVOLT TO JUSTIFY COLONIZATION]. N.p., n.d., but likely 1832 or 1833. [16] manuscript pp. on 9 string-bound leaves (last leaf blank). 8 x 9 3/4 in. (20.5 x 25 cm). Approximately 5500-6000 words. Old folds with no separation or loss, written on light salmon colored paper in a fine, easily readable hand.

6. SOLD.

Zebulon Parker and the Development of Hydraulic Science in America

Few scientific advances in the first half of the 19th century had a more profound influence on the development of modern engineering than hydraulics, especially the study of water powered machines. Early researchers on water wheels and turbines occupied the crossroads of theory and practice, idea and experimentation. In Europe, much of this work unfolded under the influence of prestigious engineering academies such as École Polytechnique and École nationale des ponts et chaussées in France or Germany's Karlsruhe Institute. In the United States, however, comparable innovations were attained by millwrights working in a vernacular, experimental tradition, passing craft knowledge from master to apprentice. Brothers and millwrights Austin and Zebulon Parker of Coshocton County, Ohio, were perhaps the most successful and prolific of these early American innovators. This letter, from Zebulon Parker to fellow millwright Daniel B. Kauffman of nearby Crawford County, is the only known example from either brother to ever appear in the trade. **Even more, it contains detailed, written specifications--including remarkable, hand-drawn plan and profile views--for building the Parkers' patented water wheel, one of the most important American contributions to hydraulic design prior to 1850.**

Vertical water wheels, machines that revolve through the force of moving water and thus produce continuous power, were widely used in the ancient Middle East by at least the 1st century BCE and subsequently spread throughout the Old World. These earliest wheels had an inefficient undershot design that pulled water up from below--the speed of the water determining the speed of the wheel--so that by the Middle Ages both overshot and breastshot technologies that directed water to the wheel by way of a chute had all but replaced undershot designs. Yet even these more efficient wheels still had significant drawbacks, in particular their large size requirements and slow rotational speeds. Such shortcomings led to continued experimentation throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, culminating in 1827 with the development of the first true turbine by Benoit Fourneyron, a French engineer and graduate of the École des Mines de Saint-Étienne.


Draught of penstock, draughts, scroll, gate &c
of Parkers' Iron water wheel – 180 spr inches issue for grinding
Fig I.
Penstock 9 feet wide on the clear (or wider)
6 ft wide between sills (or wider)
Scale ½ in to the foot
Fig II.
Reference
w Floor of penstock under bridge
xx bridge tree
m.m Wheel platform
z z Gate platform.
Fig I. Height of scroll from gate platform. at a. – 0·0 inches
" b. – 2·79
" c. – 5·58
" d. – 8·375
" e. – 11·166
" f. – 13·96
" g. – 16·75
Vent under breast sill
Vent for next wheel
Note. This draught represents the scroll calculated to make the wheel run to the left or against the sun; – the wheel we have runs the contrary way and requires the scroll to be reversed in that respect.

Mary Ann Furnace Nov 28th 1835

Sir I have had yours of the some time, but, till now have not had time to give you the information you desired respecting the manner of putting in our wheel for grinding. I herewith send you a tolerably fair and accurately proportioned draught, of the parts of the wheel issuing 180 sqr inches.

This with a copy of the table I think ought to be a tolerably sure guide, recollecting to vary the proportions according to the table. There are however some things not expressed in the table which are regulated by a sort of general rules. First The gate is to be pin all cases of common sized wheels 4½ to 5 in thick, and the face or in side of it is to fall 2½ to 3 inches in the circle of the out cylinder, the stem to be thrown round as far as the corner of the draught opposite the inlet will admit, reducing the gate stem to 3 in and cutting 1½ into the corner of the draught. After the gate line is got draw through the centre parallel, then with the whole diameter of the scroll block as a radius, sweep from the centre parallel line 2 inches past the line on which the face of the gate draws; from this point set make the most easy curve the nature of the case will admit of to the corner of the draught, which forms a part of the inlet. To form the inside of the inlet and the out side of the point of the gate, observe the same rule as in sawmills, Viz. The distance from the outside of the gate to the centre parallel line is a radius to sweep from the outside of the gate, touching the inner cylinder. Another general rule is to commence the scroll (point of wedge) about ¼ an inch within the gate and rise regularly so as to make the width of the gate and ¼ or ⅜ more at the point of the gate <u>when it is full drawn</u> [the design is to make the water which has passed round the scroll slide over the water which is entering without shocking it or forming an eddy] As a general rule make the distance between draughts, including the thickness of the plank 12 to 14 inches more than the diameter of the scroll block. On low heads with the 180 and 120 in issue wheels it is necessary to sink that part of the floor of the penstock which is under the bridge tree as represented in this draught, in order to get the wheel so low that the cover of the wheel chamber will remain covered if the water should sink in the flume, on higher heads this part of the floor may be partly sunk, or may be even with the tops of the ties and sills, in this case the gate platform rests on scantling or thick plank placed on the ties between the draughts.

I do not know whether you have a copy of the table or not, if you have not I will endeavor to send you one or more as I expect I have a thousand copies of them printed by this time in Zanesville.

Please inform such as you build for of the necessity of paying the right promptly; so far there seems to be a great backwardness in paying for the right.

Yours very respectfully
Z. Parker

Daniel B. Kauffman.

Unlike traditional vertical wheels, Fourneyron's wheel rotated on a horizontal axis. While vertical wheels directed the flow of water over a single blade or bucket at a time, limiting the speed of the wheel's rotation, Fourneyron's horizontal design directed water to the center of the wheel, where it was dispersed to all blades simultaneously. His turbine (a word coined by Fourneyron's mentor Claude Burdin and derived from the Greek term for whirling or vortex, a reference to the swirling motion his new design forced on the water and through which it transferred greater energy to the spinning rotor) could continue to operate when submerged, had higher efficiency and spun faster than any vertical wheels, and could produce more energy per unit area, thereby reducing the size requirements of its traditional counterparts. It was nothing less than a revolution in hydraulic science, one that heralded the demise of the old familiar wheel.

At practically the same time that Fourneyron was developing his first functioning turbine in France, brothers and millwrights Austin and Zebulon Parker were contemplating a very similar design of their own in central Ohio. Little is known of the Parkers' early lives, but they appear to have been precocious by any standard. One neighbor later recalled that as boys,

> Their habits were to study and practice all kinds of mechanical inventions mostly water wheels. But I have known them in the winter seasons to invent and make clocks, fiddles, thrashing machines, churns or various other things that could be coungered out of wood. They were both remarkable for their mechanical genius and study [in Layton 1978:70].

In 1824, they built a saw mill just above the Muskingum River, where they experimented with different kinds and configurations of wheels to power the saw. Having little success achieving sufficient power to operate the blade, they abandoned their saw mill in 1827 and built a grist mill in the same place. After installing a simple reaction wheel on a vertical shaft, the brothers found that a leakage of water from the headgates caused the wheel to run sluggishly, if constantly. While rigging the stones to begin grinding corn, a wooden plank accidentally slipped into the reservoir (or forebay) above the wheel, where running water lodged it against a post in the center. It tilted up on its edge, one end extending down to the wheel, the other held against the forebay. Here, to the brothers' surprise, it changed the flow of the water, which obtained a whirling motion--much like Fourneyron's--that doubled the velocity of the wheel. Conceiving this flow against the plank in terms of spiral motion, they invented a scroll casing or "volute chamber" that took the form of an Archimedean spiral and gave the water a circular motion before it met the wheel. The Parkers obtained a patent for their wheel in 1829, and with its combination of cheapness and efficiency it rapidly spread to mills as far away as New Hampshire and Vermont.

Austin Parker died unexpectedly in 1834. Zebulon continued to conduct experiments while striving to meet demand for their wheel and ensuring that its patent was enforced. In November 1835, he wrote the letter that we offer here to a fellow millwright from Ohio who had requested a set of instructions for installing the brothers' wheel sometime before. Parker responds, "I herewith send you a tolerably fair and accurately proportioned draught of the parts of the wheel issuing 180 sqr inches [a measure of its hydraulic power]." The "draught" to which he refers is a remarkable diagram that fills the facing page and is labeled "Draught of penstock, draughts, scroll, gate &c of Parker's Iron water wheel--180 sqr inches issue for grinding." Parker's rendering consists of two figures drawn in ink that depict both plan and section views of the turbine.

The plan view, Fig. I, illustrates the chute that carried flowing water to a toothed wheel, with the Parkers' characteristic Archimedean casing at its upper end. The section view, Fig II, depicts the wheel on a vertical shaft and situated in its penstock. Most of the components in both figures are labelled with reference to the key, while all measurements and proportions are clearly indicated throughout. Although additional illustrations of the Parker wheel may exist in the archives of the Franklin Institute, to which Zebulon Parker submitted a never-published paper in 1844 after his invention of an air-tight casing or "draft tube" (see Layton 1978:69), **we can trace no evidence of any earlier or more detailed illustration of the Parker brother's wheel, much less one created so close to the time of the its invention and in manuscript form**.

The letter itself contains careful instructions for installing the wheel, offering textual support for the diagram's visual information. Parker composed the letter and its accompanying figures at Mary Ann Furnace, an iron-smelting operation in nearby Licking County that may have produced some of the components for Parker's wheels or else used the wheels in its operations. In the final lines of the letter, Parker asks its recipient, Daniel Kauffman, to "Please inform such as you build for of the necessity of paying the right promptly; so far there seems to be a great backwardness in paying for the right." As legal historian Christopher Beauchamp (2016) has pointed out, Zebulon Parker was at the forefront of a "patent-litigation explosion" that began about 1840, with the Ohio millwright bringing hundreds of lawsuits against fellow millers from Illinois to Vermont who had neglected to pay for using the patented design.

Among the more interesting of these cases unfolded in Aurora, Illinois, where Parker brought a suit against miller Charles Hoyt in 1849. Hoyt hired a Chicago attorney, Grant Goodrich, who who would later help to found Northwestern University, but the lawyer's wife became seriously ill before arguments. Goodrich recommended a friend to replace him, a young Springfield lawyer who had recently returned home after serving a term in the U. S. Congress. Abraham Lincoln, just 40 years old, took the case on short notice but lost. He immediately appealed. Lincoln had worked at a mill in New Salem during the 1830s, and when given time to prepare his arguments, he was able to explain in clear, simple terms both the particulars of patent law and the action of water on a wheel. This time, Lincoln won, then had Parker's appeal of the second verdict dismissed. As Goodrich would write to the president's friend and biographer William Herndon in 1866, it was a case that Lincoln "always regarded as one of the most gratifying triumphs of his life" (in Emerson 2009:19). **Parker's manuscript brings unique insight to both the development of American technology and the expansion of U. S. patent law**.

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Reynolds, Terry S.
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[American Science and Technology]: Zebulon Parker: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM OHIO MILLWRIGHT AND INVENTOR ZEBULON PARKER TO FELLOW MILLER DANIEL B. KAUFFMAN CONTAINING DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS FOR BUILDING PARKER'S PATENTED WATER WHEEL, WITH ACCOMPANYING MANUSCRIPT DIAGRAM]. Mary Ann Furnace, Ohio. November 28, 1835. [2] pp. with integral address leaf and Mt. Vernon, Ohio, postmark. Large folio sheet, lined paper, folded to 8 x 12 1/4 in. (20 x 31 cm). Old folds and wax remnants with holes and minor separations affecting a few letters, professionally repaired with archival tape on verso; light toning. Very good.

7. SOLD.

Regulations of the Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail Road of Virginia

On July 4, 1828, workers broke ground on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, the first public or common-carrier line in the United States. It moved its first official passengers by horse-drawn cars in July 1829, but only a year later the B&O introduced Peter Cooper's locomotive, the Tom Thumb, becoming the first line in America to carry people by steam engine. New lines were soon laid down from one end of the country to the other, from New England west to Indiana, and south from Baltimore to South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana. Among this first generation of early American rail lines was the Portsmouth and Roanoke Rail Road, chartered in 1832. It took nearly two years to link Portsmouth at the mouth of the James River with Suffolk, located about 20 miles southwest, but then a burst of construction from 1834 to 1837 completed the track from Portsmouth to the falls of the Roanoke, 80 miles away at Weldon, North Carolina. This broadside, issued in January 1836--a year before the rail's completion--lists the company's regulations for sending and receiving materials via the line. **We locate no other physical copy**.

The P&R used horse-drawn cars during its first two months of operation between the towns of Portsmouth and Suffolk. On September 4, 1834, its first steam locomotive--christened "John Barnett" after the first Englishman to ascend the Roanoke River above its falls--arrived by sea at Portsmouth. By the time the P&R ran the entire distance to Weldon three years later, it held a key role in the growing economic rivalry between Portsmouth/Norfolk and Petersburg/Richmond, each vying to control the burgeoning Roanoke Valley trade (the latter through its own Petersburg Rail Road). All first-generation railroad material is extremely scarce, both in institutional holdings and in the trade. This broadside list of regulations is reported in Thomson's *Check List of Publications on American Railroads before 1841*, with two copies reported at the Bureau of Railway Economics and the John Crerar Library. Online searches of both collections (currently housed at the St. Louis Mercantile Library and the University of Chicago, respectively) reveal no physical copy, nor does OCLC. A rare document from the one of the first railroads in the American South.

Relevant sources:

Parramore, Thomas C.
1994 *Norfolk: The First Four Centuries*. The University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Prince, Richard E.
2000 [1966] *Seaboard Air Line Railway: Steam Boats, Locomotives, and History*. Reprinted by the Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

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[Virginia--Railroads]: [Arthur Emmerson, President, signed in type]: REGULATIONS / TO BE OBSERVED BY THOSE SENDING OR RECEIVING PRODUCE OR OTHER / ARTICLES, BY THE / PORTSMOUTH AND ROANOKE RAIL ROAD [caption title]. Portsmouth, Virginia, January 1836. T. J. Bland, Printer. Broadside. 8 x 11 in. (20 x 28 cm). Light wrinkling and edge wear, old horizontal folds, paper evenly tanned. Very good. Thomson 1464.

8. SOLD.

REGULATIONS

To be observed by those sending or receiving Produce or other articles, by the

PORTSMOUTH AND ROANOKE RAIL ROAD.

1st. The ware-house will be open from sunrise to sunset, for the reception and delivery of Goods, and nothing will be received or delivered after sunset.

2d. A duplicate bill must be sent with each boat or dray bringing goods for transportation; one of which will be retained by the Agent, the other returned with an acknowledgment of the articles having been received.

3d. All articles must be distinctly marked with the name of the consignee and depot at which they are to be left.

4th. Steel and Iron in bars must be secured in bundles or each bar distinctly marked.

5th. Lime, Tar, Molasses, Glass Stone or Crockery ware, Demijohns, and Jugs, either full or empty, and Furniture or Carriages not boxed, or Harness not securely bundled, will only be carried at the risk of the owner.

6th. Grain, Meal, &c. will only be carried in two bushel bags, with the owner's name marked upon them.

7th. All kegs containing gun powder, must be put up securely in boxes or barrels and marked *Gun Powder*, or they will not be received.

8th. Sacks containing Salt or any other article, must be strong and well secured, or they will only be taken at the risk of the owner.

9th. Freight on articles sent to persons residing more than one mile from the depot to which they are directed, must be paid to the Agent at Portsmouth.

10th. The Agent will require a receipt for all goods delivered by him, and will give a receipt for all goods, for which the company are liable under the foregoing regulations.

RATE OF TRANSPORTATION.

On Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, for every 100 lbs.	4 Mills per mile.
On Lumber, continued to the end of the Road	7 Cts. pr. ton, pr. mile.
Do. delivered along the line of the Road,	8 do. do. do.
Passengers from Depot to Depot,	5 Cents per mile.

No Passenger is carried any distance for less than 50 Cents.

No Package is received for less than 25 Cents freight.

ARTHUR EMMERSON, PRESIDENT.

PORTSMOUTH, JANUARY, 1836.

T. J. BLAND, PRINTER, PORTSMOUTH.

Item 8

From Yorkshire to Circleville in 1843: Ann Smith's Shipboard Diary

Liverpool, where the River Mersey meets the Irish Sea, is the pivot from which Europeans fanned out to meet the world. During the century from 1830 to 1930, more than 40 million people left Europe to discover new homes and opportunities--most journeying to the United States and Canada, to Australia and New Zealand, to Asia or southern Africa--and nearly one out of every four passed through the port at Liverpool. Many of these emigrants kept shipboard diaries of the long voyage, and the rare examples that have survived to the present day are highly valued for the unique insights they bring to our understanding of the emigrant experience. Among those travelers who made their way to America via Liverpool was the family of Ann Smith, a 32-year-old mother from the small town of Snaith in Yorkshire. On August 1, 1843, they left behind their home and all that they knew for an unknown life awaiting 4000 miles away in Circleville, Ohio. **Ann kept a detailed diary of the voyage, which we are pleased to offer here, but what makes her journal particularly significant is that it continues after the family's ocean crossing and their arrival at Staten Island, containing fine descriptions of the journey by steamer and canal boat from Staten Island across upstate New York to their new home in Ohio**.

Snaith is an ancient market town in Yorkshire's East Riding district, situated about halfway between the cities of Leeds and Hull along the south bank of the River Aire. Each of these larger cities witnessed explosive growth during the early 1800s, a consequence of industrialization, with the population of Leeds itself surpassing 150,000 by 1840. Yet the economic growth that marked those first decades of the 19th century ended as midcentury approached. Arthur Redford observes that "After a brief spell of prosperity between 1833 and 1836 the industrial centers settled down to a prolonged period of bad trade; the years from 1841 to 1843 were a time of especially severe distress" (1926:155). While the passenger manifest for the *England*--the ship that carried Ann and

her family across the Atlantic--records their occupation as farmers, the agricultural communities of East Riding would have faced similar pressures. Descriptions of the rich and impossibly endless farmlands of the American Midwest must have seemed miraculous in contrast.

Ann Smith never signed her diary. Yet by putting together the names, dates, and facts she did specify--her age (32), husband (Robert), named children (Ann and George), ship during the Atlantic crossing (*England*) and date of arrival in New York (September 11, 1843)--and comparing these facts with data from passenger lists, we have been able to identify her with near certainty as the author of our diary. For many emigrants, Ann among them, abstract ideals such as opportunity and adventure provided little comfort from the very real pangs of separation, particularly when all involved, those leaving and those staying behind, knew that the coming gulf would likely never be bridged. Her writing begins in Snaith on the day of her departure:

> *August Wed 2 evening*
> Left Snaith I expect for ever I felt my mind overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow when I found myself surrounded by my kind affectionate friends and neighbors receiving from them with many tears there last and most affectionate farewells and feeling the severing of that friendship which time cannot efface...

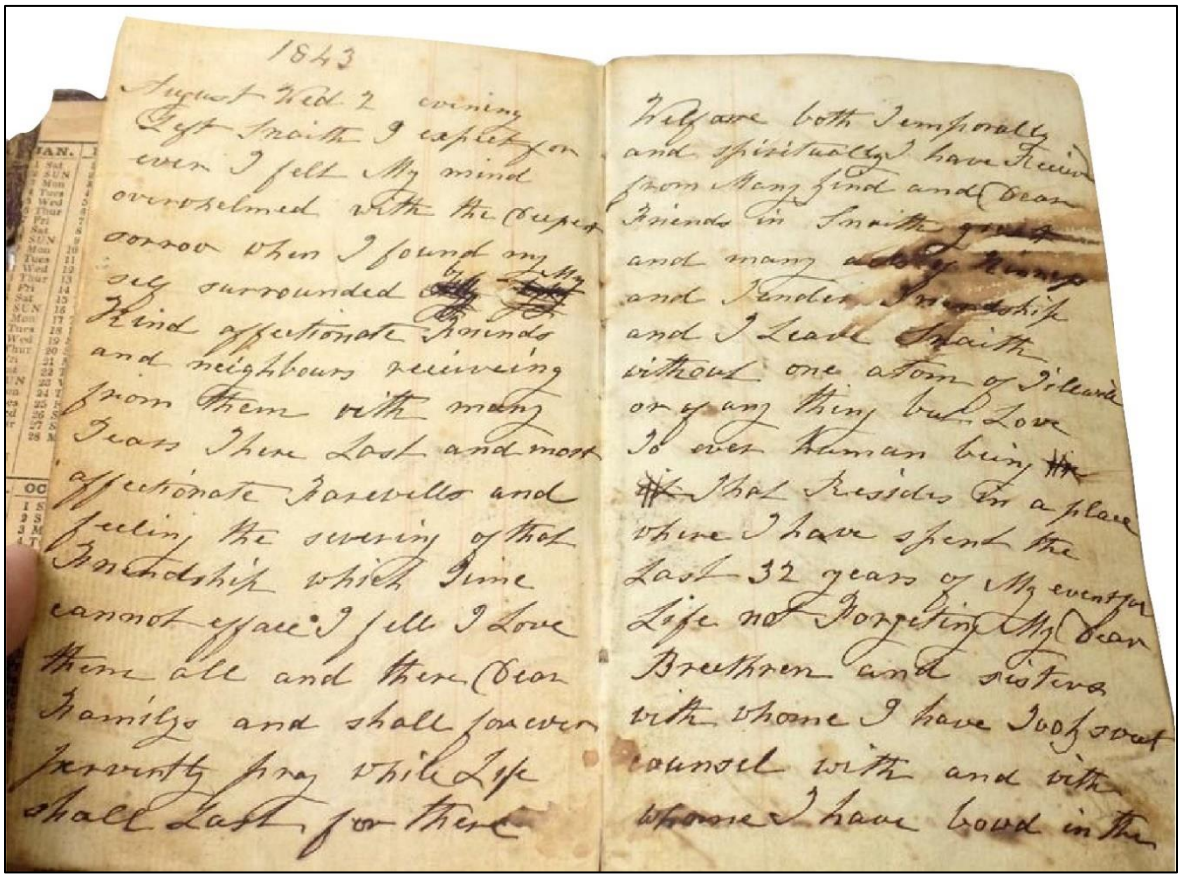
From Snaith, Ann and her family (it is unclear which members were with her at this point in the journey) travelled west to Pollington Lock and from there by "fly boat" to Leeds, where they took another fly boat, the *Orion*, bound for Liverpool. This portion of the trip required passing through dozens of locks along the Leeds-Liverpool Canal, and Ann felt her sacrifice quite acutely on Sunday, passing through Wigan: 'Sunday 6 the sabath of the Lord which the saints of God are worshipping in his Holy Temple I am confined to the cabin of a fly boat." Arriving in Liverpool on Monday, she met her husband, Robert, who seems to have reached the city first with their older daughter, Ann. Robert was "quite unsatisfy respecting our goin out to America he offered to give Ann 5,,0,,0 to return back on Monday morning in the railway before I arrived but when I arrived her mind was soon changed I felt determined in the strength of the Lord to proceed on our voyage across the stormy Atlantic." By that afternoon they were all aboard the *England* in a second class cabin with three other people in their group--Ann sharing a berth with her daughter, Robert sharing his with another man, and a young couple in the third. By evening they were at sea:

> I feel each receding wave is bearing me fare from my kindred friends and home I feel it deeply England my one happy home endeared to me by every kindred be this of home of country and of blood and the blessed hours of childhood of innocence and love...

The sea voyage from Liverpool to New York would take fully five weeks, from August 7 to Monday, September 11, and the shipboard part of Ann's narrative fills 37 pages of the 66-page diary. Her first experience sailing on deep water, as with most of her fellow passengers, was one of extreme discomfort. On Tuesday at noon, "the wind increased 4 O clock very sick and ill Ann the same women and children and some men to[o] laid below and on the deck quite helpless all of us nearly ill or sick 6 O clock the gale increases 12 O clock the ship pitches dreadfully..." Yet by the next evening, most were much improved: "I have passed nearly all the day upon deck it is so pleasant and I am quite well and comfortable praise the Lord all the passengers have been upon deck nearly all the day some of the women sewing kniting or reading or writing..." As she became accustomed to the movements of the ship at sea, she turned to the subject of food:

> we have received our allowance of water flour and biscuits we have plenty of provisions and to spare of all sorts of grains we have a box of muscatel raisin large jar of curran[t]s with plenty of lemons [?] preserves and all we can wish or desire as it respects provisions we have scores of ducks geese and chickens together with pigs and sheep and a cow upon deck to supply the state passengers cabin with milk cream and butter...

Smith and her fellow passengers gradually slipped into shipboard routines, with periods of rough weather and seasickness still punctuating the passage: "it has been a dreadful night no sleep


1843
August Wed 2 evening
Left Snaith I expect for
ever I felt My mind
overwhelmed with the deepest
sorrow when I found my
self surrounded by
kind affectionate friends
and neighbours receiving
from them with many
Tears their Last and most
affectionate farewells and
feeling the severing of that
Friendship which Time
cannot efface I felt I love
them all and their dear
Families and shall forever
fervently pray while Life
shall Last for them
We are both temporally
and spiritually I have found
from many kind and dear
friends in Snaith
and many
and Tender Friendship
and I Leave Snaith
without one atom of Friend
or any thing but Love
to every human being
that Resides in a place
where I have spent the
Last 32 years of My eventful
Life not Forgetting My dear
Brethren and Sisters
with whome I have took sweet
counsel with and with
whome I have bowed in the

sea mountains high the white foam on the top of each receding wave appears like mountains of snow..." Similarly, when the ship reached "the celebrated fishing banks of Newfoundland" on the 31st of August, it was to frightening and turbulent seas:

> all sailors upon deck for 13 hours waves rushing down into our cabin...the wind howling the sea roaring the waves dashing mountains night all around our ship and [th]her[e] is a valley of mighty waters below the ship rocking pans pots boxes provisions in one promiscuous mass but God was at the helm we was preserved...

The next day they "gained the American coast." Here Smith makes the intriguing comment that "my husband has been unsatisfy every day during our voyage to America Ann unsatisfy but I believe it is the path the Lord has appointed for me..." Based on this observation and the numerous references throughout the journal to "Snaith Chapel," "the saints of god," and her personal "divine appointment," we suspect that Ann was a convert to England's Primitive Methodist Church, and she may have been among its missionaries who migrated to the American Midwest in the first few decades of the 19th century; we would also point out that the Primitive Methodists allowed women to serve as ministers. Moreover, Ann's "divine appointment" seems to have been at odds with her husband's wishes (recall his unhappiness in Liverpool and his efforts to convince the younger Ann to return to Snaith). **This is far from the usual migration story**. As Andrew Hassam has written

about contemporary, mid-19th-century migration from England to Australia: "many women made the journey because they had to, because they were part of the household of a man who had decided to emigrate; they had no option to remain since they would have been unable to support themselves financially" (1994:52). Ann, rather, may have been the catalyst for her family's voyage.

On Monday, September 11, they finally came ashore: "we have all of our luggage to take out of our ship and put on board the sconers and took us all to Staten Island to examine us at the custom house." Ann was impressed with what she saw: "NY is a beautiful city the public buildings are noble large and splendid the exchange is all built of marble the beautiful polished fluted marble pillars and the walls in the interior of the building with the beautiful dome and the elegant crimson curtains gives it a most grand appearance..." The very next afternoon they caught a Hudson River steamer to Albany and from there bought passage on a canal boat to Buffalo: "we are delighted with the beauty of the country hills crowned with trees and beautiful rich valleys..." Farther upstate along the Erie Canal, between Rome and Rochester:

> as we pass on the land is rich and beautyful and laid out in well cultivated farms and most of the farm houses as we pass along are built the same as gentlemens houses and they have a remarkable clean appearance they are painted white and the doors and windows green **America is not that wilderness I supposed it was** There is in one level plot 100 or 150 acres in one level plot and houses with towns and villages thick in all directions with beautyful verdant hills compleats the grandeur and beauty of the scene with large factorys full of machinery for all kinds of manufacturing the same as England some built of brick some of stone...

After nine days of travel through western New York, their canal boat, the *Osceola*, reached Buffalo on September 20. The next day they caught "the lake boat steamer [Ben] *Franklin* across Lake Erie 2 1/2 dollars a piece," arriving safely in Cleveland at noon on September 22. From here they took passage on the mail packet *Rob Roy*--at a cost of $4.00 each--heading south along the Ohio and Erie Canal to Carroll. Of the *Rob Roy,* Ann writes that:

> she is a beautiful packet ladies bedroom ladies cabin gentlemens cabin the cushions figured crimson the window curtains the same the floors carpeted with looking glasses and every comfort....our dinner today consists of roast beff roast mutton large boiled onions on dishes beet root with vinegar mashed potatoes tongue 2 or 3 sorts of fish rich ground rice pounding with fine white bread and butter....this is the pleasantest comfortablest traveling we have had since we left England...

At Carroll, Smith and her family switched over to the Hocking Canal, leaving Tuesday, September 26, for Athens. About 12 miles into the trip, they learned from another passenger on the boat that Rob Penniston--whom they were supposed to meet in Athens--had left for Circleville earlier in the summer, taking "all his nephews with there familys." A history of the Penniston family (Penniston 1973:75) notes that brothers William and George Penniston immigrated to America from Snaith in 1841, settling first in Athens. "Rob" was almost certainly a member of this family, though we have not been able to determine his relationship to Ann and Robert Smith. Ann and family had to

leave their canal boat near Lancaster, where Penniston met them the next day with his wagon and two horses. After one last night on the road, they came to Circleville on September 28, nearly two months after their departure from Snaith. There, Ann writes that she "once more met with my dear children my poor George excepted he was living at Athens," suggesting that some of her children had arrived in America, or at least in Ohio, ahead of her.

Smith ends the narrative of her journey with a word of thanks: "I have travelled more than 4000 miles and my life and health and spirits has been mercifully preserved by the God of all my mercies O may my days be they many or few be all consecrated to his glory." Because their names are so very common, we have been unable to trace Ann and her family beyond the events of which she wrote in her journal. Following her last entry, a different hand has written, "My Dear Mother departed life this Wednesday 4 half past 2 O'clock in the afternoon," but since there is no date, we cannot know whether the rest of her days were many or few. Although Ann's narrative thus ends here, it fills but 66 of the diary's 240 pages; much of the rest of the book contains additional writing in Ann's hand. Perhaps the most interesting of these later writings is a wonderful description of passenger pigeons. While shipboard and continental diaries written by Americans on the European tour are not uncommon, either in the trade or in institutional holdings, 19th-century diaries written by European emigrants to the United States are extraordinarily--and surprisingly to us--rare. **We have located only a handful of such journals in institutional collections and have been unable to trace any comparable example ever having appeared in the trade**. Contemporary shipboard diaries documenting emigrant voyages to Australia, though quite scarce in their own right, appear plentiful in comparison. Few primary sources, in sum, offer so powerful a personal testimony of the journey to America. Rare, significant, and fascinating.

Relevant sources:

Hassam, Andrew
1994 *Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.
Penniston, A. S.
1973 *Penniston-Anderson and Related Families*. Gateway Press, Baltimore.
Redford, Arthur
1926 *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850*. Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.

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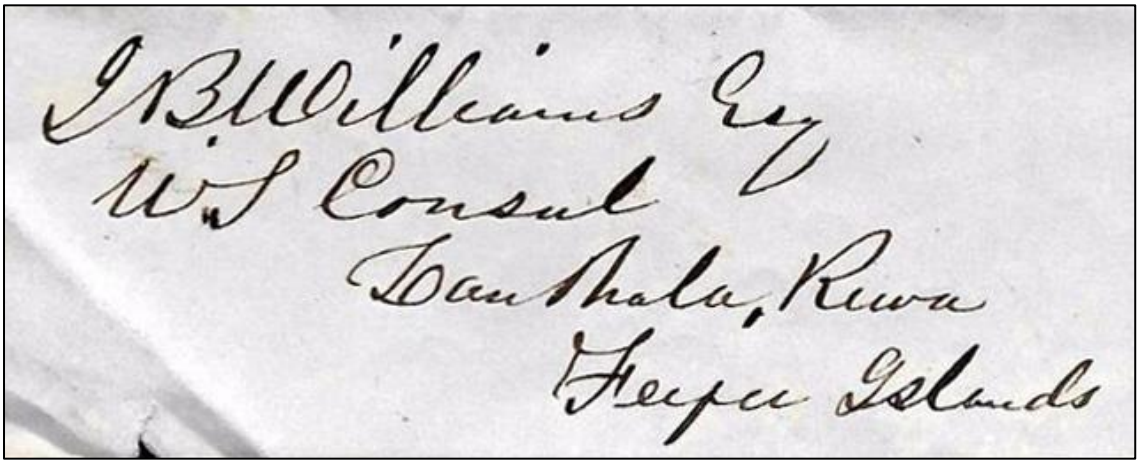
[Emigration--New York and Ohio]: Ann Smith: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF ANN SMITH, DESCRIBING HER 1843 JOURNEY FROM YORKSHIRE TO OHIO, INCLUDING PASSAGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC AND THROUGH THE ERIE CANAL]. [Various places along the route from Snaith, Yorkshire to Circleville, Ohio. August-September, 1843]. Publisher of diary unknown. 16mo (12.5 cm). About 100 pp. with text in Ann Smith's hand (6500-8500 words), all written in ink and generally quite legible; text block loose in dark calf binding, scuffed and worn. Later doodles in pencil on otherwise blank leaves, not affecting text. Good.

9. SOLD.

An American Imperialist in Fiji: The John Brown Williams Archive

Perhaps no individual American has ever played a greater role in shaping the fate of another nation, for better or worse, than John Brown Williams did in Fiji. Appointed the U. S. commercial agent to Fiji in 1844, while serving simultaneously as consul to New Zealand, Williams wasted no time establishing for himself the most extensive landholdings in the archipelago, purchasing entire islands from local peoples. Yet after a series of setbacks that he blamed on islanders--including a fire during Fourth of July celebrations that burned his house to the ground, along with many of his consular records and supplies--Williams made increasingly larger demands for compensation from indigenous rulers. These claims all but single-handedly drove Cakobau, the Fijian paramount or *Tui Viti*, to cede sovereignty of the islands to the British Empire in 1874. Although generations of historians have recognized that Williams's tenure in Fiji marked a watershed in South Pacific history, scholars have never had access to many of the primary source materials that document his personal and official activities in the archipelago. **We are pleased to offer this remarkable and extensive archive of more than 130 documents and letters, among which are original deeds for Fijian islands signed by local chiefs, that together provide unparalleled insights into this earliest period of American imperialism in the Pacific; we believe that these items constitute the most significant such American archive ever offered in the trade**.



The Setting

By the second quarter of the 19th century, Great Britain, France, and the relatively fledgling United States were all engaged in trading, politicking, and colonizing throughout the islands of the South Pacific. Oceania offered both a largely untapped market for European manufactured goods (e.g., guns, cloth, and metal-edged tools) and access to valuable raw materials and commodities (e.g., sandalwood, coconut oil, whales, beche-de-mer or sea slugs, and slaves). The Fijians' first encounters with this wider world of commerce--beyond the occasional passing ship--came during the early 1800s when sandalwood merchants discovered the thick groves on Vanua Levu. Supplies were soon depleted, though, and foreigners largely left the islanders to themselves before returning in the 1820s to harvest beche-de-mer, a rare delicacy in Chinese markets. About 1820, European traders and settlers founded Levuka, the first European-style town in Fiji, and in a little more than a decade Christian missionaries had planted their first outposts in the archipelago.

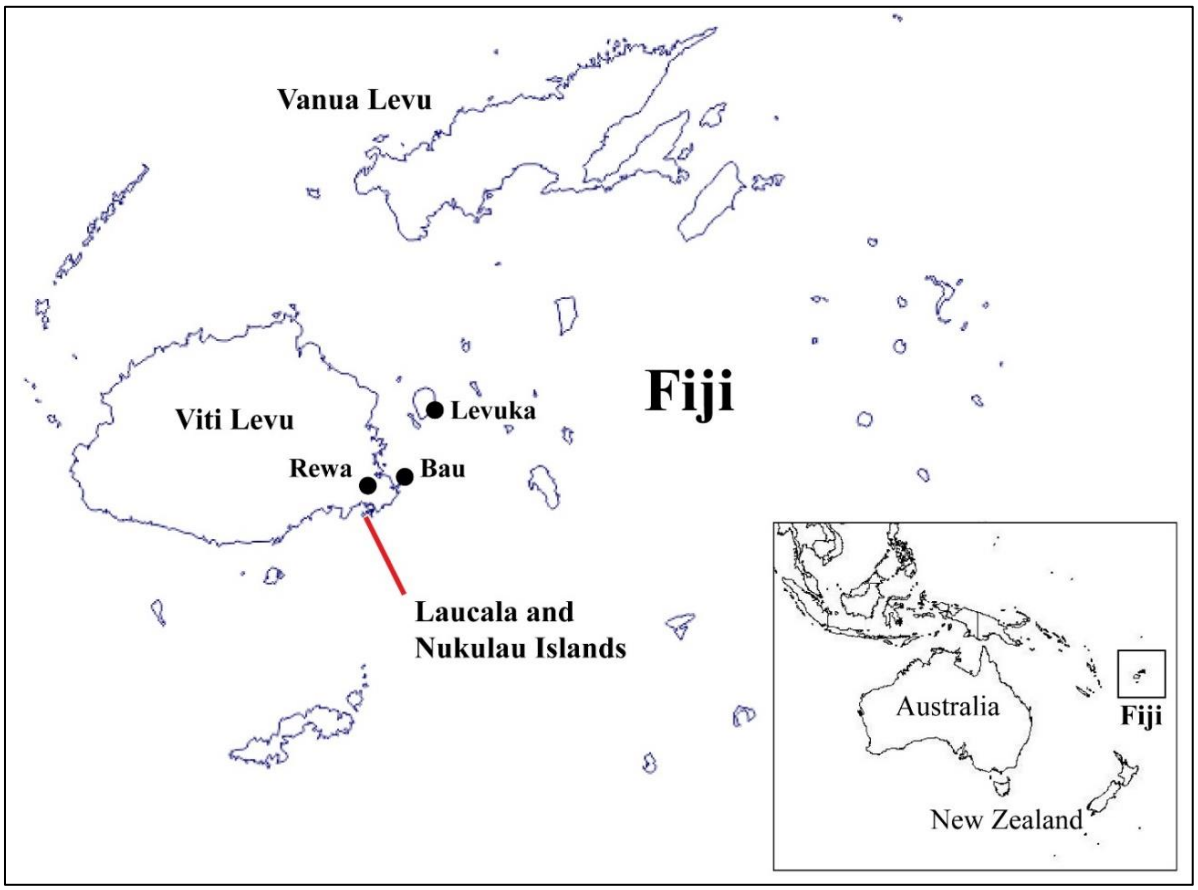
While Americans had long participated in Fiji's sandalwood and beche-de-mer trades--a party of seamen collecting the slugs was attacked and killed on Omo Island by the native chief Ro Vendovi in 1836--the most important early encounter between Americans and Fijians unfolded in 1840 with the arrival of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842, under command of U. S. Navy Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. The Wilkes Expedition consisted of two sloops-of-war (USS *Vincennes* and USS *Peacock*), two brigs, two schooners, and a store-ship, all fully manned by Navy officers and crew, together with a scientific corps that included naturalists, botanists, a conchologist, a philologist, a mineralogist, and an artist. After visits to Australia and Tonga, and with a skirting of Antarctica in between, Wilkes and his company sailed into Levuka Bay in May 1840, two years into their circumnavigation of the world. In July, two of the sailors, one of whom was Wilkes's nephew, were killed while bartering for food on Malolo Island. In retaliation, Wilkes had two of the Fijians' villages completely destroyed, during which action his men slaughtered at least 80 islanders. Such were relations between Fijians and Americans when John Brown Williams founded his establishment at Nukulau in 1846.

The American

Williams was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on September 20, 1810. He was the seventh of nine children--eight of them boys--born to ship captain and merchant Israel Porter Williams and his wife, Elizabeth. All eight sons would find work, for at least part of their lives, in the maritime trades: three, including John, were shipmasters like their father; another died at sea as supercargo on a ship; one lived as a trader in Brazil, another as an agent in Manila for the firm of shipowners and merchants directed by the youngest brother, Henry Laurens Williams. Most of John Brown Williams's correspondence throughout the years of his residence in New Zealand and Fiji, held by the Peabody Essex Museum, were letters to Henry (see Kenny 1956).

On March 10, 1842, President John Tyler appointed Williams to the post of U. S. Consul at Bay of Islands, New Zealand. Williams, the third appointee to the office, departed from Salem late that summer and arrived at Bay of Islands on Christmas, the trip having taken more than four months at sea. Yet this was not his first time in the South Pacific; Robert W. Kenny (1936:2) notes that while commanding a brig in the 1830s he had been one of the first Americans to trade along the coasts of South and West Australia. By all accounts, Williams was far more interested in the commercial opportunities of his posting than its diplomatic context, and he was disappointed to learn that New Zealand's geopolitical landscape had changed significantly in the short time since he was last active in the South Seas trade. Just four years earlier, Captain William Hobson of the British Royal Navy--recently appointed Lt. Governor of New South Wales--had negotiated the Treaty of Waitangi, extending British sovereignty across New Zealand. He had then declared all previous land titles void unless confirmed by the Crown; Americans were not allowed to hold such titles at all, while American merchants were required to pay heavy duties on their wares. Williams soon recognized that his business plans were all but untenable under such restrictions, and so he turned his attention to a place not yet subject to British law: the islands of Fiji.

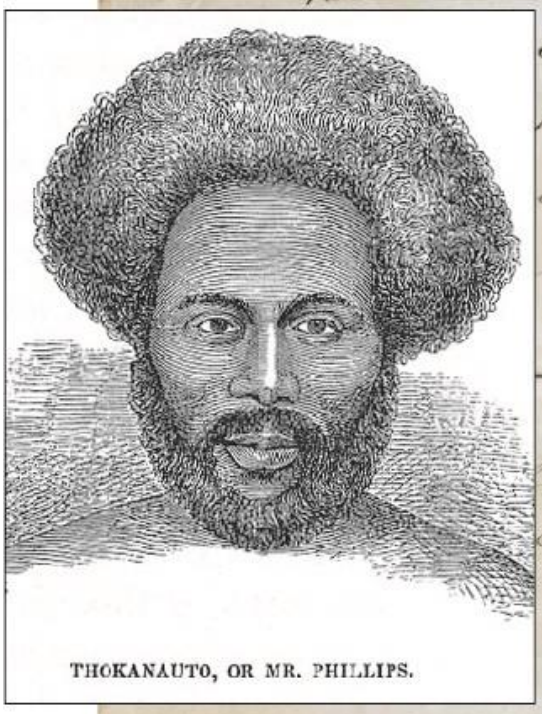
Williams returned to Salem in 1844, and while at home he sought and obtained from the State Department an additional posting as U. S. commercial agent in Fiji, which duties he assumed upon his arrival at Levuka on February 13, 1846. A few months later, on May 7, Williams bought a small parcel of land near Levuka from American beche-de-mer collector William Valentine. **A true copy of the deed, apparently unknown and documenting Williams's first land purchase**



in Fiji, is the earliest record in our archive. Williams's next sought to obtain land from Native chiefs for his entrêpot, intended as a hub for the trade in beche-de-mer, coconut oil, tapioca, and marine shells. Yet rather than locate at Levuka--which had declined as a trading post in the years since its founding--he began with three important purchases a short distance to the southwest along the coast of Viti Levu, the largest island in Fiji.

On June 1, he bought the southern half of Laucala Island, situated at the mouth of the Rewa River. His second purchase, on June 8--**which also seems to be unrecorded save for the original deed in our archive** (see following page)--was for the first island located up the channel of the Rewa River, called Nasalli [i.e., Nasali], identified in the deed as "opposite the town of Rewa, now lying in ashes," a reference to which we return. Williams's third purchase, on June 18, was for the island of Nukulau, just south of Laucala at the entrance of Laucala Bay; **our archive contains his true copy of this deed** [in 1903, Governor of Fiji Sir Henry Jackson sent the original to Colonial Secretary Rt Hon. Joseph Chamberlain for deposit in the British Public Records Office (Routledge 1978:85, n.9)]. It was at Nukulau that Williams decided to establish his operations. He constructed a two-story, wood framed house with a cellar, likely the first such building in Fiji, and surrounded it with native-built structures for use as storerooms and housing for his employees.

Many of the men who worked for Williams were westerners who fell into the category of so-called "beachcombers"--naval deserters, runaway sailors and whalers, or escaped convicts who



THOKANAUTO, OR MR. PHILLIPS.

had adapted to indigenous lifeways on Pacific islands, usually by living in local communities and marrying into Native families. Such men who entered Williams's orbit included Americans David Whippy and John Sparr; the former was "Fiji's most influential beachcomber and the most famous American beachcomber in Oceania" (Shoemaker 2015:132), while the latter stood out even among beachcombers for his ethnic identity as a Seminole Indian. Another such associate was Londoner John Humphrey Danford, also known by his sobriquet "Harry the Jew," who was perhaps the most renowned of all Fijian beachcombers and resided for decades in the mountainous interior of Viti Levu as an honored advisor to the chief of Namosi. Yet all of these men lived and worked outside even the outermost margins of western society. Williams, in contrast, was the first westerner in Fiji to hold official title and the power that came with it, and it is little surprise that his commercial schemes and interests attracted such exiles as Whippy, Sparr, and Danford. Indeed, Williams made a great show of his position. Nancy Shoemaker writes that:

> An American sailor who met Williams at this time featured him in a later memoir as one of the most memorable characters he encountered in his travels. The sailor shipped on the *Falcon* [the brig that had returned Williams to Oceania in 1845] in western Australia and watched Williams sell "all the Yankee notions, from a clock to a canoe" while "dressed in gold-lace from head to foot" with a "cocked hat...covered with tassels and gold lace"....A year or two later, the sailor ran into Williams in Fiji, where once again he was awestruck by the consul's appearance, dressed in uniform, sitting in a canoe paddled by two natives. "It was a mystery to me then, as now, how he kept his regalia so well" [Shoemaker 2019:173].

The Alliance

Besides helping him to forge strong relations with local beachcombers, Williams's official bearing--if not ostentatiousness--drew the attention of Fijian leaders almost from the beginning of his tenure in the islands. Navigating these political relations required particular skill in 1846, for in situating his base of operations on Nukulau, Williams had landed squarely in the middle of a brutal and ongoing war between two of Fiji's most powerful chiefdoms. On the one side were the chiefs of Bau, who despite the tiny size of their island had used access to European firearms (and an allied force of mercenary beachcombers who knew how to use them) to overcome most of their larger neighbors in western Fiji throughout the early 1800s. On the other side were the chiefs of Rewa, occupying the fertile valley of the eponymous Rewa River on Viti Levu. The year before Williams came ashore in Fiji, the eighth and youngest son of the Rewa royal family, Cokanauto (pronounced Thokanauto) or Phillips, had thrown his support to the paramount chief of Bau, Ratu Seru Cakobau. Cakobau immediately laid siege to Rewa. Soon he captured and killed its ruling paramount, or Tui Dreketi, then after burning the town installed Cokanauto in the role.

Cokanauto's introduction to Williams was not his first brush with an official representative of the United States. He had received the name Phillips from Salem ship captain John Eagleston (in honor of his employer Stephen Phillips) in 1834, when Eagleston took the young man on a trip to Tahiti. Several years later, when the Wilkes Expedition sailed into Fiji in 1840, Cokanauto had made a strong impression on the American crew. Wilkes's description in the published report of his expedition--published the year before Williams's arrival--may have convinced the new consul to seek an ally in the Rewan chief. Wilkes recalled that:

> he is certainly one of the most intelligent natives that I have met with in all Polynesia. He possesses much information respecting his own people, and would, if the king allowed it, be the means of effecting many improvements. He has already introduced some into his own establishment, and is very desirous of learning....He visits all the vessels that touch at this group, and says that he passes most of his time on board of them [1845:III:135].

As a result, Cokanauto had an impressive command of language, able to converse in the different Fijian dialects, in Tongan, Tahitian, Spanish, and French. Moreover, as Shoemaker observes, he was more fluent in English than any other native Fijian, with Danford reporting that 'No interpreter was necessary in doing business with him" (in Shoemaker 2019:179). His woodcut portrait (see p. 48), taken from a drawing made by Wilkes expedition artist Alfred T. Agate, was published in Volume III of Wilkes's *Narrative* (1845:III:122).

As Williams set about determining where to locate, the power vacuum in Rewa must have seemed to offer opportunities for relative autonomy. Cokanauto was nominally Tui Dreketi, but his betrayal of Rewa had made his situation there precarious; he had only become paramount, after all, following Bau's slaughter of his royal kin. For Cokanauto, the arrival of an American official who looked and acted the part offered the possibility of an alliance that would improve his fortunes relative both to Rewa and Bau. At the time, Cokanauto was occupying a heavily fortified position several miles up the Rewa River. It is no coincidence, we think, that those first three holdings he sold to Williams--Nukulau, Nasali, and the southern half of Laucala--were the first three islands encountered on any approach to the Rewa delta.

The Nasali and Nukulau deeds in the Williams archive--the original and the consul's true copy, respectively--provide unique evidence of the alliance between Cokanauto and Williams. As noted, Cokanauto's sale of Nasali was previously unknown to scholars. **This is significant, for the three sales together gave Williams total control over the mouth of the Rewa River, and the three deeds together offer explicit evidence of the Tui Dreketi's heretofore undocumented gambit to use the American consul as a shield**. Cokanauto signed the original Nasali deed with his 'X' three times; it was witnessed by two of his subjects, Koromoves and Korobabalu, each of whom marked the document with his 'X.' Williams's witnesses included the beachcomber John Danford, who signed it twice. Excepting the original copy of the Nukulau deed, which may yet be housed in the British National Archives (although there appears to be no record of it), we trace no surviving documents signed by Cokanauto. **Moreover, we find no evidence for the survival of any deed signed by a Fijian chief prior to the Cession of 1874, but for the possibility of the Nukulau deed and the others in the archive that we offer here**. Williams bought Nukulau for "thirty dollars...in trade, viz, (one piece of red cotton, six looking glasses, and three hundred and twelve pounds of tobacco in the leaf)." For Nasali, he paid the Tui Dreketi "twenty seven dollars and ten cents...in trade, viz, (blue and white cotton, vermilion, whales teeth, plane irons, looking glasses, leaf tobacco, gouges, hatchets, axe handles and caps, at the invoice prices)." It seemed an easy bargain, suiting the needs of each man, yet it would prove their mutual undoing.

<u>The Entrêpot</u>

Williams settled into his life at Nukulau, organizing his trading operation, exploring those parts of the archipelago he could safely visit, and continuing to purchase land. John Danford was

instrumental in helping him to acquire new tracts in the province of Namosi. On October 12, he made two large purchases, the original deeds for which are included in this archive. Each is signed by the chief Na Kaibau, in whose village Danford had long resided, and one of his headmen named Koroiduadua. Each deed is also signed once by Williams and three times by Danford and fellow beachcomber David Whippy, now working for Williams. **Apart from several additional items in this archive, we trace no other documents signed by either Danford or Whippy**. Namosi is located west of Rewa--but likewise on Viti Levu--and remains one of Fiji's 14 provinces. One of the tracts that Williams purchased ("to the value of forty six dollars namely one axe, three plane irons, one piece of calico and 15 lbs of whales teeth delivered to the said Kaibau") incorporated a mile-and-a-half long section of frontage along the harbor. The second (purchased "to the value of one hundred and fifty dollars namely 20 lbs of whales teeth, three dozen plane irons, three large axes, six hatchets, thirty yards of white cotton, one trunk and 5 lbs of beads delivered to the said Kaibau") was located near "River Waisui" in the highlands, where the deed records that Williams had discovered "a Bed of Metal Ore situate[d] in the Wamibominaga Creek." **Although the first of these deeds is referenced in several of the later land claims filed by Williams's heirs, the second appears to be unrecorded**. Each retains remnants of three wax seals.

The Williams archive also contains extensive documentation of his commercial activities in Fiji, including records of both the stores and merchandise imported from Auckland and Sydney and the commodities exported from Fiji. Most of the import documents date from 1848--when he replaced his vice consul and business agent in Auckland, Joel Polack, with Robert Fitzgerald--to early 1853, shortly after which he took a leave from his dual diplomatic posts and returned to the States through August 1855. **There are more than two dozen such records in the archive, in quarto and folio sheets, and the goods credited to Williams's account with Fitzgerald include a wide range of merchandise for trade and for his personal use**. There are references to various kinds of firearms: one letter from Williams to Fitzgerald dated March 28, 1848 requests 30 tower muskets, 2 long English muskets, and 35 double barrel guns, all of which were to be "showy but not expensive" or "flashy but not costly." Another invoice records 8 American muskets, 7 English muskets, 7 double barrel flint muskets, 1 double barrel gun in mahogany with a case, 3300 musket balls, 500 flints, 2 kegs of powder, and a single "large bullet mould," as well as blankets, looking glasses, China vermilion, tobacco, and whales teeth. There are also invoices for quantities of cloth in different prints and colors such as grey calico, navy print, and "fancy print."

Offering insights into Williams's personal stores are invoices for food, alcohol, tools, and even hair dye. There are fewer documents recording his exports, but these include exchange rates (in different trade goods) for barrels of beche-de-mar and a list of the casks of coconut oil owed him by various chiefs, including Cakobau himself. Together, these records suggest that his efforts were beginning to pay dividends. There were, unquestionably, some setbacks. Vutia townspeople on Laucala had never accepted Williams's purchases on the island, insisting that the payment to Cokanauto was for access to Fijian women, not for the land. In open defiance of the Tui Dreketi (whose own position remained tenuous) they burned one of Williams's structures on Nukulau, but it was quickly rebuilt and the trade continued unabated.

Then, on July 4, 1849, came the setback that "became simultaneously the burden bearer of Williams's hopes for prosperity and a landmark event in Fijian history" (Shoemaker 2019:183). John Johnston, an African American employee of Williams (who also witnessed the Nasali transfer

and signed the deed with his 'X'), fired a cannon as part of the consul's Fourth of July celebrations on Nukulau Island. The shot itself took off Johnston's hand, and wadding from the blast fell on one of the native-built structures nearby and set its roof ablaze. The fire spread rapidly throughout the compound and soon reduced Williams's house to ashes. As the flames leapt from building to building, Fijians who happened to be on Nukulau gathering food for a feast that Cokanauto was preparing salvaged some of the consul's stores and belongings. Yet what did not occur to Williams until after the fact was that his apparent benefactors were rushing into the flames not for his sake but for their own, keeping the loot and hiding it around the island for later recovery. This was, for Williams, too much a blow to absorb without casting about for someone to blame. At first he set his sights on Cokanauto, but then he turned to a bigger prize--Cakobau, who had some years earlier begun styling himself as the Tui Viti, or King of Fiji. It is debatable whether the title proved more curse than boon, either for Cakobau or for his people.

Launching the obsession that would consume the rest of his own life and that ultimately drove Fiji to cede away its sovereignty for close to a century, Williams began compiling detailed lists not only of his losses at Nukulau but in all of his Fijian ventures, and even more broadly, of all the American losses there during his time as commercial agent. **The archive contains 18 items related to Williams's pursuit of reparations, nearly all in his own hand, including eight that list specific goods (and quantities) that he claims were lost to seizure or plunder throughout the early 1840s and into the 1850s**. Perhaps the most important of these offers a synthesis of all such cases in Fiji--across three pages of a folded folio sheet--and identifies 11 alleged incidents of theft, robbery, and murder, among which was the "Plunder of the United States Consuls property at Nukulau during the time the Flag was flying, valued at $3000." Williams clearly intended this summary account, titled "Return of Property plundered and murders numerically viz." and dated March 4, 1851, to serve as a public statement, one that he concludes by calling "upon his country for satisfaction." The total losses claimed in the account exceed $13,000. Significantly, six other manuscripts calculate the interest that Williams compounded on that total, calculations that would guarantee the consul his fortune, but that he would need help enforcing.

The Gunboats

Enter the United States Navy. In the aftermath of his losses on Nukulau, Williams found himself in a dire finances. He had stores of coconut oil, arrowroot, sea shells, and beche-de-mer on several islands around the archipelago, but had neither funds for a ship to take them to market nor trade goods on hand to acquire more stores. And while a supply of trade guns and ammunition would have produced a tidy profit, given the ongoing war among Fijian chiefdoms, these too were lost in the fire. Although hardly fair, Williams determined that his only path out of financial ruin was to place the blame for his predicament on Cakobau and to request official support. In February 1851, after months of repeated demands for aid, his first glimmer of hope arrived when the sloop of war USS *Falmouth* sailed into Laucala Bay. The commander of the *Falmouth*, Thomas Pettigru, declined to throw his support behind the consul's full claim with interest--which had grown by this point to more than $17,000--but he did agree to demand that Cakobau either pay Williams $4500 or release the stores of coconut oil and arrowroot that Williams said the paramount owed him. In a letter dated March 6 and addressed to the "Tui Viti of Bau," Pettigru wrote that, should Cakobau fail to comply with his order, "you will make it necessary for Mr. Williams to ask for a Man of War ship to come here to your town, to take every thing he may want, until he is satisfied that he has taken enough. I hope Chief you will not bring such a trouble on yourself."

The Williams archive holds four manuscripts associated with the *Falmouth*. The first is a true copy of Pettigru's order, penned in a secretarial hand on ship's the stationery. This order was damaged by water along one of its folds, causing complete separation. The damage probably occurred on Fiji, as Williams later produced a transcript on his own stationery that is also included in the archive. A third document is a true copy of a letter that Wesleyan missionary James Calvert wrote to Pettigru from Bau on behalf of Cakobau; the copy is on ship's stationery and in the same secretarial hand. Calvert, a close ally of the paramount and enemy of Williams, writes that the Tui Viti will personally see to it that Williams receives any casks owed him, but will do so according to "his own arrangements." Moreover, "He trusts that he will so act in all his trading and other intercourse with foreign residents in, and visitors to Feejee as to continue on good terms with your government." The final document, also on ship's stationery and in the same hand as the others, is a list of officers aboard the *Falmouth*, likely prepared for Williams should he later seek witnesses in legal action. Pettigru, low on stores, left without seeing his order enforced.

Less than six months later, another United States warship, the USS *St. Mary's*, arrived in Fiji under command of George A. Magruder. To Williams's surprise, Magruder proved to be a devout Methodist, spending more time with Calvert and his converts--even preaching to the natives himself--than with the consul discussing the merits of his case. Magruder allowed that Williams had a valid claim against Cakobau, but decided that the fine previously imposed by Pettigru was too steep. Instead of rendering this as his own judgement, though, he appointed the Rev. Calvert and David Whippy to serve as a "board of arbitration" to make a determination in the suit. "Your object," he declared, "will be to act with strict and impartial justice both towards the Natives and Mr. Williams, and your award as to the damages sustained, or fine to be levied on the people of Rewa, shall be final and conclusive." The Tui Viti would be held accountable for payment, which was to be made to Williams in "the products of the country, viz Oil, Beche de Mar, Shell, Arrow root, Pigs, Yams, &c." Moreover, he determined that "A just and reasonable rate of interest should be allowed to Mr. Williams on the amount of loss." **The Williams archive includes a true copy of this finding, prepared on the *St. Mary's* stationery and signed by Magruder**. Yet as Pettigru did before, Magruder and the *St. Mary's* departed before the case was resolved.

Not until 1855 would another ship arrive to take up the dispute. In the meantime, Williams had been granted a second leave from his post and returned to Salem for nearly a year. The archive holds two fascinating documents from this period when he was in the States, composed over the three days from March 13-15, 1855. **These manuscripts, together comprising just over three pages on two folded folio sheets, record Williams's visit to a New York City spiritualist, a Mrs. Roberts of 337 Broadway, just before he boarded his ship for Fiji**. The questions that he posed in these sessions offer unique insight into his profound uncertainties about the life to which he returned and the outcome of his case; for example: "Are the Feejeeans generally well disposed toward me, answer, yes, true...Which is the best chief for me to have to do with getting my claim? Ans, Thakoubau [i.e., Cakobau], No Na Dakawanka? Yes...Where had I better reside in Feejee, at Rewa? No. At Nukulau? Ans, no. At Leavuka? Ans, no - At Lauthala [i.e., Laucala]? Ans, Yes, true...What amount of claim will I get? $5000? No $10,000? No - $12,000? Yes, $15,000? Yes (I concluded it would be $12000 for me and $3000 for Prince and Riley [Boston attorneys he hired to help him prosecute his claim])." Each of these documents contains dozens of questions, all with answers noted, as well. The sheet recording the session of March 15 has suffered water damage that renders some of the text illegible; the sheet for March 13 and 14 is fine.

Williams was back at Rewa in August. By this time he had moved his operations, such as they were, to his properties on the southern side of Laucala Island. Cokanauto, his original Fijian ally, had died during his absence (either of dysentery or excess alcohol consumption, depending on the source), having never regained his stature with Cakobau because of his involvement in the Nukulau affair that continued to shadow the Tui Viti. One of Williams's neighbors had attempted to treat Cokanauto during his illness, but when treatments had failed the Tui Dreketi's followers had burned the neighbor's house and Williams's with it, creating one more claim for the consul to add to his long list. **On August 4, Williams bought land on Ovalau from a chief named Michel Cagitamana; the archive contains both the original deed signed by Cagitamana (with its wax seal) and a true copy, these being the only known records of the purchase**. And still he awaited resolution of his claims. Finally, on September 12, his persistence was rewarded with the arrival of the frigate USS *John Adams*, under command of Edward B. Boutwell. In Boutwell, Williams at last found an officer who shared his perspective on the appropriate use of force.

In what David Routledge has suggested was "as blatant a piece of 'gunboat diplomacy' as ever was perpetrated by any of the imperial powers" (1978:73), Boutwell immediately dismissed the concerns of Rev. Calvert--who himself had been appointed by a previous U.S. naval officer to investigate the case--and appointed his own board of officers to examine Williams's claims. Yet a month before this panel had even reached its decision, Boutwell had begun forcing Fijian chiefs to board the *John Adams* and demanding--at gunpoint--that they sign documents acknowledging their debt to Williams and the other American claimants. **One such document, produced on the ship's stationery and witnessed by one of Boutwell's officers, is included in the archive**; it is signed by four Fijian chiefs (each signing with an 'X') who agreed to pay Williams $1200 in goods and services for the loss "of property destroyed by fire in Rewa" during his absence.

On October 19, Boutwell's panel delivered its final report, which not surprisingly was in complete agreement with all particulars of the consul's claim. The total amount of damages, with interest calculated by Williams, had reached the astronomical sum of $43,686 (nearly 1.5 million in today's dollars), the responsibility of which would fall entirely to Cakobau as Tui Viti, the King of Fiji. **The archive contains a pair of documents that directly pertain to this decision, each a true copy on the ship's stationery in a secretarial hand**. The first of these is Boutwell's letter to Cakobau, addressed to "The Chief of Bau, Tui Viti," informing him of the finding. The second is Boutwell's letter to Rev. Joseph Waterhouse, the Wesleyan who had converted Cakobau some years before, additionally informing the Tui Viti's missionary allies of his panel's finding, while also castigating Calvert for his alleged interference in the investigation. Then, to demonstrate his resolve in the matter, Boutwell ordered his forces to burn two Fijian villages under the Tui Viti's protection. Cakobau, realizing the futility of further resistance, agreed to board the gunboat, where he signed a statement that committed him to pay the full amount within two years.

Williams was delighted, of course, and even bestowed the name 'Boutwell' on his newly built home at Laucala. Yet obtaining a favorable decision from the *John Adams's* commander was not the same as obtaining compensation from the Tui Viti. Three years went by with little evidence that Cakobau intended to meet Boutwell's ultimatum--he had, in fact, filed a formal protest of the officer' actions and the findings of his panel with the U. S. Consul at Sydney within days of the ship's departure--and in 1858 the USS *Vandalia* under Commander Arthur Sinclair arrived in Fiji to open yet another inquiry. Sinclair likewise found in Williams's favor, but made no overt efforts

to enforce his finding. Williams continued to buy land when available: on December 3, 1858, he and fellow American William Augustus Burding obtained a large tract on Viti Levu that included Nuque, the town to which Cokanauto had retreated after the burning of Rewa. **The original deed for this land, signed by Gabu Kova (or Johnny) and Seminole beachcomber John Sparr, is among the papers in the archive but is not referenced in any other source**.

The Cession

Williams had grown tired of laboring to see his claims resolved from halfway around the world, and so he determined by 1859 that he could achieve more in Washington than he could in Fiji. In August he began to plan another trip to the States, as well as the sale of his Fijian properties at good profit, and he wrote to his brother, Henry, to request a leave on his behalf with the State Department. Yet these plans were all for naught. In June 1860, Henry received notification from Isaac Brower, U. S. vice consul in Fiji, that John Brown Williams had died of dysentery on June 19. Brower had the consul's gravestone imported from Sydney, and in a final bit of irony obtained a plot for his remains in Levuka's cemetery, behind the Methodist Church. **The final document in the archive is an original indenture, signed and sealed by all of Williams's heirs and dated July 17, 1872, that gave Brower power of attorney to manage and dispose of the properties that Williams had purchased during his 15 years in Fiji**. The subsequent legal challenges to these claims would continue in British and American courts for decades.

As for Cakobau, we know of no record of his opinion on Williams's untimely death. The last resistance to his rule had been crushed at the Battle of Kaba in 1855, when the Kingdom of Tonga had come to his aid with strong naval support. Although his title of Tui Viti was undisputed thereafter, his dependence on the King of Tonga was just as certainly beyond question. Then, in 1858, Great Britain appointed its own consul to Fiji, William Pritchard. Pritchard was convinced that Cakobau should cede Fiji to Britain, and it did not take much persuasion for the Tui Viti to agree, given two conditions: he would retain the title of Tui Viti, and the British government would assume all of his American debts in the Williams's case. Pritchard more or less declared himself governor, but when a specially appointed commissioner made recommendations against both the cession and the consul, the plan was rejected and Pritchard was sacked.

In 1867, a full seven years after Williams's death, yet another American warship, the USS *Tuscarora*, sailed into Levuka Bay, its commander, Fabius Stanley, demanding an audience with Cakobau. Once again, the King of Fiji was strong-armed until he agreed to pay the debt--standing now at $43,565--and this time in four annual installments. He was also forced to mortgage three islands as security. The next year, a development firm from Melbourne, the self-styled Polynesia Company, offered to pay Cakobau's debts in exchange for 200,000 acres of land. The company did so by 1870, but Cakobau was unable to clear the promised acreage of its rightful owners and inhabitants. Now, instead of Williams or the U. S. Navy, he had good reason to fear reprisals from Australia. In 1871, a group of resident Europeans offered to create a constitutional monarchy in Fiji with Cakobau as its sovereign. Given his trouble, he had little choice but to agree, and for the next three years he reigned over the newly established Kingdom of Fiji. But as political conditions grew increasingly precarious in the islands, his government made another appeal to Great Britain to consider annexation. On October 10, 1874, Cakobau ceded his title of Tui Viti to Queen Victoria and signed two copies of the Deed of Cession, establishing the Colony of Fiji and beginning 96 years of British rule. He lived quietly as Vunivalu of Bau for another nine years.

The John Brown Williams archive is among the most comprehensive records of early American commercial and diplomatic interests anywhere in the South Pacific. It contains the most extensive collection of materials related to early American relations with Fiji outside of the State Department Records in the National Archives**.** Certainly nothing comparable has ever been offered at auction or in the broader trade. **Rare and profoundly important**.

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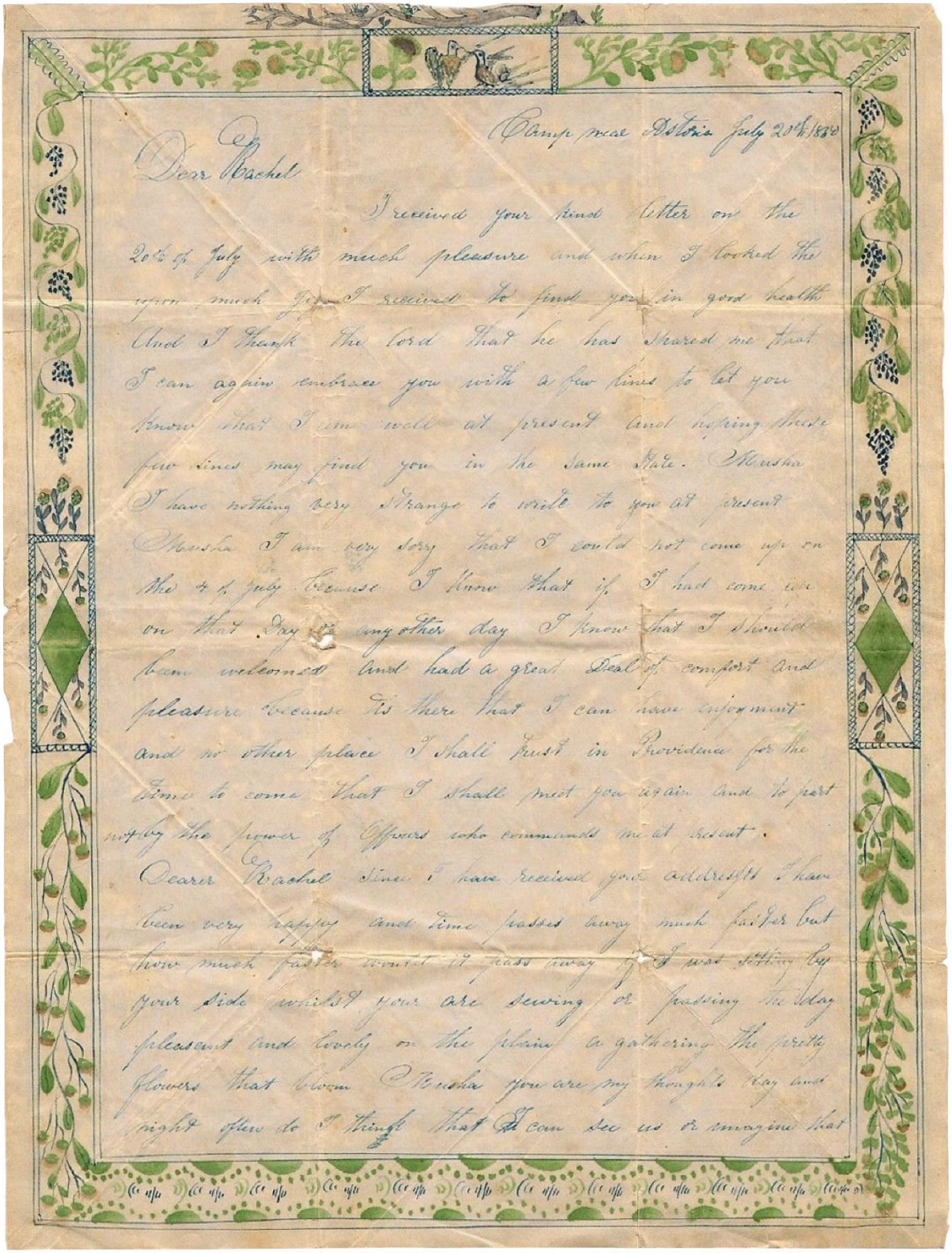
[Fiji--America in the South Pacific]: [John B. Williams]: [EXTENSIVE ARCHIVE, MOSTLY IN THE HAND OF U. S. CONSUL JOHN B. WILLIAMS, DOCUMENTING HIS 15 YEARS AS COMMERCIAL AGENT IN FIJI AND SETTING THE CONTEXT FOR FIJI'S CESSION TO GREAT BRITAIN IN 1874]. [Mostly Rewa and Naitasiri provinces, Fiji, 1846-1859]. More than 135 documents including land deeds, bills of lading and invoices, correspondence, military orders, list of trade goods, and other materials totaling more than 300 pages. Several minor incidents of separation along old folds and light edge wear, two incidents of more serious damage (as noted in description). The entire collection is generally in fresh, very good condition. A more detailed list of documents is available on request.

10. SOLD.

Courtship in Oregon Territory: A Love Token for Rachel Malick

In the 18th and early 19th centuries, it was quite common for sweethearts in Pennsylvania's German, Dutch, and Quaker communities to exchange brightly colored letters and puzzles, often decorated in fraktur techniques and known today as love tokens. These expressions of romantic interest and devotion spread north from the mid-Atlantic into New England and beyond, usually gifted on Valentine's Day. Few have survived, however, with those that remain now highly prized by libraries and museums that collect in the American folk art traditions. Yet as rare and desirable as such works are--whether from Pennsylvania, New England, or elsewhere east of the Mississippi River--there is absolutely no record of any comparable examples ever having been produced in the American West. **This 1850 letter from John D. Biles (sometimes spelled 'Byles'), composed at "a camp near Astoria" to Miss Rachel H. Malick at Fort Vancouver, Oregon Territory, is the first and only**. It opens a remarkable window into love and courtship at the edge of the western frontier, when Fort Vancouver was still the final stop along the Oregon Trail.

John Biles and Rachel Malick each had deep family roots in the Pennsylvania heartland of the love token tradition, such that each--the giver and the recipient--would have understood those layers of meanings and manners intrinsic to Biles's creation. Born in Bucks County in 1828, Biles descended from a long line of Quakers who had first come to Philadelphia in the 1670s. The 1850 U. S. Census records that he was still living in his parents' Pennsylvania home, but by then he had already run away to join the army. The army marched him west to Oregon Territory, where Rachel Malick's family had arrived as pioneers the previous year. The Malicks were German Lutherans of Northumberland County, about a hundred miles west of Biles's Bucks County home. Rachel's parents had moved their family west from Sunbury to Tazewell County, Illinois, in 1836, farming there for a dozen years. In 1848, they joined the great westward migration, traveling more than 2000 miles by wagon to Fort Vancouver. This frontier was "a fragile outpost of America, some 5400 men and 3600 women, scattered through the expanse of what would eventually become the two states of Washington and Oregon" (Schlissel 1989:11).

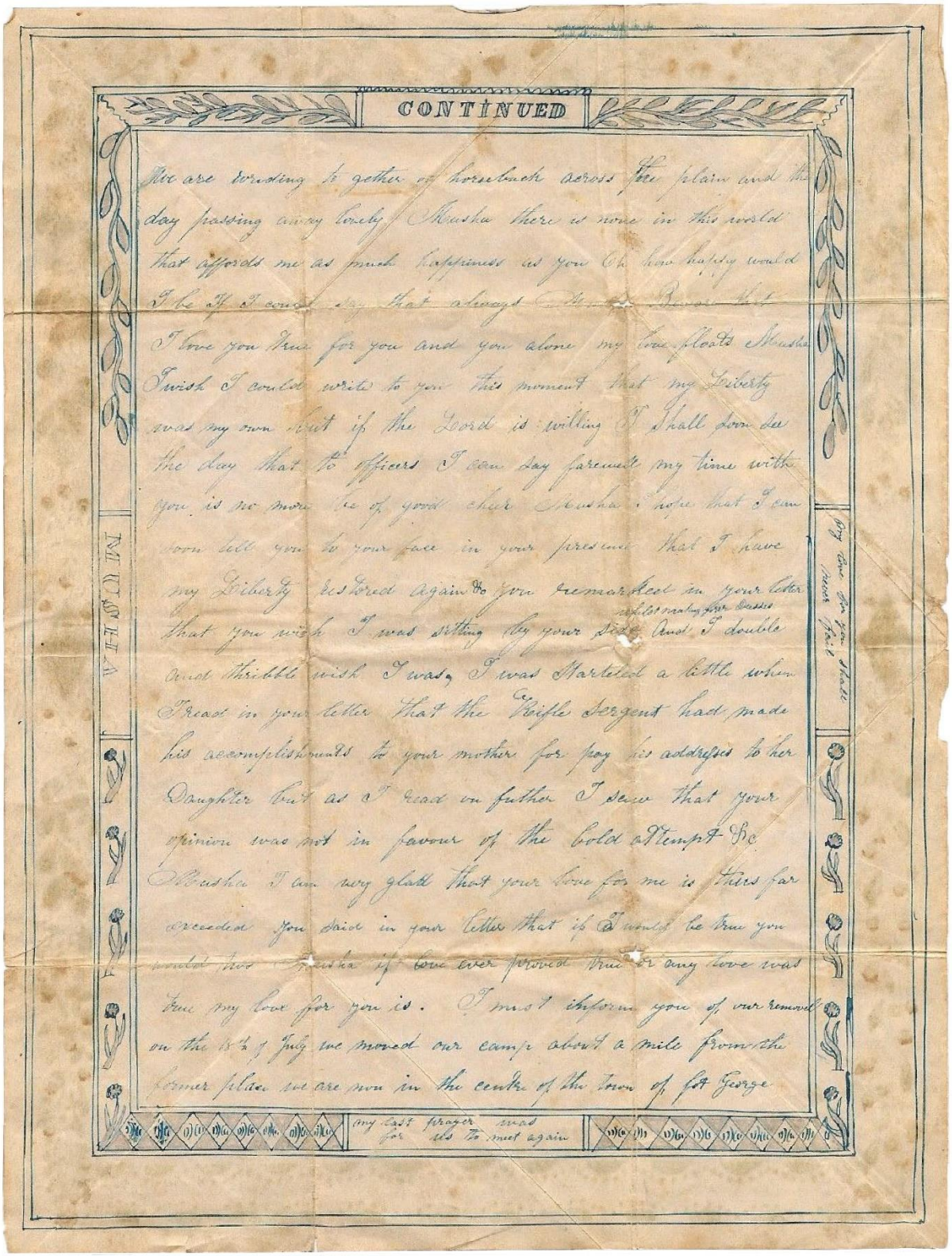


Camp near Natchez July 20th 1830

Dear Rachel

I received your kind letter on the 20th of July with much pleasure and when I looked upon much joy I received to find you in good health And I Thank the Lord that he has Spared me that I can again embrace you with a few lines to let you know that I am well at present and hoping these few lines may find you in the same State. Rausha I have nothing very Strange to write to you at present Rausha I am very Sorry that I could not come up on the 4th July because I know that if I had come up on that Day or any other day I know that I Should been welcomed and had a great Deal of comfort and pleasure because tis there that I can have enjoyment and no other place I Shall Trust in Providence for the time to come that I Shall meet you again and to part not by the power of Officers who commands me at present.

Dearer Rachel Since I have received your address I have been very happy and time passes away much faster but how much faster would it pass away if I was setting by your side whilst your are sewing or passing the day pleasant and lovely on the plains a gathering the pretty flowers that Grow Rausha you are my thoughts day and night often do I think that I can see us or imagine that



CONTINUED

We are wending together our horseback across the plain and the day passing away Lovely Mesha there is none in this world that affords me as much happiness as you Oh how happy would I be if I could say that always [illegible] But I love you true for you and you alone my love floats Mesha I wish I could write to you this moment that my Liberty was my own but if the Lord is willing I shall soon see the day that the officers I can say farewell my time with you is no more Be of good cheer Mesha I hope that I can soon tell you to your face in your presence that I have my Liberty restored again &c you remarked in your letter that you wish I was sitting by your side (whilst making free Dassis) And I double and thribble wish I was, I was startled a little when I read in your letter that the Rifle Sergent had made his accomplishments to your mother for you is addressed to her Daughter but as I read on further I see that your opinion was not in favour of the bold attempt &c Mesha I am very glad that your love for me is thus far exceeded you said in your letter that if it would be true you would too Mesha if love ever proved true or any love was true my love for you is. I must inform you of our removal on the 6th of July we moved our camp about a mile from the former place we are now in the centre of the Town of St George

MESHA

My dear Mesha I

my last prayer was for us to met again

The one I love has an eye of black
With a glance as wild and bright.
As the rich black curls that float away
From her forehead pure and white.
The one I love has a smile and word
Of endearment sweet for all.
I never heard a note of
From her sweet lips to fall.
She is blithe and gladsome as a child
With a bosom light and gay.
Her home is where this letter I send
Far over the hills away.

Oh how happy would I be
For us to meet again
When I could have my liberty
To meet you on the plain.
Oh that will be joyfull joyfull joyfull
Oh that's joyfull to meet to part no more
We meet to part no more on Columbus happy shore.
And sing that good old song wich we used to sing before
But keep up good cheer, musha
The time will soon be over,
That when to officers I can say.
Farewell my time with you is no more.
Oh that will be joyfull

When this you see remember me
Though many miles between us be.
Although there be many and I am far away
Pray & please The Lord for us to meet another day.

I herd that Pike
Hart was about
to get Married to Lowder
and I write a few lines and
her to send me a peice
of the wedding cake

Nothing more at Present
But give my best love And respects to your
Father and mother and Brother and Sisters

And I send my affectionate love
to Br. H. Sr.

Pleasant Dreams to you

Still remaining yours
John D Byles
Camp near Petersburg
Va.

John was hardly the only suitor to Rachel, then just 14-years-old. In such a place, where men outnumbered women nearly 2 to 1, it should come as little surprise that young Rachel's hand was viewed as something of a prize by neighboring bachelors. Her mother, Abigail, wrote to an older daughter back east that one competitor "gave her thre or four gold rings and a yong Doctor gave her another dress and Abutiful Collar and I do not know how mutch money; " some of these romantics delivered presents to Abigail herself, including "twenty Pounds of coffee and that Mutch shougar" (quoted in Schlissel 1989:17). But it was not only the lack of eligible women along the Pacific frontier that spurred men's interest in Rachel. The U. S. Congress passed the Donation Act in 1850, the year Biles wrote this letter, specifying that any married woman could enter her own claim to a half-section of land. Lillian Schlissel--who published a fascinating narrative about the Malik's experience, based on the family papers at Yale--writes that "lawmakers unwittingly turned Oregon Territory into a marriage market. No girl over twelve was safe from young farmers looking to double their land. Rachel did not need to be pretty or wealthy; by historical accident, she was matrimonially desirable" (1989:16).

Yet Rachel was smitten with Biles, and undoubtedly this remarkable, watercolor love token contributed to his cause. John rues his impetuous decision to join the army and pines for the day that "I have my Liberty restored again," when he and "Musha" (his pet name for Rachel) can be together without interruption: "I shall trust in Providence for the time to come that I shall meet you again and to part not by the powers of officers who commands me at present." His romantic ideals and visions of their shared future must have made a powerful impression:

> Dearer Rachel Since I have received your address I have been very happy and time passes away much faster but how much faster would it pass away if I was sitting by your side whilst you are sewing or passing the day pleasant and lovely on the plain a gathering the pretty flowers that bloom Musha you are my thoughts day and night often do I think that I can see us or imagine that we are wriding to gether on horseback across the plain and the day passing away lovely...

It is not, of course, the flowery words that draw us to Biles's missive today, but the intricate and decorative flair that lifts it from the category of a love *letter* to that of a love *token*, from purple prose to folk art, and that makes it such a rarity for its time and place. Biles has embellished his letter in rich greens, blues, grays, and browns (some of which may be faded from purples and reds) with a range of imagery derived from the Pennsylvania traditions. There are turtle doves kissing at the top of the first page (recto), two baby doves frolicking on a tree bough above their heads; a larger rendering of this same family appears on the second page (recto), each in its spot along the trunk and branches of the downed tree. Grape vines, leaves, and flowers serve as colorful frames around the text, along with boxes that contain her pet name ("Musha) or romantic lines ("my love for you shall never fail"). And although the letter has long been flattened, the old fold lines clearly indicate that it was presented as a puzzle purse, typical for the love token form.

Biles waited two years, until after his father had helped to secure his release from military service, before he proposed to Rachel. She accepted, and the couple wed on April 4, 1852. John found work repairing carriages, wagons, and carts for the quartermaster at Fort Vancouver; Rachel was soon expecting their first child, born in March 1853. The month before, Oregon Territory had

been divided in two, with John, Rachel, and the rest of the Malick family--their farmstead located along the northern bank of Columbia River--now residents of the newly established Washington Territory. John was elected to its very first legislative assembly in January 1854, requiring him to spend months away from Rachel in Olympia, but the family had begun the climb from its pioneer beginnings to middle class respectability. Then disaster struck in June 1855. Rachel, who had just turned 19, died while delivering breech and stillborn twins. Afterwards, a grieving John went east for two years before returning to Washington, where he was reelected to the assembly and served as Speaker of the House in 1860. He remarried that year and would have five more children with his new wife, Elizabeth, settling down in Portland and taking a position as Secretary and Treasurer of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company. He died at Portland in 1890.

We do not believe that any comparable example of a love token--made and delivered in the American West--has ever been recorded, whether in institutional holdings or in private collections; certainly none has ever been offered in the trade. A high-quality photocopy of this example, on file at the Oregon Historical Society, featured prominently in Schilssel's *Far from Home*, much of which focuses on the migration of the Malick family to Oregon; pages 18 and 19 contain full page, black-and-white reproductions of Biles' love token to Rachel. In something of an understatement, Schlissel observes that "Elaborately drawn courtship letters, filled with poetry and expressions of faithful love, were rare on western frontiers" (1989:19). **Indeed, a letter such as this, given the time and place of its creation, seems nothing less than unique**.

Relevant sources:

Hollander, Stacy C., Brooke Davis Anderson, and Gerard C. Wertkin
2001 *American Anthem: Masterworks from the American Folk Art Museum*. Harry Abrams, New York.

Schlissel, Lillian
1989 The Malick Family in Oregon Territory, 1848-1867. In *Far from Home: Families of the Westward Journey*, edited by Lillian Schlissel, Byrd Gibbens, and Elizabeth Hampsten, pp. 3-105. Schocken Books, New York.

Steele, Richard F.
1904 *An Illustrated History of the Big Bend Country, Embracing Lincoln, Douglas, Adams, and Franklin Counties, State of Washington*. Western Historical Publishing Co., Spokane, WA.

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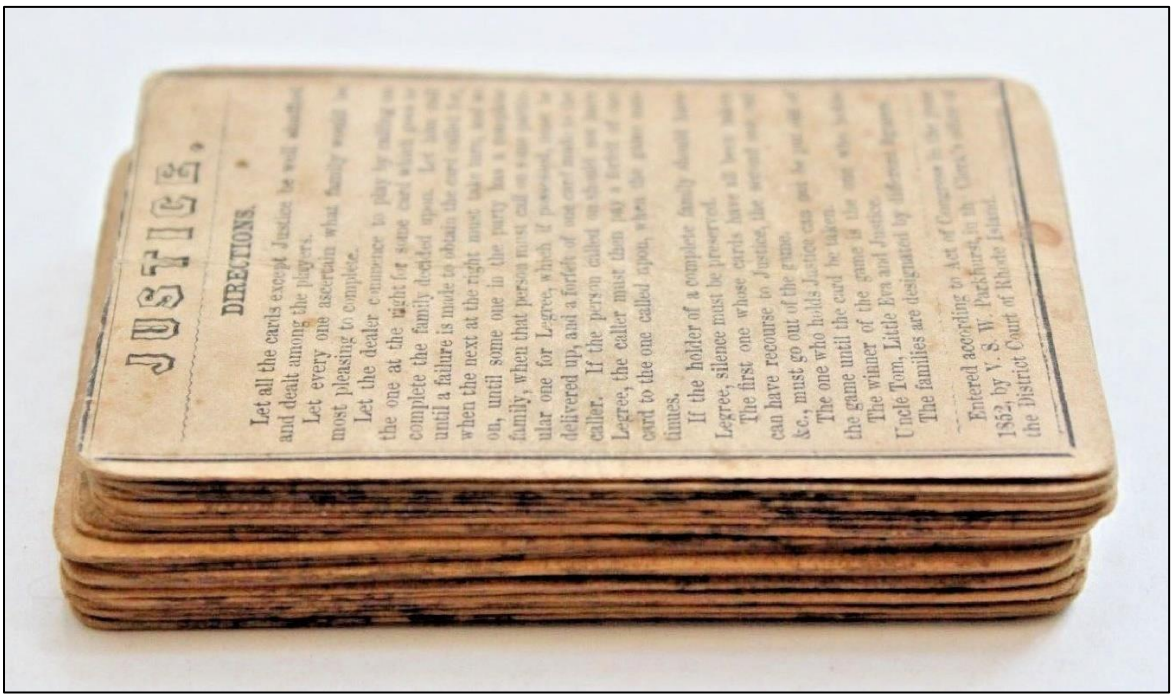
[Oregon Territory--Courtship]: John D. Biles: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM JOHN D. BILES TO RACHEL H. MALICK, IN THE FORM OF A WATERCOLOR PUZZLE PURSE OR LOVE TOKEN]. [Camp near Astoria. July 20, 1850]. [3] pp. with integral address leaf. Letter with watercolor birds, flowers, vines, and other elements in green, blue, gray, and brown. Remnant of wax seal and corresponding seal tear, not affecting words or watercolor decoration. Old folds (as typical for the puzzle purse form) with several pin holes affecting a few words of text. Some bleed through of color. About very good. With accompanying documentation of provenance.

11. SOLD.

Justice: A Card Game Featuring Characters from Uncle Tom's Cabin

Uncle Tom's Cabin, serialized in 1851 but first appearing in book form on March 20, 1852, would go on to become the best-selling novel of the 19th century. In fact, Harriet Beecher Stowe's sentimental tale of slavery and its consequences sold more copies than any other book published during the century--of any kind--save the *Holy Bible* itself. The book was a cultural phenomenon that spawned a bewildering and seemingly endless array of tie-ins, each produced to capitalize on the popularity of Stowe's story and characters, though neither she nor her publisher saw any profits from the deluge of unlicensed material culture her novel inspired.



Among the various categories of merchandise--historian Stephen A. Hirsch refers to them all as "tomitudes" (1978:316): dioramas, commemorative plates, gold and silver spoons stamped with Stowe's portrait on the handle and the eponymous cabin on the bowl, bisque china busts of Tom and Little Eva, and countless more--**two hand-colored card games for children are known to have been produced in the year of the novel's appearance**. Both were very loosely based on a British card game created two years earlier called "Happy Families." The goal of this game was to match five groups of families from a deck of 20 character cards; once a family of four is reunited, it cannot be broken up. One of the two Uncle Tom games (no priority is established), published by W. & S. B. Ives of Salem, Massachusetts and titled simply "Uncle Tom's Cabin," followed the same basic rules. The cards depict both characters and objects from the book (nine of the former, eleven of the latter). The object was to match the cards into four groups of five people and things that belong together, according to the novel's narrative. As noted by Stephen Railton, director of the University of Virginia's *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture* website, "its designers simply imported images from the popular novel into an existing card game rather than tr[ying] to imagine a game that had some resonant connection to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."


MRS. SHELBY.
ST. CLARE.

Not so with the second game, titled "Uncle Tom and Little Eva" or simply "Justice," a very rare complete set of which we are pleased to offer here. Created and sold by bookseller and artist Vilen S. Parkhurst of Providence, Rhode Island, this game drew directly from the plot of Stowe's novel, asking players to consider the separation of families under slavery. Each of the 20 character cards in the deck is numbered 1 through 5, creating five groups of four as follows:

1. Cassy	2. Eliza	3. Little Eva	4. Aunt Chloe	5. Massa George
1. Haley	2. George Harris	3. Miss Ophelia	4. Mose	5. Sam
1. Legree	2. Little Harry	3. St. Claire	4. Pete	5. Mr. Shelby
1. Loker	2. The Manufacturer	3. Topsy	4. Uncle Tom	5. Mrs. Shelby

According to the rules, as specified on the Justice card (the 21st card in the deck), the 20 character cards are dealt out among the players, who decide which of the families they might best be able to unite. The dealer begins by asking the player to his or her right for a card that will help to complete the set, continuing until the dealer fails to obtain a card. The turn then passes to the right and so on until someone in the game completes a family. In most such games, this would be the end of the contest. Yet in "Uncle Tom and Little Eva," the game adds two new rules that force the players to break apart their happy families--rules that, as Mark Kelley observes, "have no basis in standard exchange-game procedures" (2012:135). The first player to complete a family must choose another player to ask for the Simon Legree card (Legree being the novel's slave-catcher); if the chosen player does not possess the Legree, than the asking player must forfeit a card. This continues until one player runs out of cards, upon which he or she takes the Justice card and so stays in the game. Any other players who lose all of their cards go out of the game, which is finally won by the first person to collect the Justice card, Little Eva, and Uncle Tom. Returning again to Mark Kelley, "Tom and Eva can only be reunited in the justice of heaven, since they are both dead at the end of Stowe's narrative. The reunion of these three cards rather than the reunion of happy families signals the game's end" (2012:139).

Complete sets of "Uncle Tom and Little Eva" and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" are extremely rare, both in the antiquarian market and in institutional holdings. OCLC lists three examples of the Parkhurst game--at Yale, Brown, and the University of Wisconsin. Both the Yale and Brown sets are incomplete, lacking the Justice card. Yale does, however, hold a second set, complete, in its Cary Playing Card Collection. We locate a fifth set at the American Antiquarian Society, also lacking the Justice card. Finally, we trace but a single example at auction or in the trade (complete with the Justice card), sold by Swann Galleries in 2000 for $3680. The Ives game is likewise quite rare. OCLC records three examples, all complete, at the New York Historical Society, the Boston Athenaeum, and the University of Virginia. Two sets have appeared in the trade, both offered by M & S Rare Books (one in 1972 and another in 2009 for $3250).

Parkhurst appears to have had little success with his version of the Uncle Tom game. He was still operating a bookstore in Providence in 1855, but by 1870--according to that year's Federal Census--he had moved west to San Francisco where he had a personal worth of $4000 and the job title of 'artist' (see Kelley 2012:139). It is difficult to know whether the simpler Ives version of the game was more successful than Parkhurst's, but the Ives company would go on to become the first significant game manufacturer in the United States. We suspect that the complexities of the Parkhurst game, despite its faithfulness to Stowe's novel, accounts for its lack of popularity. What

is more, we suspect that its complex rules, especially in comparison with the Ives game and others such as "Happy Family," account for the scarcity of the Justice card in recorded sets. With this card taken from the deck, that is, Parkhurst's game of "Uncle Tom and Little Eva" could be played just like any other in the exchange-game genre. **Altogether an interesting and important visual tie-in to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the book that made abolitionism mainstream.**

Relevant sources:

Hirsch, Stephen A.
1978 Uncle Tomitudes: The Popular Reaction to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In *Studies in the American Renaissance*, edited by Joel Myerson, pp. 303-30. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Ives, W. & S. B.
1852 "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Salem, MA. *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture: A Multimedia Archive.* Stephen Railton, Director, University of Virginia. Accessed July 10, 2019.

Kelley, Mark
2012 Learning to Play the Game of Unhappy Families: Sympathetic Reading and Sentimental Ownership in "Uncle Tom and Little Eva," a Card Game Adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association 45(1):127-151.

Morgan, Jo-Ann
2007 *Uncle Tom's Cabin as Visual Culture*. University of Missouri Press, Columbia.

Parkhurst, Vilen S. W.
1852 "Uncle Tom and Little Eva." Providence, RI. *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture: A Multimedia Archive.* Stephen Railton, Director, University of Virginia. Accessed July 10, 2019.

Stevenson, Louise
2007 Virtue Displayed: The Tie-Ins of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture: A Multimedia Archive.* Stephen Railton, Director, University of Virginia. Accessed July 10, 2019.

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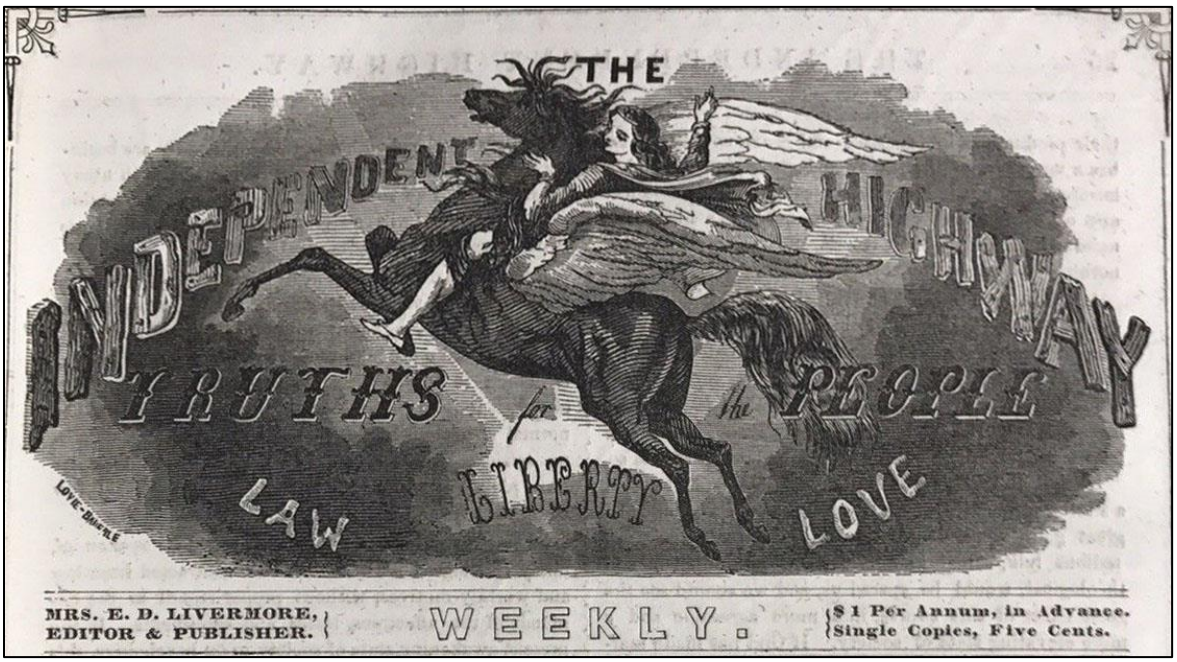
[Uncle Tom's Cabin--Children's Games]: THE GAME OF "UNCLE TOM AND LITTLE EVA." V. S. W. Parkhurst, Providence, 1852. 21 cards, each measuring 3 1/2 x 2 1/4 in. (8.9 x 5.7 cm); 20 character cards, wood-engraved with hand-coloring, one Justice card containing the rules of the game, all backs blank; corners uniformly and lightly rounded, minor spotting, staining, and signs of handling. Overall very good.

12. SOLD.

Before *Beloved*: The Margaret Garner Story, Told in Six Scenes

"124 was spiteful. Full of a baby's venom" Thus begins *Beloved*, the searing 1987 novel that six years later secured a Nobel Prize in Literature for author Toni Morrison and maintains its place today in the highest pantheon of American fiction. Set in Cincinnati in 1873, *Beloved* is the story of Sethe, who about 20 years prior had escaped from slavery with her four children. At the time of the novel's opening lines, Emancipation has ensured that she and her family can never be returned to bondage, though they are all haunted--literally--by the ghosts of the past. Two decades before, a month after crossing the Ohio into Cincinnati and freedom, Sethe had been discovered by her former owner. Rather than face a lifetime of slavery, she had snatched up her children and retreated to a toolshed, where she managed to slit the throat of her 2-year-old daughter before she was stopped. Abolitionists would ultimately prevent Sethe and her other children from being taken back as slaves, but Sethe was shattered. It is the ghost of the murdered child, Beloved, that forces her both to confront her past and to imagine a life for herself in the present.



Like so many other great novels, *Beloved* is based on a true story, yet Morrison was neither the first author nor even the first woman to reconceive its events as fiction. Morrison's inspiration for *Beloved* was the story of Margaret Garner, a fugitive mother apprehended in Cincinnati in 1856 who killed her young daughter with a knife rather than have her raised in slavery. **The first author to retell Garner's story as fiction--writing in serial format as news of the capture and trial unfolded daily--was Cincinnati writer and editor Elizabeth Livermore, whose self-published weekly, *The Independent Highway*, carried her original play, "The Fugitives: A Tragedy in Six Scenes," from February 2 to April 5**. Livermore's magazine, devoted to "Truths, People, Law, Liberty, and Love," lasted for just 25 issues before ending in September. Today its scarcity is almost absolute: the volume that we offer here is only the second complete file known to have survived, and no single issue ever seems to have been offered in the trade.

Margaret Garner was born into slavery in 1834 at Maplewood Plantation, just across the Ohio River and west of Cincinnati in Boone County, Kentucky. She was described as a mulatto and might have been a daughter of plantation owner, John Pollard Gaines. In 1849, she married a fellow slave on the plantation, Robert Garner. Just a few months later, Gaines--who had accepted President Taylor's appointment as governor of Oregon Territory--sold the plantation and all of its slaves to his younger brother, Archibald. The younger Gaines appears to have taken a particular interest in Margaret. After having a son with Robert in 1850, evidence suggests that Archibald fathered her next three children, all listed as mulattoes. And she was pregnant again.

It is little wonder, then, that Margaret and Robert chose to flee. At daybreak on January 28, 1856, they gathered their children and escaped with several other families by sleigh across the frozen Ohio River. Their party dispersed in Cincinnati to avoid being discovered, with the Garner family slipping south of town to the home of Margaret's uncle, Joe Kite. Kite sought the assistance of famed abolitionist and underground railroad conductor Levi Coffin, who instructed him to take the family farther west and to hide until night. But before Kite could return, slave catchers aided by U. S. Marshalls had surrounded the Garners in his home. Robert fired several shots from a gun he had taken from Gaines's plantation, and Margaret began stabbing her children with a butcher's knife rather than watch them returned to life as slaves. Her two-year-old daughter, Mary, perished of her wounds, though the others survived. The entire family was taken into custody.

Days later, on February 2, Elizabeth D. Livermore published the first issue of her weekly magazine, *The Independent Highway*, with the first installment of "The Fugitives" appearing on pages 6 to 7. Livermore was born Elizabeth Dorcas Abbott in Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, in 1810. In 1838, she married her first cousin, pacifist minister Abiel Abbot Livermore, a graduate of Harvard Divinity School. After living for more than a decade in Keene, New Hampshire, where Abiel served as pastor, they moved to Cincinnati in 1850; there he assumed the pulpit of the First Congregational Unitarian Church. Abiel's pacifism had dampened his ardor for the anti-slavery movement, and instead he concerned himself with maintaining unity within the church. Elizabeth had no such qualms. Not only did she throw herself into abolitionism, but into the empowerment of women, as well. The year before the Garners' escape, she had published a novel that drew both together, *Zöe, or the Quadroon's Triumph: A Tale for the Times* (1855, Cincinnati). In it, the title character--a young biracial girl emancipated on the Caribbean island of Santa Cruz--travels from the West Indies to boarding school in Denmark and back again, all the while engaging with people of various racial, national, and ethnic backgrounds. As Colleen O'Brien has observed, Livermore sought to "negotiate the meaning of Christian republicanism in this series of encounters, which set every negative quality of racial Anglo-Saxondom in relief with the romanticized racial attributes of other 'races'" (2013:83-84). At the time of Margaret Garner's capture and trial, in sum, there were few women in Cincinnati more apt to take interest in the family's plight.

"The Fugitives" opens with a scene on the plantation, as Brutus and Lucretia (i.e., Robert and Margaret Garner) prepare to escape with their four children and her older parents, Scipio and Cornelia. Scipio is doubting whether to leave his little house for an unknown future, but Lucretia is adamant about her daughter's fate if they remain: "Stay to see the lewd young Massa exult over the ruin of our youngest darling's purity?...Death, torture, rather! Oh! help me God!" (I:1:6). After this moment's hesitation, they all slip out of Scipio's hut and into the night. In the next scene, the little group stands looking over the frozen Ohio River:

Tony. What a big brook, papa, and covered with ice. Fine skating, isn't it? I wish young Massa were here; wouldn't he have fine sport? Is this the Ohio, he told me of? "the beautiful river."

Brutus. 'Tis the stream of *life* to us, my boy, for it but crossed, and we are in Heaven--the land of freedom. On, on, father, mother, wife, children; so help me God, each ripple of its flow; shall be a symbol pointing to the purity of soul, which should ever dwell in a *freeman's* bosom. Each swell of its spring-tide shall be a hint to me of the expanding mind befitting a son of liberty. Liberty! Can it be that a boon so great, so thrilling, ever can be ours? Hush, my doubts. Away with ye, my fears. I clutch thee. Freedom! Ye shall not elude my grasp. Come on! Come on.
(*They all cross rapidly over the ice* [I:1:7]

On the other side of the water, while searching for the home of friends they have been told will help them to secure passage on the Underground Railroad, they encounter a man who asks if they are lost. Promising to take them to the home they seek, he leads them to a comfortable house and into a small apartment. After settling them in, "He goes out, shuts the door, and Brutus detects the sound of the key turning in the lock" (I:2:13). They are betrayed. A posse of men, along with their supposed guide, soon surround the house. Robert, who had stolen a small pistol before fleeing the plantation, opens fire when the posse enters the room but is quickly subdued. Lucretia realizes that there is little hope for her children, "and quick as thought she seizes a knife, cuts the throat of one child, then wounds another, and another" (I:2:14). She turns to Cornelia:

Lucretia. Mother, help me to place these little ones safe in the keeping o£ the angels, for enslaved they never shall be. Come, quick!
[Slier is seized, and the knife is wrested from her.]

2d Man. Here, wench! what are you doing? Have you no more feeling than all this comes to? Kill your own children? Hanging isn't good enough for you.
[She speaks slowly, looking straight into the man's face.]

Lucretia. Feeling enough to wish to place them in the arms of Him who, when on earth, was the friend of little children. Feeling enough to seek to spare them the fearful toil, the scourge, the tread-mill, the brutal speech, and daily half-starvation. Feeling enough to wrest my girl from pollution and damnation. Feeling enough to save her from the sleepless nights, the thorny pillow and the couch, each feather of which is, as it were, a barbed anguish. —*[Raising her voice.]*—Unhand me, wretch! I will complete my work...Release me! Free me but for a moment...I'll go singing to the gallows, sooner than they shall be slaves! [I:2:14].

The Garners' trial began almost immediately after their arrest, with the main issue before the court being whether it should legally recognize Margaret and Robert as persons, and therefore responsible for the death of their daughter, or whether it should recognize them as the property of Archibald Gaines under the statutes of the Fugitive Slave Act. Under normal circumstances, a fugitive slave case might be resolved in less than a single day; the Garner's case, however, ran for four weeks. More than a thousand people came out each day to witness events unfold from outside the county courthouse, and the city of Cincinnati deputized 500 men to help maintain order during the trial. The Garner family was represented by abolitionist attorney John Jolliffe, who had already earned a reputation for challenging federal slave laws.

Jolliffe's first strategy, drawing on earlier statutes regarding the carrying of slaves into free states, was to argue that the Garners were already free because Gaines had previously taken them into Ohio for work. When that position failed to sway the presiding judge, John Pendery, Jolliffe argued that Margaret should be charged with murder in Ohio (understanding that her case would be tried in a free state and that she would receive a pardon from the governor). Prosecutors argued successfully that federal statutes had precedent over state laws. Finally, Jolliffe argued that the Fugitive Slave Act was unconstitutional, violating freedom of religion by forcing citizens to return slaves against their religious beliefs. When this, too, was rejected, he was out of options. Pendery ruled that Robert, Margaret, and their nine-month-old daughter--spared from injury in Margaret's attack on her siblings--be returned to Kentucky as the property of Archibald Gaines. By the time that anti-slavery authorities in Ohio obtained an extradition order to try Margaret for murder in the free state, Gaines had begun moving the family between different locations. Two months later, he was finally presented with the extradition at Louisville, but only after he had just sent the Garners south on a steamboat headed for his brother's plantation in Arkansas.

Livermore had published Scene IV of "The Fugitives," set entirely in the courtroom, on February 16, about two weeks before Pendery rendered his decision. Scenes V and VI appeared in the issue of April 5, by which time Margaret's fate was fully known. She would have no hopeful ending--or rather, beginning--such as Morrison gave to Sethe, her fictional counterpart. On March 11, William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist paper, *The Liberator*, reported that the steamboat *Henry Lewis*, while transporting the Garners to Arkansas, had collided with another boat. Margaret and her daughter were thrown overboard; Margaret survived, despite her efforts to drown herself, but her baby did not. Elizabeth Livermore knew all of this when she completed "The Fugitives" in the issue of April 5. When Lucretia is pulled half-drowned from the Mississippi, she is told by a brutish member of the crew that her child has died. Lucretia responds with relief:

> Lucretia. Joy! Joy! My child is safe, she is safe, she is safe! and half my heavy load is lightened! No more grief for her, no more wrong, no more—(hateful thought)—slavery to lust, ten thousand times more galling and detestable than slavery to toil, the whip, starvation, nakedness and cold. Now, mother, I can think of your hopeful words, for they are not driven back from my burning heart by the fearful thought of a doom like mine awaiting my child, my poor drowned innocent, I will at least be patient. Now Heaven send us help in his own good time [I:10:76].

So concludes "The Fugitives." Margaret and Robert Garner were in Arkansas only briefly before being sent to work as house servants in New Orleans, where they all but disappeared from sight. In 1870, seven years after Emancipation, a reporter for Cincinnati's *Daily Chronicle* found Robert living in Memphis. Robert told the writer that in 1857 he and Margaret had been sold for plantation labor to an estate at Tennessee Landing, Mississippi. Margaret had died the following year during an epidemic of typhoid fever that swept through the valley. Her last words to Robert (according to the reporter's published story) were to "never marry again in slavery, but to live in hope of freedom" (Weisenburger 1998:277).

As for Elizabeth Livermore, her intense and very public advocacy both for abolition and the rights of women may have begun to make her husband's position in Cincinnati untenable. In the fall of 1856, about the time she published the final issue of *Independent Highway*, he accepted an invitation to become editor of the *Christian Inquirer* in New York City. Elizabeth may have acted for a period as co-editor of the paper, but she otherwise seems to have abandoned her literary aspirations after their move from Cincinnati. In the Federal Census of 1870, by which time Abiel was serving as the president of the Theological School at Meadville, Pennsylvania, her occupation was identified as "keeping house." She died of dysentery at Boston in 1879. We trace but a single complete run of *The Independent Highway*, held by the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County. Harvard's run of three issues (Nos. 1-3) lacks three scenes from "The Fugitives," while AAS holds only a single issue (No. 3). Our complete run may have been the Livermores' personal copy, as its front free endpaper is signed "A. A. and E. D. Livermore." Finally, we find no evidence that any other copy has ever been offered at auction or in the trade. **A significant, extremely rare Midwestern periodical, edited, published, and largely written by an abolitionist and feminist author worthy of closer attention from historians and literary scholars alike**.

Relevant sources:

Bost, Suzanne
2003 *Mulattas and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identities in the Americas, 1850-2000*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

O'Brien, Colleen C.
2013 *Race, Romance, and Rebellion: Literatures of the Americas in the Nineteenth Century*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Weisenberger, Steven
1998 *Modern Medea: A Family Story of Slavery and Child-Murder from the Old South*. Hill and Wang, New York.

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[Abolitionism and Feminism--Periodical]: THE INDEPENDENT HIGHWAY, Vol. I, No. 1 to Vol. I, No. 25 (all published). Mrs. E. D. Livermore, Editor and Publisher. Feb. 2 to Sept. 20, 1856. Cincinnati, Ohio. Small 4to, contemporary 3/4 calf and marbled boards; spine scuffed with most of black morocco label missing, light edge wear, text quite clean. Very good.

13. SOLD.

A Letter and Business Card from Dr. Mary J. Scarlett

In 1847, Elizabeth Blackwell became the first woman accepted into a medical school in the United States when the all-male student body of the Medical Institute of Geneva College--as a joke or prank on the faculty--voted in favor of her admission. Two years later, she graduated at the top of her class, and within a decade, perhaps 200 to 300 more had joined her as pioneers in American medicine. Most of these women physicians were graduates of either the Boston Female Medical College, founded in 1848 and changing its name to the New England Female Medical College in 1857, or the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, founded in 1850 and changing its name to the Women's Medical of Pennsylvania in 1867. Among this first generation of American women physicians was Mary J. Scarlett, born in Berks County, Pennsylvania, in 1822. Scarlett graduated from FMCP in 1857, later earning appointment as Professor of Anatomy. In this rare letter to her niece, Mary, she writes of family matters, her work at the college, and her work among the poor of the city. Significantly, she included business card noting both her degree and office hours. **We can locate no earlier example from an American woman physician**.


MARY J. SCARLETT, M. D.,

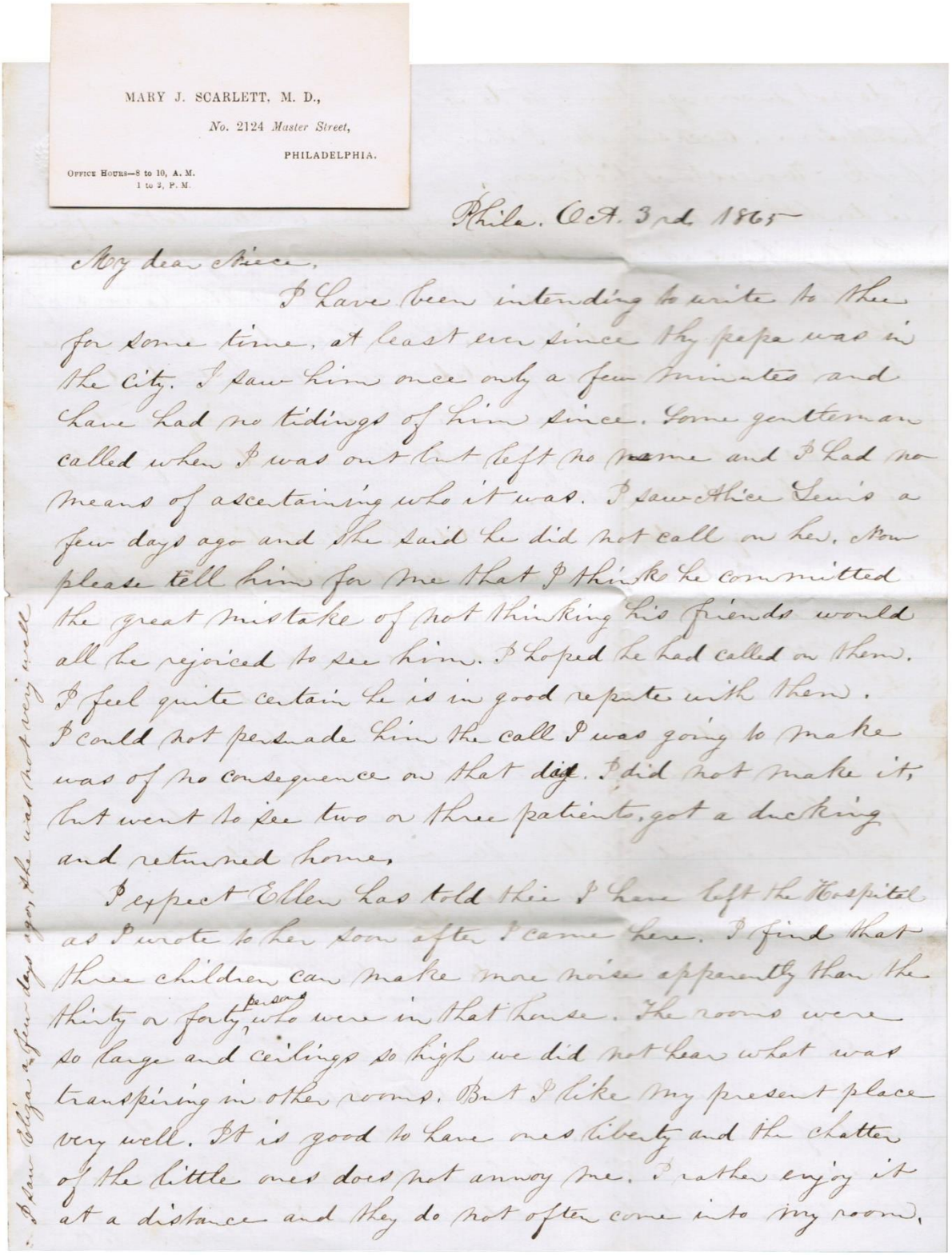
No. 2124 Master Street,

PHILADELPHIA.

OFFICE HOURS—8 to 10, A. M.
1 to 3, P. M.

Scarlett was the youngest of seven children born to Quaker parents in Robeson Township, a rural community about ten miles south of Reading. Her father died when she was four, with her eldest brother passing shortly after, such that her mother was left to manage a small, unproductive farm with six young children. When Scarlett's mother died in 1838--Scarlett was 16--she left the farm and began teaching in local county schools, intermittently attending boarding school herself to improve her own education, and always with an eye toward medicine. In 1855, after fulfilling duties to an older sister, she entered the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania, graduating two years later. Dr. Scarlett operated a general practice and gave lectures on hygiene in country towns and villages before returning to the college in 1859 as both demonstrator of anatomy and assistant physician. In 1862, she was promoted to Professor of Anatomy, a title she would hold until 1881 when failing eyesight compelled her to resign her position.

Scarlett writes to her niece in October 1865, just after she had returned to practice and left her role as assistant physician at the college (though retaining her professorship). She regrets that she had been unable to visit with Mary's father (her brother-in-law) for more than a few moments



MARY J. SCARLETT, M. D.,
No. 2124 *Master Street*,
PHILADELPHIA.
OFFICE HOURS—8 to 10, A. M.
1 to 3, P. M.

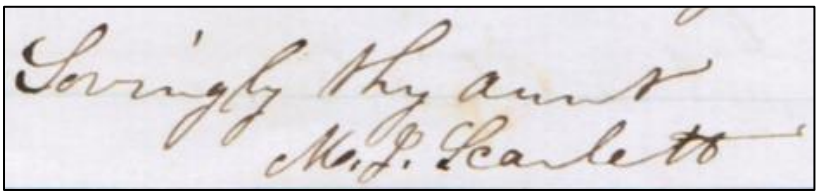
Phila. Oct. 3rd 1865

My dear Niece,

I have been intending to write to thee for some time, at least ever since thy pepa was in the city. I saw him once only a few minutes and have had no tidings of him since. Some gentleman called when I was out but left no name and I had no means of ascertaining who it was. I saw Alice Lewis a few days ago and she said he did not call on her. Now please tell him for me that I think he committed the great mistake of not thinking his friends would all be rejoiced to see him. I hoped he had called on them. I feel quite certain he is in good repute with them. I could not persuade him the call I was going to make was of no consequence on that day. I did not make it, but went to see two or three patients, got a ducking and returned home.

I expect Ellen has told thee I have left the Hospital as I wrote to her soon after I came here. I find that three children can make more noise apparently than the thirty or forty persons who were in that house. The rooms were so large and ceilings so high we did not hear what was transpiring in other rooms. But I like my present place very well. It is good to have one's liberty and the chatter of the little ones does not annoy me. I rather enjoy it at a distance and they do not often come into my room.

I have College in four days and the cars start every week



when he was in Philadelphia--she had been seeing patients--and that she hopes he will call on her when he next comes to town. More interesting, she notes that she had left her position as assistant physician in the hospital and moved into new accommodations, likely with one of her other nieces or nephews residing in the city; she writes that "the chatter of the little ones does not annoy me. I rather enjoy it at a distance and they do not often come into my room. I do not encourage them to do so lest they might become troublesome." She is "thinking about the labors of the winter in the college. I have been doing some more than thinking. I was appointed to give the introductory and I have been preparing for it. It is very brief and perhaps that is its chief beauty. I never had any faculty for talking about nothing." The Rubenstein Library at Duke University contains an undated broadside for "An Introductory Lecture to a Course on Physiology" that was delivered by Scarlett and is perhaps a record of the address that she mentions here.

Scarlett enclosed a small printed card with the letter. Throughout the 19th century, upper class men and women in the United States and Europe regularly exchanged calling cards during home visits and other social engagements, and depending on the means of the bearer these cards displayed an enormous range techniques in printing, engraving, and lithography. Mary J. Scarlett's card, however, is something quite different. Specifically, it includes her professional degree with her name and lists her office hours, morning and afternoon. It is effectively a business card. **While calling cards from mid-19th-century women are not uncommon, business cards such as this one advertising the professional services of a woman--much less a physician--are extremely rare; we can find no evidence that any comparable example has survived**.

Relevant sources:

Editors
1900 Obituary, Mary J. Scarlett Dixon. Friends Intelligencer and Journal 57(6):109.
Willard, Frances E. and Mary A. Livermore, editors
1893 *A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life*. Charles Wells Moulton, Buffalo.

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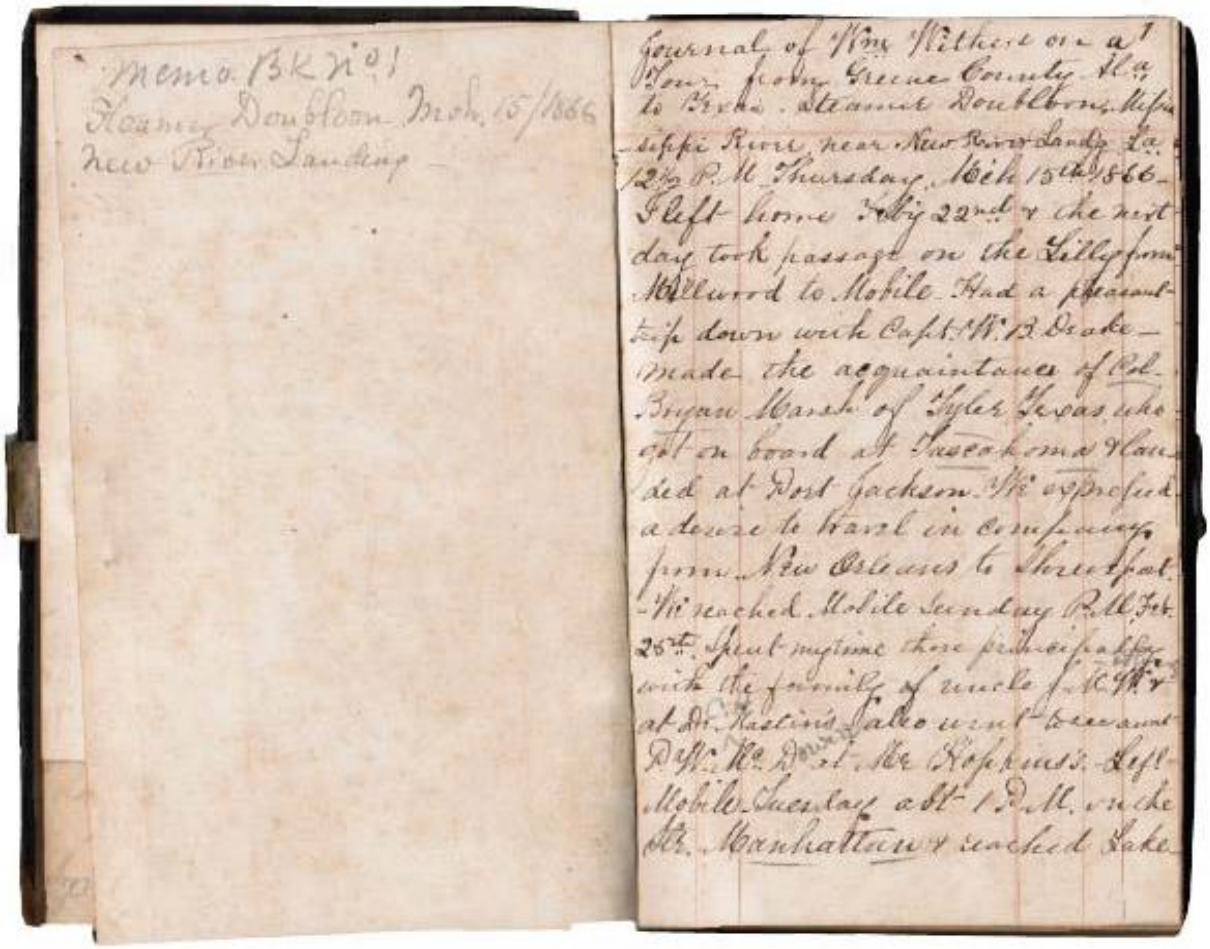
[American Medicine--Women Physicians]: Dr. Mary J. Scarlett: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER, SIGNED, FROM DR. MARY J. SCARLETT TO HER NIECE, MARY, INCLUDING ONE OF DR. SCARLETT'S BUSINESS CARDS]. Philadelphia, October 3, 1865. [2] pp. Letter with old folds; business card measuring 3 x 1 5/8 in. (7.5 x 4 cm). Both items very good.

14. SOLD.

Across East Texas in 1866: The Journal of William Withers

Of all 13 states that joined the Confederacy, none would emerge from the war years better positioned to determine its own destiny, and with less Federal interference, than Texas. Texas was both the largest and westernmost of the Confederate states: the distance from its capitol at Austin to Washington, D. C., was more than 1500 miles. This distant location also put it at the periphery of the war itself, such that its landscape and infrastructure suffered little of the destruction wrought upon allies farther east. The population of Texas had nearly trebled during the decade from 1850 to 1860, and throughout the war many planters in Arkansas and Louisiana--occupied by the Union Army--moved slaves into Texas to prevent their emancipation. Thus, when emancipation arrived here with Federal troops on June 19, 1865 (a date still celebrated as Juneteenth), the state had a surfeit of agricultural labor that became the basis of its sharecropping system, one that underwrote the ten-fold explosion in cotton production across East Texas from 1870 to 1900. Finally, there was the emergence of the West Texas cattle industry, supported by postwar demands for beef in the north. Together, this unique combination of factors placed the state on a more rapid path to economic recovery than any other in the former Confederacy. Indeed, its extraordinary influx of white southerners after 1865 gave birth to the phase, "Gone to Texas."

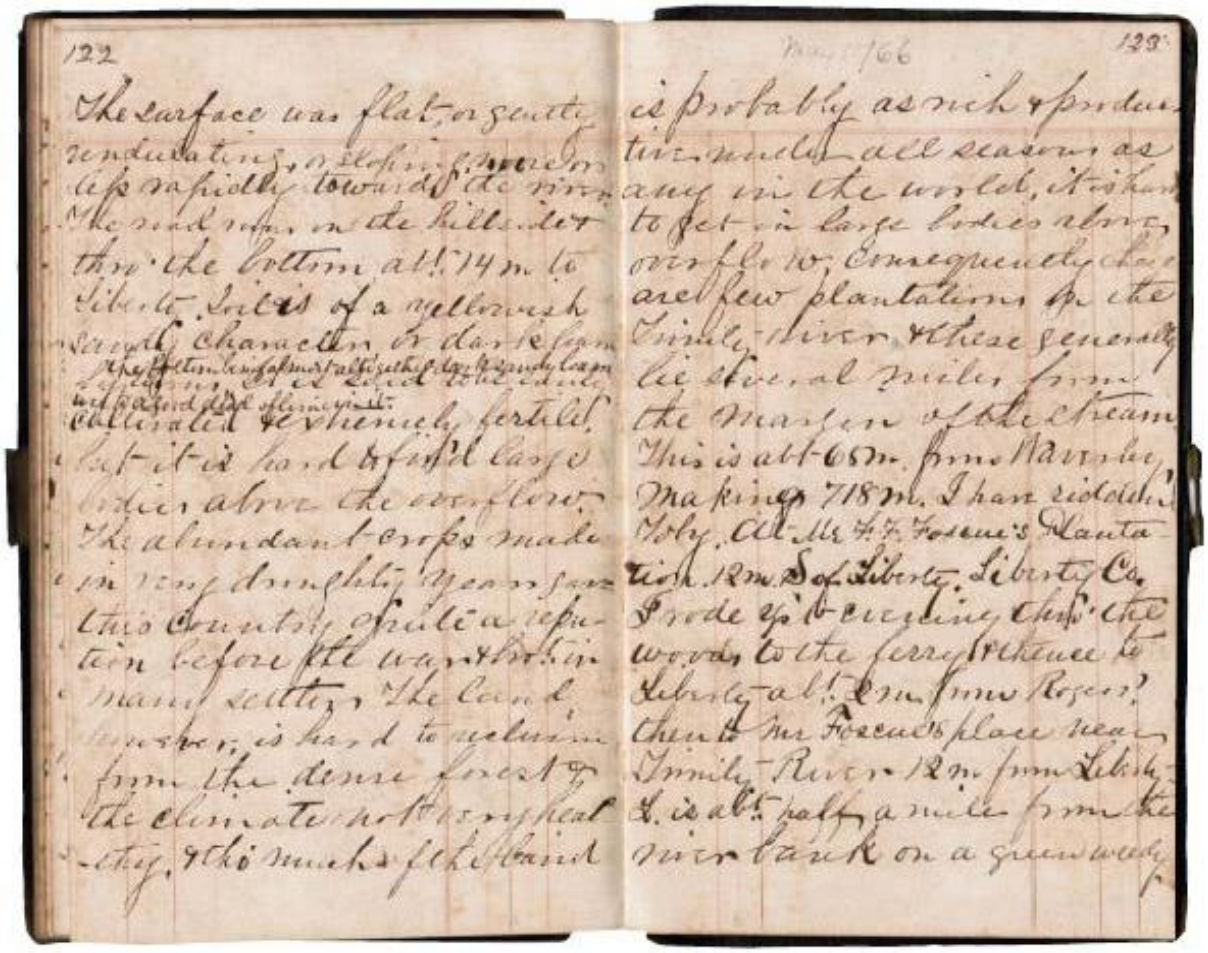
In February 1866, just ten months after Lee's surrender, William Withers left his home in Greene County, Alabama, for a trip on horseback across East Texas, where he may have sought to increase his family's landholdings. **This extensive diary, kept throughout the trip and totaling nearly 16,000 words, offers an excessively rare and often eloquent account of Texas in the immediate aftermath of the war and on the cusp of its revitalization**.


Memo. Bk No 1
Steamer Doubloon Mch. 15/1866
New River Landing

Journal of Wm Withers on a Tour from Greene County Ala to Texas. Steamer Doubloon Miss-issippi River near New River Landg La 12½ P.M Thursday Mch 15th 1866 I left home Feby 22nd & the next day took passage on the Lilly from Millwood to Mobile. Had a pleasant trip down with Capt W. B Drake made the acquaintance of Col Bryan Marsh of Tyler Texas who got on board at Pascagoula & left at Port Jackson. We expressed a desire to travel in company from New Orleans to Shreveport. We reached Mobile Sunday P.M Feb 25th. Spent my time there principally with the family of uncle J. C. W & at Dr. Rastin's Take went to church Dr. McDonald & Mr Hopkins. Left Mobile Tuesday at 1 P.M. on the Mr. Manhattan & reached Lake

William Withers (1840-1904) was the second son of Dr. Robert Walker Withers, Alabama physician, planter, businessman, and slaveholder. The elder Withers was born in Virginia in 1798, obtained his education at Yale, then studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania before coming to the Canebrake region of west-central Alabama--near the junction of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers--at the age of 25. He quickly purchased 480 acres of land from Frenchman Marc-Antoine Frenage and gave up medicine for the life of a planter. By 1831, he owned 80 slaves and farmed more than 700 acres spread across two plantations. He married his first cousin, Mary, the daughter of his uncle John Withers of Huntsville, with whom he had seven children. He added a hotel and ferry to his family's estate on the Black Warrior, together with a four-horse stage that carried travelers into nearby Greensboro. He introduced turbines powered by artesian wells to run his flour-, grist-, and sawmills. He bred race horses, experimented with grapes and sugarcane, and even began growing peas and beans to replenish his soil's nutrients. Yet all of his innovations and successes, as fruits of the antebellum economy, were dependent on the institution of slavery, a fact made all too clear in the decade-long correspondence he maintained with fellow Virginian William Henry Brodnax (now held at the Library of Virginia).

By the time William departed for Texas in 1866, nearly everything had changed. His father had died in 1854, thus escaping the devastation that came soon after. In 1863, William had enlisted



as a private in Maj. Daniel Trueheart's Alabama battery, but records suggest that he spent most of his time in the Confederate Army assigned to the Signal Corp. He came home, like so many other young southern men, to find the world turned upside down. Much of Alabama, especially in the north along the Tennessee River, lay in ruins. The economy was shattered. Withers's own Greene County, which slave labor had earlier helped to make one of the most productive in the state, was beginning a steep decline from which it never recovered. John W. Dubose (1947:561) reports that Robert Withers had purchased land in the "prairies of Texas" during the 1840s, and considering Alabama's circumstances in the opening months of Reconstruction, it is little wonder that William set out when he did, whether to ascertain the condition of his family's holdings, to expand those holdings, or--as a second son--to make a claim of his own.

Like his father and older brother, Robert W. Withers, Jr., William received his education at the University of Virginia--graduating in 1859--and this diary of his Texas journey reads as the product of an educated observer. Withers's journal opens about 3 weeks into the trip: "Journal of Wm Withers on a tour from Greene County Ala to Texas. Steamer Doubloon, Mississippi River near New River Landing La. 12 1/2 pm Thursday, Mch 15 1866." It may only have been at this point in the journey that he obtained the blank book that became his diary (titled "Ledger" in gilt on the front board), but his entries then shift back to the date of his departure. Withers writes that

he had left his home on February 22, travelling by steamer from his family's landing on the Black Warrior River to Mobile. Onboard the *Lilly*, he "made the acquantance of Col. Bryan Marsh of Tyler, Texas," and after talking the two men "expressed a desire to travel in company from New Orleans to Shreveport." Marsh, who would later gain reknown as a sheriff and Texas Ranger, was likely in Alabama visiting his soon-to-be bride in Clarke County.

In Mobile, Withers visited family before taking another steamer to New Orleans. There he met with a range of former Conferderate notables, including Maj. Gen. Dabney H. Maury, Capt. R. H. Browne of the New Orleans Response Battalion, and Col. Thomas L. Bayne. He found lodging with an "old chum Dr. Frederick Peck" (former assistant surgeon on board the ironclad CSS Albemarle), and while in the city he took in three shows at the Varieties Theatre, saw a ballet performance at the Academy of Music, visited the Medical College, the New York Academy of Anatomy, the French Market, and the Stock Market, while also attending sermons at Christ Church delivered by Joseph Pele Bell Wilmer, second Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana (with whom he had a private audience) and dining regularly with the city's elite. He writes that:

> I was very well pleased with N. O. as a resort both for business & pleasure, but found the streets very disagreeable in dusty weather....Canal St. is said to be unsurpassed for gaiety & variety by any in the country - & thought N. O. a better market for the interior of Ala than Mobile, both for the sale of cotton & the purchase of supplies.

Leaving New Orleans on Wednesday, March 14, Withers boarded the steamer *Doubloon* bound for Shreveport, Louisiana, but he intended to disembark at Grand Ecore along the Red River near the town of Natchitoches. Passing former sugar plantations north of the city, he appears to have first observed the devastating effects of the war:

> There is but little preparation for the coming crop to be seen. Hundreds of acres of splendid land said to be worth $200 per acre before the war are now lying idle for want of capital & labor....Thousands of acres are now going to ruin, & many of the houses, indeed most of them, show but little, if any, sign of being inhabited, while we observe many able-bodied, vagrant negroes fishing along the river with dip-nets for croakers.

Withers continued to travel with Col. Marsh, though their party was joined by several other men likewise heading into East Texas. They entered the mouth of the Red River on March 16, with Withers writing that the valley had far fewer improvements than along the Mississippi south of Baton Rouge. And as he would do throughout the journal, he provides a very detailed description of the physical landscape, particularly its soil and plant cover. Arriving at Natchitoches on March 19, he notes that "Its principal population is now French creole....It is also populated & frequented by Indians, free mulattoes, & freedmen. Many of the colored gents are mounted on ragged grass fed ponies and carry lariats, or rather ropes, to rope any dubious property."

Among his traveling companions was Milton Garrett, a planter and founder of nearby San Augustine, Texas, who regaled Withers and the others with horrible tales of screw-worm flies, as well as "accounts of his very successful trading with the Mexicans & Indians on the Brazos in the

days of Mexican rule, of a fight with the Comanche Indians on the Navasota, love passages with pretty Mexican women, cock fighting and bull-fighting at San Augustine, Nacogdoches, and the vicinity, &c." There could be little doubt that Withers was nearing Texas now! Before leaving Louisiana, he purchased "a handsome, compact, little, chesnut pony, with a blazed face" named Toby, who would bear him for the duration of the trip. Withers parted ways with Garrett and his other companions at "Manny," Louisiana [i.e., Many], near Fort Jessup, and he continued on alone with Toby, entering Texas at Sabine Town on March 22nd. That day he covered 28 miles, passing through Milam, the first seat of Sabine County ("a shabby village of abt. 25 houses on a very red hill"), and stopping for the night at "Widow Sublett's 3 miles from San Augustine...My bill of fare to-night was fried eggs, fried pork, & excellent buttermilk." The following account of his lodgings offers a taste of Withers's eye for detail:

> My room at Mrs. Sublett's [widow of Texas pioneer Col. Philip Allen Sublett, who had nominated Sam Houston for President of the Republic in 1836] was quite comfortable. It was a hall, perhaps 30 x 40 ft, ceiled, unpainted, with joists exposed, & a high mantel piece with fluted uprights, rounded like small columns & painted dour color. On the top were flower vases, silver basket, &c. On the walls were two looking glasses, a picture of Napoleon & one of a dog at play, the fine engraving of Webster, Clay & other senators, called the Union, a bunch of pretty feathers &c. The furniture was a large double bed with tall slim spirally turned posts of fine wood, a tall mahogany bureau with mirror attached, a book-case, probably 9 or 10 feet long, with glass doors, a long table attached, with drawers pigeon holes &c & containing a good number of books, legal, scientific, mathematics, historical, literary, &c. There was also a large, excellent mahogany study chair with cushions of mohair, a drawer, place for pens &c, a large sofa covered with glazed [?], chairs of mahogany, oak, with shuck bottoms, & oak with hide bottoms, & three tables holding books, tin pans of seed, feather pillows, &c. On the porch was a delf[t] wash bowl on a stand, & a large wooden unpainted settee. Mrs. Sublett was said to have worked 100 hands & to be quite wealthy.

Before taking his leave of San Augustine, he paid a visit to William Garrett, older brother of the aforementioned Milton and perhaps the first Anglo settler on the Brazos. Garrett received Withers "very kindly." "He brot. out some good whiskey & [like his brother] entertained me with anecdotes of things that occurred about here, for more than an hour. He seems to be a very clever old gentleman with a very pleasing frankness about him." Continuing to Nacogdoches, he notes that "The people are not clean, but better than the people of the isolated portions of Ala. Profanity seems to be lightly thought of, & used almost anywhere. Wild cats, turkeys, squirrels, and other small game are abundant. The country is very finely watered." Nacogdoches itself, he writes, was "a very old town, dilapidated, with probably 500 or 600 inhabitants..." He was "cordially received" here by Dr. James Harper Starr, land agent and former Treasurer of the Texas Republic: "Dr. S & Mrs. S take great pleasure in & pains with flowers, preparing the most hardy & prettiest varieties, native to the country, & they have a delightfully arranged house & garden." Withers stayed with Starr for a week, during which their discussions turned to the topic of oil. **This is significant, for that fall Nacogdoches became the site of the first commercial oil field in Texas**:

> There is now considerable interest felt here on the subject of petroleum which has been discovered in the southeastern portion of Nacogdoches Co. [**famed Oil Springs, where the first oil well in Texas was drilled later that year**] & Near Lake Charles, Calcasieu Pa., La. This bed which is found in the lower part of Nacog. Co. is said to extend S.W. 125 miles to Sour Lake in Hardin Co., a small basin of sour medicinal water, strongly charged with sulfuric acid. The Indians say the basin was burned out by the ignition of the bituminous matter on the surface of the earth. Dr. Starr thinks this petroleum is very deep below the carboniferous deposit, probably a thousand feet [on September 12, 1866, Lyne Barret struck oil there at 106 feet]. If it lies above this deposit, which is not many feet below the surface, it will probably be soon exhausted & not prove so valuable as it shd. have to be bored after to the depth of 1000 ft. Mr. Tripp [Charles Tripp, first of the so-called "Hard Oilers" (May 1928:88)] is buying up the petroleum lands for a company.

On Monday, April 2, after attending Easter services at the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches, Withers departed Nacogdoches for Rusk, the seat of Cherokee County, about 35 miles farther west. Here he met attorney Thomas Troupe Gammage and Capt. Hardin Newland, founder and editor of the *Rusk Observer*. He continued north to Jacksonville, pushing on from there toward Henderson County, but he was slowed by several days of cold rain and nearly losing Toby in the Neches River; the pony "got out only after I got off & assisted him & then with real difficulty after much struggling." On April 9 he reached Henderson County's seat of Athens, about 90 miles from Nacogdoches, where he spent the night with the Tannehill family. The Tannehills had moved to Athens from Alabama some years previously, but Mr. Tannehill "does not think he improved his condition by leaving Ala for Texas. This is too far from market, has not such good seasons, & he says no new country has Christianity morals or civilization in it. The people who come to it have the wrong twist in them. He thinks the prospect gloomy."

Departing after four days, Withers's route "lay thu' a rather poor country with timber much larger & finer in appearance generally than that of Athens. Occasionally I passed thru fertile creek bottoms thickly set with oak, elm & sweet gums, sometimes even stiff red post oak ridges." He arrived at Canton, seat of Van Zandt County, about a day later. Canton,

> like Athens, is built, or rather, laid out, so as to have a square with a court house in the middle. This court house is <u>built</u>, & is very respectable in appearance, being of good brick, but is unfinished like almost every house I have seen in my travels in Texas. They generally lack doors, or windows & almost always ceiling or plastering, & glass lights. Most of the people I have seen in Texas are extremely deficient in enterprise & industry & have no idea of comfort or the laws of health. They live in houses which afford but light protection, are much crowded & dirty, & scarcely ever change their diet from badly cooked corn bread & fried pork.

Outside Canton, Withers ran into difficulties: "I made 3 miles--got lost on a starless night amid a labyrinth of cow-trails, wandered 2 mi. farther thru a swampy forest, whooped, was answered by Wilkinson, went to his house, fed my horse & slept." The following morning he rode out with Jim

Jones (probably James A. Jones, born in 1845 in Lauderdale County, Alabama, near the estate of Withers's maternal grandfather), "who showed me over our land, which is a fine tract adjacent to Big Prairie (30 mi long x from 1 to 15 mi wide) and the Sabine bottoms." This must be the land in the "prairies of Texas" that his father, Robert Withers, Sr., had purchased more than two decades before, and its personal inspection was almost certainly an important aim of the trip. "It is," he notes, "chiefly uplands covered with beautiful open, park-like woods of fine timber & good grass thru' which the deer range & sport in herds. I saw 5 or 6 together leaping along with heads and tails erect, turning occasionally to look at us." Of Big Prairie, Withers writes that:

> The soil is of a reddish cast & not thought to be very rich, & pretty clumps of blk jack & post oaks were grouped abt. on the plain & stretched out in long lines on the water drains. The prairie was thickly set with short grass & small weeds bearing flowers of every hue, on wh: hundreds of fine cattle in good plight were grazing. The beautiful open woods, that welcomed all, assumed various shades of color according to the distance & all conspired to form a beautiful and enlivening scene.

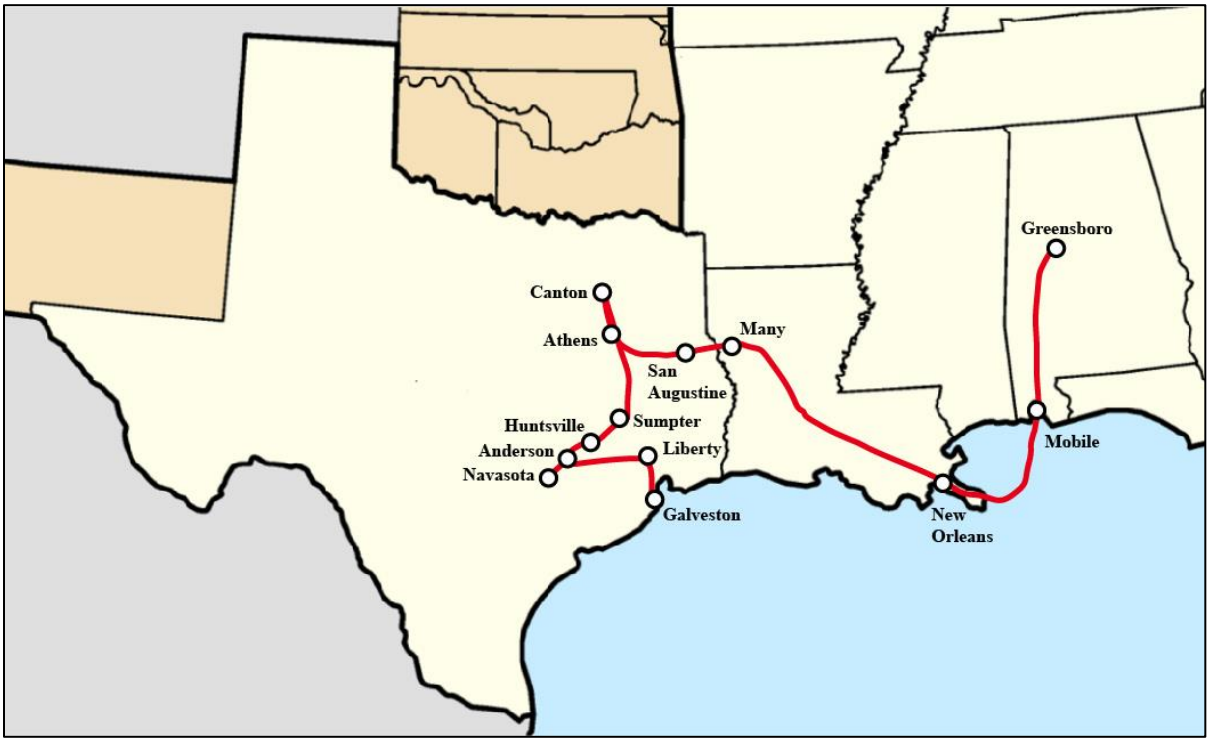
Not coincdentally, perhaps, he arrived on his family's lands at almost precisely the midpoint of his journal (pp. 65-69 of 135), and here he provides a table of the distances he and Toby had covered in Texas, which through April 13 (Athens) totalled 327 miles.

Withers continued to explore, turning back to the south and riding through Athens toward Palestine. During his stop in Athens, he visited with pioneer Dr. John Collins, "an old Texan, a graduate of Dublin University (he was born in Ireland), & a very highly educated gentleman with much information and many good ideas." From Palestine ("a cool looking little place of probably 4 or 500 inhabitants"), he rode on to Crockett in Houston County, arriving April 19. From here he headed for Sumpter, now abandoned but then the seat of Trinity County. Withers would not have been surprised to learn that Sumpter is a modern-day ghost town; it was, he grumbled, "the abode of fraud, filth, & fleas in unsupportable quantities." As for its vicinity:

> Trinity Co. is called generally poor; the people certainly seem to be so & have hardly any comforts. Their houses are generally mere open cabins with stick chimneys daubed with mud. When the mud is mixed with long Spanish moss, as it generally is, the chimney is called a Spanish chimney. The Texans are more deficient in perseverance than any people I have ever seen. I have hardly met any who considered themselves permanently settled. They are all looking for better land, better stock range, &c. Those who are East want to go West, & those who have gone West frequently come back to the East.

On April 26, Withers was lodged in "Fanthorpe's Hotel" (i.e, Fanthorp Inn) at Anderson, 75 miles southwest of Sumpter and the seat of Grimes County. He had only been in Sumpter for a couple of days, but it clearly made an impression. By the time he left, all of eastern Texas "(that God-forsaken country of impiety, fraud, blasphemy, ignorance, rudeness, & dirt)," seems to have lost its charm. His mood improved substantially on arriving at the home of fellow Alabama native J. E. Rawls, and his description of nearby Huntsville was even sunny ("a pleasing and picturesque

little town of probably 2 doz stores & shops"). Better yet, "Journeying on thru Walker & Grimes Cos. toward Anderson [in the neighborhood of Roans Prairie] I have passed thru some of the most beautiful country I have ever seen."



From Anderson, Withers rode on to Navasota, located on the Brazos River just about 10 miles farther west. In 1859, the Houston and Texas Central Railway had come to the town, turning it almost overnight from a sleepy village to a bustling center of commerce. Withers seems to have been impressed with what he saw there, writing that:

> I found Navasota on the rail-road & abt 6 mi from Washington on the Brazos, a thriving fast place of several dozen stores shops &c, & increasing. The business buildings are close together & there are several short streets taken up with them. The place is full of merchandise of all sorts being the great depot of the merchandise for a scope of country extending N. & E. & W. probably 150 or 200 miles. The streets are filled with long teams of oxen & Spanish saddle horses. Everything is busy, & new buildings are going up. There are a number of cottage-like residences, all new, situated in oak parks with beautiful green lawns and commons stretching out before them. The town has in the suburbs or rather out-skirts a flat sandy soil, but near the business portion commences the flat, deep black, hog-wallow prairie, which extends to the Brazos bottom. We have around here oak and ash in beautiful varieties, cedar, pecan, walnut, persimmon, cottonwood &c. & mustang grape-vine in great abundance covering the trees.

By this point in his journey, May 1, Withers calculates he had ridden 583 miles in Texas.

The final 30 pages of Withers's journal take him from Anderson back to the east through Grimes, Walker, Montgomery, San Jacinto, and Liberty counties on his way to Galveston. Near the town of Montgomery, seat of the eponymous county, he stayed at the plantation of Houston attorney and judge George Goldwaithe, who had moved to Texas from Alabama in 1853. By May 6, he was crossing the East Fork of the San Jacinto River near Waverly ("now quite a little river here"), then on May 9 arrived at the Trinity River near Cold Spring (i.e., Coldspring), the seat of San Jacinto County. Cold Spring was "a sandy, shady, comfortable, sequestered little village of 1/2 dozen fairly stocked stores with a number of neat-looking little dwellings with orchards and other conveniences." West of the towm was a heavily timbered country, "extending within 15 m & running in a W direction from Walken Co. thru Montgomery into Harris Co., taking in the two forks of the San Jacinto River & other tributaries of the main stream. In this forest, panthers, bears, wolves, and mustangs are said to roam at will. There are but few settlements in it." To the east of town and across several nearby counties "are found a number of Indians, probably several hundred, belonging to the Cushatees [Coushattas], Choctaws, Creeks, Alabamas, Biloxis, &c, who maintain themselves chiefly by hunting." All of these Native peoples were recent migrants to Texas, having been forced west from Alabama, Mississippi, and Lousiana after 1800.

On May 10, he came to the plantation of Frederick F. Foscue, located about 12 miles south of Liberty. Like so many of his hosts, Foscue was an Alabama native, having moved to Texas in 1854; he served several terms in the Texas state legislature before and after the war. Trinity itself had "a tolerably genteel looking business population. It is a very old settlement & near the head of tide-water steamboats can ascend to this point all the year." Some miles south of Foscue's, on a prairie along the Trinity River," he met Col. A. W. Spaight:

> in a soaking rain the mud being knee deep in many places. We rode some distance together & he spoke very highly of the land...Most persons abt here are said to be planting a full crop of cotton, but not an unusual one, & in many fields the cocle-burs have entirely concealed the cotton. There is but little confidence in, or satisfaction with the labor, either black, or white.

Withers later visited with Spaight on his plantation,

> which comprises about 400 acres of tillable land...Col. S. says he took a year to locate himself & preferred this place for the following reasons: The land is as good as any in the world...This is the tide water, in reach of a good sea breeze & ready transportation to Galveston...Land was cheap here...good water is easily obtained by wells, the range is good & situations on the edge of the Big Prairie are pleasant & healthy...His negroes are very trifling & he says they are certain to go to ruin. He & another planter are said to be succeeding with them better than any other persons in Liberty County.

Finally, May 16 finds Withers "on steam-tug *Kate*, in sight of Galveston." He apparently left Toby with Spaight or Foscue, but then had trouble obtaining transportation to the coast, walking the last "ten or twelve miles thru' a heavily timbered country with strips of black land to Wallisville, chief town of Chamber Co." So ends Withers's diary. By the time he climbed aboard the *Kate*, he had crossed more than 750 miles of East Texas country on horseback and on foot.

We do not know if Withers ever returned to Texas. U. S. Census data from 1870 records him living in Hale County, Alabama, with his mother, Mary, and five of his siblings (Hale was created in 1867, with most of its area taken from neighboring Greene County, including the seat of Greensboro). Similarly, a University of Virginia alumni directory from 1878 identifies his home as Greensboro and his post-Civil War professions as land agent and farmer; it also notes that he was a teacher prior to the war. He died in 1904 and is buried in Greensboro Cemetery.

William Withers's journal is among the finest and most interesting East Texas diaries ever to appear in the trade. His eye for detail is second to none. He writes on the region's trees, plants, animals, soils, and geology as a naturalist would, while his descriptions of the places and people he encountered along the journey are almost ethnographic. Considering the moment of its composition, only a few months after the South's surrender, there is remarkably little animosity in his account, whether against northerners or former slaves. Indeed, he reserves his harshest words for Texans themselves (those, at any rate, lacking Alabama heritage). Withers labeled this diary "Memo Bk No 1" near its beginning, but we trace no others in his hand. Regardless, this one offers a complete account of his three-month journey. The only directly comparable Texas manuscript to appear at auction in the past half-century (per RBH) is the diary of Spruce Baird, describing part of a trip from Bastrop County, Texas, to Trinidad, Colorado, in 1867. While fascinating in its own right, most of Baird's account takes place outside of Texas on a route north along the Mississippi River and west into Kansas. It brought $10,575 at Swann Galleries in 2008 and is now at Yale's Beinicke Library (purchased from Michael Vinson). Papers of William's father, Robert, and older brother, Robert, Jr., are held by the Library of Virginia and by the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina. **The journal of William Withers, altogether unknown until its recent discovery in Selma, sketches a vivid portrait of the East Texas landscape, largely untouched by war and primed for its political and economic resurgence; Withers's account merits close scholarly attention, if not publication for a wider audience**.

Relevant sources:

Campbell, Randolph B.
1997 *Grass Roots Reconstruction in Texas, 1865-1880*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
Moneyhon, Carl H.
2004 *Texas After The Civil War: The Struggle Of Reconstruction*. Texas A & M University Press, College Station.

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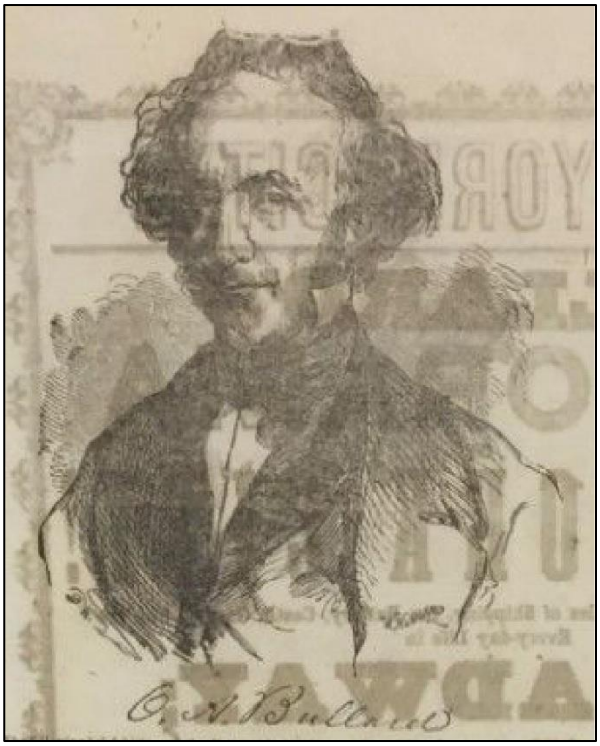
[East Texas--Travel]: William Withers: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF WILLIAM WITHERS, DOCUMENTING HIS 1866 JOURNEY ACROSS EAST TEXAS]. [Various places along the route from Greensboro, Alabama to Galveston, Texas. February-May, 1866]. Publisher of diary unknown. 12mo (16.5 cm). 135 pp., all filled with text in Withers's hand (about 16,000 words), written all in ink and quite legible; original patterned boards with "Ledger" stamped in gilt on front board; scuffing and edge wear, heavier along spine, light foxing. Very good.

15. SOLD.

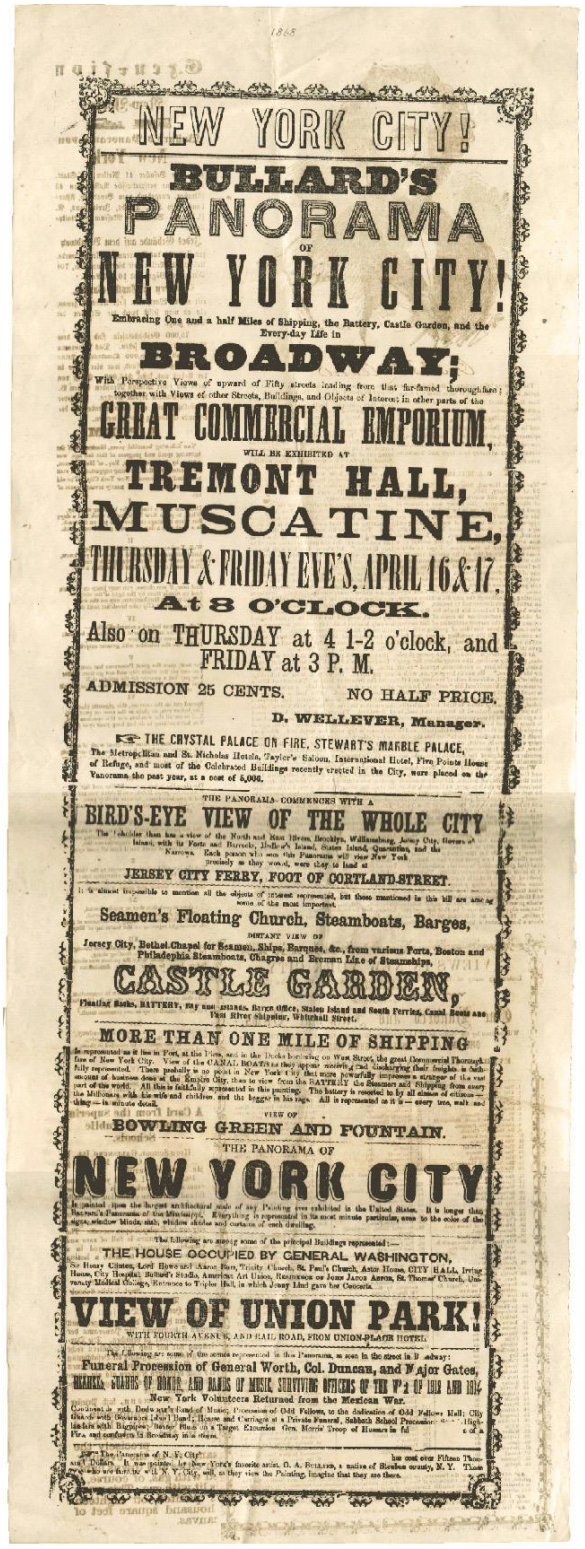
Bullard's Panorama of New York City, Exhibited at Muscatine, Iowa

Moving panoramas were quite literally the motion pictures of the mid-19th century. A moving panorama was a large (often gargantuan) canvas that was hand painted with a continuous scene and then rolled around two spool mechanisms. Turning the spools, which were mounted at either side of a stage and hidden from view, caused the canvas to scroll and gave the illusion of movement, especially when the canvas was unrolled behind a stationary object such as a boat or horse. The half-century from about 1820 to 1870 witnessed the showings of dozens of panoramas throughout the United States and much of Europe, featuring an array subjects that ranged from the Mississippi River to Hobart Town in Australia, from a trip to Niagara Falls to the frozen ice caps of the Arctic. Among the most popular of all American panoramas was Otis Allan Bullard's great canvas of New York City, painted from 1846 to 1850, that would travel throughout New England and the American Midwest for nearly two decades. **This unrecorded broadsheet announces its exhibition in 1868 at Tremont Hall, Muscatine, Iowa--the latest known viewing, and among the farthest west, of any previously documented displays of Bullard's canvas**.



Otis A. Bullard was born in Howard, New York, in 1816, and from a young age showed a propensity for art. At 14 he was apprenticed to a wagon maker to learn sign painting, but as soon as he was able he struck out on his own to make a career in portraiture. By 1843, he could claim to have completed portraits for no fewer than 900 individual sitters. Yet the advent of photography and the popularity of the daguerreotype meant the end of work for intinerant artisits like Bullard, so in the mid-1840s he shifted to genre painting and scenes from American life, displaying his work in this field at several prestigious venues, including the National Academy. In 1846, he began work on what would be his crowning achievement, an enormous and womderfully detailed panoramic view of New York City. Bullard labored for four years to create "the most correct impression of the city," focusing on a one-and-a-half-mile section of West Street with its vast shipping district and a four-and-a-half-mile section of Broadway that emphasized its place in New York's business and entertainment worlds (Arrington 1960:314). By the time that he was finally satisfied, the canvas measured 3200 feet long and reportedly weighed almost 2000 pounds.

Together with his financier, a wealthy Englishman named George Doel (the painting had cost more than $15,000 to complete), and managing agent Albert Norton of Maine, Bullard began scheduling exhibitions of the work under the title "Panorama of Broadway." It opened for the first time at the American Hall in Hartford, Connecticut, on November 15, 1850; reviewers gushed that it was "the most truthful and instructive painting of the kind ever executed" (Arrington 1960:321).



NEW YORK CITY!

BULLARD'S PANORAMA OF NEW YORK CITY!

Embracing One and a half Miles of Shipping, the Battery, Castle Garden, and the Every-day Life in

BROADWAY;

With Perspective Views of upward of Fifty streets leading from that far-famed thoroughfare; together with Views of other Streets, Buildings, and Objects of Interest in other parts of the

GREAT COMMERCIAL EMPORIUM,

WILL BE EXHIBITED AT

TREMONT HALL, MUSCATINE,

THURSDAY & FRIDAY EVE'S, APRIL 16 & 17.

At 8 O'CLOCK.

Also on THURSDAY at 4 1-2 o'clock, and FRIDAY at 3 P. M.

ADMISSION 25 CENTS. NO HALF PRICE.

D. WELLEVER, Manager.

☞ THE CRYSTAL PALACE ON FIRE, STEWART'S MARBLE PALACE, The Metropolitan and St. Nicholas Hotels, Taylor's Saloon, International Hotel, Five Points House of Refuge, and most of the Celebrated Buildings recently erected in the City, were placed on the Panorama the past year, at a cost of 5,000.

THE PANORAMA COMMENCES WITH A

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE WHOLE CITY

The Beholder then has a view of the North and East Rivers, Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Jersey City, Hoboken, Staten Island, with its Forts and Barracks, Bedloe's Island, Staten Island, Quarantine, and the Narrows. Each person who sees this Panorama will view New York precisely as they would, were they in a balloon at

JERSEY CITY FERRY, FOOT OF CORTLAND-STREET.

It is almost impossible to mention all the objects of interest represented, but those mentioned in this bill are among some of the most important.

Seamen's Floating Church, Steamboats, Barges,

DISTANT VIEW OF

Jersey City, Bethel Chapel for Seamen, Ships, Barques, &c., from various Ports, Boston and Philadelphia Steamboats, Chagres and Bremen Line of Steamships,

CASTLE GARDEN,

Pleasant Docks, BATTERY, ray and Steam Ferry Offices, Staten Island and South Ferries, Canal Boats and Day Line Steamers, Whitehall Street.

MORE THAN ONE MILE OF SHIPPING

is represented as it lies in Port, at the Piers, and in the Docks bordering on West Street, the great Commercial Thoroughfare of New York City. View of the CANAL BOATS as they appear receiving and discharging their freights in Section-coat of harbour Area of the Empire City, then to view from the BATTERY the Steamers and Shipping from every part of the world. All this is faithfully represented in this painting. The battery is resorted to by all classes of citizens—the Millionaire with his wife and children and the beggar in his rags. All is represented as it is—every one, each one

VIEW OF

BOWLING GREEN AND FOUNTAIN.

THE PANORAMA OF

NEW YORK CITY

is painted upon the largest architectural scale of any Painting ever exhibited in the United States. It is longer than Panorama of the Mississippi. Everything is represented in its most minute particulars, even to the color of the signs, window blinds, sash, window shades and curtains of each dwelling.

The following are among some of the principal Buildings represented:—

THE HOUSE OCCUPIED BY GENERAL WASHINGTON,

Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Howe and Aaron Burr, Trinity Church, St. Paul's Church, Astor House, CITY HALL, Irving House, City Hospital, Bullard's Studio, American Art Union, Residence of John Jacob Astor, St. Thomas' Church, Universal Medical College, Entrance to Tripler Hall, in which Jenny Lind gave her Concerts.

VIEW OF UNION PARK!

WITH FOURTH AVENUE, AND RAIL ROAD, FROM UNION PLACE HOTEL.

The following are some of the scenes represented in this Panorama, as seen in the street in it advan:

Funeral Procession of General Worth, Col. Duncan, and Major Gates,

MARKED BOARDS OF HONOR AND BANDS OF MUSIC, SURVIVING OFFICERS OF THE 1st REGT OF REGULARS AND 10th New York Volunteers Returned from the Mexican War.

Continuation with Dodworth's Band of Music, Procession of Odd Fellows, to the dedication of Odd Fellows Hall; City Guards with Regimental Brass Band; Hearse and Carriages in a Private Funeral, Sabbath School Procession; Fire Engines with Engineers' Badges; Fire in a Target Excursion Gen. Morris' Troop of Horses in full

☞ The Panorama of N. Y. City has cost over Fifteen Thousand Dollars. It was painted by New York's favorite artist, C. A. Bullard, a native of Steuben county, N. Y. Those who are familiar with N. Y. City, will, as they view the Painting, imagine that they are there.

Excursion nach New-York.

Bullard's Panorama von New York.

Jeden Gebäude auf dem Broadway

Battery & Castle Garden.

A PREMIUM

VIEWS IN NEW YORK CITY,

One Hundred and Fifty-four Views,

ONE AND A HALF MILES OF SHIPS AND STEAMBOATS,

EVERY BUILDING ON THE WEST SIDE OF BROADWAY

A Card from the Superintendent of Public Schools.

HIGH SCHOOL, GALESBURG, ILL.
October 26, 1857.

MR. ALBERT NORTON,

DEAR SIR:—I spend a year or more of each year in New York, as a Minister and Instructive exhibition, especially for the young. It is really marvellous that so compact and accurate a view of the "sights and scenes" of that great city can be displayed upon one scale. The explanatory lecture is full of rare and valuable information, connected in a manner calculated to make a lasting impression on the memory.

Yours truly,

J. M. ROBERTS,
Supt. Public Schools.

The Panorama of New York City is lighted up in the afternoon precisely the same as in the evening. In cities and towns lighted with gas, of course, it is lit with gas. This work is painted on eighteen thousand square feet of canvas.

After touring through Connecticut and Massachusetts, the artist and his co-managers took the canvas on an extended exhibition through upstate New York--one that would last for more than a year--always with Bullard, Doel, or Norton delivering a lecture that accompanied the panorama's unfurling. Next the show continued on to New Hampshire and Maine, then back to upstate New York and the cities around Lake Erie. By September 1853 it had reached Chicago and would tour throughout Illinois and southern Wisconsin. Then on October 16, 1853, Bullard died suddenly at 309 Broadway in the city he had so meticulously put to the canvas. Yet the itinerary of his grand panorama slowed only briefly. Norton and Doel toured with it across the Midwest and into the Mid-Atlantic, travelling to Dayton, Columbus, Indianapolis, Baltimore, and Washington, D. C., in 1854; Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and Cincinnati in 1855; Des Moines in 1857; then back to Ohio in 1858, where its month in Cleveland drew a total audience of more than 13,000 people.

The show would continue well into the 1860s. Until recently, its last known public viewing was held at Detroit in May 1867. "Here," Joseph Arrington observes, "we completely lose sight of Bullard's original panorama, after seventeen years of service as a traveling theater. Its final fate is unknown, but long, excessive usage probably contributed to its destruction--a loss to American cultural history that must be deplored" (1960:331). Today, advertisements for Bullard's Panorama of New York City are extremely rare. RBH records but a single example in the trade, offered by Midland in 1948. OCLC lists examples held by the Connecticut Historical Society, the University of Vermont, and at NYHS; AAS also holds two different examples. **This unique and unrecorded broadsheet for an exhibition at Muscatine, Iowa, in April 1868 thus extends the documented life of Bullard's masterpiece, a work that thrilled audiences in American cities for nearly two decades and that ranks among the greatest of all such compositions**.

Relevant sources:

Arrington, Joseph E.
1960 Otis A. Bullard's Moving Panorama of New York City. *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 44(3):309-335.

West, Peter
2011 The City in Frames: Otis Bullard's Moving Panorama of New York. *Common-Place* 11(4). http://www.common-place-archives.org/vol-11/no-04/west/

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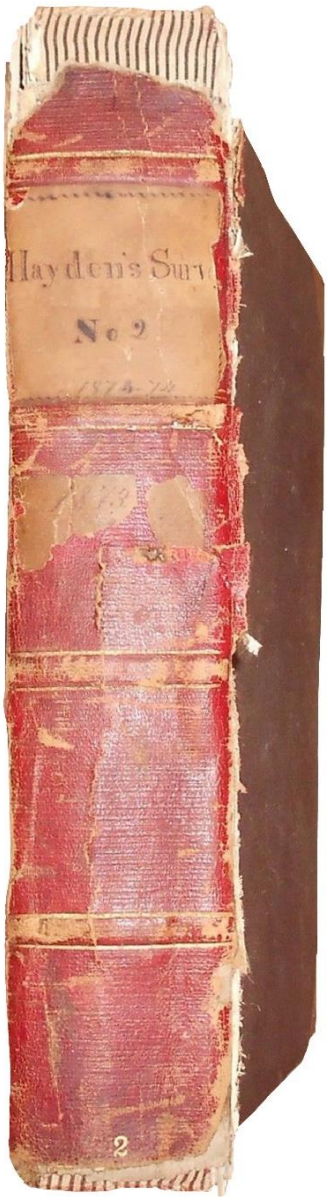
[New York City--Panorama]: [Otis A. Bullard]: BULLARD'S PANORAMA OF NEW YORK CITY! EMBRACING ONE AND A HALF MILES OF SHIPPING, THE BATTERY, CASTLE GARDEN, AND THE EVERY-DAY LIFE IN BROADWAY...WILL BE EXHIBITED AT TREMONT HALL, MUSCATINE, THURSDAY & FRIDAY EVE'S, APRIL 16 & 17, AT 8 O'CLOCK [caption title]. [N.p, n.d., but probably Muscatine, IA, April 1868]. Broadsheet. 23 3/4 x 8 3/4 in. (60 x 22 cm). Descriptive text on recto and verso; text on verso in both English and German, portrait of Bullard on verso, with boxed-off advertisement for Albert Norton's *Views in New York City*. Printed on thin paper, old folds with light edge wear. Very good.

16. SOLD.

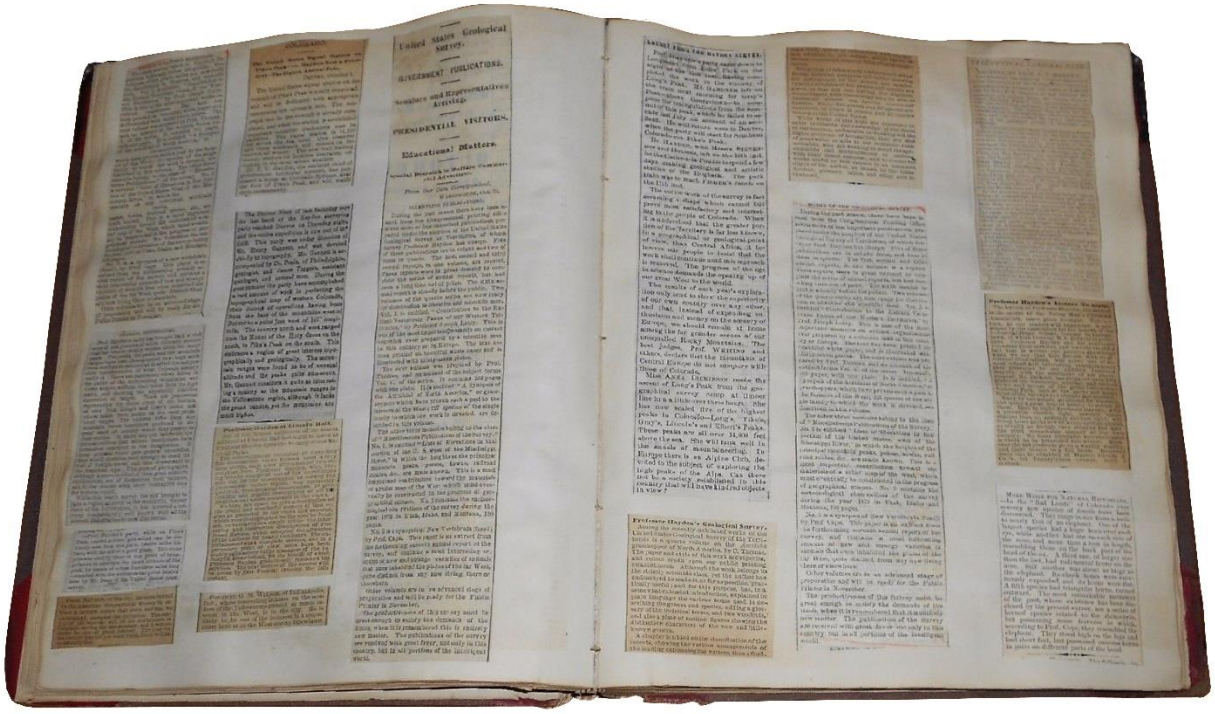
A Unique Scrapbook from F. V. Hayden's First Colorado Survey

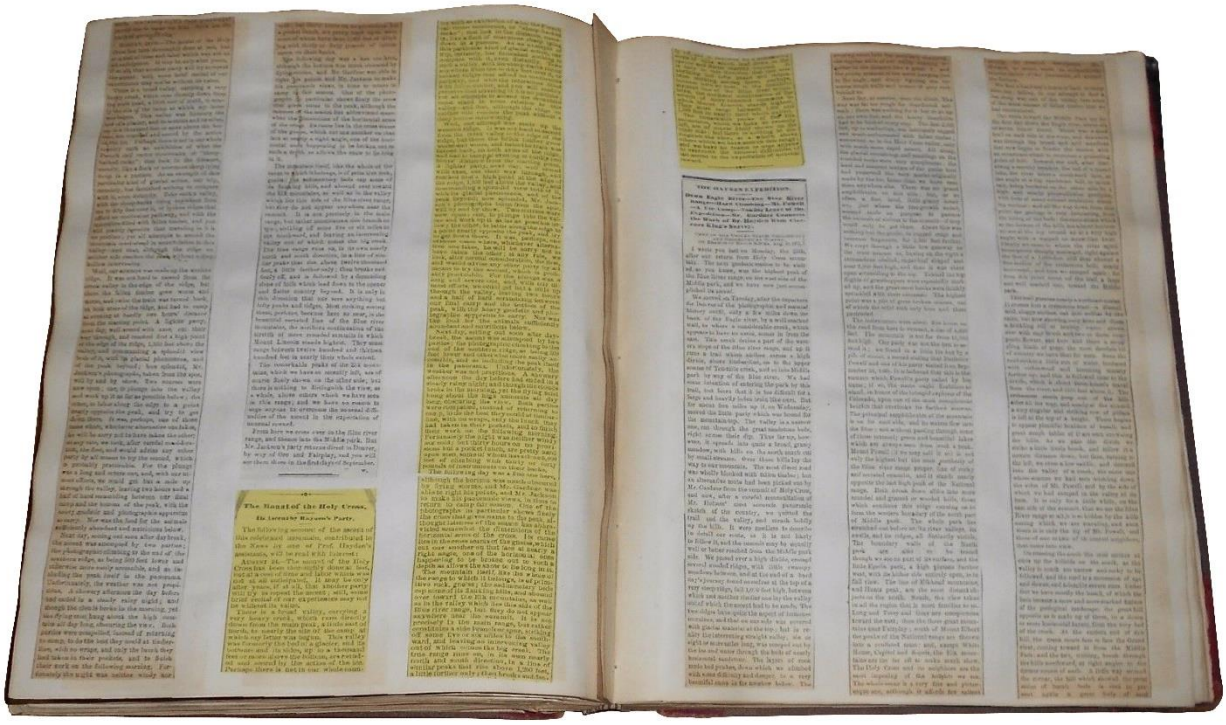
By 1873, when he formally turned his sights on Colorado, Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden had, as Mike Foster notes, already "achieved a reputation as the greatest explorer of the American West" (1994:230). The seeds of that reputation were planted two years earlier, when he began the work that cemented his celebrity among fellow scientists and within the popular imagination: his survey and mapping of the Yellowstone country, to that point among the most rugged, remote, and unknown regions in America. Yet largely on the basis of Hayden's survey, and with his vocal and passionate support, Yellowstone became the very first national park in the United States, created through congressional act and signed into law by President Ulysses S. Grant on March 1, 1872. Public support for the new park, as well as for government funding to continue the western surveys--and thus for extending Hayden's personal fame--came less from the scientific publications that he and his team produced than from their unprecedented relationship with the press. From 1871 to 1872, a flurry of stories extolling the virtues of the survey, many written by the explorers themselves, appeared in dozens of newspapers and magazines from one coast to the other. It was a strategy that Hayden would take with him to Colorado. **This scrapbook, apparently kept by Hayden himself, contains hundreds of periodical clippings from the first years of the Colorado fieldwork; it is the only such record from any of Hayden's surveys known to have survived**.



In the years immediately after the Civil War, the United States government began to consolidate its western territories. Beginning in 1870, it sponsored four major projects to explore and map an enormous region that covered much of the Rocky Mountain West: Clarence King led the U. S. Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel; Lt. George M. Wheeler was tapped to lead the U. S. Geographical Survey West of the 100th Meridian; John Wesley Powell led the U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, focusing on survey of the Colorado River; and Ferdinand V. Hayden served as director of the U. S. Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories. After 1879, Congress consolidated all of these distinct and oftentimes bitterly competitive projects under the single authority of the U. S. Geological Survey, headed by King. But in the decade of their co-existence, these four great surveys transformed the nation's appreciation of its far west while bringing scientific exploration to a height of popular support not reached again until the Apollo program a century later.

Hayden had graduated from Oberlin College in 1850 and from the Albany Medical School in 1853. At Albany, he had come to the attention of Professor James Hall, New York's state geologist, who helped him to find a position on an exploration of Nebraska Territory with Fielding Meek, studying geology and collecting fossils. He would spend the rest of the 1850s on a range of exploration projects in the northern Missouri Basin, during which he visited





the Yellowstone region for the first time. Hayden joined the Unites States Army in 1861; drawing on his medical degree, he served as a surgeon and rose to the rank of Chief Medical Officer in the Army of the Shenandoah. At the war's end, he was elected Professor of Geology and Minerology at the University of Pennsylvania, a position he would hold for seven years until becoming director of the Survey of the Territories.

Yellowstone made Hayden famouus, but Colorado would prove his most ambitious and challenging project. The Yellowstone surveys took two years to complete. In contrast, the work that Hayden set out for himself and his teams in Colorado extended across four seasons, running from June 1873 through the end of the summer of 1876. Colorado, Hayden knew, could cement his reputation as explorer and scientist while simultaneously transforming the social landscape of the Rocky Mountain West. In his first annual report of the Colorado survey, he wrote:

> There is no portion of our continent, at the present time, which promised to yield more useful results, both of a practical and scientific character....The prospect of its rapid development within the next five years, by some of the most important railroads in the West, renders it very desirable that its resources be made known to the world at as early a date as possible [1873:1].

At the start of the first season, he organized his team into no fewer than seven separate field divisions. One, under skilled topographer James Terry Gardner, would concentrate on providing a geographic overview of the entire territory; three were to study the geography and geology of specific areas; William Henry Jackson's photography division would range across the territory in search of the best visual images; a sixth party would deliver mail and prepare food caches for the other divisions; while Hayden's own division "would examine whatever appealed to him" (Foster 1994:241-242). As Hayden predicted, his work in Colorado was to be the crowning achievement of his professional career. Thomas Huber, in "Hayden's Hallowed Expedition," notes that:

> This long-term, meticulous survey went down in history as the only one of a single state or territory explored in such depth. The scientific research done here made Colorado the most intensively studied place in the entire West, with the possible exception of California. The *Atlas of Colorado* that Hayden's survey produced lifted up Colorado as the envy of every other state or territory and many foreign governments [*True West*, December 19, 2016].

Throughout the Colorado work, Hayden maintained close relations with the press, both to keep his own name in the national spotlight and to ensure continued congressional support toward the survey's completion. Most of the popular writing produced by the survey appeared as letters published in newspapers and other periodicals. As Bonnie Hardwick, former curator of Western Americana at the Bancroft Library, observed in her dissertation, "The letters are remarkable in that all the correspondents, both survey members and guest journalists, were educated men who wrote well....The number of dispatches is staggering, and many are yet to be found" (1977:197).

We are excited to offer this unique scrapbook of clippings, all of which document the 1873 field season of Hayden's Colorado survey. The front endpaper is titled in pencil "Hayden /Season 1873," and a comparison of the script with an ALS in Hayden's hand (see accompanying

image) strongly suggests that the title was supplied by Hayden himself; annotations throughout the scrapbook, all in the same hand, suggest that he compiled its contents, as well. The scrapbook contains 75 leaves (150 pp.), 44 of which (82 pp.) hold literally hundreds of clippings from a range of periodicals as diverse as the *New York Journal of Commerce*, Chicago's *Inter-Ocean*, and *The Sentinel* of Fairplay, Colorado. Contents range from notices of only a few short sentences to much longer, journal-style narratives that run to several thousand words. Taken together, they provide almost unparalleled insight into the Hayden Survey's first season in Colorado Territory--its aims and progress, the rigors of camp life and travel, encounters with Native Americans, and the wonder of its crew as they traversed that remarkable landscape.

It is difficult to overestimate the scrapbook's significance as a primary source. **Hayden's personal and scholarly papers--including all of his field journals and notebooks--have never been located**. Hayden biographer Mike Foster searched "fruitlessly" for several years, concluding that they were probably destroyed by Hayden's wife, Emma, sometime after her husband's death in 1887 (1994:60, 337, 362, n. 1; see also Nelson and Fryxell 1997:358). Prior to the discovery of this volume, only a single comparable example was known to have survived from any of the four great surveys, a scrapbook of the Wheeler Survey that the Bancroft Library obtained from Edward Eberstadt in the 1920s (BANC MSS P-W 32); that volume similarly contains 78 pages of pasted clippings, most of which date to the 1870s. Any original, primary source material related to the Hayden, Wheeler, King, or Powell surveys is of the utmost rarity in the market today. In sum, this remarkable compilation, drawn from across the country, uniquely documents how the golden age of scientific exploration popularized the marvels of the American West.

Relevant sources:

Bartlett, Richard A.
1962 *Great Surveys of the American West.* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Cassidy, James G.
2000 *Ferdinand V. Hayden: Entrepreneur of Science*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
Foster, Mike
1994 *Strange Genius: The Life of Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden*. Roberts Rhinehart Publishers, Niwot, CO.
Goetzmann, William H.
2008 *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*. ACLS Humanities E-Book.
Hardwick, Bonnie S.
1977 Science and Art: The Travel Writings of the Great Surveys of the American West after the Civil War. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of American Literature, University of Pennsylvania.

Hayden, Ferdinand V.
1873 *Annual Report of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Embracing Colorado, Being a Report of the Progress of the Exploration for the Year 1873*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
Huber, Thomas P.
2016 Hayden's Hallowed Expedition. *True West*, Dec. 19. (https://truewestmagazine.com/haydens-hallowed-expedition).
McPherson, Robert S. and Susan Rhoades Neal
2016 *Mapping the Four Corners: Narrating the Hayden Survey of 1875*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Nelson, Clifford M. and Fritiof M. Fryxell
1997 Ferdinand Vandeveer Hayden. 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. 355-358. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.
Wyckoff, William
1999 *Creating Colorado: The Making of a Western American Landscape, 1860-1940*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

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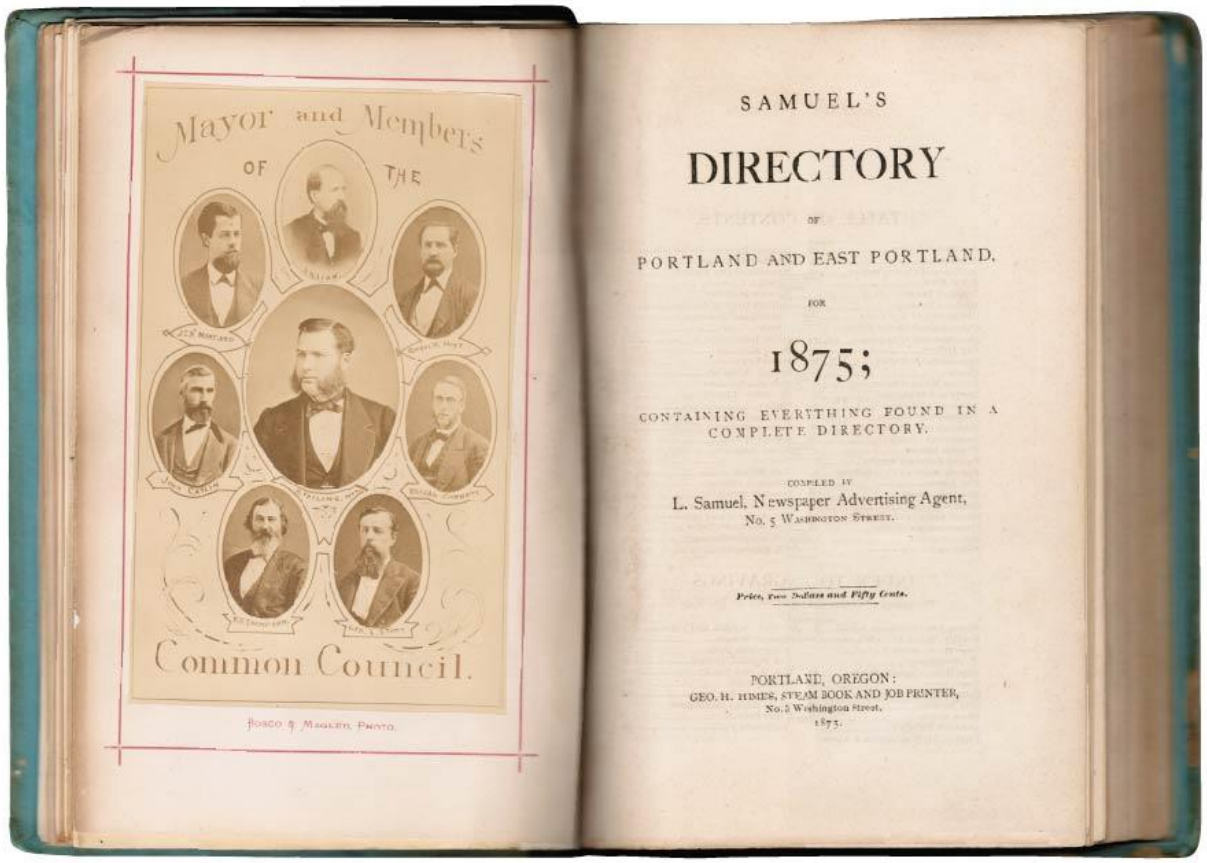
[Colorado Territory--Hayden Survey]: Ferdinand V. Hayden: [SCRAPBOOK CONTAINING NEWSPAPER AND OTHER PERIODICAL CLIPPINGS FROM 1873-1874, DOCUMENTING THE HAYDEN SURVEY'S FIRST FIELD SEASON IN COLORADO]. [n.p., n.d., but probably compiled 1873-1874]. Album containing hundreds of clippings from a wide range of periodicals, all neatly pasted onto thick album pages, most recto and verso. Quarter red morocco, brown cloth covered boards; spine labelled in ink "Hayden Survey/No. 2/1873-1874," heavy wear and chipping to head and tail of spine with some loss, boards detached, interior pages fine. Album measures 9 1/2 x 12 1/2 in. (24 x 32 cm) and holds 75 leaves (44 with clippings); contents excellent.

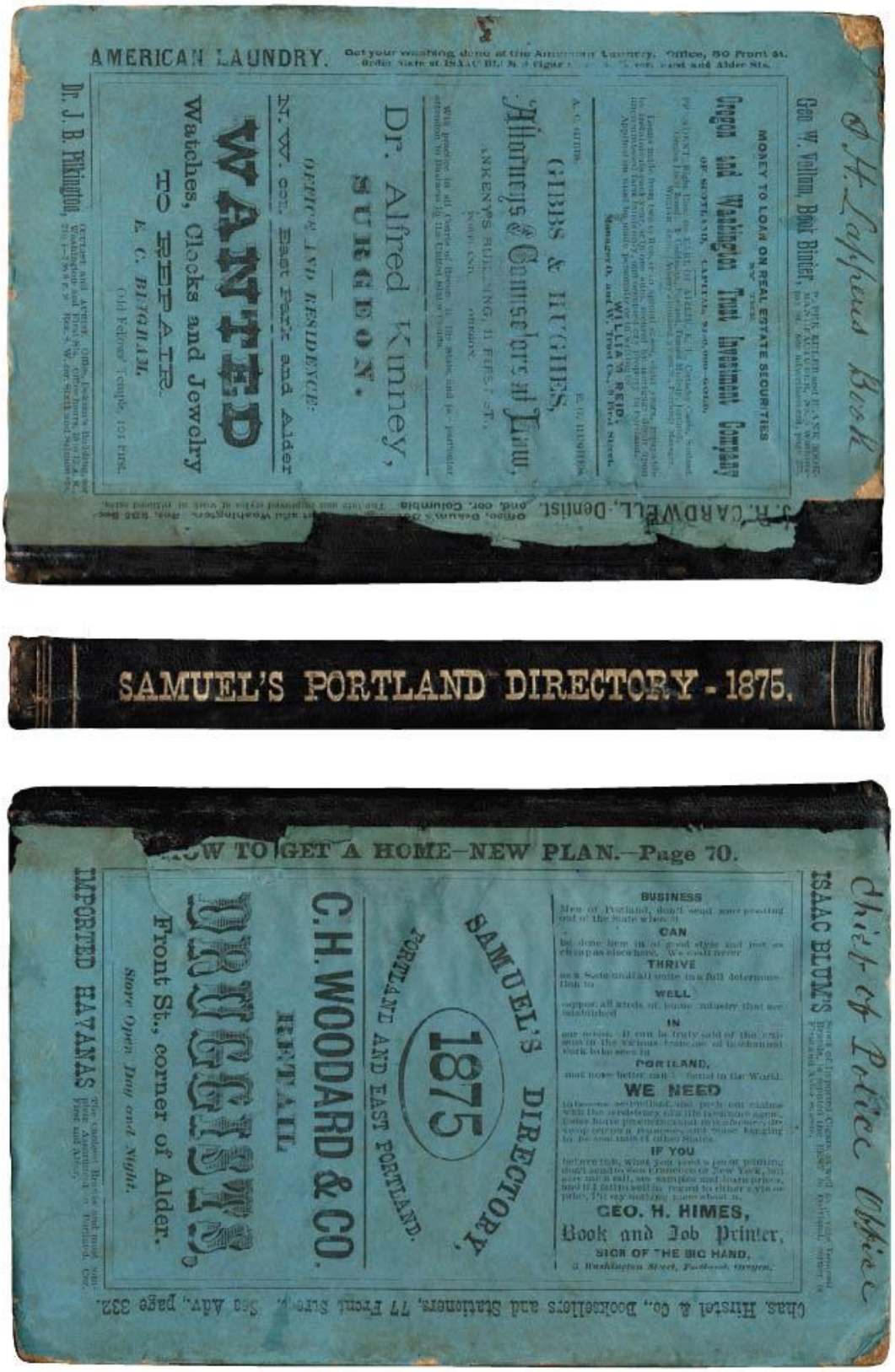
17. SOLD.

Chief of Police and Chief Scoundrel: James Lappeus's Portland Directory

It is a longstanding and now iconic trope of the Old West: the town's worst scoundrel--if not outright criminal--wearing a lawman's badge. Yet like most such tropes, it usually had more than a kernel of truth. As reformed rogue Edouard Chambreau put it in his autobiography, "Any desperado who had the necessary abilities could always get himself elected city marshal" (John 2012). Chambreau was naming no names, but it is difficult to believe that he did not have a specific desperado in mind. In 1859, the Frenchman's old friend, James H. Lappeus, was elected to serve as the very first town marshal of Portland, Oregon. About a decade later, when the city organized its Police Bureau, Lappeus was hired as the first Chief of Police.

Few men in Portland were less suited for the role. By the time he strolled into the offices of the new Police Bureau, Lappeus was co-owner and proprietor of the Oro Fino Theatre and Gem Saloon, the largest, swankiest bar and gambling parlor in the Pacific Northwest, one that likewise reputedly served as the region's finest bordello, offering its customers the charms of nude dancing and prostitution. Both, it might go without saying, were altogether illegal. **This copy of *Samuel's Directory of Portland and East Portland for 1875,* rare and desirable in its own right--and particularly so in its original, unrestored binding--is made all the more interesting because of its wonderful Portland provenance: it is inscribed "Chief of Police Office" at the top of its front board, and "J. H. Lappeus Book" at the top of its back**.




AMERICAN LAUNDRY.
Dr. J. B. Pilkington,
Dr. Alfred Kinney,
SURGEON.
WANTED
Watches, Clocks and Jewelry
TO REPAIR.
GIBBS & HUGHES,
Attorneys & Counselors at Law,
Gen. W. Vollum, Book Binder,
Oregon and Washington Trust Investment Company
MONEY TO LOAN ON REAL ESTATE SECURITIES
O. H. Layshead Book
J. R. CARDWELL, Dentist.
SAMUEL'S PORTLAND DIRECTORY - 1875.
HOW TO GET A HOME—NEW PLAN.—Page 70.
SAMUEL'S PORTLAND AND EAST PORTLAND DIRECTORY.
1875
C. H. WOODARD & CO.
RETAIL
DRUGGISTS,
IMPORTED HAVANAS
Front St., corner of Alder.
Store Open Day and Night.
BUSINESS
CAN
THRIVE
WELL
IN
PORTLAND,
WE NEED
IF YOU
GEO. H. HIMES,
Book and Job Printer,
SIGN OF THE BIG HAND,
Chief of Police Office
ISAAC BLUM'S
Chas. Hinstel & Co., Booksellers and Stationers, 77 Front Street. See Adv., page 332.

James Henry Lappeus--born in Albany, New York, in 1829--had joined the First Regiment of the New York Volunteers, Company H, in July 1846, at the start of the Mexican War. Departing from New York City onboard the ship *Susan Drew*, his regiment had sailed west to California by way of the Horn, arriving at San Francisco on March 19, 1847, as part of the United States Army's occupation force. When the regiment was mustered out in 1848, Lappeus decided to remain in California, seeing opportunity in the Gold Rush. Lappeus, though, had no intention of sweating it out in the mines. Instead, he took to life as a notorious "blackleg," or swindling gambler, cheating miners from their earnings. He also fell in with a dangerous gang of San Francisco criminals called The Hounds, in whose company he met French gambler and card sharp Chambreau. The Hounds were responsible for a brutal attack against Chilean and Mexican miners in broad daylight on July 15, 1849, resulting in the rapid organization of a citizen's Law and Order Party that rounded up the gang's leaders and drove most of the others from town. Lappeus and Chambreau were among those who sought opportunities (legal or not) elsewhere in the gold fields.

About 1850, Chambreau visited Lappeus near Sacramento, where the latter was operating a gambling joint and general store called the Ten Mile House. Just as Chambreau arrived, a large group of drunken teamsters started a brawl in the store. The two former Hounds drove the rowdy cohort out by hurling bottles at their heads, but once outside the teamsters began firing guns into the building with Chambreau and Lappeus still inside. As Chambreau recalled:

> In an instant we both had our six-shooters out, and you think it was not lively there for a little while? After we had driven them away from near the store we retreated, and barricaded ourselves inside, and made ready for an attack, but they did not want any more of it. We were both hurt but nothing serious [quoted in John 2012].

Lappeus made his way to Portland, Oregon, soon after. In 1850, it was still a young town of fewer than a thousand people. Known derisively by names like Stumptown and Mudtown, it was overshadowed economically and politically by Oregon City, the territorial capitol located just upstream at the falls of the Willamette River. Yet Portland sat at the confluence of the Willamette and the Columbia, a locale accessible to ocean-going vessels, and it would soon eclipse its nearby rivals. In less than a decade, Portland's population had grown threefold and--much to the liking of a man such as Lappeus--it boasted a saloon for every fifty (mostly male) citizens. Lappeus did well for himself in California and arrived in Portland on the cusp of its ascent. Little is known of his first few years in the city, but in 1859 he somehow managed to get himself elected to the newly created post of city marshal, beating out his competitor 146 votes to 71. Charles Tracey notes that "Lappeus was the major Portland police personality during the next 24 years, serving as marshal or police chief for more than 13 years during this period" (1979:134). Only three years after his election as marshal, he was listed as co-owner of the Oro Fino Theatre and Gem Saloon; it would be naïve, we suspect, to think that the two events were unrelated.

Lappeus served two terms as town marshal, 1859-1861 and 1868-1869, then was named Portland's first Chief of Police when the Bureau was organized in 1870. He served two terms as Chief, 1870-1877 and 1879-1883. For years, Lappeus and his so-called "Oro Fino Ring" aimed to control Portland politics for his fellow Democratic Party office holders and candidates. Dogged for corruption throughout his career as a lawman, his downfall came in 1883 when he was charged

with accepting a bribe in a murder case, one that occurred in a brothel, no less. Lappeus obtained this copy of Samuel's 1875 *Directory* during his first term as Chief. Samuel published only three editions of his *Directory*, for 1873, 1874, and 1875. All are extremely scarce today. OCLC reports just seven institutions with copies of the 1873 edition, two with copies of the 1874, and seven with copies of the 1875; RBH records only a single copy of any edition at auction, an ex-library example of the 1873 edition with replaced spine that made $660 in 2016. **It is difficult to imagine a more provocative and fascinating provenance for any Portland directory**.

Relevant sources:

Chandler, J. D.
2013 *Hidden History of Portland, Oregon*. The History Press, Charleston, SC.
2013 *Murder & Mayhem in Portland, Oregon*. The History Press, Charleston, SC.
John, Finn J. D.
2012 *Wicked Portland: The Wild and Lusty Underworld of a Frontier Seaport Town*. The History Press, Charleston, SC.
Tracy, Charles Abbott, III
1979 Police Function in Portland, 1851-1874: Part II. *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 80(2):134-169.

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Samuel, Leopold. SAMUEL'S DIRECTORY OF PORTLAND AND EAST PORTLAND FOR 1875, CONTAINING EVERYTHING FOUND IN A COMPLETE DIRECTORY. Compiled by L. Samuel, Newspaper Publishing Agent, No. 5 Washington Street. George H. Himes, Steam Book and Job Printer, No. 5 Washington Street, 1875. 352 pp. with ad leaves printed on colored papers, some with illustrations. 8vo (22 cm). Original blue printed boards and black cloth spine with gilt title, composite albumen frontis. with eight portraits titled "Mayor and Members of the Common Council." Signed by Portland's Chief of Police James H. Lappeus on rear board with inscription on front board. Light edge wear to spine and boards, very good.

18. SOLD.

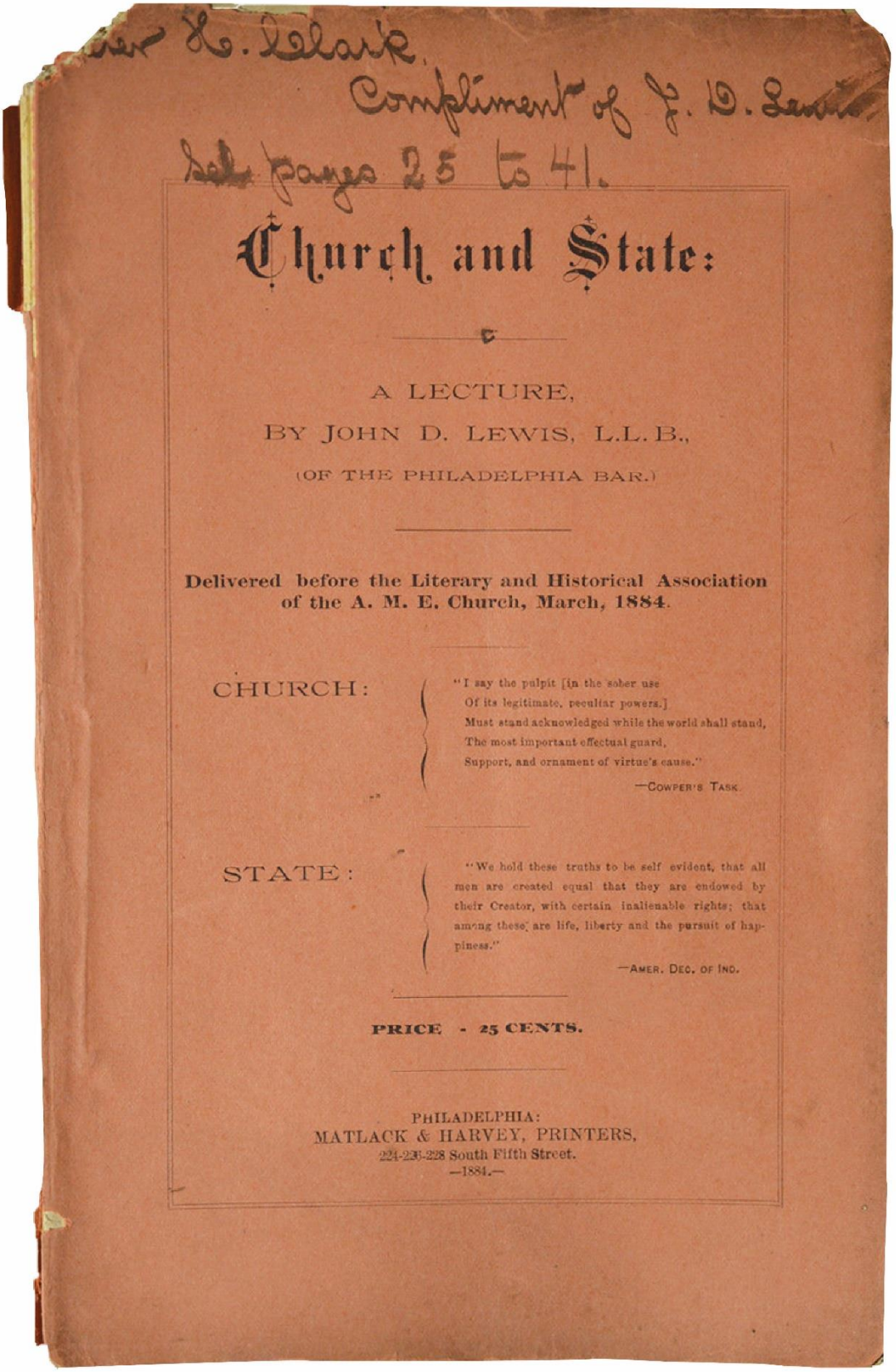
Church and State by John Lewis, Philadelphia's First Black Attorney

The name of John Lewis is practically synonymous with civil rights activism. From his early roles in the 1960s--first as one of the 13 original Freedom Riders and Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to his subsequent decades of public service in the U. S. House of Representatives--few Americans have contributed so much to the cause of equality. Yet there was another John Lewis, barely remembered today, who committed his career to the fight for civil rights in Philadelphia throughout the last quarter of the 19th century. This forgotten John Lewis was the first African American to graduate from Columbia University's School of Law. Then he became Philadelphia's first African American attorney and for nearly 15 years was the city's only practicing black lawyer. In March 1884, he delivered a lecture before the Literary and Historical Association of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, using a synthesis of western political and religious history to rebuke the lie of equality in America. Appearing later that year as *Church and State*, it is the only separate work that Lewis ever published. **The example that we offer here, a signed presentation copy, is one of just three known to have survived**.

John Daniel Lewis was born in Toronto, Canada, about 1842. We know practically nothing of his early life, but the 1880 Federal Census records the birthplace of both his mother and father as Virginia. In *Church and State*, Lewis identifies his grandfather as Rev. Daniel V. Lewis, and we find reference to a free black resident of Falmouth, Virginia, named Daniel Lewis who was a self-employed wheelwright through the 1820s. Liberated from slavery in 1805, Daniel Lewis lost his shop and home to a fire in 1826 (whether accidental or deliberate is not recorded), and it was likely near this date that he moved his family to Canada. Our first notice of John D. Lewis comes with his graduation from Columbia Law School in 1874. A few modern sources identify him as a graduate of Yale's Law School, but a *Catalogue of Officers and Graduates of Columbia University* (XV Edition, 1912), lists him among the graduates of the 1874 class. **Lewis was the first African American student to graduate from Columbia Law**, but in keeping with the general confusion and lack of details about his life, the Columbia Law School's website--while recognizing Lewis as the school's first black graduate--reports the year of his degree as 1882.

Two years after he obtained his degree, Lewis was admitted to practice law in Pennsylvania by the state's Supreme Court on February 9, 1876. Indeed, given his exceptional credentials, the Court voted unanimously to waive the usual residency requirement. Settling in Philadelphia, he partnered with Jeremiah H. Scott to establish the city's first African American legal practice. Scott left the practice--and apparently his law career--soon after, and Lewis would remain Philadelphia's only black attorney until his death in 1891. Most of his legal practice appears to have focused on civil rights violations, the Civil Rights Act of 1875 having provided federal protection for equal treatment in public accommodations and transportation, and Lewis soon became well-known in the African American community for taking on cases in which black citizens and guests to the city were denied access to hotels, restaurants, and theatres. And since he had also come to Philadelphia as a widower with two young children, it is little surprise that he took a leading role in the effort to desegregate the city's public schools.

Despite his advocacy for civil rights, Lewis's politics may have damaged his stature within the African American community. Lewis, as with most black voters, had begun the Reconstruction



Compliment of L. D. Lewis
Read pages 25 to 41.

Church and State:

A LECTURE,

BY JOHN D. LEWIS, L.L.B.,

(OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.)

Delivered before the Literary and Historical Association of the A. M. E. Church, March, 1884.

CHURCH:

"I say the pulpit [in the sober use
Of its legitimate, peculiar powers,]
Must stand acknowledged while the world shall stand,
The most important effectual guard,
Support, and ornament of virtue's cause."

—COWPER'S TASK.

STATE:

"We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

—AMER. DEC. OF IND.

PRICE - 25 CENTS.

PHILADELPHIA:
MATLACK & HARVEY, PRINTERS,
224-226-228 South Fifth Street.
—1884.—

era as a staunch Republican. Yet the Compromise of 1877--also known as the Great Betrayal--in which Republican Rutherford B. Hayes earned the backing of Southern Democrats by agreeing to pull all Federal troops from the South--drove Lewis to withdraw from the party. While he declared himself an independent, this change of allegiance effectively made him a Democrat in the eyes of his black contemporaries. Moreover, he had come to believe that a Republican Party dominated by industry and capital had little to offer African American voters nationally, the large majority of whom owned small farms or else worked as agricultural laborers.

In March 1884, Lewis delivered a public lecture to the Literary and Historical Association of Philadelphia's African Methodist Episcopal Church, published that same year as *Church and State*. Apart from a single article, "Conservative Views of a Colored Lawyer of this City," which appeared in the *Christian Recorder* of Nov. 1, 1883, we have identified no other published writings by Lewis. *Church and State* is divided into two parts. In the first part (pp. 1-25), Lewis offers a wide-ranging (if not idiosyncratic) review of the relationship between church (i.e., religion) and state across the history of western Europe and the Mediterranean, from the time of ancient Greece and Rome through the Crusades and the rise of the Protestant Church. Throughout, he is especially concerned with the role of the church, in whatever form, as a check against despotism, concluding that "With philosophers, like Locke, in every age discussing by nature's God and reason, the liberty of society, tyranny must always fall....And educated people is destined to be the constitution of the realm" (pp. 24-25). It is in the second part of the essay (pp. 25-47) that he brings this perspective to bear on the history of church and state in America, focusing in particular on how it shaped the experience of black Americans. **It is here, as well, that his prose style turns from the tone of removed and dispassionate scholarship to nothing less than rhetorical brilliance:**

> Think of a government of forty million souls in the Nineteenth Century and within twenty years of this time who endorsed, by their Constitution and laws, that five million of their number had no rights of civil liberty or religion which the State was bound to respect. This was truly monstrous within the pretense of the nation's civilization. As to them it made the very heart of the organic law lie upon its face.
>
> Who can now read her Declaration of Independence remembering these facts without a blush of shame. Look at it as Antony did Caesar's dead body. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, [t]hat among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."
>
> When you visit Independence Hall where this declaration was enacted as law, observe the old bell, that used to ring out the time of day at this time. But the day after this Act passed the old bell cracked--even the brass of Pennsylvania would ring in no such lie as here was told. And this bell still hangs in its place as a souvenir of its own truthfulness [pp. 26-28].

Lewis recognizes the Unitarians and likeminded abolitionists as the true representatives of Christianity during those years: "It was they who made the President's chair rock with the logic of civil liberty. It was they who made the State purchase it at a cost of more gold dollars than would

fill this church, and by more blood in civil revolution than would have overflowed the banks of the Ohio River" (p. 29). He then makes a plea for African Americans not to take their hard-won freedoms for granted, but to use them instead to reshape the State:

> Teach each and every congregation among this six and one half millions of colored people all the facts; that their civil liberty is yet but half accomplished, and that the power and capacity is with them to make it complete. Tell them that mental slavery is worse than physical tyranny. Tell them that upon their one million votes, rest the balance of power in the government, and if intelligently and independently used, it will supply all the deficiencies in the administration of law and justice [p. 33].

These words resonate as loudly today as they must have in Lewis's own time, and we find it altogether shocking that *Church and State*, for all its rhetorical power, seems never to have been cited--much less quoted--by any subsequent writer. **We locate only two other copies, one in the Library of Congress and another at the Jenkins Law Library in Philadelphia. Ours is all the more important for being a presentation copy inscribed by Lewis; damage to the upper left corner has cost the first three letters of the recipient's name, but it is almost certainly Peter H. Clark (1829-1925)**, often identified as America's first black socialist, an association in keeping with Lewis's break from the Republican Party. On his death, Lewis left the bulk of his estate to a trust he named The Lewis Protective Bureau of Civil Rights, and though his heirs' shortsightedness hastened its demise, his vision was no less clear. It is long past time that John Daniel Lewis takes his place among the early champions of civil rights in America.

Relevant sources:

Lane, Roger
1991 *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours: On the Past and Future of the Black City in America*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Segal, Geraldine R.
1983 *Blacks in the Law: Philadelphia and the Nation*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Smith, John Clay
1993 *Emancipation: The Making of the Black Lawyer, 1844-1944*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

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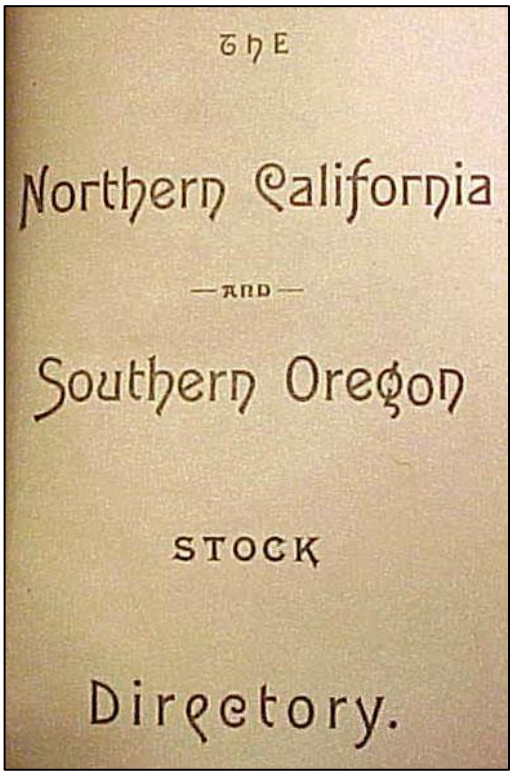
Lewis, John Daniel. CHURCH AND STATE: A LECTURE, BY JOHN D. LEWIS, L. L. B., (OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR). Price 25 cents. Matlack & Harvey, Printers, 224-226-228 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, 1884. 47 pp. 8vo (23 cm). Original orange printed wraps, moderate wear and chipping to spine. Presentation copy signed by the author, a bit of damage to upper left corner costing first three letters of the recipient's name but not affecting any printed text. Wraps and interior pages lightly toned. Overall very good.

19. SOLD.

A Western Rarity: The First Published Directory of California Brands

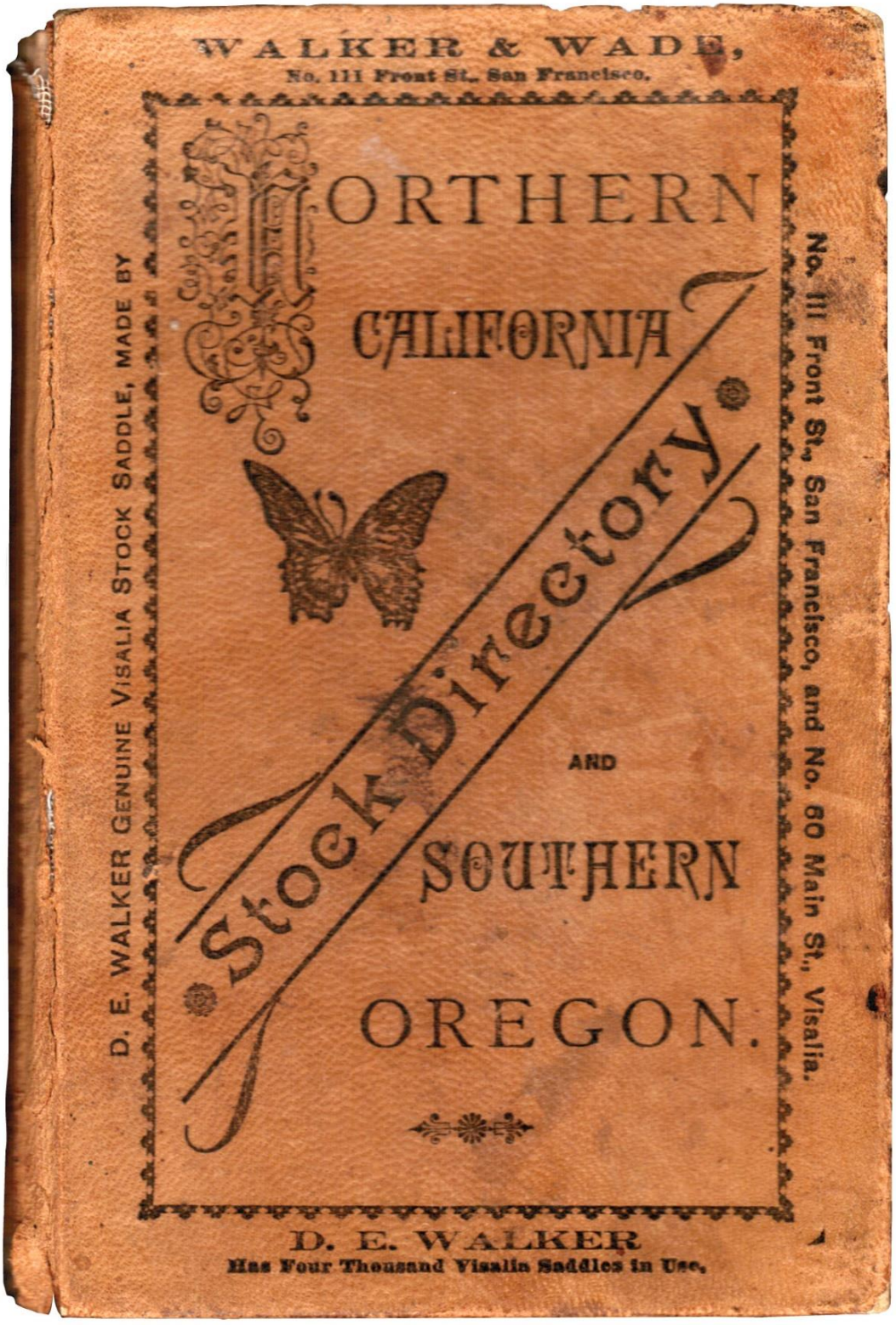
Brand books are among the most iconic relics of an older American West, of a time more settled than the wild and lawless days of exploration and discovery but not yet fenced in by barbed wire and the economics of factory farming. As the term implies, a brand book is a printed directory of the brands that different owners use to mark their livestock. Most contain both the name and location of the individual, ranch, or company and a visual representation of the brand itself, often using the woodcut outline of a cow to show where it was placed on the animal. Brand books were intended for use on the open range, carried in packs or saddle bags, and as such they were typically beaten to pieces. Just as relevant for their scarcity today, most were local productions, job printed with small runs in out-of-the-way towns across the Plains and Mountain West.

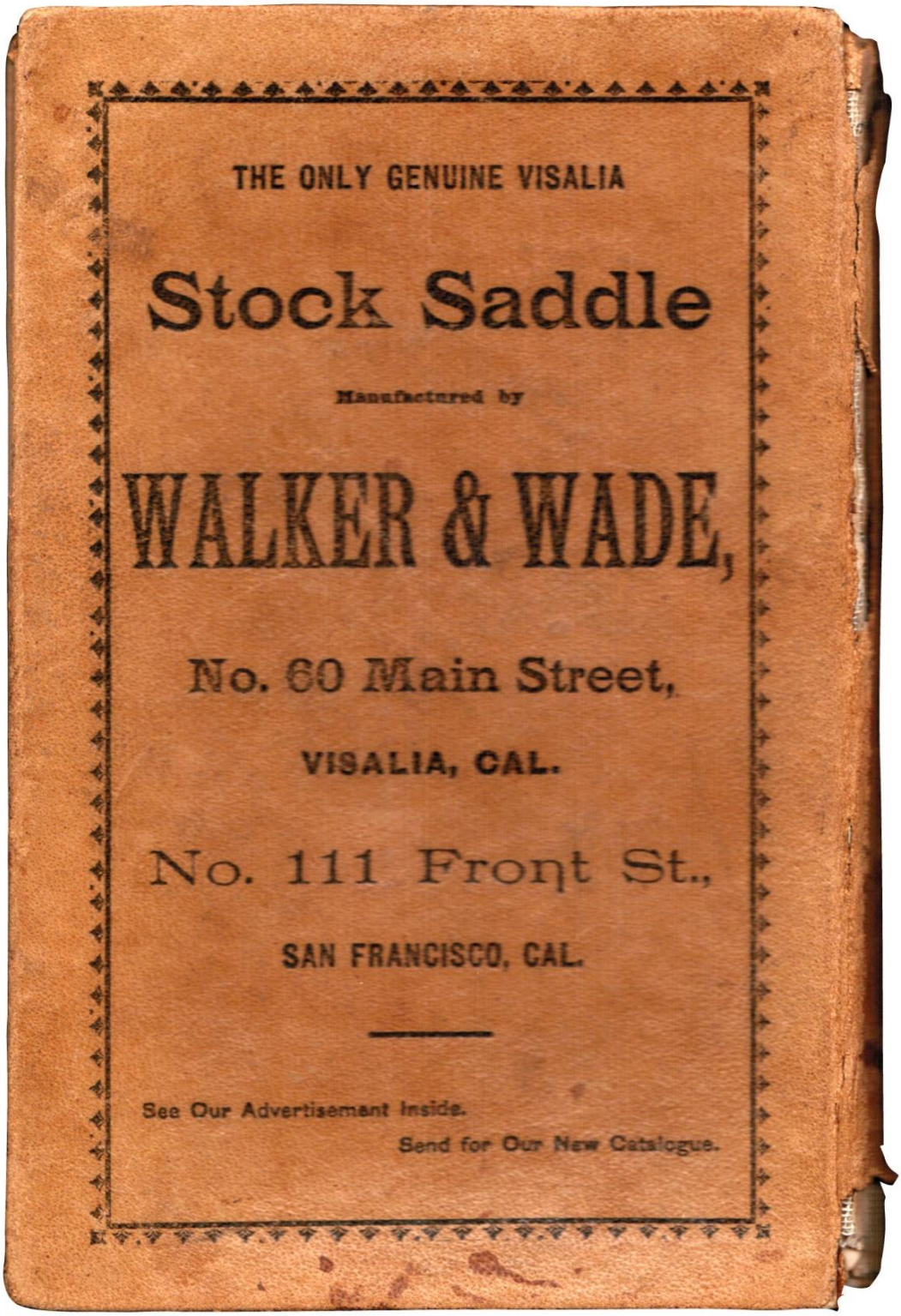
The heyday of the brand book, as Bill Reese points out in his 2006 essay on the topic, was from about 1880 through the first few years of the 20th century. During this time, dozens of such directories were likely produced, whether by private stock associations and consortiums of local ranchers or by state and local governments, but very few now survive in more than just a handful of copies. The example that we offer here, *The Northern California and Southern Oregon Stock Directory*--published at Alturas in Modoc County, California, in 1888--is one such rarity and is significant both for its priority and its scarcity. **It was the very first brand book printed in California and the first to list brands from either California or Oregon; as for scarcity, only three copies are known to exist in institutional collections**.

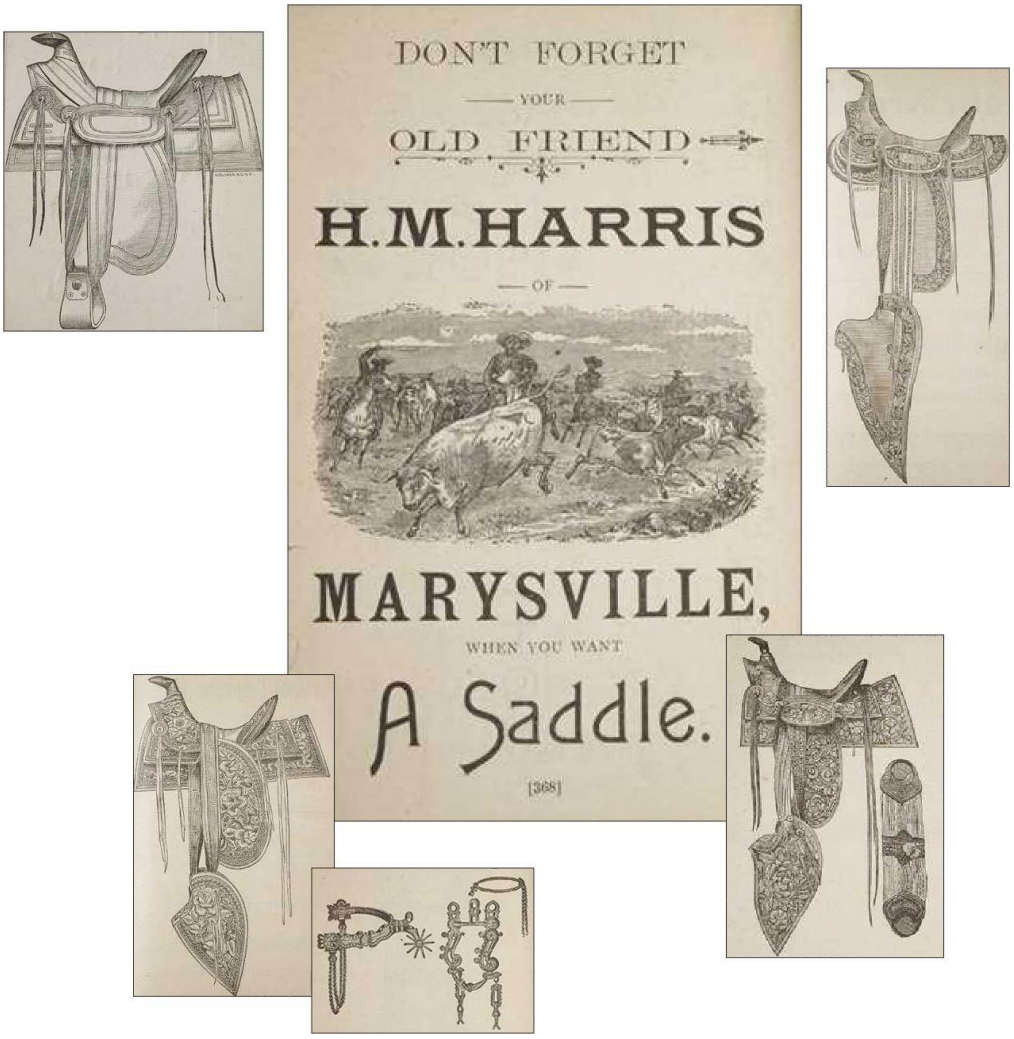


Ranching has shaped the texture of California's landscape since 1769, when 200 head of cattle came by overland route in support of Mission San Diego--its first permanent European colony--founded earlier that same year. For decades, the chief value of the cattle raised on California missions and ranchos lay in their hides and tallow, but everything changed in 1848. The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill brought an unprecedented flood of gold seekers and a previously unimaginable demand for fresh beef. This, Stephanie Larson-Praplan observes, "raised the price of cattle to levels never before dreamed of in the isolated territory, destroying the existing balance of economic and cultural values, and transforming the ungainly Spanish black cattle into four-legged gold nuggets" (2016:62). From 1850 to 1860, cattle numbers in the new state quadrupled to more than a million head, with forty percent of these grazing in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.

In 1864, Central Valley ranches were crippled by extreme drought that killed off thousands of animals, causing ranchers to offer as much as half of their stock to any buyers who would drive the cattle into the high country, where grass and water were still plentiful. Surprise Valley--which


WALKER & WADE,
No. 111 Front St., San Francisco.
D. E. WALKER GENUINE VISALIA STOCK SADDLE, MADE BY
No. 111 Front St., San Francisco, and No. 60 Main St., Visalia.
NORTHERN
CALIFORNIA
Stock Directory
AND
SOUTHERN
OREGON.
D. E. WALKER
Has Four Thousand Visalia Saddles in Use.


THE ONLY GENUINE VISALIA
Stock Saddle
Manufactured by
WALKER & WADE,
No. 60 Main Street,
VISALIA, CAL.
No. 111 Front St.,
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
See Our Advertisement Inside.
Send for Our New Catalogue.



runs along the eastern edge of what is now Modoc County, just south of the line between California and Oregon--was the destination for many of these drovers and their new herds. At the time, this region was home to the Modoc and Piute Indians, who resisted ranching interests until a series of protracted battles from 1872 to 1873, known collectively as the Modoc War, forced them to seek terms. Most of the survivors were moved to reservations, after which livestock grazing exploded throughout the high country. Modoc County was formed in February 1874, when the residents of Surprise Valley lobbied for its creation from the eastern part of Siskiyou. Dorrisville, the county seat, was renamed Alturas (Spanish for "The Heights") in 1876.

A dozen years later, two Modoc residents, Frank C. Dean and Wilson S. Bayley, recognized the need for a guide to cattle brands then in use along the California-Oregon line. Besides the fact that both were relatively young when they set about producing their brand book--Federal Census data suggest that Dean was about 28 and Bayley just 21--our research has revealed surprisingly little about either compiler; later census records indicate that Bayley resided in Oakland after about 1900 and identified his profession as stock raiser. It is possible that both were working as ranch hands in Modoc County in the 1880s. Their book, *The Northern California and Southern Oregon*

Stock Directory, bears neither date nor imprint, but it was almost certainly produced in Alturas in 1888. Introducing their guide, Dean and Bayley write that:

> All Stockmen are aware that each winter, in every small section of the country, a number of stock remain unclaimed, and on the other hand a number are unfound.
>
> The object of this Directory is to overcome this state of affairs, which it doubtless will to a great extent.
>
> In forming this book our idea has been to give the desired information in as concise and clear a manner as possible, and after careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that this is what is best calculated to meet the requirements.
>
> We hope that all will consider the difficulties to be overcome in compiling a work of this kind for the first time, and make due allowance for any deficiencies [p. 3].

Dean and Bayley's *Directory* is remarkably comprehensive, containing 678 distinct entries in 343 pages; it also contains an index and illustrated ad leaves. **It is the very first brand book of any kind ever published in California, and it is extremely rare today**. OCLC lists only three institutional holdings: the Bancroft Library, the Harry Ransom Center's J. Frank Dobie Library at the University of Texas, and the Oregon Institute of Technology. RBH lists no auction records in the history of the trade. Neither Streeter nor Graff managed to obtain a copy for their collections of Western Americana, both of which were rich in brand books. The copy that we offer here has an interesting provenance, signed by Modoc rancher A. (Albert) W. Stiner. His parents, Jacob and Rachel, were Jewish pioneers who migrated to California from Ohio in 1852. Albert likely came to Surprise Valley in 1883 with his older brother, Henry, where both established ranches. **A rare and highly significant brand book with a superb provenance**.

Relevant sources:

Larson-Praplan, Stephanie
2016 History of Rangeland Livestock Production. In *Ecology and Management of Annual Rangelands*, edited by M. R. George, pp. 60-72. Department of Plant Science, Davis, CA.

Reese, William S.
2006 Brand Books in the Princeton Collections of Western Americana. *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 67(2):237-251.

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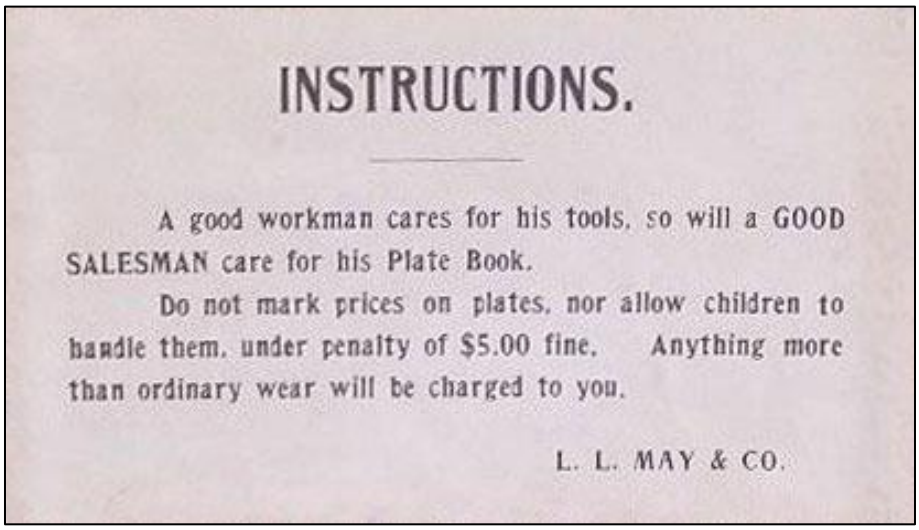
Dean, Frank C. and Wilson S. Bayley. THE NORTHERN CALIFORNIA AND SOUTHERN OREGON STOCK DIRECTORY. [publisher not identified, n.p., n.d., but Alturas, 1888]. 372 pp.; multiple unnumbered ad leaves, most with illustrations. 12mo (17.5 cm). Full polished tan calf with printed front and rear boards. Light corner and edge wear to boards, loss at top and base of spine with webbing visible, front hinge cracked but holding. Very good. Not in Adams.

20. SOLD.

L. L. May & Co., Nurserymen: An Exceptional Minnesota Specimen Book

As America's nursery industry burgeoned through the last quarter of the 19th century, the specimen book emerged as a salesman's best tool for exhibiting his stock of flowers, shrubs, and ornamental trees to potential customers. A specimen book is a bound assortment or catalogue of brightly colored plates, usually produced by chromolithography or pochoir techniques, carefully selected and organized to showcase the offerings of a particular nursery. Since nurserymen chose the specific plates they wanted, depending on what was available in stock at any given time, each surviving specimen book is unique to its place and period, offering vibrant testimony to local tastes and preferences in gardening, husbandry, and orchard keeping. The vast majority of colored plates for these catalogues were produced in and around Rochester, New York, which not coincidentally was among the first centers of the nursery industry. Likewise, most of the extant specimen books document New York and New England nurseries, with those from regions farther away seen much less often. **This book--the only known example from the renowned St. Paul, Minnesota, firm of L. L. May & Co.--is thus as scarce as it is exceptional**.



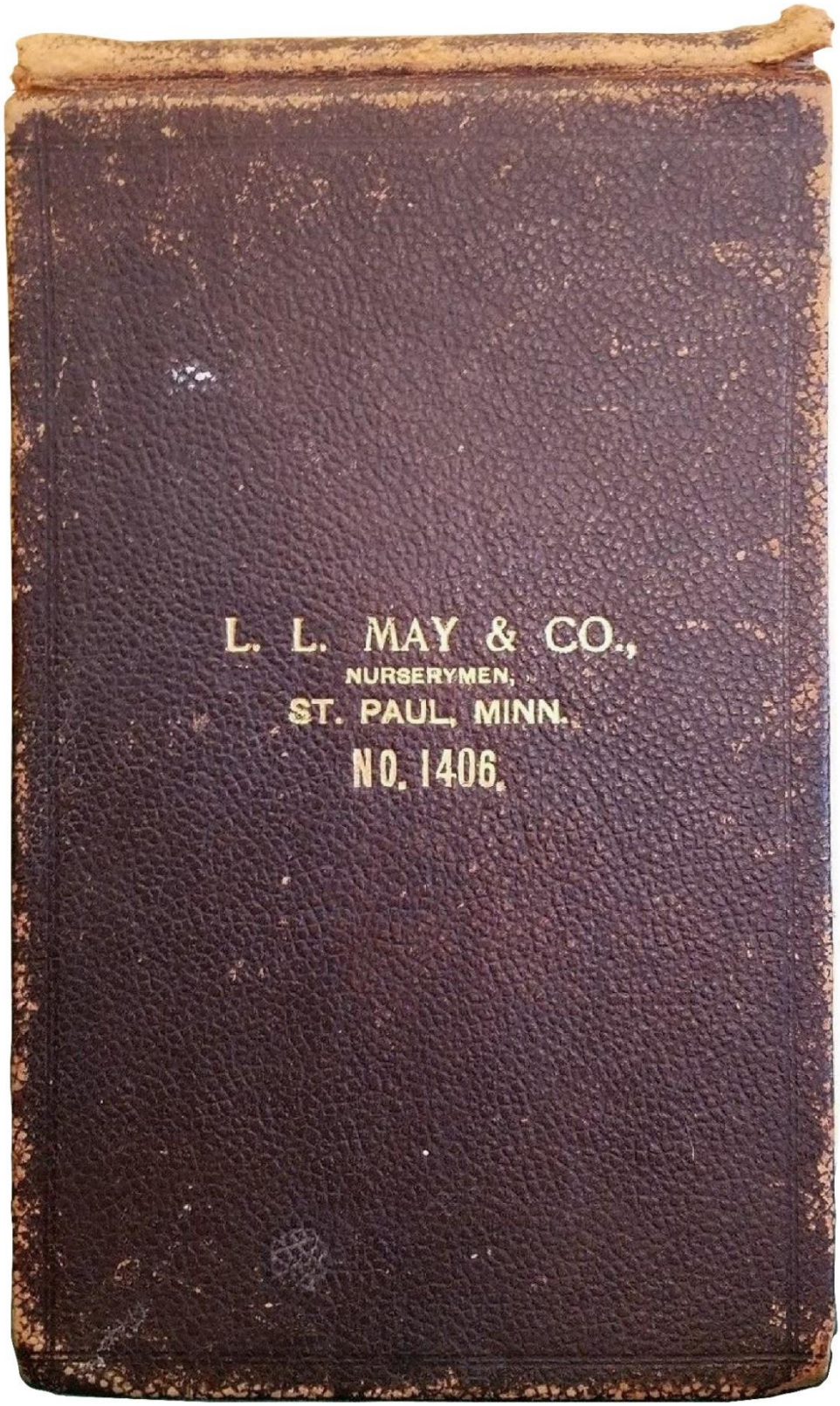
INSTRUCTIONS.

A good workman cares for his tools, so will a GOOD SALESMAN care for his Plate Book.

Do not mark prices on plates, nor allow children to handle them, under penalty of $5.00 fine. Anything more than ordinary wear will be charged to you.

L. L. MAY & CO.

The earliest nursery specimen books, which date from circa 1860-1870, were quarto in size and not intended for door-to-door (or farm-to-farm) sales. Rather, they were likely used as desk copies made available for customers to peruse at the nursery itself. In the late 1870s, many of the production companies began to offer smaller, pocket-sized plates (typically measuring about 9 x 6 inches) that were much more convenient for salesmen to take on house calls. Each plate, printed on heavy grade paper, illustrated a specific flower, fruit, shrub, or ornamental tree. Beneath this vivid illustration was the name of the plant, a brief description of its qualities, and (usually) a line identifying the printing company. Many of the earlier examples in quarto size were handcolored lithographs, though chromolithography had largely replaced this technique by the time of the shift to pocket-sized books. As noted, Rochester was the center of plate production for most of the 19th century, and its most prolific firms were D. M. Dewey, the Rochester Lithographing and Printing Co., which merged with Dewey in 1888, and the Stecher Lithographing Co. The plates themselves were not cheap, so nursery companies often pasted warning labels inside bound catalogues, as with the L. L. May & Co. example above. This label admonished salesmen to care for their plate books


L. L. MAY & CO.,
NURSERYMEN,
ST. PAUL, MINN.
NO. 1406.

as "A good workman cares for his tools," neither marking prices on the plates nor allowing children to handle them. Those who failed to follow these instructions could expect to pay a hefty fine of $5.00 (just under $120.00 in current purchasing power).

Lewis L. May was born in Ottawa, Canada, in 1856 and gained his first business experience working for a Toronto nursery after graduating from business college in the mid-1870s. About 1878 he found employment with the St. Paul, Minnesota, firm of Stone & Wellington, for whom he moved to Winnipeg as sales representative. Two years later, he returned to St. Paul and became a partner in the company, which changed its name to Stone, Wellington, & May. When Stone died in 1882, May purchased the interest of Wellington and his other partners and became sole owner of the business, thereafter known as L. L. May & Co. As described in a contemporary biographical note, May was "Possessed of unbounded ambition, push and ability" (*American Florist* 1903:92), and he rapidly set about turning his business into one of the most prominent nursery firms in the American Midwest. In 1887 he constructed six greenhouses in a suburb of St. Paul, launching the

company's floral division, then just one year later established the wholesale seed department that became the business's most profitable undertaking. By 1900, he employed more than 200 people in the nursery alone. Lewis L. May would go on to serve as president of the American Seed Trade Association, and served St. Paul as both a member of its Board of Education and as Commissioner of Police. When he died in 1917, his nursery firm of L. L. May & Co. was "as well known as any in the country" (*American Florist* 1903:92).

L. L. May & Co. were known for producing some of the most visually striking and colorful seed and nursery catalogues in the genre. Significant collections of these are held by the University of Minnesota's Andersen Horticultural Library, the Minnesota Historical Society, the National Agricultural Library at the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and Cornell University's Liberty Hyde Bailey Hortorium. **Yet we can trace no example of a nursery specimen book attributed to the firm of L. L. May at any of these or any other institution**. This example is bound in pebbled brown leather with the company's name embossed in gilt on the front board. It is a pocket-sized album containing 88 chromolithograph plates--all of which were produced by either the Stecher or Rochester companies--and it includes a range of ornamental flowers, fruits, shrubs, trees, and berries. Two of these plates are dated 1884 and 1885, suggesting that the collection was assembled about 1885-1890. Given the amount of daily use and wear these albums received, particularly in the pocket-sized format, the condition of this unique example is unusually strong. Thankfully, the nurseryman who used and carried it did so carefully, as a workman would his tools.

Relevant sources:

Anonymous
1903 Lewis L. May. *The American Florist*, Vol. XIX, No. 741, p. 92. Chicago.
1917 Obituary, Lewis L. May. *The Florist's Review*, Vol. XLI, No. 1046, p. 43. Chicago.
Kabelac, Karl Sanford
1982 Nineteenth-Century Rochester Fruit and Flower Plates. *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 93-113.
Widmer, Richard E.
1997 *A History of Minnesota Floriculture*. Minnesota Report 238-1997, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Minnesota, St. Paul.

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[Minnesota--Nursey Specimen Book]: [L. L. May & Co.]: CABINET FRUIT AND FLOWER PLATES. Colored and Lithographed by Stecher Lithographic Co., 336 N. St. Paul St., Rochester, New York. [n.d., but compiled ca. 1885-1890]. 88 chromolithographic plates, with lithographed title page, illustrating a range of fruits, flowers, trees, and shrubs offered by L. L. May, Co. of St. Paul, Minnesota. Oblong 8vo (23 cm). Original brown pebbled leather, tooled in blind, company name embossed in gilt on front board, spine and boards with corner and edge wear. Marbled end papers, paper label pasted on front pastedown, interior plates fine, inserted instruction sheet titled "Special Notes for Agents." Very good.

21. SOLD.

Among the Arapahos: James Mooney's Ghost and Sun Dance Views

James Mooney was a different sort of ethnographer from most of his contemporaries. His formal education was limited to the public schools of his hometown--Richmond, Indiana--where he was born to Irish Catholic immigrants in 1861. His father had died soon after his birth, and his mother supported the family as a housekeeper. He received no scientific training. Rather, after graduating from high school, he first found work as a schoolteacher before joining the staff of the *Richmond Palladium*. As a boy he had developed a fascination with Native American peoples and began compiling what would become a 3000-term list of tribal names and their synonyms. In 1882 he sought a position in the recently formed Bureau of Ethnology, established three years previously under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, but founding director John Wesley Powell had no positions to offer. Yet Mooney travelled to see Powell in person in 1885, ostensibly en route to the Amazon on a solo expedition to search for ancient ruins. After meeting the young man and looking over his synonymy, Powell saw his potential and hired him on the spot.

Perhaps, as Ira Jacknis suggests, Mooney's personal experience as a child of poor Catholic immigrants "sensitized him to the plight of oppressed ethnic groups" (1990:179-180). There can be little doubt, though, that his sympathetic treatment of Indian peoples was unusual even among his fellow ethnographers at the Bureau. This perspective became apparent in his research among the Eastern Cherokees, culminating in his classic "Myths of the Cherokee," included by the Bureau as part of its *19th Annual Report* in 1900 and no less essential today. It was among the Cherokees that he both established his skills for developing indigenous sources and began to use photography in his ethnographic work--one of the first American anthropologists to do so. Yet his subsequent research on the Ghost Dance movement, which appeared in the Bureau's *14th Annual Report* (prior to the bulk of his Cherokee scholarship) as "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," represents his greatest achievement as an ethnographer. **These albumen photographs, all taken at the Darlington agency in Indian Territory, offer extraordinarily rare and intimate documentation of Mooney's fieldwork among the Southern Arapahos**. **Three feature images of a Ghost Dance performed in late January or February of 1891; The other six are views of a Sun Dance held in the fall of 1893**. **All are annotated in Mooney's hand**.

In the summer of 1890, Mooney was at the Bureau's offices in Washington making plans for travel to Indian Territory, where he hoped to expand his work among the Cherokees to include those living in the west. It was then that he learned of the Ghost Dance, a new religious movement sweeping across the Plains, and he immediately requested and received permission to change the aims of his upcoming work. The Ghost Dance was the last of 19th-century Native America's great prophetic revivals. Visionary Northern Piute leader Jack Wilson--better known by his indigenous name, Wovoka--initiated the movement in early 1889, preaching that he had stood before God in heaven and observed his ancestors living in harmony in a land of bounty. If living Native peoples would cease fighting among themselves, live honestly and cleanly, and perform the five-day dance God had shown him, they would hasten their reunion with the ancestors and restore the land to its condition before the coming of the whites. Wovoka's message spread like a fire from his home in western Nevada, and when it reached the Lakota reservations at Pine Ridge and Standing Rock, it acquired an additional feature: the belief that specially prepared ghost shirts, if worn by those who had performed the dance and its associated rituals, would repel bullets.

IMAGES OF THE ARAPAHO GHOST DANCE, 1891

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IMAGES OF THE ARAPAHO SUN DANCE, 1893

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In October 1890, a Miniconjou Teton Lakota chief named Kicking Bear, who had traveled to Nevada to meet with Wovoka in person, visited the famed Hunkpapa holy man Sitting Bull at Standing Rock, South Dakota. Although skeptical of the claims of its adherents, Sitting Bull gave Kicking Bear and his followers permission to perform the Ghost Dance there. Federal authorities reacted with alarm, particularly with what they perceived as a militant strain to the Lakotas' version of the dance, and Standing Rock's Indian agent, James McLaughlin, forced Kicking Bear from the

reservation. When this failed to halt the dance, McLaughlin blamed Sitting Bull. By the end of November, more than 3000 federal troops had descended on the reservation, and on December 15 McLaughlin sent agency police to the holy man's home to arrest him. Sitting Bull was shot and killed in the ensuing scuffle. About two weeks later, U. S. Army forces confronted another Lakota chief, Big Foot, who had led his band of 350 men, women, and children in a long performance of the Ghost Dance. Big Foot's band, moving under military escort, established a camp at Wounded Knee, which federal troops entered on the morning of December 29 to confiscate and destroy all weapons. Once again there was a scuffle, a single shot rang out, then government troops opened fire on all of Big Foot's mostly unarmed followers. In just a few minutes, the confrontation known today as the Wounded Knee massacre ended with Big Foot and nearly three hundred of his Lakotas laying dead or dying in the snow covered fields around Pine Ridge.

Jamey Mooney was en route to Indian Territory on that bitterly cold morning of December 29. After arriving at the Darlington Agency, located in present Canadian County, Oklahoma, the reservation's agent, Charles Ashley, introduced him to Mennonite missionary Henry R. Voth, who had worked for eight years among the Cheyennes and Arapahos. Voth, in turn, introduced Mooney to a group of Carlisle- and Hampton-educated Arapahos: Jesse Bent, Cleaver Warden, Grant Left Hand, and Paul Boynton. Mooney hired them as informants and interpreters, and soon after they guided him into the Ghost Dance camps. In Indian Territory, there were relatively few restrictions on the ritual's practice, though farther north, on the reservations of the Lakotas and other Siouan peoples, federal authorities strictly forbade any such performances. On January 19, Mooney wrote back to Washington that "Indians are dancing the ghost dance day & night & as part of the doctrine is that they must discard everything white man, they are bringing out costumes not worn in years" (in Moses 1984:54). He must have begun photographing dancers almost on his arrival--just days later, he wrote in need of a Kodak manual to set the correct exposure for his film. He added that "I am so far in with the medicine men that they have invited me to take part in the dance, although they order any white man away from the grounds" (in Moses 1984:54).

The three Ghost Dance images we offer here were all taken by Mooney during these weeks at the Darlington Agency in late January or February 1890. All three are untrimmed, unmounted albumen prints with Mooney's manuscript captions on the verso. The first, numbered 2554 and labeled "Arapaho (Algonquian)/Ghost-Dance;" was reproduced as a painting by artist Mary Irvin Wright and included as such in Mooney's published final report of the Ghost Dance religion (Plate CXIV, "The Ghost Dance--Large Circle"). The two other photographs, numbered 1814 and 1816, respectively, are each captioned "Arapaho (Algonquian)/Ghost-Dance, Resting." All of Mooney's surviving negatives are preserved at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, D. C. (where most of the records of the Bureau of American Ethnology were moved after its merger with the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology in 1968), **but prints of his Ghost Dance images are of the utmost rarity at auction and in the trade; moreover, we trace no examples of any such images in institutional collections outside of the NAA**.

In the summer of 1893, Mooney returned to the Plains pursuing new directions in his Ghost Dance research among the Northern Arapahos and Shoshonis of Wyoming. He spent several days discussing religion with the Arapahos in a camp where they were cutting wood, then went south again to Indian Territory and spent the fall among the southern branch of the tribe. It was during these few weeks that Mooney photographed the Southern Arapahos' Sun Dance, likely performed

in late September just before his return to Washington. The Sun Dance has a much deeper history among Plains Indian peoples than the Ghost Dance, yet federal authorities had likewise curtailed its practice several years previously. Best known--if not infamous--for demanding significant pain and endurance of its participants, the Sun Dance was a ceremony of renewal in which male dancers offered acts of autosacrifice to spiritual powers in exchange for ensuring and enhancing the welfare of the entire community. Before the dancing began, holy men selected a large cottonwood tree to serve as a central post; once planted, a medicine lodge was built with pole rafters radiating from the sacred center. While long lengths of rawhide were tied to the central pole, each dancer prepared for the grueling ceremony with a holy man or mentor who had himself performed the dance. When ready, holy men pierced each dancer in the side with a piece of bone that was attached, in turn, to one of the rawhide thongs. The dancers then moved around the sacred post in a long, slow circle until they had managed to tear themselves from the thong.

Federal authorities, intent on forcefully assimilating Plains peoples, treated the Sun Dance as a barbaric practice and so worked to prohibit its performance. Indeed, American Indians were not allowed to stage this sacred rite openly until the 1970s. As a result of its early prohibition, few whites ever witnessed an authentic Sun Dance, and even fewer produced authentic photographic images of the event. James Mooney was an exception. The six images that we offer here include views of preparations for the dance: people gathering around the lodge--some on horseback--and around the foot of the sacred central post inside. The most intimate photograph captures a group of holy men painting and purifying the dancers, whose backs are to the camera, before the start of their performance. Based on the complete collection of 27 glass plate negatives and prints of this dance held at the NAA, Mooney--whether by choice or prohibition--seems not to have taken any photographs of the dancers during the performance itself. As with the Ghost Dance views, each of the six Sun Dance views is an untrimmed, unmounted albumen print with Mooney's manuscript annotations on the verso. These notes read:

1) 1811 “Arapaho (Algonquian)/Sun Dance, painting the Dancers”
2) 2014 “Southern Arapaho (Algonquian)/Sun Dance, the Medicine Lodge”
3) 2029 “Southern Arapaho (Algonquian)/The Sun Dance, Center Pole”
4) 2556 “Arapaho (Algonquian)/Sun Dance”
5) 2560 “Arapaho (Algonquian)/Sun Dance”
6) 2561 “Arapaho (Algonquian)/Sun Dance”

Mooney included Print 2561 as Plate LXX, “Arapaho Sun-Dance Lodge, 1893,” in his “Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians,” published in the *17th Annual Report* of the BAE in 1898. **Like the Ghost Dance images, very few examples of Mooney’s Sun Dance photographs exist outside of those negatives and prints in the holdings of the NAA.**

As Jacknis observes, Mooney was never more than an average photographer: “Although he learned to focus and expose an image adequately, many of Mooney’s pictures are technically deficient. Many of the ceremonial photographs are out-of-focus....Often Mooney held the camera too far away from the subject or included distracting background” (1990:186). Nevertheless, the ethnographic value of his images can hardly be overstated, for they are perhaps the most authentic visual records ever produced of these dramatic performances. Mooney sometimes created extra prints to offer as gifts to informants and agents “as partial return for much kind furtherance of my work” (Jacknis 1990:190); it is likely that this collection of nine images was just such a gift. We can trace but one other collection of comparable size (outside the NAA), a grouping of ten Ghost Dance, Crow Dance, and Sun Dance prints on contemporary mounts currently offered by the 19th Century Rare Book & Photograph Shop. Among the early photographers of Native America, only Edward Curtis would capture such a wide variety of peoples and events. Returning once again to Jacknis: **“Mooney’s camera work must be seen as a pioneering attempt by an anthropologist to formulate a visual documentation of native cultures”** (1990:208).

Relevant sources:

Jacknis, Ira
1990 In Search of the Image Maker: James Mooney as an Ethnographic Photographer. *Visual Anthropology* 3:179-212.

Moses, L. G.
1984 *The Indian Man: A Biography of James Mooney*. The University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Wishart, David J., editor
2011 *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains*. The University of Nebraska Press (for summaries of the Ghost Dance and Sun Dance; http://plainshumanities.unl.edu/encyclopedia/).

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[Native Americans--Photography and Ritual]: James Mooney: [NINE ORIGINAL ALBUMEN PRINTS OF THE ARAPAHO GHOST AND SUN DANCES, TAKEN BY SMITHSONIAN ANTHROPOLOGIST JAMES MOONEY]. [Darlington Agency, Indian Territory, 1891-1893]. Unmounted, untrimmed albumen prints with notations on verso in Mooney’s hand. All measure 7 3/4 x 4 3/4 in. (19.5 x 12 cm) with very minor edge wear and light fading. Overall fine.

22. SOLD.

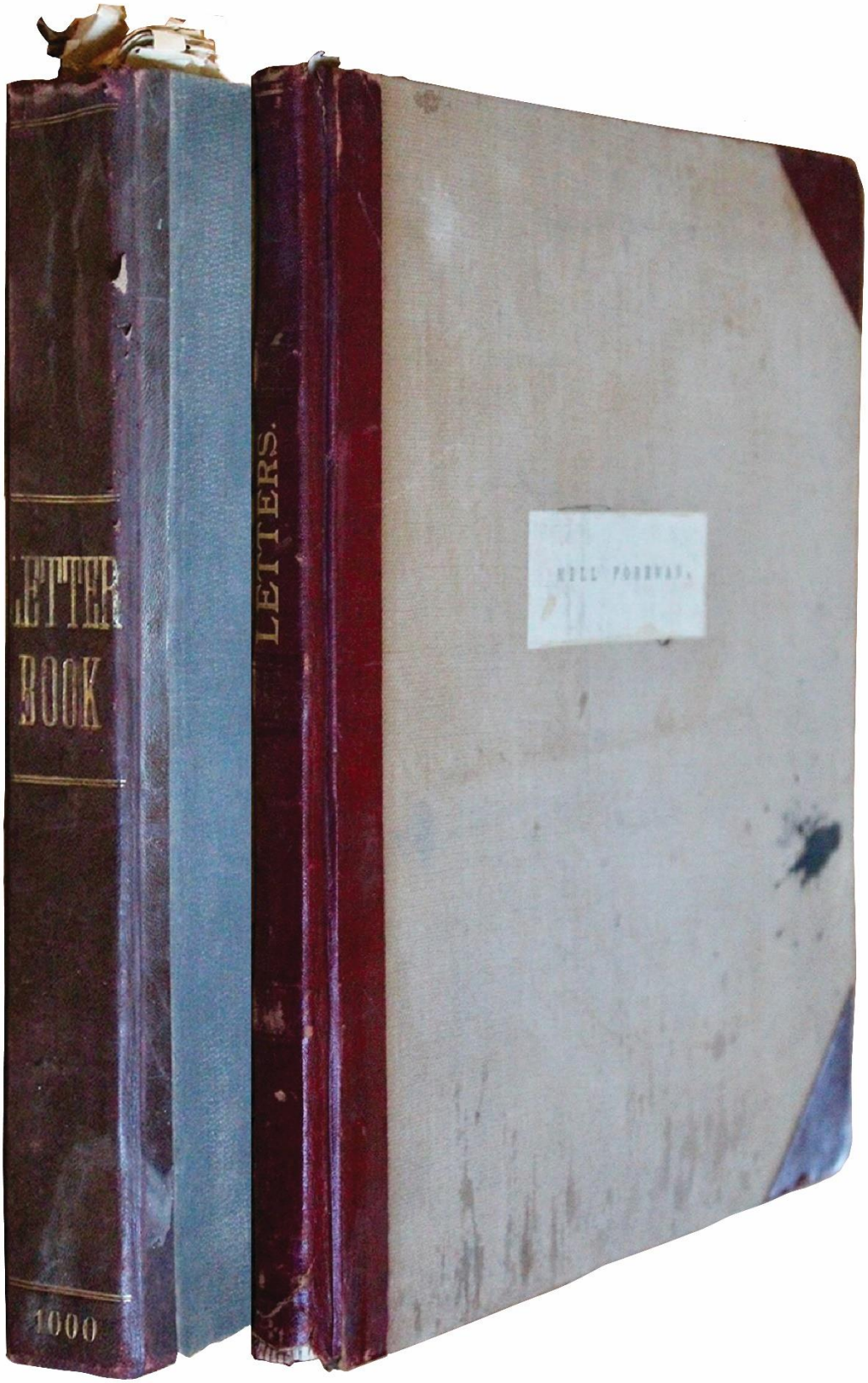
Boom to Bust in Breckenridge: The Oro Mine Copy Books

Colorado was still the western part of Kansas and Nebraska territories in 1859, when the Pike's Peak Gold Rush introduced its Rocky Mountain vistas to a national audience. By the time of its organization as a separate territory two years later, more than 100,000 hopefuls had flooded into the region and exhausted most of those deposits of shallow free gold. Yet industrialized, hard rock mining would soon provide a route to even greater riches, propelling Colorado into statehood on August 1, 1876. It was in that same year that miners near Oro City, now a ghost town about a hundred miles west of Denver, discovered the large, rich lodes that fueled the young state's silver boom. Thousands of people poured into Lake and Summit counties, giving rise to new towns like Leadville and breathing life into older gold mining camps like Breckenridge.

Within a decade, though, the overproduction of silver had driven its price so low that many mines could no longer operate at profit. So in 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, requiring the federal government to buy millions of ounces of silver bullion each month. The mines thrived, but overvalued silver soon drove undervalued gold from circulation, which posed an existential threat to the government's gold reserves. When Congress necessarily repealed the act in 1893, dozens of mines and smelters closed down--many for good--and Colorado's economy collapsed, entering a full-blown depression that persisted for several years. During this period of boom and bust, J. H. Thompson was general manager of the Oro Mining and Milling Company at Breckenridge, ultimately the largest producing mine in the Breckenridge District. **These bound volumes, Thompson's copy books from 1890 to 1893, hold hundreds of business letters that together offer documentation of the workings at Oro throughout this time, perhaps the most turbulent years in the long sweep of Colorado's mining industry**.

Breckenridge, founded at the height of the Pike's Peak Gold Rush in 1859, was named for James Buchanan's vice president, John C. Brackinridge of Kentucky. Two years later, when the former vice president threw in with the Confederacy, pro-Union townspeople replaced the 'i' in Breckinridge with the 'e' it carries today. And while gold put Breckenridge on the map, after 1876 silver was king. The Oro Mine was opened in 1877. Located three miles east of town, it was the first such property discovered on the aptly named Mineral Hill and contained rich lodes of silver and lead; zinc was also abundant, but its value would not become important until after the turn of the century. By 1887, its production yielded the most of any mine in the district. At first, its ores were hauled a mile away to one of the mills in Lincoln City--a ghost town today--but in 1888 the Oro's owners built a mill of their own at Mineral Hill.

Ownership of the Oro Mining and Milling Company appears to have changed early in 1890, though the details are a bit murky--and perhaps intentionally so. Dr. James P. "Doc" Welch, who had run both mine and mill under the previous owners (and who was about to become embroiled in a lawsuit of his own making), saw his responsibilities shift to the mill, and J. H. Thompson came in as general manager of the operations. Thompson's first copy book begins on June 10, 1890 (the week he took over from Welch), and continues unbroken save for an occasional vacation through April 14, 1892; the second book picks up just over a year later, on July 13, 1893, and runs through October 22, 1894. **Altogether, the copy books contain more than 750 pages of correspondence that represent hundreds of letters from Thompson to his partners in the Oro Company, his mine and mill managers, suppliers, assayists, lawyers, stockbrokers, and family**.


LETTER
BOOK
1000
LETTERS.

While Thompson publically held the role of Oro general manager, he also appears to have been a major stockholder in the company, which after reorganization was based in Syracuse, New York. His letters to partner Clarence V. Kellogg, many of which run to several pages and together read almost like a diary of his first months in Denver and Breckenridge, suggest that the business arrangement was something they were working to keep discreet:

> I have just seen my broker and the report is gradually getting out that the Oro deal is over, Thompson is out and the whole thing now under the management of a man by the name of Kellogg of Syracuse, New York, Thompson simply being here to carry out his instructions. I think this is a pretty good flank movement. What do you think? I am perfectly willing you should have all the glory as long as we can rake in the shekels, they will do me just as well as the glory [Denver, June 18, 1890].

About a month later, he suggests another ploy to maintain the ruse: "Further please have my salary fixed at $250.per month to date from August 1st., to expire Feb.1st., 1891....Between you and I it looks a bit thin my working for nothing, and this will overcome it" (Denver, July 12, 1890). It is never clear why Thompson and Kellogg sought to minimize the former's role as investor, but based on a June 17 letter from Kellogg to Doc Welch specifying the terms of Welch's demotion (the only letter in either volume not written by Thompson), it seems that the company's investors sought to avoid any appearance of dysfunction within the organization, particularly with respect to dealings that might mire the Oro in Welch's impending legal problems.

Thompson wasted little time establishing his control over day-to-day operations at the Oro Mine and Mill. His actions during these first few weeks, communicated by letter to Kellogg, shed light both on his own personality and--more importantly--on the deeply unequal state of relations between management and labor in the early years of industrial mining:

> The last time I was at the mine remaining nearly five days we had a picnic. The miners did not like the man I had put over them for night foreman, and attempted to dictate to me what they wanted. Surely you know me well enough to imagine how much I stood, I cleaned that mine of miners from one end to the other about as quickly as it ever was done in Breckenridge or anywhere else, and started in fresh, before I left B. nine tenths of the men whom I had discharged were begging to come back, I told them they had worked their last shift on the Oro, and hoped the lesson they had learned would do them some good in the future. I then found the foreman of the mill drunk down town and I bounced him. Doc stood by, the mill not running at that time, in silent amazement never opening his mouth, until I said we can run the mill on half time and if you don't like that you can quit too [Denver, Aug. 11, 1890].

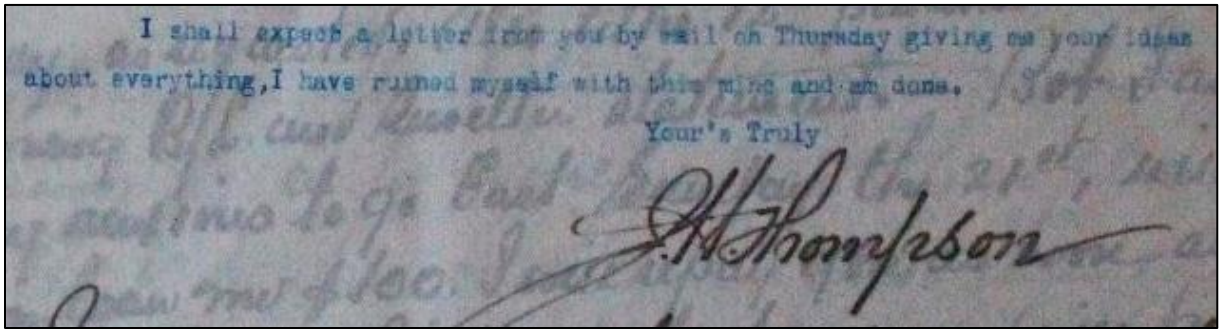
Unfortunately for Thompson, things soon began to unravel. First, Welch's legal problems became those of the Oro Company. In March 1890, Welch had purchased options on the nearby Lucky Lode--without informing the Oro Company's owners--then used Oro employees to build a wagon road from the Oro to the Lucky and to work and mill the new lode. When Thompson took

over in June, he had refused to pay Welch's debts for leasing, labor, and supplier expenses incurred on the Lucky, arguing that these were private debts unconnected to the Oro Company. The legal wrangling consumed much of Thompson's business during these first two years, and he eventually lost the resulting lawsuit brought by Welch's creditors.

To make matters worse, the mine unexpectedly flooded with 268 feet of water at the end of May 1891; Thompson wrote Kellogg: "I am now trying to get it out. I have lost at least $10,000 in the past week, have been to bed two nights only, and am just about dead" (Breckenridge, May 30, 1891). Water would plague work in the Oro throughout the duration of his management. By late October, Thompson wrote to Kellogg and company president H. H. Loomis, who had grown conspicuously slow to reply to his letters--and even slower to help him cover the Oro Company's mounting expenses--that:

> I have over $10,000 in this thing....I have done <u>everything</u> to keep this going, had I not put my hand in my pocket, all your united and successful endeavors <u>at the East</u>, would not have run this mine one second. I have given up <u>everything</u> to make this a success for us there. I am going to succeed, but you must pay this money [Breckenridge, Oct. 30, 1891].

Thompson was hardly exaggerating about the sacrifice. His own health had suffered terribly, and his wife had retreated to Denver, having became seriously ill in Breckenridge (due in part to the high altitude). Meanwhile, his daughter Daisy--who had stayed in Brackenridge but lacked both self-discipline and parental supervision--was running with gamblers and other unsavory characters in town. Thompson soon shipped her back to his brother's family in New York.


I shall expect a letter from you by mail on Thursday giving me your idea about everything, I have ruined myself with this mine and am done.

Your's Truly

H. Thompson

Circumstances appear to have improved in early 1892, when Thompson purchased interest in both the Capitol Lode and Dolly Varden claims on the Oro Company's behalf. But then, with the panic of May 1893 and the subsequent repeal of the Sherman Act in October, the bottom fell out for Thompson and the Oro, as it did for so many other mining operations across Colorado and the Rockies. Thompson's first copy book ends in April 1892. His second opens just over a year later in July 1893 with legal and financial pressures building. Most of the 79 letters in this book are written to "Billy," who seems to have managed Oro's mill. On August 2, Thompson informed Billy that the Oro Mining and Milling Company had gone into receivership the day before, "under charge of the District Court of Colorado" and in the hands of E. K. Whitehead. And as conditions in Denver slipped toward economic depression, the line between management and labor tightened: "Billy, you ask me to borrow $100. for you. It is impossible, I cannot borrow or beg one cent for

myself, have tried till I am tired. I have property but I might as well not have anything as far as getting any money on it is concerned [Denver, Aug. 17, 1893].

He and Billy continued to correspond on day-to-day operations at the mine and mill (most of their letters are about such matters), but the handwriting was on the wall. Thompson wrote on December 4 that Whitehead, too, was walking away "as he has had enough." A day later he sent a letter to William and Robert Morrison of Breckenridge, mine managers themselves, who might have been involved in the Oro operations while the company was in receivership:

> I write now to let you know that as to the future I am very undecided what is for the best, since August 1st. when Mr. Whitehead was appointed Receiver we have run steadily behind instead of catching up, this you know will not do. I cannot see anything bright in the future in fact I think that lead and silver mining in Colorado has received its death blow from the hands of people in Congress and Senate assembled, and cannot see any sense or use in trying even under the most favorable circumstances to make ends meet, as matters are now, with this fact in view what is the use in running deeper in debt???
>
> ...I shall expect a letter from you by mail Thursday giving me your ideas about everything. **I have ruined myself with this mine and am done** [Denver, Dec. 12, 1893, emphasis added].

A remarkable record of Colorado's mining industry during its most tumultuous years.

Relevant sources:

Ransome, Frederick L.
1911 *Geology and Ore Deposits of the Breckenridge District, Colorado*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Smith, Duane A.
2009 *The Trail of Gold and Silver: Mining in Colorado, 1859-2009*. University of Colorado Press, Boulder.

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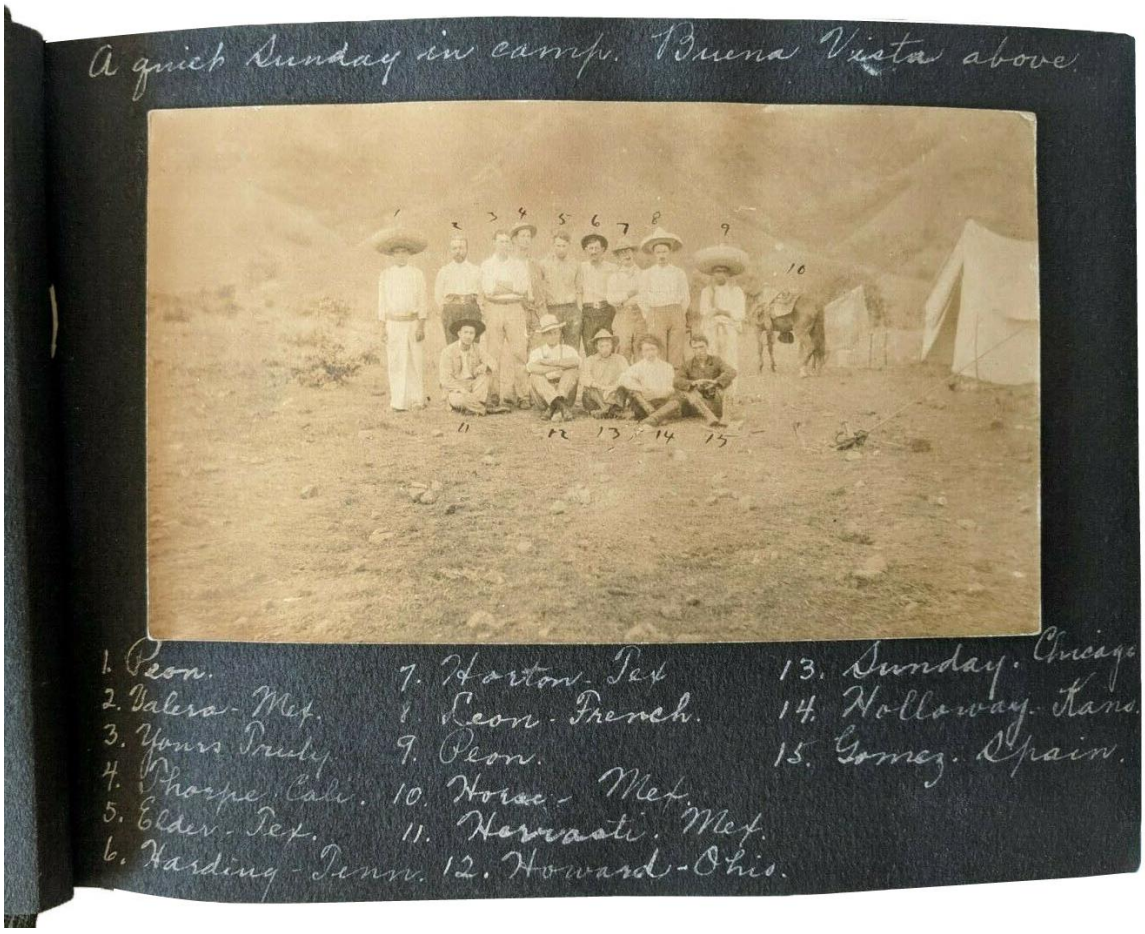
[Colorado--Silver and Lead Mining]: J. H. Thompson: [LETTER BOOKS OF J. H. THOMPSON, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE ORO MINING AND MILLING CO. OF BRECKENRIDGE, COLORADO]. [Breckenridge and Denver, Colorado, 1890-1893]. Two letter press copy books: the first measuring 10 1/4 x 14 1/4 in. (26 x 36 cm) with 999 numbered sheets (690 used); the second measuring 10 x 12 in. (25.5 x 30.5 cm) with 294 numbered sheets (79 used). Both books with leather spines and tips over canvas boards; bindings with light edge wear and stains. Pages numbered 230, 232, 237-238, and 630 in first volume missing, occasional tears and creases to the thin paper. Letters in both manuscript and type, all quite legible and clear. Very good.

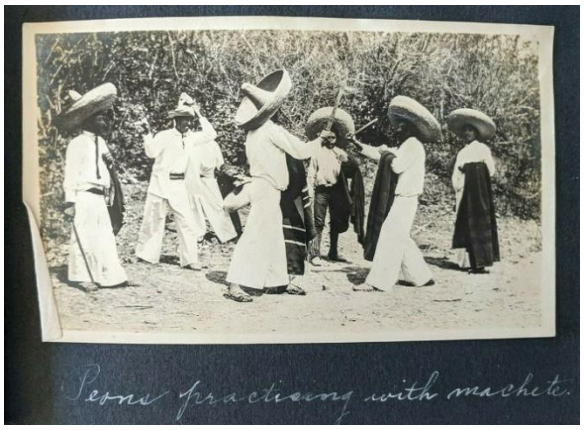
23. SOLD.

Mapping the Commons: *Baldíos* and Land Reform in Nayarit, Mexico

By 1911, when the opening shots of the Mexican Revolution drove Porfirio Díaz into exile after more than 30 years in power, Mexico's rural, agricultural villages had lost practically all of their communal property to national or foreign landowners. Indeed, the legal disenfranchisement of indigenous and peasant communities, which forced campesinos into virtual slavery on haciendas and other large landholdings, was perhaps the most potent if slow burning fuel on the bonfires of revolt. Passed by the government of Díaz's predecessor and ally, Manuel González, in 1883, the privatization of so-called vacant lots (*terrenos baldíos*)--nearly all of which were communally held by peasant communities and thus lacked official titles of ownership--allowed private companies to claim up to one-third of any such lands they surveyed and to purchase the remainder from the federal government at below-market prices. This small photograph album, which dates to about 1900, records the experience of a multi-national survey team in the rugged uplands of modern-day Nayarit, at the time part of Jalisco, near Mexico's central Pacific Coast. **We trace no comparable primary source, whether in institutional collections or in the trade, that so documents *baldíos* law in action, unfolding here through the eyes of an American surveyor**.

Nayarit has long been among the most rural and remote parts of Mexico; even today, its population ranks 29th of the nation's 31 states. Most of its permanent residents in 1900 were either





peons (peasants attached through debt labor to a landholding hacienda) or Indians, mostly of the Huichol (Wixáritari) and Cora (Náayerite) peoples, the latter of whom gave their indigenous name to the modern state. For all such groups, the privatization laws of 1883 were disastrous, for they removed enormous tracts of land from communal use. Although no individual person had title to these properties--making them subject to survey and appropriation--they were in no practical sense 'vacant.' Instead, these were places where people engaged in traditional practices such as rotating crops, gathering wild resources, and grazing livestock. By the time of the revolution, foreigners owned more than half of all rural lands in Nayarit, a pattern repeated across Mexico:

> between 1883 and 1910, fifty surveying companies staked out fifty-nine million hectares of lands purportedly in the public domain (about thirty percent of the entire national territory). In compensation, they received twenty-one million hectares, or about ten percent of the entire national territory. The remaining forty-two million acres (twenty percent of the national territory) were conveyed by the nation mainly to *hacendados*, mining companies, and rail companies [Signet 2010:495].

This album contains 54 photographs of such a survey company working between the towns of Tepic, Nayarit's capitol, and Ahuacatlán, 50 miles to its south (there are 23 family photographs at the back of the album). Most of the images are captioned, some in detail, either in white ink on the album page or in the negative. The first image, a group photograph of the surveyors, is labelled "A quiet Sunday in camp, Buena Vista above," and includes the name and place of origin for each surveyor (save for the unknown compiler, who identifies himself only as "yours truly," and a pair of local workers who are identified only as "peon"). While most of the survey team was Mexican or American--the latter hailing from California, Tennessee, Texas, Ohio, Chicago, and Kansas--at least two were Europeans from Spain and France. Another crew shot includes four American men whom the compiler refers to as "Members of Party" and "Tuff Nutts," and these are also identified by name and state. It is worth noting, given the inherent violence of their work, that each of these "Tuff Nutts" carries a large pistol at his side. Other images offer more explicit evidence of such violence, including a photograph of two peons practicing combat with machetes and another of a peon in blood-spattered clothing, having been cut in the head during a "bloody machete battle with the natives over a gambling game." Most of the images, though, are far more tranquil: photographs of the camp and work in the sierra; of old Spanish architecture and street scenes at Ahuacatlán; of smaller pueblos like Los Copalés, Compostela, and Ixtlán; of Indian children and workers; of an Indian woman and her daughter grinding corn; and of waterfalls, mountains, and volcanos in and near the survey area. Yet despite their pastoral surface, these images, too, uniquely document the social context of appropriation and prefigure the great upheavals to come.

Relevant sources:

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1994 *Land Privatization in Mexico: Urbanization, Formation of Regions, and Globalization in Ejidos*. Routledge Publishing, New York.

Easterling, Stuart
2013 *The Mexican Revolution: A Short History 1910–1920*. Haymarket Books, Chicago.

Pernell, Jennie
1999 With All Due Respect: Popular Resistance to the Privatization of Communal Land in Nineteenth-Century Michoacán. *Latin American Research Review* 34(1):85-121.

Signet, William D.
2010 Grading a Revolution: 100 Years of Mexican Land Reform. *Law and Business Review of the Americas* 16(3):481-530.

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[Mexico--Land Reform]: [ALBUM COMPILED BY AN AMERICAN SURVEYOR WITH 54 PHOTOGRAPHS OF A MULTI-NATIONAL TEAM MAPPING PUBLIC SIERRA LANDS IN NAYARIT, MEXICO, UNDER THE *BALDÍOS* LAWS OF PORFIRIO DÍAZ]. [Nayarit, Mexico, ca. 1900]. 77 silver gelatin photographs of various sizes, all pasted in a black cloth album, 54 of which document the work of a survey team in western Mexico (two of these images are duplicates); most photos captioned in white ink on page or labelled in the negative. Album measures 7 3/4 x 5 1/2 in. (19.5 x 14 cm). Some images lightly faded but otherwise in excellent condition.

24. SOLD.

Harmony by Analogy: A Queen Anne Broadside from Heath & Milligan

The Queen Anne house, which came into vogue in America about 1880 and persisted into the second decade of the 20th century, was the most elaborate--and certainly the most colorful--of all the domestic architectural styles described by the term Victorian. Queen Anne-style houses are marked by their irregular or asymmetrical designs, typically featuring a dominant and front-facing gable; intricate spindle work; front porches, often L-shaped, that extend across the home's entire front façade; round, square, or polygonal towers, usually placed on the front corner; contrasting wall textures; and an enormous range of color combinations. Two schools of thought directed the use of paint in such structures, each based on the location of different hues on a color wheel. The "harmony by contrast" school combined colors from opposite sides of the wheel (e.g., blues and creams), while the "harmony by analogy" school used a palette that combined adjoining colors on the wheel (e.g., yellows and greens). Yet the consistency needed reproduce such palettes was only possible because of rapid improvements in external paint technology during the last quarter of the 19th century, particularly in the development of ready-mixed paints.

The Heath & Milligan Manufacturing Company, founded in Chicago in 1851, was among the largest American paint producers of the Victorian period. Their advertising materials from the later years of this era, both in paper and metal, often featured a version of the stylized Queen Anne home that illustrates this large broadside poster, measuring a full 40 inches in length. Always, the house is painted in yellows and greens, emphasizing a preference for harmony by analogy. While the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library at Columbia, the Haas Arts Library at Yale, and the Trade Catalogue Collection at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia all have important holdings of Heath & Milligan advertising, **no other example of this broadside is known, nor have we traced any record of a comparably large broadside produced for an American paint manufacturer**. This copy was displayed in the drug store of R. N. Dean and Charles Beck of Norborne, Missouri, and dates from circa 1900-1910. **A unique and striking advertisement**.

Relevant sources:

Moss, Roger W.
1994 Nineteenth Century Paints: A Documentary Approach. In *Paint in America: The Colors of Historic Buildings*, edited by Roger W. Moss, pp. 54-68. The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation, John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Standeven, Harriet A. L.
2011 *House Paints, 1900-1960: History and Use*. Getty Conservation Institute. Los Angeles.

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[Architectural History--House Paints]: [Heath & Milligan Mfg. Co.]: HEATH & / MILLIGAN / PAINTS / QUALITY GOES IN BEFORE THE NAME GOES ON [caption title]. N.p., n.d., but Noborne, Missouri, ca. 1900-1910. Broadside on stiff, light brown paper. 40 x 20 in. (102 x 51 cm). Light edge wear and creasing, very good.

25. **$1750**.


HEATH &
MILLIGAN
PAINTS
QUALITY GOES IN BEFORE THE NAME GOES ON
SOLD BY
DEAN & BECK
NORBORNE

Draught of pens
of Parkers' Iro

Fig 1.