

# PRIMARY SOURCES

## Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 5  
Winter 2022



# PRIMARY SOURCES

## Uncharted Americana

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On the covers: 5. St. David's Church, Cheraw, South Carolina, by Alfred S. Waugh (detail).

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### Catalogue 5, Winter 2022

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## Daniel Defoe Argues the Case of Protestant Dissenters in Carolina

Perhaps no other principle was so early embedded in the American experience as freedom of religion, from the French Protestant Huguenots who attempted to settle the South Atlantic Coast in the 1560s to the English Puritans who founded Plymouth Colony in 1620. However imperfect in actual practice (witness the Puritans' own persecution of Quakers in Massachusetts Bay), this idea of religious liberty was so central to American political philosophy that it would come to be enshrined as the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights, added to the United States Constitution in 1789 and ratified two years later. Yet one of the earliest legal tests of the principle had unfolded nearly a century before, from 1704 to 1706, when a faction of Carolina plantation owners known as the Goose Creek Men sought to establish the Church of England as the colony's official state church, an act that would have barred all so-called dissenters--most of whom were Baptists and Presbyterians--from holding public office. Rightly accusing the Goose Creek faction of violating the colony's constitution in a naked ploy to consolidate power, the dissenters took their case to London. There, they found no less an ally than writer and pamphleteer Daniel Defoe, still fifteen years from publishing *Robinson Crusoe*, the path-breaking novel for which he is best-remembered today. This first item in our Catalogue 5 is Defoe's final and most forceful defense of the Carolina dissenters, to which he appended new editions of the colony's most important founding documents as evidence. **We trace no complete copy at auction in more than a century.**



The Province of Carolina was founded in 1663 (North and South Carolina would not be formally divided until 1712), when Charles II granted a royal charter to eight Lords Proprietors for most of the lands between Virginia and Florida. Six years later, philosopher John Locke--serving at the time as secretary and physician for proprietor Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley--drafted the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, a legal document that would provide the foundations of government and society in the colony until the end of the 17th century. Despite its explicit aim of contradicting democratic notions of self-government among the colonists, its liberal perspective on religious tolerance offered early insights into the principles that Locke would develop over the decades to come. Article 97 acknowledged "that those who remove from other parts to plant there will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them..." As such, "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity

690  
THE  
C A S E  
OF  
*Protestant Dissenters*  
IN  
C A R O L I N A,  
S H E W I N G

How a LAW to prevent OCCASIONAL  
CONFORMITY There, has ended in the Total  
Subversion of the Constitution in CHURCH and  
STATE.

Recommended to the serious Consideration of all that are true  
Friends to our present Establishment.

---

*Mutato nomine, de te  
Fabula narratur.*

---

*Trails.* L O N D O N,  
Ex: die fuitris. Printed in the Year M.DCC.VI.  
J: May 9. 1706.

The First CHARTER granted by King Charles II.  
to the Proprietors of Carolina.

CHARLES II. by the Grace of  
God, &c. To all to whom these Pre-  
sents shall come, Greeting.

W Hereas our Right Trusty  
and Right Well-beloved  
Cousins and Counsellors,  
Edward, Earl of Claren-  
don, our High-Chancellor  
of England; and George, Duke of  
Albemarle, Master of our Horse, and  
Captain-General of all our Forces; our  
Right Trusty and Well-beloved  
William, Lord Craven, John, Lord  
Berkeley; our Right Trusty and Well-  
beloved Counsellor, Anthony, Lord  
Afsley, Chancellor of our Exchequer; Sir  
George Carterett, Kt. and Baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of our Household, and our  
Right Trusty and Well-beloved, Sir William Berkeley, Kt. and Sir Peter Col-  
leton, Kt. and Baronet, being excited with a laudable and pious  
Zeal for the Propagation of the Christian  
Faith, and the Enlargement of our  
Empire and Dominions, have  
humbly besought Leave of us by  
their Industry and Charge, to trans-  
port and make an ample Colony of  
our Subjects, Natives of our King-  
dom of England, and elsewhere within  
our Dominions, unto a certain  
Country, hereafter described, in the  
Parts of America not yet cultivated  
or planted, and only inhabited by  
some barbarous People, who have  
no Knowledge of Almighty God.

And whereas the said Edward, Earl  
of Clarendon; George, Duke of Albe-  
marle; William, Lord Craven; John,

Lord Berkeley; Anthony, Lord Afsley; Sir George Carterett, Sir William Berkeley, Sir Peter Colleton, have humbly  
besought us to give, grant and con-  
firm unto them and their Heirs the  
said Country, with Privileges and Ju-  
risdictions requisite for the good Go-  
vernment and Safety thereof. Know  
ye therefore, That We favouring  
the pious and noble Purpose of the  
said Edward, Earl of Clarendon; George,  
Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord  
Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Antho-  
ny, Lord Afsley; Sir George Carterett,  
Sir William Berkeley and Sir Peter Col-  
leton, of our special Grace, certain  
Knowledge and meer Motion, have  
given, granted and confirm'd, and  
by this our present Charter, for Us,  
our Heirs and Successors, do give,  
grant and confirm unto the said Ed-  
ward, Earl of Clarendon; George,  
Duke of Albemarle; William, Lord  
Craven; John, Lord Berkeley; Antho-  
ny, Lord Afsley; Sir George Carterett,  
Sir William Berkeley and Sir Peter Col-  
leton, their Heirs and Assigns, all  
that Territory, or Tract of Ground,  
scituate, lying and being within our  
Dominions in America; extending  
from the North End of the Island,  
called Lucke-Island, which lieth in  
the Southern Virginia Seas, and with-  
in 36 Degrees of the Northern Lat-  
itude; and to the West as far as the  
South Seas; and so Southerly, as far  
as the River St. Marthia, which  
bordereth upon the Coast of Florida,  
and within one and thirty Degrees  
of Northern Latitude, and so West in-

of Christian religion" were guaranteed the right to establish their own places of worship, and just as importantly, assured that they would not be taxed to support the Anglican Church. Such a policy was as practical as it was enlightened, for the proprietors intended to draw a wide range of settlers to the colony. By the end of the century, Carolina was perhaps the most diverse colony in English America, with distinct communities of Quakers, Huguenots, Baptists, Presbyterians, Jews, and Dutch Reformed, in addition to the Anglican majority (Bittker, et. al 2015:18-19).

So when the Goose Creek Men--English planters from Barbados who had settled north of Charles Towne during the 1660s and who had long resented both the proprietors and the religious freedoms established in the Constitutions--attempted in 1704 to establish the Church of England as the colony's official religion, these other communities responded with alarm. Led by Baptists and Presbyterians, the so-called dissenters brought their concerns directly to the Lords Proprietors themselves, but after decades of grappling with the Goose Creek faction, the colony's leaders had chosen compromise with the planters and reversed their stance on religious liberty. The dissenters were undeterred, making plans to present their case before the English Parliament. King William III of Orange had died in 1702 and was succeeded by his sister-in-law Anne, an ardent Anglican who quickly launched an offensive against Non-Conformists. Indeed, it was her crackdown in England that had prompted the Goose Creek Men to move against their own dissenters. Among the most articulate opponents of this renewed intolerance was a persuasive Non-Conformist writer in whom the Carolina dissenters found a valuable ally: Daniel Defoe.

The works for which we best remember Defoe today, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders*, would not appear until 1719 and 1722, respectively. Born Daniel Foe in London about 1660 (he only added the noble-sounding "De" to his name after 1695), he rose to prominence in the reign of William and Mary for his satirical writings and political pamphleteering. His 1702 pamphlet, *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; Or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church*, was an ironic satire written from the perspective of an overzealous Tory that purported to incite violence against Non-Conformists. Although the book was published anonymously, Defoe--born to Presbyterian dissenters himself--was soon exposed as its author and charged with seditious libel; his conviction the following year earned him a hefty fine, three trips to the public pillory, and nearly seven months in Newgate prison, during which his business interests collapsed. Nevertheless, his legal problems seem not to have seriously damaged his reputation or prospects as a writer. As his biographer John Robert Moore observed, "no man in England but Defoe ever stood in the pillory and later rose to eminence among his fellow men" (1958:104).

Defoe brought his pen to the cause of the Carolina dissenters with a pair of tracts published in 1705 and 1706, as the case against the colony's government wended its way between the English Parliament and the Queen's Privy Council. The first of these, *Party-Tyranny or, An Occasional Bill in Miniature. As Now Practiced in Carolina*, was directed to members of Parliament, both the elected House of Commons and the House of Lords. In it, Defoe spoke to the particular details of the dissenters' case against Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had pushed two acts through the Assembly--the Protection Act and the Establishment Act--that aimed, respectively, to establish the Church of England as the colony's formal religion and to require all members of the Assembly to accept Anglican doctrine. He reminded readers that the Fundamental Constitutions, by offering explicit provisions for religious tolerance, had encouraged a diverse population of settlers to move to the colony. Depriving them now of the freedom to pursue their doctrine of choice, and to do so

without prejudice, would violate both the letter and spirit of Carolina's founding document, as well as "the Laws of Nature and Reason" (*Party-Tyranny*, p. 257, in Salley 1911).

*Party-Tyranny* was published in late 1705, and on the strength of its arguments the Carolina dissenters gained support in the House of Lords. In March 1706, just as their appeal was coming before the Privy Council, Defoe released his second tract, *The Case of Protestant Dissenters in Carolina, Shewing How a Law to Prevent Occasional Conformity There, Has Ended in the Total Subversion of the Constitution in Church and State*. Here he expanded his discussion from the particular circumstances in Carolina to compose a more broadly aimed treatise on religious liberty in general. In this, the tract served as a prelude of sorts to his most fully realized work on political philosophy, the 12-book poem *Jure Divino*, which would appear several months later but had taken him five long years to complete (Novak 2001:277). In *The Case of Protestant Dissenters*, Defoe argues that "liberty of conscience," the right of each person to "believe what appears to him to be true," is the most important of all freedoms, since it determines the ultimate fate of one's soul, "to act pursuant to his Belief in matters relating to another Life" (*Protestant Dissenters*, pp. 3-4). The Fundamental Constitutions agreed upon by the Lords Proprietors had promised this essential right to all of the colony's inhabitants, such that any law either establishing a state church or prohibiting dissenters from seating in the Assembly stood in violation of this contract:

[T]he first Proprietors oblig'd themselves their Heirs and Successors to Observe perpetually [the Fundamental Constitutions], in the most binding ways that cou'd be devis'd, in case the People shou'd accept 'em; if the People hereupon did accept 'em, they immediately became an express Contract between the Proprietors and the People; and must necessarily be consider'd as such [*Protestant Dissenters*, p. 30].

To his own work Defoe appended, as supporting evidence, all of the relevant documents produced in Carolina's 40-year history as an English colony; these include: "The First Charter granted by King Charles II, to the Proprietors of Carolina;" "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina; "Rules of Precedency;" "A Copy of the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina: Agreed on by all the Lords Proprietors, and signed and sealed by them...April the 11th, 1689;" John Ash's important "The Present State of Affairs in Carolina," composed by one of the colony's foremost dissenters but first published here following Ash's death in 1705 (not to be confused with Thomas Ash's similarly titled tract on Carolina first published in 1682); "South Carolina. An Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in this Province according to the Church of England...;" "The Case of the Reverend Mr. Edward Marston...;" and several letters and petitions from the colony's inhabitants addressed directly to the proprietors. Altogether, these 14 numbered tracts in Defoe's appendix fill 67 pages--25 more than his title tract itself.

Shortly after *The Case of Protestant Dissenters* reached print, the Privy Council concurred with the House of Lords and commanded--at Queen Anne's behest--that both the Protection and Establishment acts be abolished. Carolina's Assembly did so later that year, passing instead a much more limited Church Act that resolved to support the Church of England through general revenues such as taxes on exports and imports rather than direct taxation of dissenters. Yet the proprietors suffered grave political damage in London as the Privy Council began exploring ways to revoke their royal charter. This process reached its climax with the antiproprietary Revolution of 1719, a

[ 29 ]

[Numb. 4.]

THE  
Present State of Affairs  
IN  
CAROLINA.

By JOHN ASH, Gent.

Sent by several of the Inhabitants of that Colony, to deliver their Representation thereof to, and seek Redress from, the Lords Proprietors of that Province: Together with an Account of his Reception, by the Honourable the Lord Granvill, their Palatine, President, or Chief of the Proprietors.

ON the Death of Joseph Blake, Esq; Governor, and one of the Proprietors of Carolina, the Proprietors Deputies met, according to their Instructions in such Cases, proceeded to elect a new Governor; and by them Landgrave Joseph Morton was Elected Governor. But

James Moor, Esq; one of the said Deputies, knowing the Party he had amongst the Deputies, and nothing regarding how Dilloyal, how Derogatory from the just Right of the English Throne that Objection was, objected against the said Landgrave Joseph Morton, That he the said Joseph Morton had made a Breach

of the Trust reposed in him by the true and absolute Lords and Proprietors, &c.

by accepting of a Commission for Judge

of the Admiralty from King William,

when at the same Time he had a Com-

mission from the said Proprietors for the

said Office, in whom the Disposal of the

same was: Now, besides the Dilloyalty

of this Objection, it was also false; for

it appears not by the Charter, That the

Proprietors can empower any one to try

Persons for Facts committed out of their

Dominions, and which is necessary for

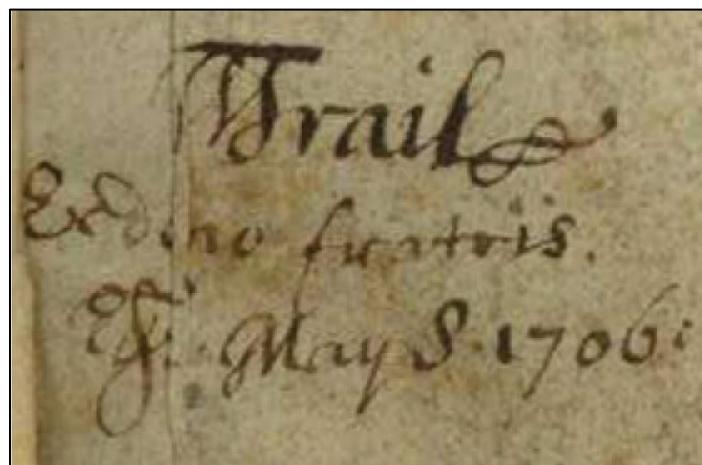
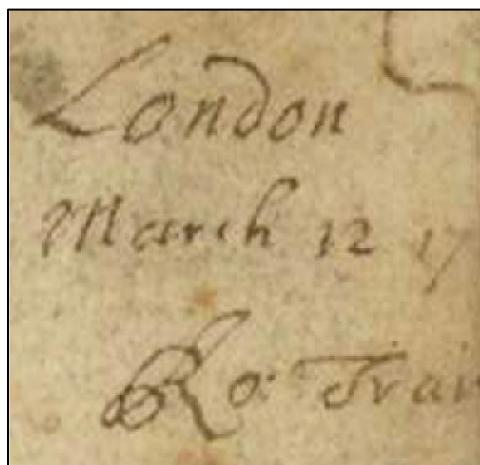
such Judge; yet such was his Interest,

that on this his Objection, Landgrave

More

bloodless military coup that resulted in the overthrow of proprietary government and established South Carolina as a crown colony (Hutson 2007:62). As for Defoe, in the next decade he turned from pamphleteering to the pathbreaking novels that have left his mark on the history of English literature, producing no fewer than seven such works from 1719 to 1724. The first and best known of these, *Robinson Crusoe*, is reputedly second only to the Bible in its number of translations. All of his writing, though, provided insufficient income for his lifestyle, and when he died in 1731 at the age of 70 he was likely in hiding from creditors.

Defoe's two tracts played an essential role in the outcome of what historians now recognize as one of the most important cases of religious dissent in colonial America. Today, both of these works are rarely encountered in the trade. We can trace no copy of *Party-Tyranny* at auction since 1968; the Streeter copy had brought \$650 the year before. *The Case of Protestant Dissenters* is even rarer: the last complete copy we trace at auction brought \$52.00 at a Leavett & Co. sale of exceptional southern Americana in 1882. Incomplete copies were offered by Henkels in 1900 and by Sotheby's in 1990. The former consisted of the title and first 14 pages only. The Sotheby's copy, purchased by Maggs, contained only pages 29-67 of the appendix to Defoe's text (beginning with Ash's "Present State" and followed by several of the other supporting documents), yet still brought £770. The copy that we are pleased to offer here is complete, bound in half morocco and marbled boards by Stikeman & Co. of London, probably during the late 19th century. The lower blank portion of the final leaf was repaired with matching paper at the time of this rebinding, and save for shelf wear to the spine, a bit of scattered foxing, and an occasional page number trimmed close, the work is in remarkably fresh condition.



This copy also has a significant provenance, bearing autographs on the title page of two famed Scottish dissenters, brothers Robert and William Traill. Robert and William were sons of Robert Traill the Elder of Greyfriars (1603-1678), who was forced into exile in Holland in 1662 for refusing to take an oath of allegiance to the Protectorate. Robert, his son (1642-1716), joined the father there five years later, when he was denounced himself for his anti-Protectorate activities as a Covenanter. He returned to London in 1669 and in 1670 was ordained a Presbyterian minister at Cranbrook in Kent. He is known today for his clerical writings, of which a four-volume edition was first published at Edinburgh in 1745, having been reprinted several times since. Robert's elder brother, William (1640-1714), was also a Presbyterian minister, ordained at Lifford in Ireland in 1673. He served at Ballindrait, County Donegal, until 1682, when after spending eight months in

prison for challenging local officials, he embarked for the Province of Maryland. **There he seems to have founded the Presbyterian Church at Rehoboth, the oldest continuous Presbyterian congregation in North America.** In 1689 he was among the signers of a petition to William and Mary asking the crown for “protection in securing religion, lives, and liberty under Protestant Governors” (Ford 1915:173). He returned to Scotland in 1690, becoming pastor of the church at Borthwick, near Edinburgh, where he remained for the rest of his career.

Robert’s autograph is slightly trimmed, a likely consequence of rebinding, costing the last two letters of his surname and the last two digits of the date. William’s is complete, together with the date of May 8, 1706; he also signed the lower margin on page 17 of the appendix, containing text from the Fundamental Constitutions. Lacking the full year of Robert’s autograph, we cannot know which brother obtained the book first. Yet given their histories of non-conformist thought and William’s close ties to dissent in America, each would undoubtedly have found its contents of great interest. **Altogether, a distinguished copy of a rarely encountered book.**

Relevant sources:

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Defoe, Daniel. THE CASE OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS IN CAROLINA, SHEWING HOW A LAW TO PREVENT OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY THERE, HAS ENDED IN THE TOTAL SUBVERSION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN CHURCH AND STATE. London, 1706 [no printer stated]. 42, 67 pp. Small 4to (21 cm). Late 19th-century half-morocco and marbled boards by Stikeman & Co. Spine abraded, light foxing, lower blank half of final leaf repaired with matching paper, upper margin of several leaves trimmed close. Very good. Howes D214 ‘b.’

1. SOLD.

## The Prelude to a Duel: New York's 1804 Gubernatorial Campaign

Two titans of the American Revolution and the Early Republic were facing the twilight of their political careers in the spring of 1804. Neither was 50 years old. The intertwined public and private lives of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr require no introduction here, having been the recent focus of a best-selling book (Chernow 2004) and a Pulitzer Prize-winning musical (Miranda 2015). Less widely known, and all but entirely overlooked in Lin-Manuel Miranda's Broadway show, is the role of New York's 1804 gubernatorial campaign in leading these rivals to the Heights of Weehawken, New Jersey, just after daybreak on July 11. The duel that gave America both its first national martyr and first universal villain was rooted in years of mistrust, if not enmity, but the bitterness and desperation that followed this election--among the most vicious ever, with Burr taking the brunt of the damage--turned discontent to violence. This anti-Burr broadside, printed less than a month before the vote, is one of the few surviving examples of campaign literature from the 1804 gubernatorial election. **We locate only a single copy in institutional holdings and have traced no comparable broadsides at auction or in the trade since 1917.**

### A REPUBLICAN AND NO BURRITE.

On February 25, 1804, Republican congressmen voted unanimously to renominate Thomas Jefferson as their presidential candidate. This was just a formality, as Jefferson's first presidential term was widely regarded as a great success and had included the popular purchase of Louisiana Territory. His reelection was never much in doubt. What was unusual, though, was that the caucus likewise voted unanimously to remove his sitting vice president, Aaron Burr, from the Republican ticket, replacing him with George Clinton of New York. Burr's relationship with Jefferson, cordial and pragmatic if not particularly close, had soured after the close presidential election of 1800, in which Burr's reluctance to step aside had delayed Jefferson his victory. Save for the intervention of Federalist leader Alexander Hamilton, Burr may well have become the nation's third president himself. So as Burr's once-bright star had dimmed with Jefferson, so had it dimmed with members of the Republican Party who had now coalesced around their leader.

To salvage his political ambitions, Burr needed to find another public office, and preferably one that offered a platform as visible as that of vice president. He turned his attention back to New York, his home state, where he had served in the State Assembly after the Revolution and later as a United States senator, having defeated incumbent Philip Schuyler--Hamilton's father-in-law--in 1791. This time, Burr aimed his sights on the governorship just vacated by none other than George Clinton, who had bored of an office he held for two decades. Yet New York Republicans, with Clinton's full endorsement, had already nominated Morgan Lewis, Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court, as the party's candidate. Burr entered the race as an independent, but for any hope of victory he would need to gain support among both disaffected Republicans and members of the Federalist Party, which had not entered a candidate of its own. And New York Federalists, much to Burr's frustration, were still under the sway of Hamilton, who though deeply weakened by his own public failures was no less a danger to Burr's designs on Albany.

## To the Republican Electors of the State.

### FELLOW-CITIZENS,

GOVERNOR CLINTON, your long tried and faithful servant, having declined a re-election, two candidates are offered to you, for electing him, the one is CHIEF JUSTICE LEWIS, the other is ALFRED BURR. The former was nominated in Albany by all the Republican Members of the Senate in the Assembly, and a large list of distinguished and respectable public citizens assembled there from different parts of the State; the latter, by officers individuals who met in秘密 in Albany, and who are opposed to the Republican party. CHIEF JUSTICE LEWIS was nominated by our REPRESENTATIVES, who carry with them to the seat of government from every part of the state the wishes and expectations of their constituents. Mr. Burr was nominated by a few factious individuals, accompanied with closed doors, and unauthorized to nominate, either by their public character (for they had none) or by town or county meetings of the people. Mr. Burr is therefore presented for your votes in opposition to CHIEF JUSTICE LEWIS the REPUBLICAN candidate. Mr. Burr is the candidate, not of the Republican party, for they have no confidence in him, nor of the Federal party, for as a party they disclaim him, but of a few turbulent and disreputable men unworthy of either. In no one point of view is he entitled to your votes. As REPUBLICANS, is MORAL men, is unworthy of your choice. He is no longer a REPUBLICAN, and his moral character is more than implicated.

At the last Presidential Election, he endeavored, *by intrigue*, to procure his election to the Presidency, to the exclusion of Mr. Jefferson. To effect this, in opposition to the wishes of the PEOPLE, he carried on a *secret* negotiation with the leading men of the federal party. This negotiation has been proved to universal satisfaction, and as an evidence of it, I shall presently show in what light the Republican Members of Congress view the proof. Since his election to the Vice-Presidency, he has *opposed*, either openly or secretly, *all the important measures* of Mr. Jefferson's administration. He was an advocate for WAR on the question also a *No-<sup>o</sup>-Odeum*. War was *unnecessary*, and the peaceful ACQUISITION of LOUISIANA, by the wise measures of the President and of Congress, to which Mr. Burr was *opposed*, has proved that it was so. War would have shed the blood and increased the misery of our Citizens. Yet Mr. Burr was an *advocate* for war! For his want of good principle, for his *disinterestedness* as the Presidential Elector, and for his opposition to the government since he has been DISCARDED by the UNANIMOUS voice of the REPUBLICAN Members of Congress. Driven from the General Government, he is now offered to you by a few factious and unprincipled individuals as the successor to Governor Clinton!!! This is an insult offered to your understandings; an outrage to the dignity of the State.

The next Vice-President was a few weeks since nominated by the Republican Members of Congress, consisting of ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT. Governor Clinton was their choice. The nomination was made by BALLOT. This is the least exceptional mode. If Mr. Burr had a friend in Congress; one single man who had confidence in his integrity, that man might have voted for him with perfect safety. But of one hundred and eight votes, Mr. Burr had not ONE. The Republican Members of Congress, therefore, declared that they had *NO CONFIDENCE* in him. Call you, then, FELLOW-CITIZENS, consistently with your duty, vote for Mr. Burr as GOVERNOR of THE ROUGHLY REPUBLICAN STATE?

On the other hand the character of CHIEF JUSTICE LEWIS, private and public, is without a stain. His moral character is far beyond the reach even of malignity or detraction. His political standing is not less excellent. Without a blemish, and with great usefulness, he has passed through a regular grade of office up to the elevated one he now with so much ability fills. He has been a Member of the Assembly, Attorney General, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and is now Chief Justice of the State. He is a REPUBLICAN, firm and decided; and this character he has maintained ever since the two parties were distinctly marked and separated. Such a man is EMINENTLY ENTITLED to YOUR WARMEST SUPPORT.

But we are told that Chief Justice Lewis is one of the LIVINGSTON FAMILY, as if this were a crime! It is certainly no objection to a man to be WELL CONNECTED, whether by birth or by marriage. An outcry is raised by the factious and disappointed supporters of the DISCARDED Mr. Burr about FAMILY INFLUENCE. Republicans disclaim all influence but that of reason and justice. This claim is set up with a view to *deceive*. We are under no FAMILY INFLUENCE. We deny the assertion; we disavow the influence. But we were, if this family influence was *injurious*, it would not be a difficult task to cast it off. But the gentlemen against whom the arrows of any are thus spitefully shot, are friends of liberty; men of distinguished talents, patriotism, and integrity; eminently useful to the State and to the Republican cause. The *cry of family influence* is set up as a bug-bear to alarm you into the adoption of measures destructive to your best interests. Family influence! Where is it seen. Where felt?

A Hand-Bill is industriously circulated signed "Plain Truth," exhibiting a statement of office held by what is termed the Clinton and Livingston families. "PLAIN TRUTH" is a plain falser. Its statements are made with gross and abundant carelessness, and are calculated to mislead the public. The following statement will show the *error* of "Plain Truth." In regard to the offices said to be held by the Livingston and Clinton families, are *fact and malice*; and that part of it which asserts that Mr. Burr has no relations nor friends to gratify, is equally untrue. It will show that Mr. Burr, his friends, and dependents enjoy offices whose salaries amount to more than those held by the families against whom so much clamor is artfully raised.

The first person named in "PLAIN TRUTH" statement is Governor Clinton. "Plain Truth" states his salary at 3000 dollars. This is a plain falsehood, and every one knows it. The Governor's salary is fixed by law. It is £1,500 per ann. or 3750 Dollars. But as Governor Clinton declines re-election, let it out of the question.

The Officers, then, and Salaries stand thus.

### Clinton Family.

	DOLLARS	
The Mayor of New-York,	6000	
Mr. Tallmadge, Senator and Examiner in Chancery,	500	
Judge Taylor, Senator,	300	
Mr. G. Clinton, Assemblyman,	300	
Mr. De Witt, Surveyor,	1250	
Mr. Stuart, District Attorney,	500	
Dr. De Witt, Private Secretary to the Governor,	500	
And to gratify Plain Truth, I will add Mr. Osgood, Naval-Officer,	3500	
	12,800	

### Livingston Family.

	DOLLARS	
Chancellor Livingston, Ambassador to France,	5000	
Judge Lewis,	2500	
Judge Livingston,	2500	
Judge Thompson, Master in Chancery and Surrogate,	800	
Mr. Robert Livingston, Clerk Common Pleas,	500	
Mr. Tillotson, Secretary of State,	3000	
Mr. Cutting, Master in Chancery,	1000	
General Armstrong, Senator,	300	
	21,608	
	12,850	
	34,458	

I shall conclude by shewing that Mr. Burr, and his dependants, and tools hold offices, whose income amounts to more in the aggregate than those held by the Clinton and Livingston Families.

	DOLLARS	
Mr. Burr, Vice-President U. S.	2000	
Wm. S. Smith, (commonly called Col. Smith,) Supervisor of the Customs,	4000	
Dr. Brown, (commonly called Dr. Steamboat,) street commissioner of the City of New-York, 1230	2000	
The Bartows, Auctioneers,	2000	
Theodore B. Notary,	500	
M. L. Davis, Auctioneer,	3000	
McLanahan Smith, Auctioneer,	3000	
John Swartwout, Marshal,	5000	
	12,800	

	DOLLARS	
William Pudding, Justice City New-York,	1500	
William Kettles, Clerk Justices Court, New-York,	500	
William Irving, Auctioneer,	2000	
John T. Irving, Notary,	500	
John T. Irving, Notary,	500	
Thomas Smith, (commonly called Tommy Queen-one) Clerk in Chancery,	1500	
	35,350	

A REPUBLICAN AND NO BURRIT.

New-York, March 29, 1804.

A decade earlier, Alexander Hamilton was perhaps the most influential man in the federal government, save for Washington himself. In defense of the Constitution, he had composed 51 of the 85 essays now known as the Federalist Papers, widely recognized as the most important body of political theory ever produced in America. As Washington's treasury secretary from 1789 to 1795, his vision ranged widely across the federal government, from the establishment of both a national mint and a national bank to the development of an industrial economy to balance agrarian interests. His idea that the federal government assume state debts incurred during the Revolution resulted in the Compromise of 1790, in which Jefferson and James Madison backed Hamilton's plan for public credit in exchange for his support in placing a permanent national capitol along the Maryland-Virginia line. But Hamilton's partisan machinations made an enemy of Washington's successor, John Adams (who would join a long list of Hamilton foes that included Jefferson and his southern allies), dividing the Federalist Party. Then during the summer of 1797, the unfolding of the Reynolds Affair--in which Hamilton took center stage in the nation's first sexual scandal involving a prominent politician--eroded his future viability in electoral politics. By the time that Burr was pinning his own hopes on New York, Hamilton had little ability to directly impede the vice president's campaign. His influence, however, was another matter entirely.

New-York, March 29, 1804.

Burr launched himself into the race, actively campaigning despite widespread disapproval of such electioneering tactics. Lacking formal party affiliation, his plan was to combine support from Republican voters in his hometown of New York City with a faction of Federalists--alarmed by the growing power of a Jeffersonian federal government--who were plotting to secede from the republic and establish an independent confederation of New England states. Burr faced opposition not only from Hamilton's wing of the Federalist Party, though, but also from Clinton Republicans who had coalesced behind Lewis. Moreover, each of these political machines controlled print media that began to publish a continuous stream of anti-Burr invective: Hamilton had founded the *New-York Evening Post* and hired its editor, William Coleman, in 1801, while Clinton Republicans were allied closely with James Cheetham, editor of the *American Citizen*. Although the two editors were caustic rivals themselves (Coleman had challenged Cheetham to a duel in early 1804), they and their respective patrons had all found a common enemy in Burr.

What followed was the most rancorous campaign the young nation had ever witnessed, at either the state or federal level, and most historians agree that it remains one of the most negative and bitterly contested races in American history. It was also the first campaign to unfold primarily in print, through editorials and diatribes published in the *Post* and *Citizen*--Burr even established his own paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, to air counter-attacks--and through ephemeral media such as pamphlets and broadsides. **Printed materials from the 1804 governor's race are thus among the earliest examples of American campaign propaganda.** More than forty known broadsides document the race, most of which are anonymously authored sheets that detail the litany of Burr's public and personal offenses, real and imagined, from consorting with prostitutes and deflowering virgins to committing financial improprieties and defrauding his constituents. Most of these seem only to exist in reproduction formats (e.g., microform and microfiche). Between OCLC and other

online databases, we can trace fewer than twenty physical copies of such imprints, with the large majority of these at NYHS (12) and AAS (6). Only one example is held by both institutions, such that all of the other recorded imprints appear to be unique survivals.

, not of the *Republican* party, for they have no confidence in him, nor of the party they disclaim him, but of a few turbulent and disappointed men unworthy of view is he entitled to your votes. As REPUBLICANS, as MORAL men, he is He is no longer a REPUBLICAN, and his MORAL character is more than *suspected*.

The broadside that we offer here, addressed to “The Republican Electors of the State” and signed “A Republican and No Burrite,” **is one of only two known copies**, the other being among those held at NYHS. Entirely uncut and measuring 21 by 17½ inches, it is also among the largest recorded examples from the 1804 campaign. The extensive text is printed in two-column format and opens with a detailed (if unabashedly biased) summary of how the Vice President had come to be a candidate for the governorship of New York. Its author opines:

Mr. Burr is the candidate, not of the *Republican* party, for they have no confidence in him, nor of the *Federal* party, for as a party they disclaim him, but of a few turbulent and disappointed men unworthy of either. In no one point of view is he entitled to your votes. As REPUBLICANS, as MORAL men, his is unworthy of your choice. He is no longer a REPUBLICAN, and his MORAL character is more than *suspected*

[....]

For his want of good principle; for his intrigues at the Presidential Election, and for his opposition to the government since, he has been DISCARDED by the UNANIMOUS voice of the REPUBLICAN Members of Congress.

Driven from the General Government, he is now offered to you by a few factious and unprincipled individuals as the successor to Governor Clinton!! This is an insult offered to your understandings; an outrage to the dignity of the State [fonts with original formatting].

After offering his full-throated support for Chief Justice Lewis, the anonymous author goes on to produce a forceful rebuttal of a pro-Burr broadside signed “Plain Truth” (a single copy of which is in the collections of the Historic Hugunot Street’s Schoonmaker Research Library in New Paltz; <https://hhsCollections.files.wordpress.com/2020/12/poster-full.jpg>). “Plain Truth” accused Lewis of being under the influence of the powerful Clinton and Livingston families, members of which it implied were improperly receiving state salaries through patronage appointments. Burr, on the other hand, had no such family ties and thus would be his own man, beholden to none but the New Yorkers who elected him. The author of our broadside counters by offering a detailed comparison of the public salaries received by members of the Clinton-Livingston alliance and those of Burr and his known allies. Not surprisingly, he concludes that the latter actually drew more from public coffers than the former, \$35,250 to \$34,458.

In mid-April, only two weeks after this broadside was printed, Judge Lewis delivered Burr a humiliating defeat. While the sitting vice president narrowly edged Lewis in New York City, he

was crushed in the rest of the state, losing the election by a hitherto unprecedented margin of 58 to 42 percent. Burr was renowned for maintaining his taciturn composure in the face of insult and injury, but the scale of his loss left little doubt as to his future in electoral politics. For all practical purposes, he was finished. Burr seethed, personally blaming both Clinton and Hamilton for his plight. Then, on April 24, the *Albany Register* published a letter from Charles Cooper addressed to Hamilton's father-in law, Philip Schuyler. In it, Cooper recounted a private dinner party he had attended the previous February--just as the election campaign was getting underway--during which Hamilton had impugned Burr's character:

I assert, that Gen. Hamilton and Judge Kent have declared, in substance, that they looked upon Mr. Burr to be a dangerous man, and one who ought not to be trusted with the reins of government. If, Sir, you attended a meeting of federalists, at the city tavern, where Gen. Hamilton made a speech on the pending election, I might appeal to you for the truth of so much of this assertion as relates to him. . . . for really sir, I could detail to you a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr.

Burr obtained the offending article several weeks after its publication. Though mild in comparison with accusations published in the course of the race, for Burr it was the final piece in his grievance against Hamilton. He immediately penned a letter to his rival seeking satisfaction in the form of an apology. Hamilton refused, even implying in response that he was himself insulted by the tone of Burr's note. The challenges continued back-and-forth between the two men and their seconds for several days, without resolution. On June 27, Burr finally challenged Hamilton to a duel, and Hamilton accepted. Two weeks later, on July 11, they met at Weehawken.

The death of Alexander Hamilton was one of the defining events in the history of the early American Republic. It is difficult to overstate the role of New York's 1804 gubernatorial contest in setting each man's mindset in the weeks before their infamous encounter. Any printed materials from the campaign, especially large, ephemeral pieces such as this extraordinary broadside, are of the utmost rarity--we trace no comparable items at auction since 1917, and we have found nothing like it offered in the history of the trade. **Rare, impressive, and significant.**

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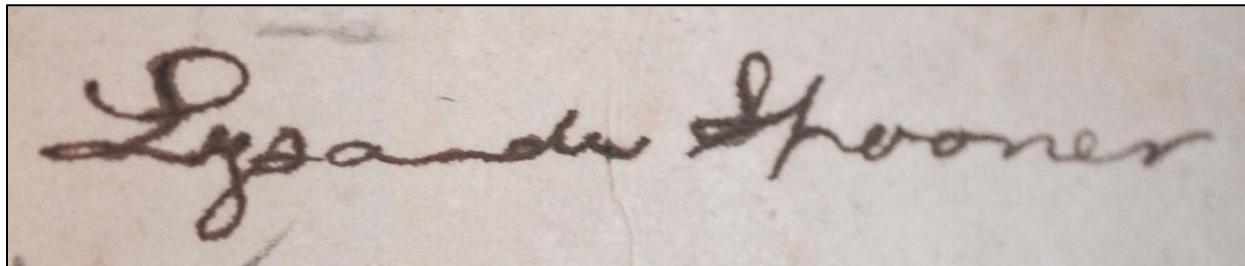
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[New York--Anti-Burr Campaign Broadside]: TO THE REPUBLICAN ELECTORS OF THE STATE. FELLOW CITIZENS...[caption title]. New York, March 29, 1804. Broadside. 17 1/2 x 21 in. (44.5 x 53 cm). Untrimmed, old fold lines with small pinholes costing no text, old light dampstaining along vertical centerfold. Overall very good.

2. SOLD.

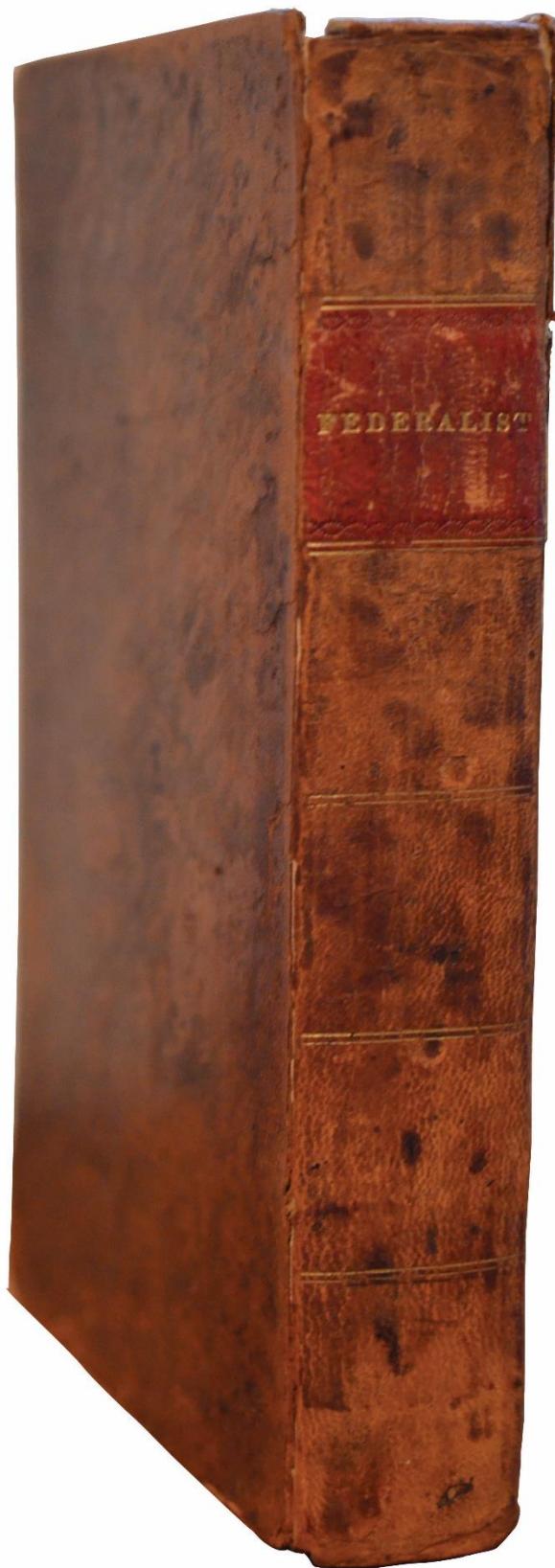
## American Legal Theorist Lysander Spooner's Signed Copy of *The Federalist*

But for the Constitution itself, no American document has contributed so much to modern political philosophy as the 85 articles that comprise *The Federalist*, written in defense of that same Constitution by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. These articles, published in three New York City newspapers from October 1787 to April 1788, were brought together for the first time as two bound volumes that appeared in March and May 1788. Ever since, *The Federalist* has stood as the essential text for understanding the original intent of those men whose boisterous debates framed the Constitution and ensured its subsequent ratification. And generations of legal scholars, from all sides of the political spectrum, have mined its 85 articles for insights to buttress their own side of an argument or to refute that of their foes. Association copies of *The Federalist* thus are fascinating documents themselves, primary evidence of American jurisprudence and its development over nearly 250 years. Few legal scholars of the 19th century are more interesting in this regard than Lysander Spooner--anarchist, radical abolitionist, lawyer, entrepreneur--widely considered one of the fathers of libertarian philosophy in America. **Here we are pleased to offer Spooner's signed copy of *The Federalist*, the Warner (Philadelphia) edition of 1818, in full original tree calf and altogether unrestored condition.**



Spooner was born on a farm near Athol, Massachusetts, in 1808. His first foray into legal and political dissent unfolded when, as a young man in the 1830s, he began practicing law in the town of Worcester, having trained for three years with several prominent attorneys. Massachusetts statutes, however, allowed only college graduates to establish their own legal practices after three years of apprenticeship; non-college graduates like Spooner were required to apprentice for five years. Spooner rejected the state's position as a violation of natural law and an unjust imposition on those without the means to attend college, writing "no one has yet ever dared advocate, in direct terms, so monstrous a principle as that the rich ought to be protected by law from the competition of the poor" (in Barnett 1997:66). He was vindicated in 1836, when the state legislature struck the requirement, but as his own practice was struggling, he headed west to Ohio to make his fortune in real estate. This, too, soon failed, and he came east again just a few years later.

It was after his return that Spooner shifted his attention to the mails. In 1840, the federal government enjoyed a monopoly on postal services, creating both inefficiency and corruption. At a time when the average wage laborer earned less than a dollar a day, the cost of sending a letter from Boston to New York was 18 ¾ cents, from Boston to Washington a quarter-dollar. Spooner decided that he could do better for less, and a recent legal decision suggested that the ground was set for change. A judge ruled in 1843 that while existing laws barred any stagecoach or transport company from delivering mail, no such law prohibited individuals from doing so as commissioned



passengers. Several companies began to take advantage of this favorable verdict, but quietly so as not to draw unwanted attention from the Postal Service. Spooner wanted attention, though, seeking to challenge the federal government head-on. In January 1844, he launched the American Letter Mail Company, which offered a rate of 6 ¼ cents per half-ounce and issued its own stamps at 20 for a dollar. To coincide with its opening, Spooner released a pamphlet justifying his decision to compete with the Postal Service, *The Unconstitutionality of the Laws of Congress Prohibiting Private Mails*. He hired his own agents, advertised in major newspapers, opened offices in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, and even mailed a letter to the Postmaster General in Washington--accompanied by a copy of his pamphlet--detailing his intentions.

In *The Unconstitutionality of the Laws*, Spooner carefully lays out his case against federal interference with his commercial interests, framing his argument around the powers conferred on government by the Constitution and Madison's discussion of those powers--and their limits--in Federalist Nos. 41-46; specifically, the Constitution (Art. 1, Sec. 8) states that "the Congress shall have power to establish post-offices and post roads." Nowhere, though, does it give Congress the right to prohibit competition. As Spooner observes:

These words contain the whole grant, and therefore express the extent of the authority granted to Congress. *They define the power*, and the power is limited by the definition. The power of Congress, then, is simply 'to establish post-offices and post roads,' of *their own*--not to interfere with those established by others (p. 5, italics in original).

He likewise leans on the authority of *The Federalist*, observing that:

The only rules of interpretation, so far as I know, that have ever been laid down for determining whether a power granted to Congress, is to be held by them exclusively, or only concurrently with the states or people, are those laid down by Hamilton and Madison, who, above all other men, were the fathers of the constitution. Those rules are given by them, in the Federalist, and are there treated by them, as being infallible *criteria* by which all questions of this nature may be settled (p. 13, italics in original).

Having established the authority of *The Federalist* and its authors, Spooner then outlines the three rules--as stipulated therein by Hamilton and Madison--that determine whether a power granted to Congress is held by it exclusively or simultaneously with states and citizens. These rules, "treated at length in the Federalist," are: 1) where an exclusive rule is expressly granted the union; 2) where an authority granted the union is expressly denied the states; and 3) where an authority granted the union would be incompatible with such authority in the states. Thus, "the power 'to establish post offices and post roads,' has not a shadow of claim to be an exclusive one" (p. 13-14).

Spooner and like-minded entrepreneurs soon were posing an existential threat to the federal Postal Service, which saw its revenues plummet in the ensuing months. Initially, the Postmaster General tried to drive Spooner out of business through extralegal schemes: his agents were arrested and his transport companies were told that they would lose their federal contracts if they continued to deliver for the American Letter Mail Company. And the government actively prosecuted every

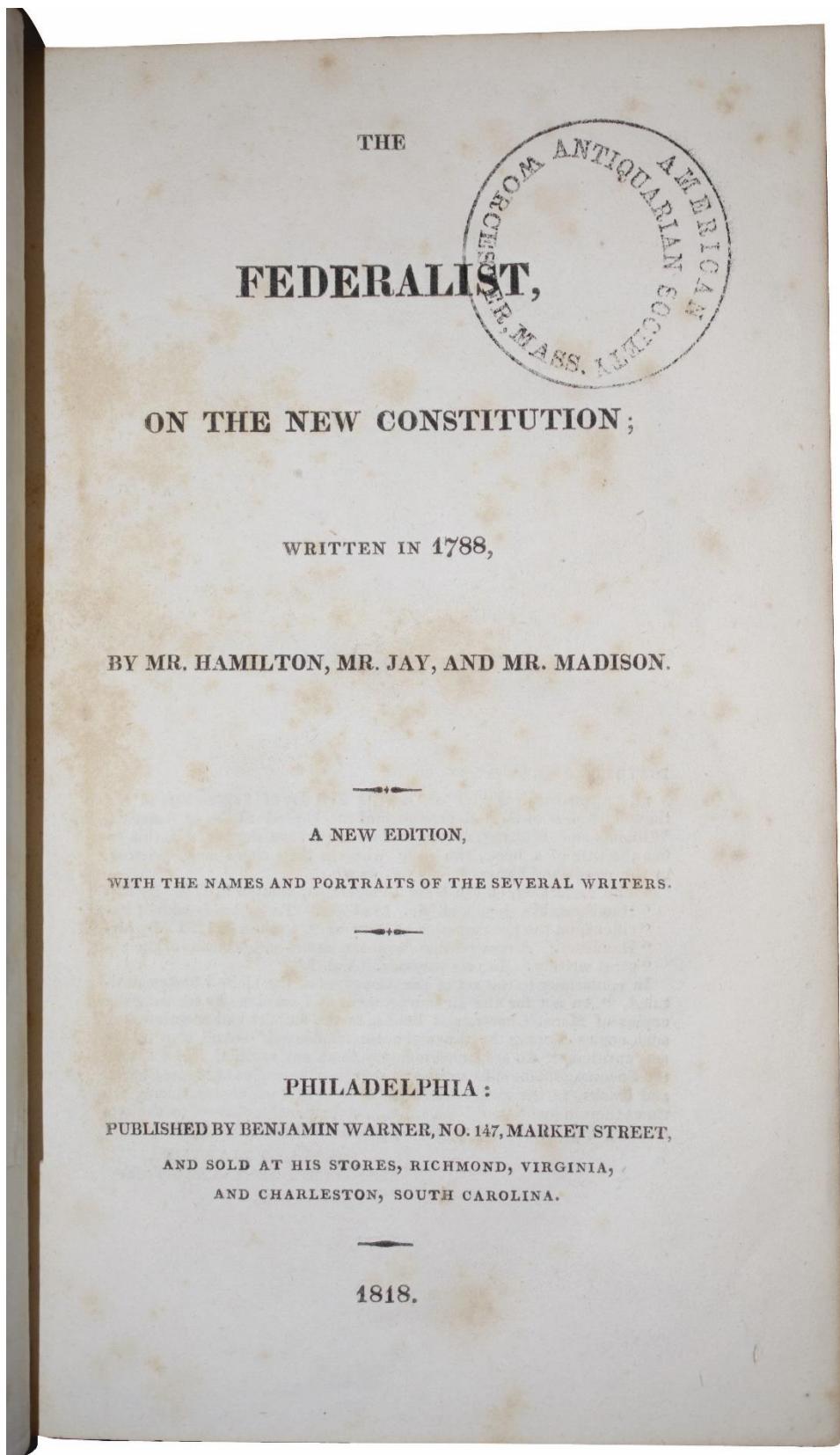
case it could bring to court, such that Spooner's legal fees soon mounted. In March 1845, Congress fixed the rate of postage at five cents within a radius of 500 miles, an act that increased the volume of mail moving through the federal system and thus offset the loss in revenue. Spooner responded by lowering his own rate, but in 1851 Congress both strengthened the federal monopoly provisions and dropped the postal rate to three cents, at which price Spooner and the other private mails were unable to compete. The American Letter Mail Company folded, but Spooner had already shifted his legal mind to a far more intractable question: the constitutionality of slavery.

By the early 1840s, America's most prominent abolitionists, led by Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison, argued that the Constitution was deeply if not irredeemably flawed by its apparent sanctioning of slavery. Garrison, as the voice of the American Anti-Slavery Society, had derided the Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" in 1843 and was advocating that the North secede from the union. Spooner saw things differently. Although an ardent abolitionist and under no impression that the Constitution was infallible, he could see that the Garrisonian's position--one that claimed to invalidate the nation's legal lynchpin--would continue to limit the appeal of anti-slavery advocates among even northern audiences. So Spooner developed an ingenious alternative, published in 1845 as *The Unconstitutionality of Slavery*; a Part II was published in 1847, and together the two volumes run to more than 300 pages. He agreed with the Garrisonians that the original framers had intended to sanction slavery in shaping the Constitution, but he insisted that their personal intent was irrelevant, that only the meaning of the text itself could be enforced. Weaving a tour-de-force of legal logic based on natural law, Spooner argued that not only did the Constitution fail to sanction slavery, it prohibited such.

We cannot do credit to the full force of Spooner's argument here. Essentially, he builds its foundation on Chief Justice John Marshall's rule of statutory interpretation, which states that if any case infringes natural law or denies a natural right (such as personal liberty), "the legislative intention must be expressed with *irresistible clearness*, to induce a court of justice to suppose a design to effect such objects" (in *Unconstitutionality*, p. 18-19: note 17, Spooner's italics). And on this point Spooner suggests that the framers failed miserably:

To assert...that the constitution *intended* to sanction slavery, is...equivalent to asserting that the *necessary* meaning, the *unavoidable* import of the *words alone* of the constitution, come fully up to the point of a clear...unequivocal, necessary, and peremptory sanction of the specific thing, *human slavery, property in men*. If the *necessary* import of the *words alone* do but fail an iota short of this point, the instrument gives, and, legally speaking, intended to give, no legal sanction to slavery. Now, who can, in good faith, say that the *words alone* of the constitution come up to this point?...Not even the name of the thing, alleged to be sanctioned, is given. The constitution itself contains no designation, description, or necessary admission of the existence of such a thing as slavery, servitude, or the right of property in man [*Unconstitutionality* p. 59-60, italics in original].

In expanding his argument, Spooner turns again to those same numbers of *The Federalist*. Here he specifically focuses on Madison's discussion of the Naturalization Clause in Federalist No. 42 and the distinction between aliens and citizens as "free persons."



This is Spooner's personal copy of *The Federalist*--with his autograph in ink on the front pastedown--and it is almost certainly the very copy he used to prepare the arguments both for his treatise on public mails and for that on slavery. Penciled annotations on the rear pastedown, in Spooner's hand, make reference to Federalist No. 41, where passages are marked and bracketed in pencil. Otherwise the interior pages are clean. This is the second edition of *The Federalist* issued by Philadelphia publisher Benjamin Warner and the first by Warner to identify the author of each number (Warner and Jacob Gideon each produced such volumes in 1818). Besides the noteworthy association, this copy is also in exceptional condition: the tree calf is original and unrestored, and save for minor cracking along the front joint, the binding remains tight and sound; interior pages are unmarked, as well, but for occasional light, scattered foxing.

*The Unconstitutionality of Slavery* won many adherents in abolitionist circles, among them none other than Frederick Douglass, who had originally agreed with Garrison's position but found himself swayed by the force of Spooner's logic. Throughout the 1850s, Spooner grew more radical in his abolitionism. In 1858 he offered a plan for abolishing slavery that called for guerilla warfare against southern slaveowners, spearheaded by Black slaves and free southerners aided by northern abolitionists. He exchanged correspondence with John Brown, in which they colluded to launch an insurrection of southern slaves; when Brown was captured in the failed raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859, Spooner was among those supporters who hatched an aborted plot to free him before his hanging. Ever ever the contrarian, though, Spooner recognized the constitutional right of southern states to secede from the Union. After the war, he became more closely tied with the individualist anarchist movement, writing occasional essays for Benjamin Tucker's journal, *Liberty*. Spooner died in poverty at the age of 79 in 1887. Although his republished works fill five volumes, attesting to his prolific output, his autograph is very rare. **We trace no manuscripts--nor any other books from his library--ever having been offered in the trade.**

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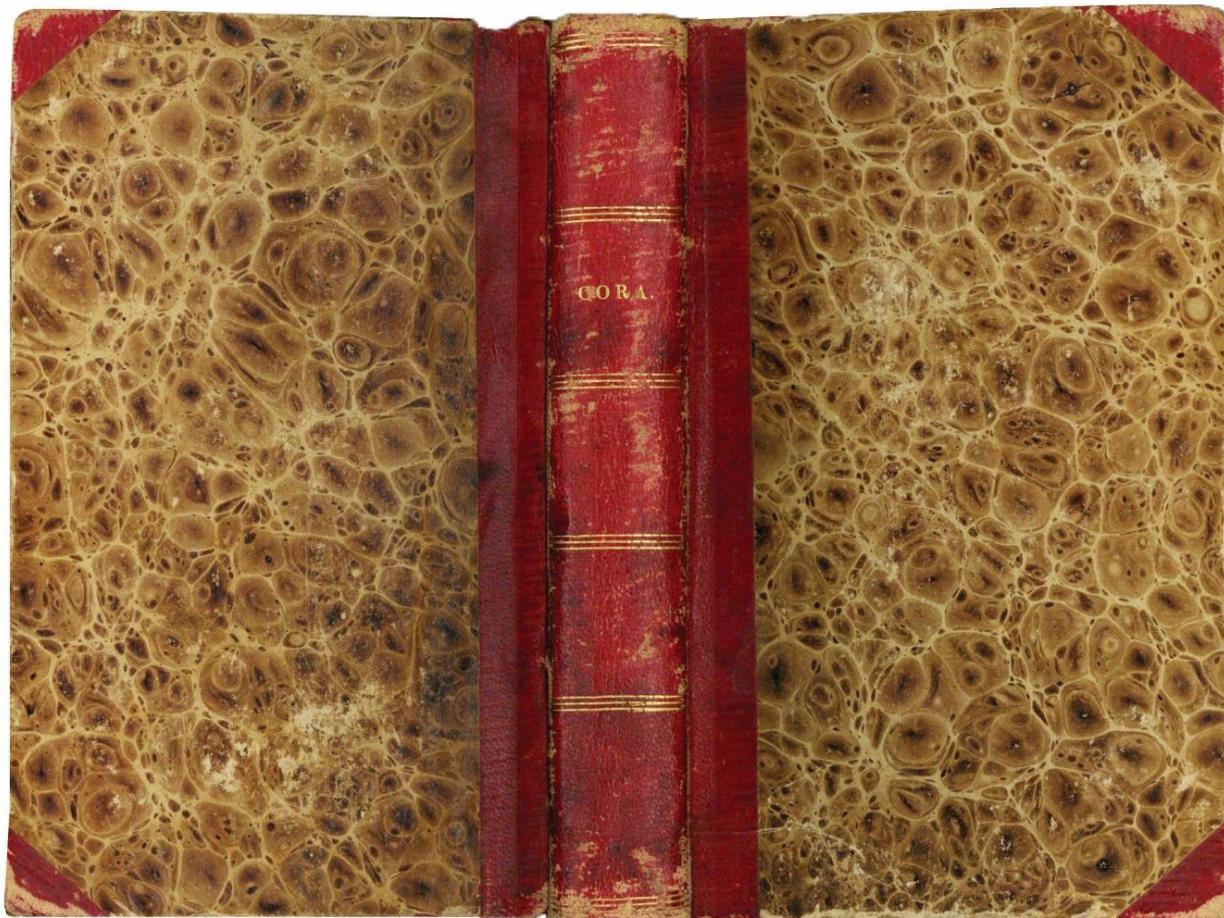
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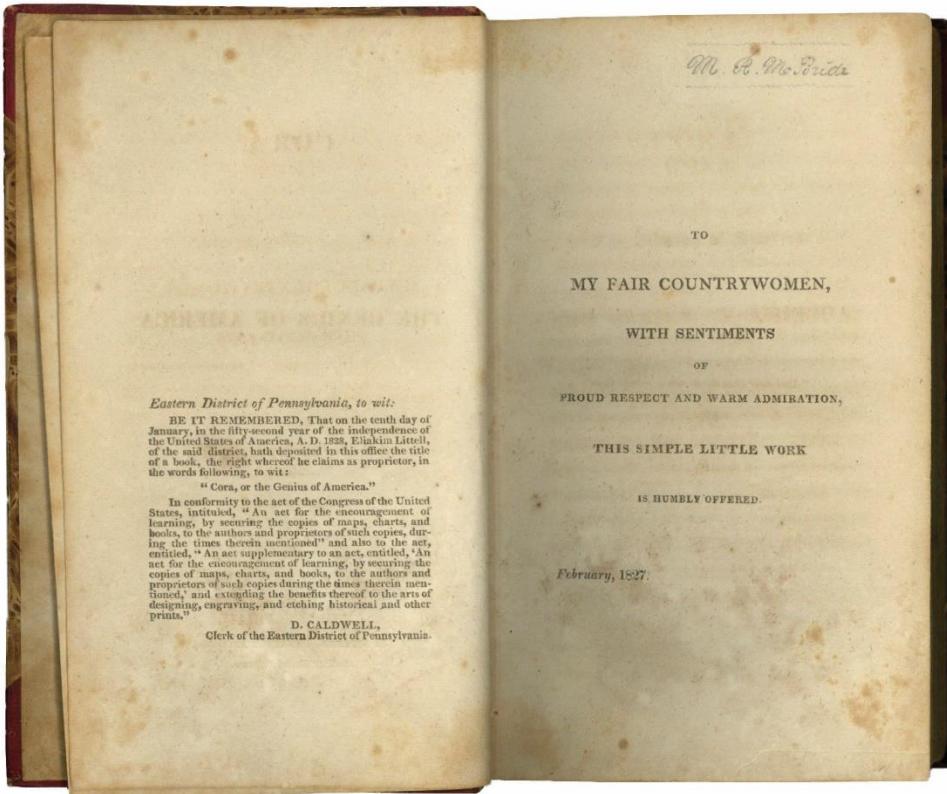
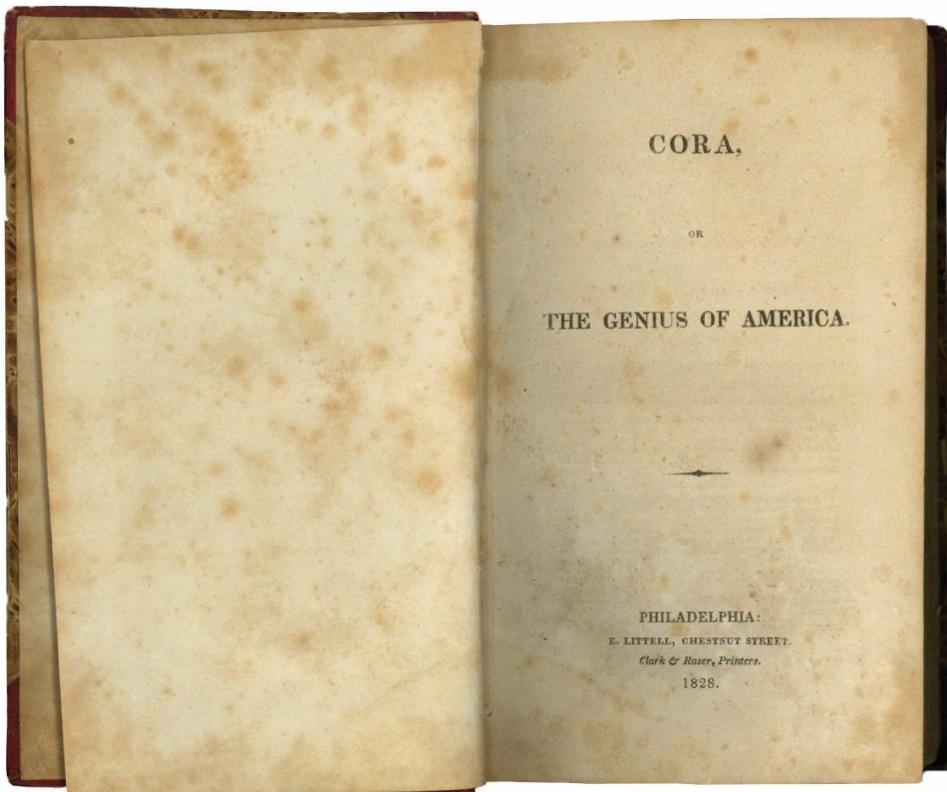
THE FEDERALIST, ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION. A New Edition. Published by Benjamin Warner, No. 147 Market Street, Philadelphia, 1818. 8vo (22 cm). Original tree calf, red morocco label, minor cracking along front joint, otherwise binding tight. Old circular stamp of American Antiquarian Society on title page, no other markings; light scattered foxing. Signed in ink on front pastedown by Lysander Spooner, with several annotations in pencil. Very good.

3. SOLD.

## *Cora, or the Genius of America: A Novel by Jeannette Margaret Hart*

Jeannette Margaret Hart was one of fewer than a dozen American women writing literary fiction during the 1820s. From 1827 to 1828, the duration of her career as an author, Hart produced three novels, all published anonymously: *Nahant: Or the “Floure of Souvenance”* (1827); *Letters from the Bahama Islands, Written in 1823-1824* (1827); and finally *Cora, or the Genius of America* (1828). Her two longer novels, *Letters* and *Cora* (*Nahant* might more appropriately be identified as a novella today), are an important bridge between the dominant didactic novel of the late 18th and early 19th centuries--books such as Susanna Rowson’s *Charlotte Temple* (1791) and Hannah Webster Foster’s *The Boarding School*--and the popular women’s fiction of the mid-19th century about which Nathaniel Hawthorne peevishly complained in a letter to his editor: “America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public is occupied with their trash” (in Myerson 2002:iv). Both *Letters* and *Cora* draw on Hart’s own experience as a traveler to the Bahamas in 1823, and indeed, Lueck et al. write that “Her texts...present the Bahama Islands as dissimilar both to the old world of Europe and the new world represented by the United States. For Hart, this third space becomes an alternative creative and generative space where she can invent herself as a writer” (2016:xxiv). **Cora is the rarest of Hart’s three known literary works; we trace only six institutional copies.**





Jeannette Hart (1794-1861), of Saybrook, Massachusetts, was the fourth of seven daughters born to Elisha and Janet McCurdy Hart; she and her sisters were known to their contemporaries as “the seven graces of Saybrook” and the “the beautiful Miss Harts” (Kinney 2013). The Hart sisters were particularly well educated for their time and place, with Jeannette’s early studies (including readings of classical and European works) directed by her uncle, Rev. Frederick Hotchkiss, who operated a school that prepped young men for college at Yale. Hart then appears to have continued her education at Miss Pierce’s Female Academy at Litchfield, which was well regarded for offering its students a rigorous education. She never married, despite having been courted in her youth by such luminaries as Samuel Morse--remembered today for having invented the Morse code and the telegraph, but having gained attention then as promising artist--and Rev. Horace Holley, a scholar of some renown and later president of Transylvania University. For many years there was a rumor that she was betrothed to Simon Bolivar, whom she purportedly met on a trip to South America in 1826, but Elizabeth Kinney (2013) has recently refuted this persistent story. In fact, three of her sisters did embark on a visit to Chile (there is no evidence that any had an affair with Bolivar) at about the same time that Jeannette was departing for Nassau in the Bahamas in an effort to restore her health, compromised by an unnamed malady. Not only would the sojourn prove a boon to her well-being, it would also inform her two most accomplished novels.

*Cora, or the Genius of America* is dedicated to “My Fair Countrywomen, with sentiments of proud respect and warm admiration” p. [3]). Hart begins her story with the arrival of the title character and heroine, Cora del Rayno, a young woman visiting the United States from her home in the West Indies, “one of those western islands, where eternal summer reigns, and Nature never wearies of the freshness of youth” (p. 11). The narrator, Julia, a young woman herself and from a family of some means, watches Cora from afar in the weeks after her arrival, perhaps even falling in love with her, but she is intimidated by the circle of admirers who surround the beautiful guest and so keeps her distance. They are finally introduced by a mutual acquaintance at the Academy of Arts, and Cora confides when they are alone that she had likewise felt drawn to Julia “since the evening I first saw you” (p. 13). After this meeting the two are nearly inseparable, and in the days and weeks to come, as Kinney notes, their continuing conversation “wrestles with questions of the influence of European culture, American genius, and available roles for talented, intellectual, and creative women” (2016:147). Among the most arresting of these dialogues is a discussion among Cora, Julia, and the friend who had introduced them, Colonel F., on the particular genius of noted French woman of letters Germaine de Staël, whose own novel *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1807) probably inspired Hart’s *Cora*. After the Colonel has departed, Cora remarks to Julia,

It was not personal beauty, that gave to your favorite De Staël, the celebrity she had; it was not any of those high adornments, which nature often gifts our sex, that attracted around her the crowd of literary phenomena, which constantly encircled her; it was *alone*, her vast acquirements and talents;--to beauty, homage is instinctively paid by all, for it is very captivating; but splendid talents are not so readily admired because they are not so easily approached;--they awe the insignificant worshippers of beauty, while they command the warm admiration of superior minds [p. 83-84].

We soon learn, as Cora confides in Julia about her past, that she was the orphaned child of a Frenchman and his Portuguese wife, both victims of the guillotine. Left behind as the only heir

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to her parents' Caribbean estates, Cora retreated from society in depression, only to discover on recovering that the dying wish of her mother was for her to marry a man whom she admired and cared for but did not love. She agreed, but sometime after fell in love with an acquaintance of her betrothed, a dashing American who struck down her fiancé on learning of the arrangement. The young man survived and even encouraged Cora to accompany friends on a visit America, with the expectation that on her return she would take his hand in marriage. Cora's heart, though, is still with the handsome stranger, whose miniature she had painted before the fateful night when he had assaulted her fiancé and fled. She shows the small portrait to Julia, who instantly recognizes the man as none other than her own brother, Randolph! Julia accompanies Cora in her return to the islands, and soon after arriving Cora marries her intended. Yet in doing so she forfeits all of her intellectual ambitions--her genius--and dies of melancholy just two years later. As for the fate of Randolph, who Julia believes she caught a glimpse of at the wedding, disguised as a monk and in terrible despair, nothing more is ever learned.

In addition to its title work, *Cora* also contains three shorter works of fiction that are little known to scholars. We locate only six copies of *Cora* in library holdings: OCLC lists four--the University of Chicago, Rutgers, Trinity College, and UCLA (missing as of 9/21)--to which we can add AAS and the Library Company of Philadelphia. Our copy is in a contemporaneous binding of 1/4 red morocco and marbled boards, with expected toning and scattered foxing but otherwise excellent condition. Although Hart lived for more than three decades after completing *Cora*, this would be her last known published work. Through the dialogues between narrator Julia and the title heroine, she explores both the opportunities open to, and the limitations imposed upon, women of genius in a still maturing American republic. Her work is worthy of further study.

Relevant sources:

Kenney, Elizabeth T.

2013 Jeannette Hart: Romance as Fiction. In *Remarkable Women of Old Saybrook*, edited by Tedd Levy. The History Press, Charleston, SC.

2016 Fictional Space and Taxonomies of Race in the Bahamas: Mapping American Identity in the Early Republic. *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 14(2):139-151.

Lueck, Beth L. Sirpa Salenius, and Nancy L. Schultz

2016 Introduction: Women Conversing on Culture, Society, and Politics. In *Transatlantic Conversations: Nineteenth-Century American Women's Encounters with Italy and the Atlantic World*, edited by Beth L. Lueck, Sirpa Salenius, Nancy L. Schultz, pp. xiv-xxviii. University of New Hampshire Press, Durham.

Myerson, Joel, editor

2002 *Selected Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. The Ohio State University Press, Columbus.

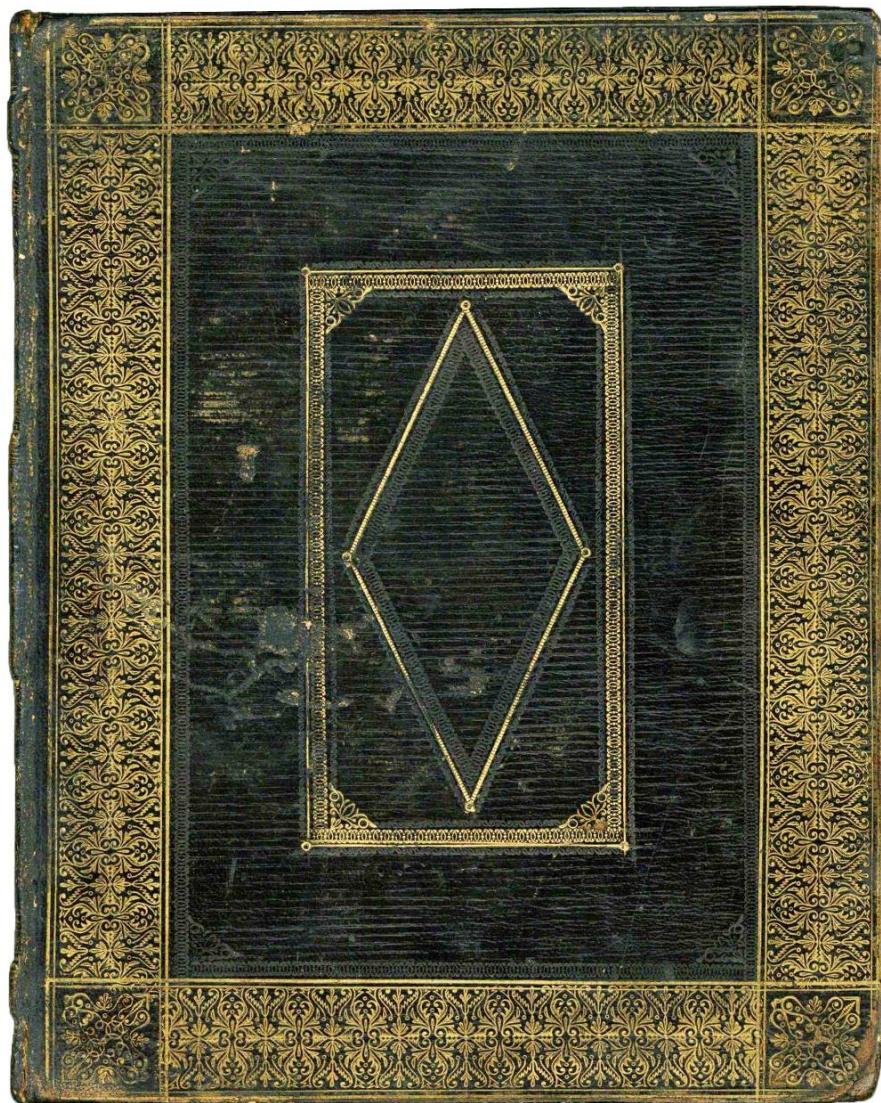
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Hart, Jeannette Margaret. CORA, OR THE GENIUS OF AMERICA. E. Littell, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1828. 12mo (15 cm). 260 pp. Contemporary 1/4 morocco and marbled boards, light wear to spine and edges, light scattered toning and foxing. Very good.

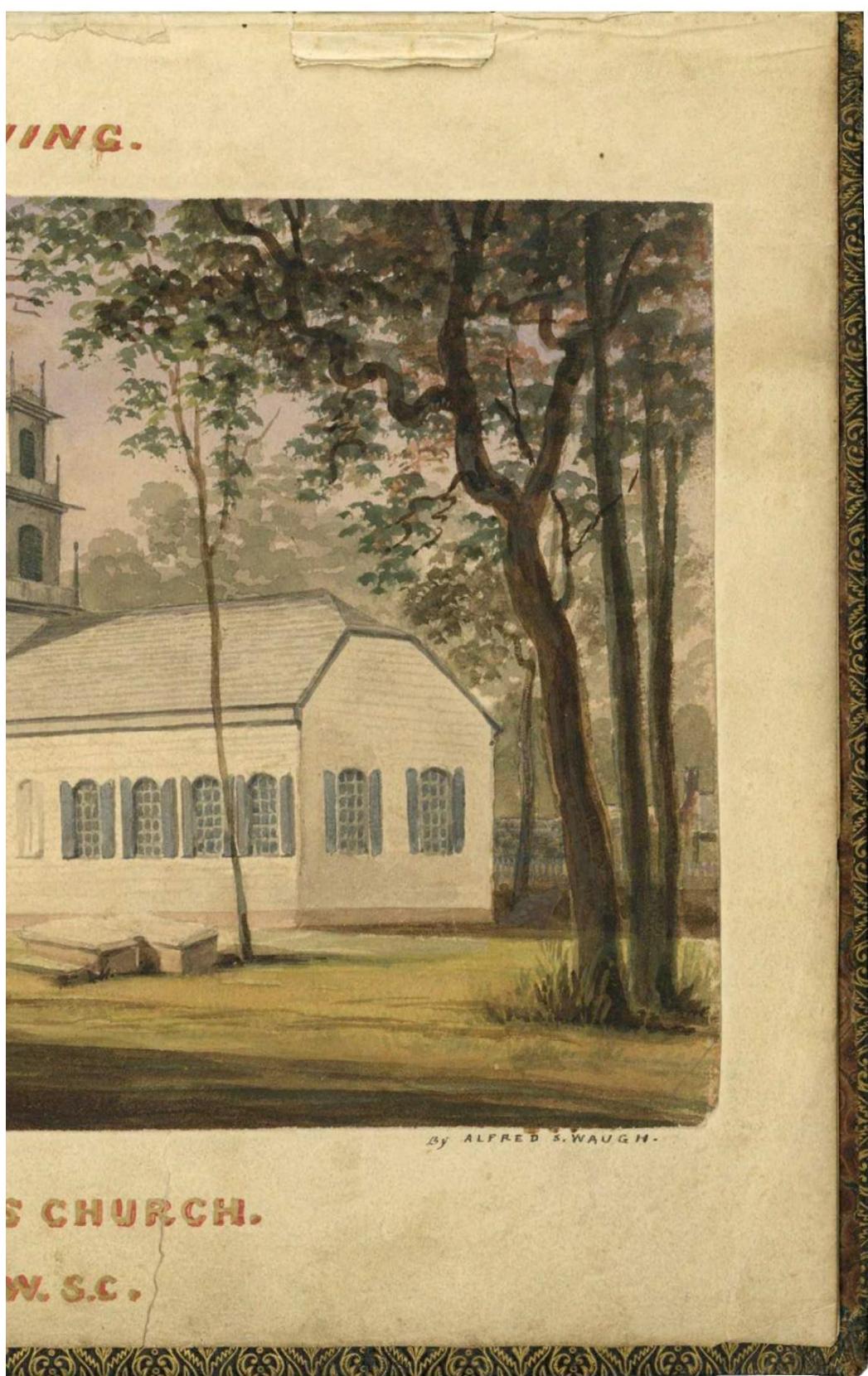
4. SOLD.

## St. David's Church, Cheraw, South Carolina, by Alfred S. Waugh

Begun in 1770, St. David's Episcopal Church--named for the patron saint of Wales--was the last Anglican church built in South Carolina prior to the American Revolution. Still standing in the town of Cheraw, situated along the Pee Dee River just south of the modern state line, it is South Carolina's only surviving wood frame church from the colonial period. We believe that this friendship album descended through the family of Rev. Dr. Alexander Marshall, who served as Rector of St. David's from 1829 to 1841, at which time he went to St. John's at Charleston, serving there until his death in 1876. Entries in the album date from the mid-1820s through the 1880s, and its contents include two early albumen photographs of St. John's, itself built in 1839. What makes the album special, though, are two early watercolor views of St. David's, painted in 1839 by Irish immigrant and itinerant miniaturist Alfred S. Waugh. **Although several examples of Waugh's portrait work survive, including an example held by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, these signed and dated views are the only known landscapes in the artist's hand.**









Nearly everything we know of Alfred Waugh is to be found in the narrative account of his life that he began in the fall of 1850 during a period of illness. The first of three such volumes that he is believed to have completed, his "Desultory Wanderings in the Years 1845-46" is the only one that survives today; the original manuscript resides at the Missouri Historical Society, which produced an edition of the work in 1851 as *Travels in Search of the Elephant: The Wanderings of Alfred S. Waugh, Artist, in Louisiana, Missouri, and Santa Fe, in 1845-1846*, edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott. We know that Waugh's birthday was July 1, but not the year of his birth. In 1827, and possibly for some years before, he was studying art at the Royal Dublin Society (perhaps the Royal Hibernian Academy). He traveled on the Continent for an unknown time after this, and by 1833 he was working in Baltimore (though the date of his arrival in America--as well as the reason for his immigration--are lost to history). His account informs us that he was in South Carolina five years later, though he may have been based in Raleigh. It was in these years that he completed his views of St. David's, for by 1842 he had moved on to Alabama.

The St. David's watercolors offer accomplished depictions of the church from two different vantages. The first (see catalogue covers) is titled "Morning" and looks south and east, showing the north side and front of the church, with a young couple standing together in the foreground and another man, in the background, climbing the front steps. The second is titled "Evening" and looks northwest, showing the south side and back of the church. Its subject matter strikes a much darker tone, though, depicting a funeral procession from the church to its adjoining cemetery, the berobed rector leading a coffin borne aloft by pallbearers, with parishioners following behind. The pair of images, taken together, therefore serve both as a faithful representation of St. David's--with views of all four sides--and as an allegory of life and death, from morning's youth to evening's inevitable

decline. Each work masterfully situates the church in its lush landscape--the bare white of its walls a striking contrast to the variegated hues of green, brown, olive, and blue that encroach from all sides. **Though unrecognized for nearly two centuries, these are significant works and provide our only evidence of Waugh's considerable talent as a landscape artist.**

Waugh's views were originally mounted to the first two leaves in the album and appear to have been so placed by the artist himself. Each is signed on the album page, beneath the mounted watercolor, "Drawn from nature, April 1839....By Alfred S. Waugh." The titles ("Morning" and "Evening") and identification ("St. David's Church. / Cheraw, S. C.") are placed above and below the mounts, respectively, in yellow and dark orange hues that give the lettering a three-dimensional effect. At some time in the past, the thin album leaf holding the "Morning" view became detached and was remounted, along with its title, on a different page in the album. The stub of the detached leaf, with a portion of the identification, remains in its original location. Both watercolors were accomplished on heavier card paper measuring 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 inches (21.5 x 14 cm), and both are in exceptionally good condition, their colors rich and vivid. We suspect that the two views were commissioned by Rev. Dr. Marshall or his wife, Elizabeth. Among the earliest entries in the album (1827) is one titled "For Elizabeth;" Marshall married Elizabeth Mayard of Cheraw in 1833. A pencil inscription on the front free endpaper reads "This book is for my dear Mary," likely referring to their first child, Mary S. Marshall, born in 1837. As noted, the album also includes two albumen views of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church in Charleston, where Rev. Marshall served after 1841. Finally, the album's rear pages contain several pasted-in clippings of his 1879 obituary. It is likely that the album originally belonged to Elizabeth, who acquired it prior to her marriage, and that either she or her husband later added Waugh's deft views of their church.

After practicing in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and New Orleans, Waugh determined to go west in 1845, hoping to serve as an artist on Captain John C. Fremont's third expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Waugh and a friend, fellow artist John B. Tisdale of Mobile, went to Missouri for interviews with Fremont, but both were denied roles in the exploring party. They settled briefly in Independence and Lexington, where Waugh produced a number of portraits. But in the spring of 1846, his wanderlust unquenched, Waugh joined a caravan traveling west to Santa Fe, where he remained for six weeks and painted a portrait of New Mexico's last Mexican governor, General Manuel Armijo, that hangs today in the Albuquerque Museum. Returning to Missouri, he would eventually make his home in St. Louis, where the 1848 city directory listed him as a sculptor and artist. He wrote a series of articles on the arts for the *Western Journal* and produced well regarded busts and portraits of some the city's leading citizens. Waugh died there in 1856, apparently the victim of drink; as reported in the *Missouri Republican* of March 20:

Penury and want, added to a weakness that maddens the brain and stultifies the intellect and energies of the most gifted, were the inheritance of the deceased, and he sunk into his grave in silence and poverty (McDermott 1951:xx).

When McDermott composed his introduction to the surviving portion of Waugh's narrative in 1951, he noted that "No busts or paintings of Waugh's have been identified: there is no way of judging his skill as painter or sculptor" (1951:xx-xxi). This is no longer so. A watercolor portrait of a young gentleman on ivory, signed by Waugh and dated 1841, is in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; another, of a young woman and dated 1835, is in the Tormey-Holder

Collection at St. Petersburg, Florida (<http://michaelsmuseum.com/waugh.htm>). The Philadelphia Museum of Art possesses a full-body portrait of Chief Justice John Marshall, sculpted in wax, that is attributed to Waugh. Finally there is General Armijo's aforenoted portrait in Albuquerque. To these few examples we are pleased to add his rediscovered landscape views of St. David's Church in Cheraw, South Carolina, perhaps the most charming and intimate of all.

Relevant sources:

Carrie Rebora Barratt, Lori Zabar

2010 *American Portrait Miniatures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Godfrey, W. R.

1916 *An Historical Sketch of Old St. David's Church, Cheraw, South Carolina, from 1768 to 1916*. Privately Printed, Cheraw, SC.

McDermott, John Francis, editor

1961 *Travels in Search of the Elephant: The Wanderings of Alfred S. Waugh, Artist, in Louisiana, Missouri, and Santa Fe, in 1845-1846*. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

Nelson, Louis P.

2008 *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism & Architecture in Colonial South Carolina*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

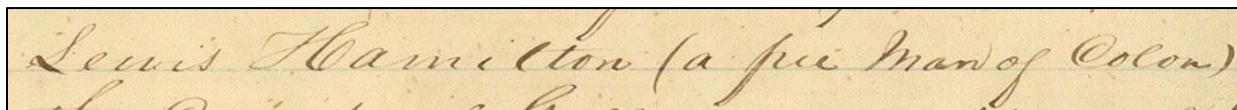
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[Waugh, Alfred S.]: [TWO ORIGINAL WATERCOLOR LANDSCAPES OF ST. DAVID'S CHURCH, CHERAW, SOUTH CAROLINA, ON TWO PAGES OF A FRIENDSHIP ALBUM DESCENDING THROUGH THE FAMILY OF REV. DR. ANDREW MARSHALL, RECTOR OF ST. DAVID'S FROM 1829-1841]. [Various locations in South Carolina, mainly Cheraw and Charleston, 1820s-1880s]. 8 1/4 x 10 1/4 in. (21 x 26 cm). Approximately [80] pp., of manuscript and other illustrations, including the Waugh watercolors, each 8 1/2 by 5 1/2 in.; approximately 50 pp. of album unused, several pages removed near end. Original black morocco with elaborate gilt tooling dividing front and back boards into four compartments; gilt spine with three raised bands; all edges gilt, minor rubbing. Interior with marbled end papers, light toning, and scattered foxing. Overall very good. Waugh watercolors, dated April 1839, are bright and clean.

5. SOLD.

## Lewis Hamilton, Operator on the Underground Railroad, Frees His Family

For most African Americans in the antebellum United States, a crossing of the Ohio River was synonymous with freedom: on the north bank you had it, on the south bank you did not. The Ohio's long, east-west course along the Kentucky-Ohio line was thus the most important boundary along the Underground Railroad, that "loose network of people, pathways, and places that helped slaves reach freedom" (Carson 2005:vi). Today, documentation for the Railroad and its operators is best in those states bordering that northern bank--Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois--where white agents were far more likely to have kept records of their activities and former participants were esteemed in post-war years. Such documentation in states below that border, where Jim Crow and the Lost Cause reigned after Reconstruction, exists in scattered fragments, if at all. Railroad networks in the South were almost always operated by African Americans, both Free Blacks and the enslaved themselves, for whom the consequences of exposure were profound. It is rare, as such, to discover primary source materials related to known southern participants. These two manumissions from Gallatin County, Kentucky, through which "a free man of color" named Lewis Hamilton purchased the liberty of his wife, Lucy, and daughter, Jane, are inherently unusual given his identity as a man of color. **Yet what makes them extraordinary is that recent research in northern Kentucky identifies Lewis Hamilton as an operator on the Underground Railroad.**



In the decades leading up to the Civil War, Northern Kentucky--like "Bleeding Kansas" in the Trans-Mississippi West--would become a flashpoint in the long-simmering conflict between abolitionists and proslavery forces. Gallatin County, located little more than 50 miles downstream from the abolitionist hub of Cincinnati, was an important crossroads for several documented routes along the Underground Railroad. Gallatin's county seat, Warsaw, sat opposite Vevay, the seat of Switzerland County, Indiana, where Baptist preacher John Pevy established a Railroad station as early as 1824. Another key point in Switzerland County was Madison, located opposite the port town of Carrollton, which occupied the confluence of the Ohio and Kentucky rivers. Madison was the home of Elijah Anderson, a Virginia-born blacksmith and Free Black abolitionist dubbed the Railroad's "General Superintendent," who liberated more than 200 fugitives before 1850. Farther upstream, at the town of Patriot, Indiana, the Universalist Church was also known as a harbor for fugitives crossing from Gallatin County. Once safely over the Ohio, freedom seekers arriving in Vevay, Madison, and Patriot would all take routes that converged upon the aptly named Pleasant Township before continuing their journeys northward to Versailles.

We know far less, of course, about the specific people, places, and pathways that embodied Kentucky's side of the Railroad. Unlike in Ohio and Indiana, where rich oral traditions, historical anecdotes, and the testimonies of enslaved witnesses all have contributed to our understanding of Railroad operations, the data available to scholars in Kentucky are generally poor. Here, as Diane Perrine Coon notes: "Successive generations of Confederate descendants have weaved a myth that often emphasizes how kind their slaveholding ancestors were and how happy the slaves were to work for the family" (2009:899). Indeed, earlier Kentucky historians discovered so little evidence

Know all men by these presents, that I  
Lewis Hamilton (a free man of color) of  
the County of Gallatin and State of Ky  
From motives of affection benevolence  
and humanity, have this day manumitted  
and for ever set free, from Slavery  
my (wife) Negro Woman Lucy, aged  
about Thirty years old, and of a light  
Complexion. And I do hereby give  
grant and release, to her the said  
Lucy all my right title and interest in  
and claim to the estate and property  
which she the said Lucy may hereafter  
acquire or obtain. In testimony whereof  
I the said Lewis Hamilton have  
hereunto set my hand and seal this  
11<sup>th</sup> day of November 1842  
Lewis Hamilton <sup>and</sup> ~~Seal~~  
mark

Commonwealth of Kentucky  
Gallatin County Court, November Term 1842  
This deed of Emancipation from Lewis Hamilton  
to Lucy Hamilton was pronounced in open Court  
and acknowledged by the said Lewis Hamilton  
to be his act and deed, and ordered to be  
entered for record - At the Robison C. 266  
Court of the County of Gallatin County Set

I John Robison Clerk of the County Court for the County  
aforesaid do certify that this deed of emancipation from Lewis  
Hamilton to Lucy Hamilton together with this and the foregoing  
certificate hath been truly recorded in my office this 15<sup>th</sup> day  
of February 1851

John Robison Clerk  
By B. Allen 56

I now all men by these presents. That I Lewis Hamilton of the County of Gallatin and State of Ky. (a free man of color) from Motives of affection benevolence and humanity have this day manumitted and forever set free from Slavery my daughter Jane Hamilton, aged about fourteen years in March 1851, of dark complexion, and I do hereby give grant and release to her the said Jane Hamilton, all my right title interest and claim to the estate and property which she may hereafter acquire or obtain.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 10th day of February

A D 1851

Lewis Hamilton   
Mark

Commonwealth of Kentucky  
Gallatin County Court, February Term 1851  
This deed of Emancipation from Lewis Hamilton to Jane Hamilton, was produced before court, and acknowledged by the said Lewis Hamilton to be his act and deed, whereupon the said deed was ordered to be recorded, which is done accordingly together with this certificate

Given under my hand as Clerk of  
the County Court of said County this 10th  
day of February A D 1851

John T. Robinson Ck

AB Tiller & C

of white participation that many concluded Railroad activities rarely took place in the state. Yet as Coon, again, has observed:

The truth is that most of Kentucky's UGRR was managed by small cells of free people of color and by individual slaves living on plantations. Kentucky's African American history and heritage was suppressed and ignored by most public and private histories until the latter 20th century. Only in fragments of oral tradition (often maintained within church histories), or in arrest and trial records, do hints of the aid given to fugitive slaves in Kentucky appear. During the past 20 years, historians have begun to build the public records beneath these oral stories [2009:899].

Although a sizable Free Black community had formed around Carrollton in neighboring Carroll County, Kentucky, by the 1840s--including several men whom Elijah Anderson trained to assist fugitives--there were few such residents in Gallatin County in the decades prior to the Civil War. Moreover, only a single public record such as those that Coon describes seems to have survived; besides this grand jury indictment, all "other criminal records or accusations have been either destroyed or quashed" (2009:900). That indictment was filed in March 1838, when a white farmer named David Lilliard charged in Gallatin Circuit Court that Lewis Hamilton, a free person of color, had enticed his slave Billy to escape to Ohio. Under Kentucky law, "enticement" was used to designate the criminal act of aiding or abetting a fugitive from slavery and was the term most often used in contexts involving Railroad activities (e.g., Hudson 2015:73). Because of the interstate legal implications, Kentucky's commonwealth attorney brought the case to court later that month. It is uncertain whether Lilliard's charges were sustained, but Hamilton is listed in the 1850 Federal Census as a blacksmith still residing in Gallatin County at Sparta, a community just south of Warsaw. His age is recorded as about 50 years old, and he shared a home with Lucy, his wife, and five children with ages that ranged from 3 to 18 years.

These two documents, each signed with his mark, record how Hamilton "from motives of affection, benevolence, and humanity...manumitted and forever set free from slavery" both Lucy and his eldest daughter, Jane. At the time of her manumission on November 14, 1842, Lucy was 30 years old; when Hamilton secured Jane's freedom nine years later, on February 10, 1851, she was 14. Jane was therefore five years old when her mother was freed. Of the five children living at the Hamilton home in 1850, two--George (18) and John (14)--were likewise born before their mother's release in 1842, and we suspect that Lewis must also have secured their emancipations between 1842 and 1851. Hamilton's elderly mother and aunt are noted to have lived as Free Blacks at the house of a white family in Gallatin County. According to the 1850 Census, Nancy and Mary Hamilton, 70 and 68, respectively, resided at the home of none other than David Lilliard, the same Lilliard who had brought enticement charges against Lewis Hamilton in 1838. Lilliard owned 28 slaves in 1850, more than five times the average slave-holding farm in Kentucky. It is likely that Lewis Hamilton was originally enslaved at Lilliard's farm but was able to purchase his freedom before 1838, by which time he was actively assisting others making their escape. Four years later he emancipated Lucy, then over the next decade freed George, John, and Jane. None are reported as Gallatin County residents in 1860. This is not surprising, as the Kentucky Constitution of 1850 required emancipated slaves to leave the state. Lewis and Lucy Hamilton--having secured Jane's liberty at last--must have done so, removing to parts unknown.

Manumission documents from Kentucky and other southern states are somewhat scarce at auction and in the trade, but materials such as these--through which a free man of color purchases the freedom of his own family--are extraordinarily rare. Just as significant, and even more rare, is Hamilton's association with the Underground Railroad, documented by historians of slavery and abolition in northern Kentucky (see Coon 2009:899-900; 2001:168). Both of the manumissions are in very good condition, on lined foolscap paper with two horizontal folds. Each is prefaced by the statement of emancipation, signed 'X' by Lewis Hamilton, and certified beneath by the clerk and deputy clerk of Gallatin County. Nearly all of the African Americans remembered for their heroism with the Underground Railroad are known today because their activities took place in the North, because they wrote personal, first-hand accounts of their experiences, because they were later the subjects of biographies, or all three. Yet for the Railroad to have worked, there must have been many such as Lewis Hamilton, who labored for the cause without renown and of whom little historical trace remains today. **We locate nothing comparable.**

Relevant sources:

Carson, Mary Kay

2005 *The Underground Railroad for Kids: From Slavery to Freedom*. Chicago Review Press.

Coon, Diane Perrine

2001 *Southeastern Indiana's Underground Railroad Routes and Operations*. A Project of the State of Indiana Department of Natural Resources, Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology and the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

2009 Underground Railroad, Boone, Carroll, and Gallatin Counties. In *Encyclopedia of Northern Kentucky*, edited by Paul A. Tenkotte and James C. Claypool, pp. 899-902. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.

Harrison, Lowell H.

1978 *The Antislavery Movement in Kentucky*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.

Hudson, J. Blaine

2001 Crossing the "Dark Line": Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in Louisville and North-Central Kentucky. *Filson History Quarterly* 75:33-83.

2015 *Fugitive Slaves and the Underground Railroad in the Kentucky Borderland*. McFarland Publishers, Jefferson, NC, and London.

Salafia, Matthew

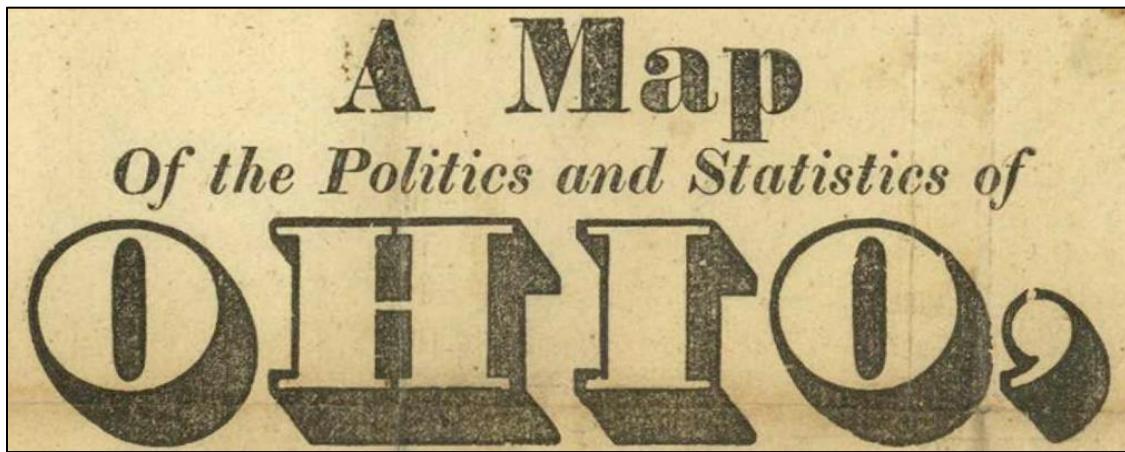
2008 Searching for Slavery: Fugitive Slaves in the Ohio River Valley Borderland, 1830-1860. *Ohio Valley History* 8(4):38-63.

[Kentucky--Underground Railroad and Slavery]: [TWO DOCUMENTS SIGNED WITH AN 'X' BY LEWIS HAMILTON, FREE MAN OF COLOR AND UNDERGROUND RAILROAD OPERATOR, EMANCIPATING HIS WIFE AND DAUGHTER FROM SLAVERY]. [Gallatin County, Kentucky, November 14, 1842, and February 10, 1851, respectively]. Two manuscript documents, each [1] pp. on a quarto sheet of lined paper, each docketed on verso. Old horizontal fold lines and edge wear, else quite clean. Very good.

6. SOLD.

### Howells's 1843 *Map of the Politics and Statistics of Ohio*

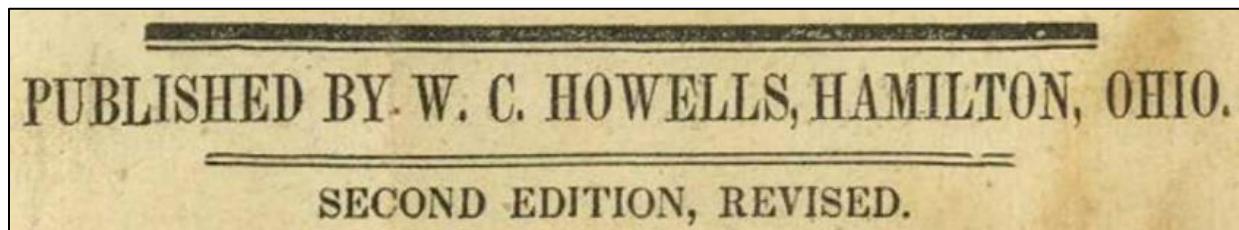
Erstwhile printer, editor, and publisher William Cooper Howells was a broke and perhaps even desperate man when he arrived at Hamilton, Ohio, in 1840. In the previous decade, he had changed jobs five times: working briefly with the *Scioto Gazette*, trying and failing to launch an abolitionist periodical named *The African Liberator*, launching (with the support of Robert Dale Owen) the *Electric Observer and Workingman's Advocate* and seeing it fail in six months, printing a (failed) anti-Catholic diatribe in Wheeling, and finally finding work as a house painter. To make matters even more challenging, Howells's wife, Mary, was expecting their fourth child; they would have eight by 1852. So the position of editor and publisher at the newly rechristened *Hamilton Intelligencer* must have been a welcome, if not providential, opportunity when it arrived. Three years after, he began publishing on the side a Swedenborgian newspaper, titled *The Retina*, and at the same time produced this innovative map of Ohio, one that combines a rather stylized approach to geography with a detailed view of politics and demography. **Howells issued two editions of this map in 1843, but we trace only four total examples in institutional holdings.**



Howells's map eschews geographic specificity for an almost abstracted approach to natural and political borders. Most striking in this respect is his representation of the state's northern and southern boundaries along Lake Erie and the Ohio River, respectively, the loose, open curves that represent those bodies of water substituting for the tight topographic detail emphasized on most contemporary maps. There is also little evident effort to precisely, or even accurately, display the carefully surveyed lines between counties. Here, instead, county shapes are depicted with simpler strokes that convey a more streamlined, almost cubist, geometry. Clearly Howells was offering something different to the user of his map, and indeed, by 1843 there were dozens of Ohio state maps "compiled from the latest authorities." Most such productions did offer precise information on roads and waterways, county lines, cities, towns, and townships, but their makers had far greater resources (and skills) at their disposal than Howells had available in Hamilton. In sum, for Howells to produce a map of his own--one that he might actually sell because a potential customer found it useful--he needed to identify and fill a niche not already occupied.

What he offered is an easily intuited, visual synthesis of Ohio's political and demographic landscape in 1843. Dashed lines mark county boundaries, while solid lines mark the Congressional

districts established March 9, 1843; these districts are further delineated by hand-coloring in pastel yellow, blue, pink and green. Within each county, Howells identifies: its name and seat of justice (first line); its year of organization, number of townships, number of square miles, number of acres of taxable land, and valuation per acre (second line); the number of votes cast at each presidential and gubernatorial election from 1828 to 1842; and lastly, the total population. The effect is quite unlike any other Ohio map produced to that time, and its overall appearance is surprisingly pleasing and uncluttered given the quantity of information the map contains. A contemporary review in the *Cleveland Herald* of March 28 concurs: “Mr. W. C. Howells, Hamilton, Ohio, has published a valuable map of the Politics and Statistics of Ohio, which is the most convenient work of reference in regard to our state we have seen” (in WPA 1938:159).

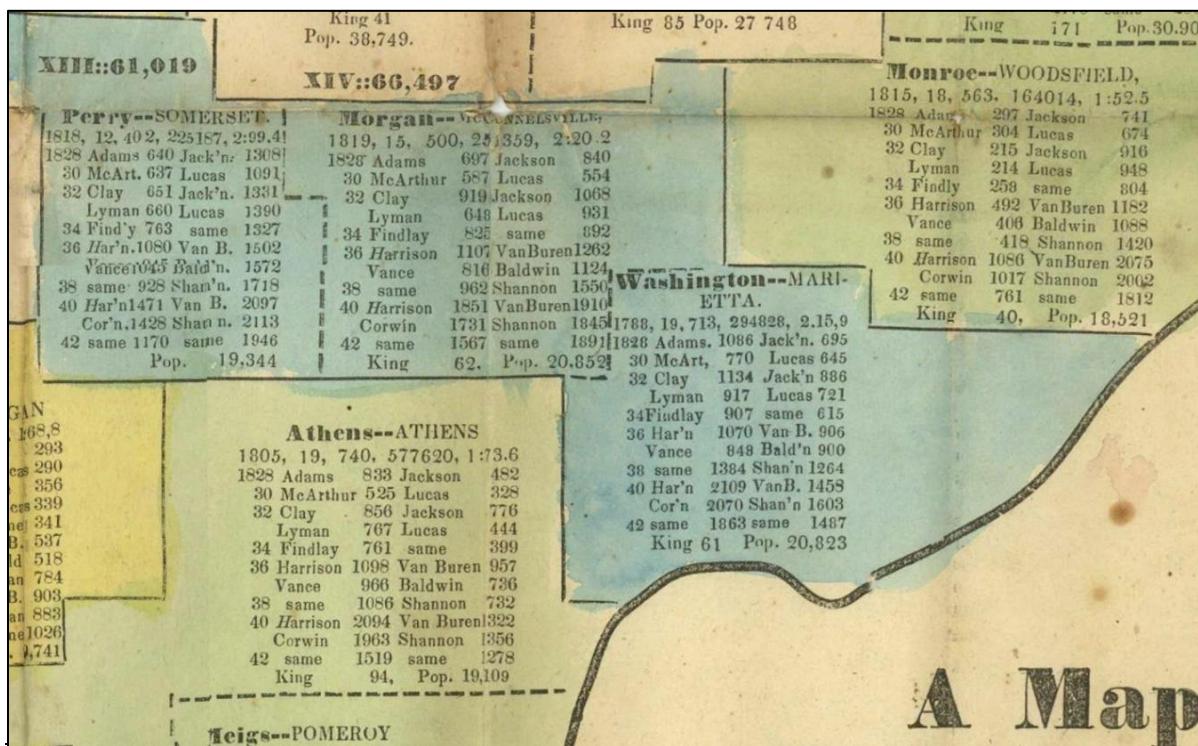


Given the limited print resources available in Hamilton, we surmise that Howells published relatively few copies of his map, a supposition borne out by our survey of institutional copies and examples in the trade. Howells released two editions of the map, perhaps to correct errors, but we have located just four copies of both editions in institutional collections: Ohio History Connection (formerly the Ohio Historical Society) holds the only recorded copy of the first edition, as well as a copy of the second; Ohio State University and Miami University likewise each hold examples of the second. We trace no copies of either edition in bookseller or auction records since 1947, when Ernest Wesson of Midland offered a copy of the second, noting that it was very rare (he had sold another example in 1938). **No other examples seem to have been offered in the history of the trade.** Our copy of the second edition, measuring 21 3/4 by 24 1/2 inches, still retains its original cloth covers. Although the map is printed on thin paper, there are only a few small pinhole tears with minimal loss and three short tears in folds along the margins. Apart from some light scattered foxing, the map is clean and in very good condition. The covers, which measure 5 3/8 by 3 1/2 inches, are moderately worn with tender hinges, but are intact and holding. There is no restoration or repair work to either the map or the covers--all are in original condition.

Howells remained in Hamilton at the *Intelligencer* for a full decade, which in the life of his young family must have seemed an eternity. But his lack of support for Zachary Taylor during the Mexican-American War cost him his role at the paper when the general was elected president in 1848. He sold his interest in the paper and was once again adrift and nearly destitute. He and his family landed in Dayton, where in 1849 he issued the first number of the *Dayton Transcript*. It too failed in just under a year. Finally, in 1852, Howells landed the editorship and a partial share in the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, where his anti-slavery, Republican stance would earn him a strong local following; he would eventually own the paper outright and not relinquish his role until 1884, when his eldest son Joseph took over its publication. His second son, William Dean, who grew up setting type for his father (and may well have set the type for this very map), would become a renowned novelist, playwright, literary critic, and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, known in his later years as the “Dean of American Letters.” William Cooper, not content with an editorship alone, also served







as Clerk of the Ohio House of Representatives, as a State Senator, and as U. S. Consul at Quebec and Toronto. He died in 1894 at the age of 87 and was buried in Ashtabula.

Relevant sources:

Goodman, Susan, and Carl Dawson

2005 *William Dean Howells: A Writer's Life*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Olsen, Rodney D.

1992 *Dancing in Chains: The Youth of William Dean Howells*. New York University Press.

Works Progress Administration (Ohio)

1938 *Annals of Cleveland: 1818-1935*. Vol. XVI & XVII, Part I. Cleveland.

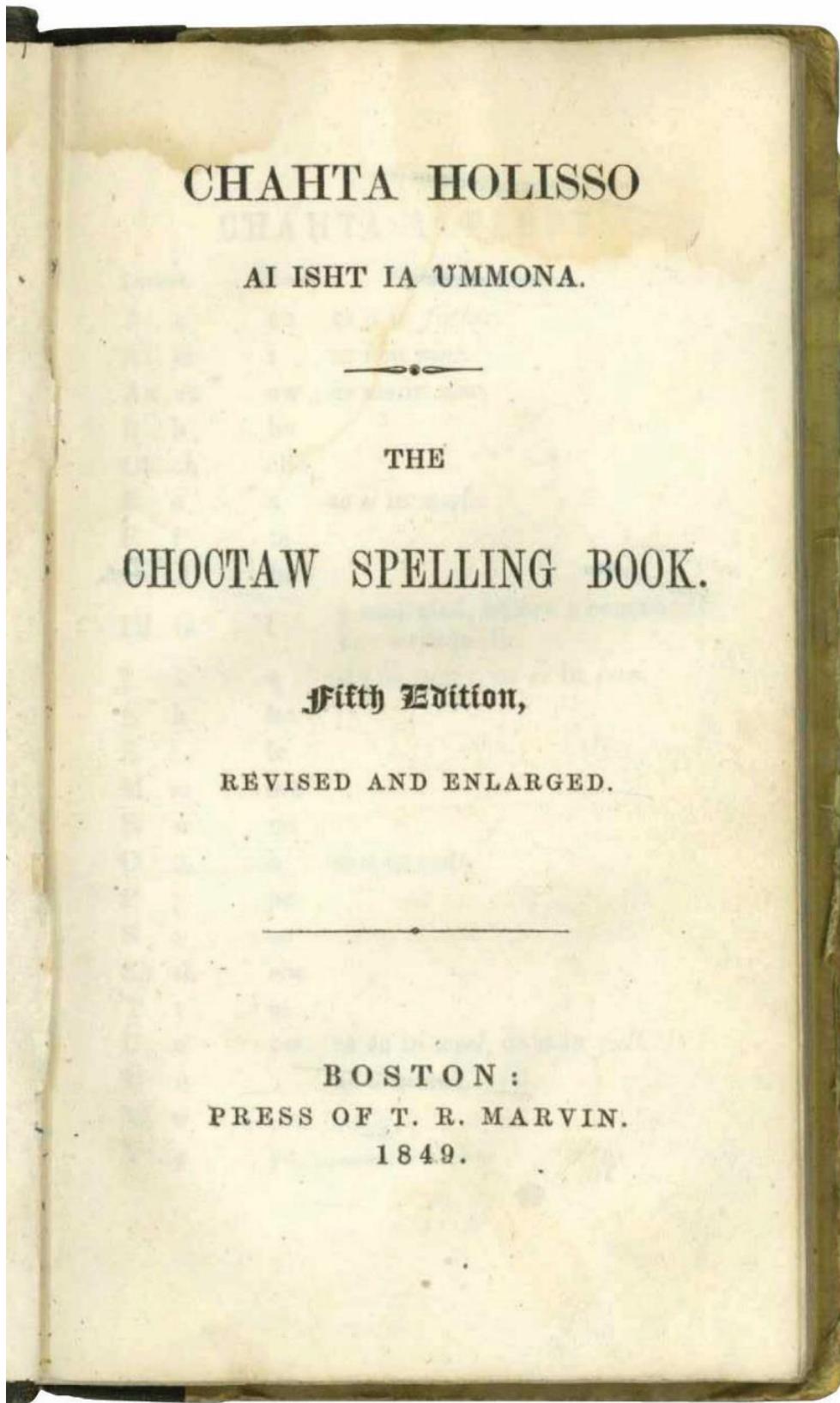
Howells, William C. A MAP OF THE POLITICS AND STATISTICS OF OHIO...CAREFULLY CORRECTED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS [caption title]. Published by W. C. Howells, Hamilton, Ohio, 1843 (after March 9). Second Edition, Revised. Folding map, 21 3/4 x 24 1/2 in. (55 x 62 cm), partially handcolored in original cloth covers. Map with several small pinhole tears costing a few letters and three short edge tears, scattered foxing; covers with moderate wear and fraying along edges, hinges weak but holding. Overall very good.

7. SOLD.

## *The Choctaw Spelling Book...Revised and Enlarged, in Original Boards*

With the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, the peoples of the Choctaw Nation agreed to leave their ancestral homelands in Mississippi and migrate west of Arkansas Territory. There they would join those members of the tribe who had moved a decade earlier, having ceded land in the Mississippi Delta for more than 13 million acres along the Canadian, Kiamichi, Arkansas, and Red River valleys in what is now southeastern Oklahoma. Between 1831 and 1833, nearly 11,000 Choctaws made the long journey to Indian Territory, reestablishing their government and adopting a new constitution in 1838. The Treaty of 1830 had stipulated that the United States government would build schools for educating Choctaw children and provide money for paying teachers. In less than two years, the Choctaws had used these treaty funds to construct a dozen log schoolhouses and a manual labor school. Then in 1842, the Choctaw General Council passed an education bill that established one of the most extensive public school systems in North America, through which historian Christina Snyder observes that the Choctaws “positioned themselves at the vanguard of a worldwide nation-building movement” (2017:407). This fifth edition of *Chahta Holisso*, or *The Choctaw Spelling Book*, published at Boston in 1849, was the first to appear since the passage of these educational reforms. **We locate only six copies held in institutional collections and trace no examples of any edition offered at auction since 1911.**





## CHAHTA ALFABET.

Letters.	Names.	Sounded.
A a	ah	as <i>a</i> in <i>father</i> .
Ai ai	i	as <i>i</i> in <i>pine</i> .
Au au	ow	as <i>ow</i> in <i>now</i> .
B b	be	
Ch ch	che	
E e	a	as <i>a</i> in <i>made</i> .
F f	fe	
H h	he	
Hl hl	l	{ aspirated, before a consonant written lh.
I i	e	as <i>i</i> in <i>pique</i> , or <i>ee</i> in <i>seen</i> .
K k	ke	
L l	le	
M m	me	
N n	ne	
O o	o	as <i>o</i> in <i>note</i> .
P p	pe	
S s	se	
Sh sh	she	
T t	te	
U u	oo	as <i>oo</i> in <i>wool</i> , or <i>u</i> in <i>full</i> .
U v		as <i>u</i> in <i>tub</i> .
W w	we	
Y y	ye	

The first spelling book in Choctaw was produced in 1825 by missionaries Alfred Wright and Cyrus Byington, who accompanied the Choctaws during their removal to Indian Territory less than a decade later; ten copies of this first edition, published at Cincinnati, are held in institutional collections, more than any other edition. A second edition (six copies) appeared in 1827, also at Cincinnati. A third edition, the first printed in Boston, was published in 1835 (eight copies). Of an 1846 fourth edition, which Byington may have referenced in his manuscript dictionary (Pilling 1889:98), either it was never published or no copies survive. The fifth edition of 1849, an example of which we offer here, survives in six institutional copies (LOC, Princeton, NYPL, the Oklahoma Historical Society, Trinity College, and Yale). Finally, a sixth edition appeared in 1852 and an eighth in 1872; no known copies exist of a seventh). **The last example of any edition offered at auction was a copy of the 1835 third edition sold by Anderson Galleries in 1911. We trace no copies of any edition ever offered in the trade.**

*The Choctaw Spelling Book* contains the Choctaw and English alphabets, tables of nouns and verbs, and numerous reading exercises--most drawn from the Christian Bible--including the Ten Commandments (Nan-Ulhpisa Pokoli), Morning and Evening Prayers, and the Lord's Prayer (Chitokaka Im Anumpa Ilbusha). In addition to the Speller, Byington also developed *An English and Choctaw Definer, for the Choctaw Academies and Schools*, the first edition of which appeared in 1852; his monumental grammar and dictionary would not see print until after his death. Because they were intended for use by young students, often learning in frontier locations, spelling books are now among the rarest kinds of imprint related to Native American languages. Copies such as this example, exceptionally well-preserved in original condition, are all the more so.

Relevant sources:

Kidwell, Clara Sue

2008 *The Choctaws in Oklahoma: From Tribe to Nation, 1855-1970*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Pilling, James C.

1889 *Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages*. Bulletin 9. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Snyder, Christina

2017 The Rise and Fall and Rise of Civilizations: Indian Intellectual Culture during the Removal Era. *The Journal of American History* 104(2):386-409.

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Wright, Alfred and Cyrus Byington, attributed. *CHAHTA HOLISSO AI ISHT IA VMMONA: THE CHOCTAW SPELLING BOOK*. Fifth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Press of T. R. Marvin, Boston. 107 pp. 12mo (15.5 cm). Original binding, yellow paper-covered boards and brown cloth spine; light edge wear. Old dampstain to upper margin, most apparent on first several leaves, old blue pencil markings and underlining on several pages, not obscuring legibility of text. Old gift inscription on title page and front free end paper. Very good.

## 8. DONATION.

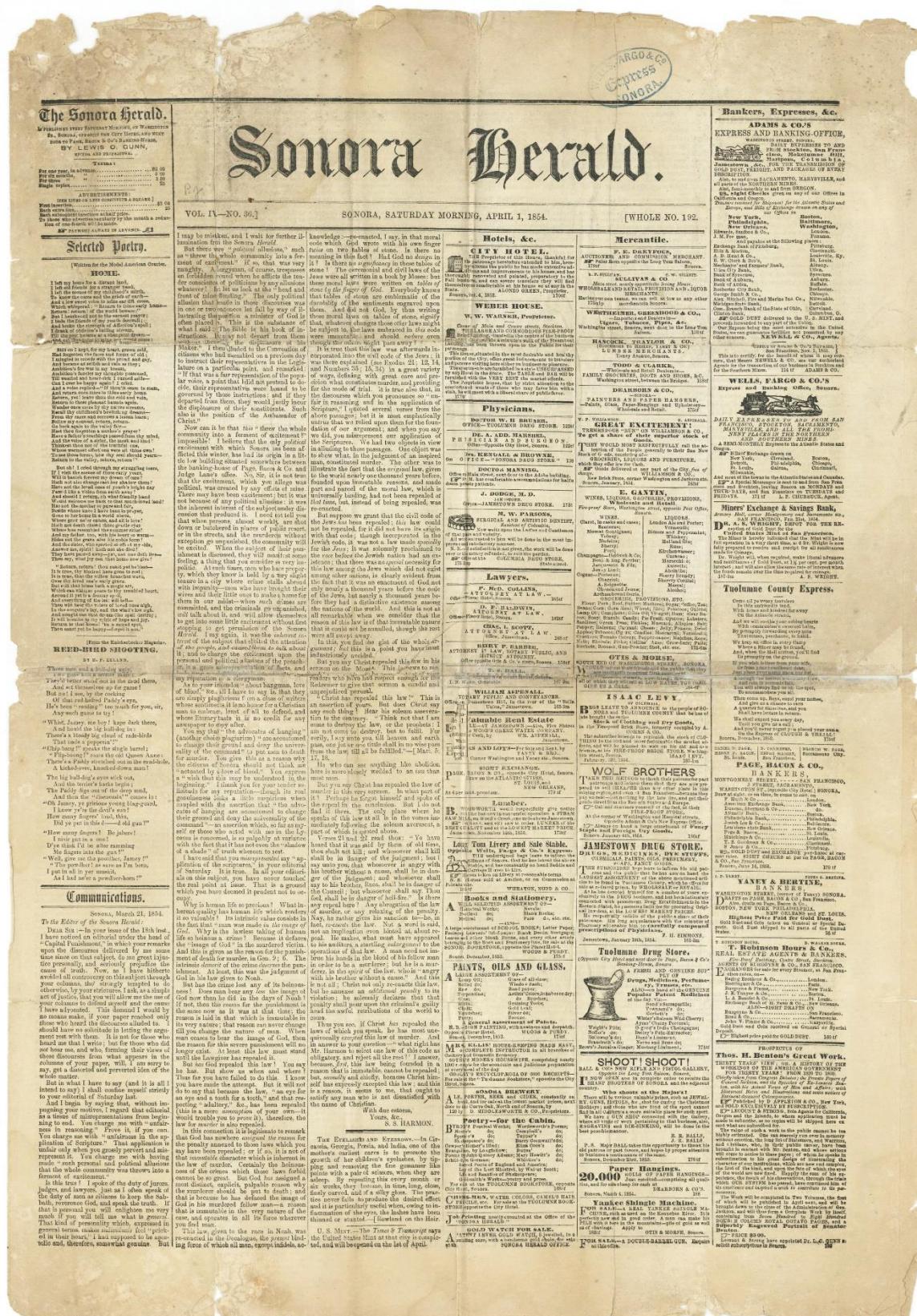
## California Debates the Fugitive Slave Act: A Unique *Sonora Herald*

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

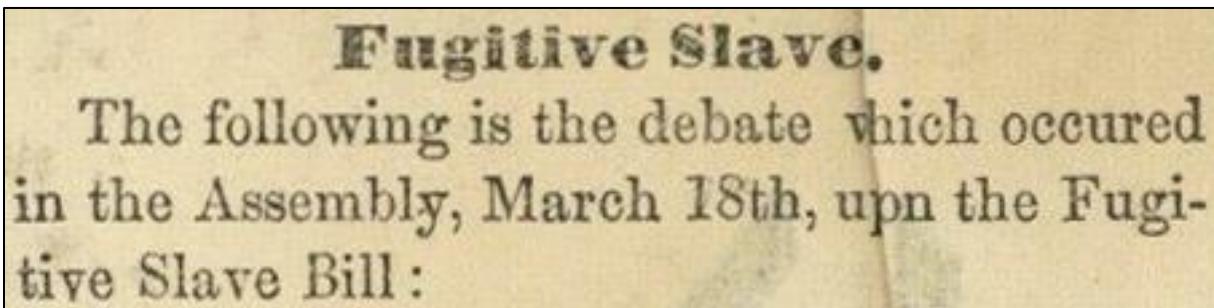


The earliest paper from a California mining town, issued on July 4, 1850, was the *Sonora Herald* of Tuolumne County. Its first numbers, foolscap in size, were printed on wrapping paper (no newsprint was available) and issued from the original Zamorano press. By the next year, the paper's expanded size was too large for the old Zamorano, and it was sold to the printer of another early mining camp paper, the *Columbia Star*. The *Herald* went through a number of owners during its early months before Dr. Lewis Gunn acquired it in 1850--just before the old press was shipped off to Columbia--and would own it off and on, alone or in partnership, until April 1854. Gunn had arrived in California as a 49er in the hopes of striking it rich, but like so many others found only disappointment in the mines. A native New Yorker, Gunn had graduated from Columbia College in 1830 at the young age of 17. He studied at Princeton Theological Seminary for a year but left before taking a degree, then taught school in Philadelphia, studied medicine, and began to work as a printer. It was here that he married his wife, Elizabeth, in 1839, and by the time he departed for California they had a family of four small children. Although his mining career proved an abject failure, his medical training was soon in great demand. His situation, in fact, was so improved that he bought the *Herald* and hired workers to built a two-story home, Sonora's first; the ground floor would house the press and the second his family, whom he sent for soon after. Elizabeth and the children joined him in 1851, after a six-month journey around the Horn.

Lewis and Elizabeth Gunn were ardent abolitionists. In 1835, a violent mob of southern and southern-sympathizing Princeton undergraduates had nearly lynched Lewis for daring to invite



an abolitionist speaker to a private gathering on campus, and this event may have contributed to his leaving seminary before receiving his degree. Yet his commitment to abolitionism deepened during the years that followed, as he took a leading role in the Philadelphia movement's activities through the 1840s. Elizabeth, raised in Philadelphia, was also devoted to the cause, having grown up among her parents' circle of anti-slavery Quakers and reformers. As the Gunns and their young family adapted to life in a California mining town, the new state was wrestling with the same issues of slavery and abolition that threatened to sunder the east in two. In 1850, when California entered the Union, its state constitution banned slavery. A large number of residents, however, were white immigrants from the South, many of whom had moved west with enslaved laborers. These former southerners pushed for a state fugitive slave law, mirroring legislation recently passed at the federal level, that would protect their right to own human property. By introducing a 'sunset' provision giving owners a full year to claim slaves and remove them from the state--slaves in California, that is, would not be held indefinitely--pro-slavery Democrats won over moderates in the legislature and passed the Fugitive Slave Act of 1852, which went into effect on April 15.



Once their demands were enshrined as law, though, pro-slavery advocates saw all too well that it was a simple matter to stretch that full year out, and they successfully pressed the legislature to extend the provisions of the act in 1853, then again in 1854. Throughout these debates, Lewis Gunn continued his opposition to any form of slavery in California and used his platform at the *Sonora Herald* accordingly. The complete issue that we offer here--Vol. IV, No. 36 for Saturday Morning, April 1, 1854--devotes nearly the entirety of Page 2 to reprinting an extensive discussion among assemblymen concerning that year's extension of the act. **Significantly, ours is the only known copy of the *Herald*'s issue for this date; no other examples exist in digital or physical format.** Bibliographically unknown, it thus expands the corpus of issues for a seminal California newspaper, the first published in a mining district outside of the urban centers, in the camp which came to be known as the "Queen of the Southern Mines."

**This unique issue of the *Sonora Herald* is the first offered in the trade since 1979, when Warren Howell offered two issues of Volume I (one of which was incomplete), along with a broadside 'Preamble,' for \$3750.** The Streeter Collection held a long, 42-issue run of Vol. III that made \$1400 in 1968. Together, OCLC and the LOC website, *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, record but a handful of library collections with scattered holdings. Wagner noted in *California Imprints* that the only copy of the *Herald* he had seen was Vol. 1, No. 1 in his own collection (now at the Huntington), but he noted that the Library of Congress held the issue of August 24, 1850 (today it holds this and one other number). AAS holds six numbers, three of which are damaged; the NYHS has four issues; the Huntington holds about a dozen issues; the California State Library has three issues; and single numbers seem to be held by the Bancroft, the

California Historical Society, and the Society of California Pioneers; finally, Streeter's long run of Vol III seems to be housed by the Sacramento History Center in its McClatchy Collection. All mining town papers are rare today, particularly in the market. Per RBH, we find that issues from only four papers published in the years from 1850 to 1860 have been offered at auction or in the trade over the last half-century. These include two issues of the *Nevada Journal* offered by us in 2018; an 1853 issue of the *El Dorado News* auctioned at Christies in 2017; an 1857 issue of *Yankee Jim's Placer Courier* auctioned by Dorothy Sloan in 1994; and the aforementioned issues of the *Herald* sold by Howell and at the Streeter sale in 1979 and 1968, respectively.

After the Civil War, Lewis Gunn became the managing editor of the *San Francisco Daily Times*, a position he held until it joined with the *Alta California* in 1869. In 1873 the Gunns moved south to San Diego, where their son, Douglas was publisher of the *San Diego Union*. Lewis died there in 1892, Elizabeth in 1906. Their daughter, Anna Lee, privately published their journals and letters in 1928. Altogether, a unique number of this vitally important California newspaper, with content illustrating slavery's shadow even here, at the far western edge of the Union.

Relevant sources:

Giffin, Helen S.

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

Hunt, Rockwell D., editor

1926 *California and Californians*. Vol. V. Lewis Publishing Co., San Francisco.

Marston, Anna Lee, editor

1928 *Records of a California Family Journals and Letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth Le Breton Gunn*. Privately Printed, San Diego.

Smith, Stacey L.

2013 *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle Over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Wagner, Henry R.

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

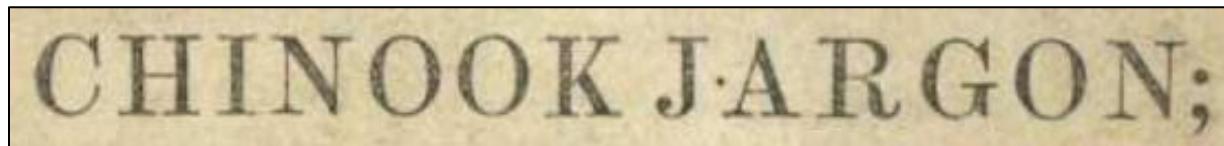
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[California Mining Camp Newspaper--Fugitive Slave Law]: THE SONORA HERALD. VOL. IV, NO. 36, SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 1, 1854. Tuolumne, California. Published by Louis C. Gunn, Editor and Proprietor. [4] pp., folio. Untrimmed and never bound. Old folds, long splits at center fold with unobtrusive tape repairs; edge wear and short marginal tears. Oval handstamp at masthead of Wells, Fargo & Co, Sonora. Overall about very good.

9. SOLD.

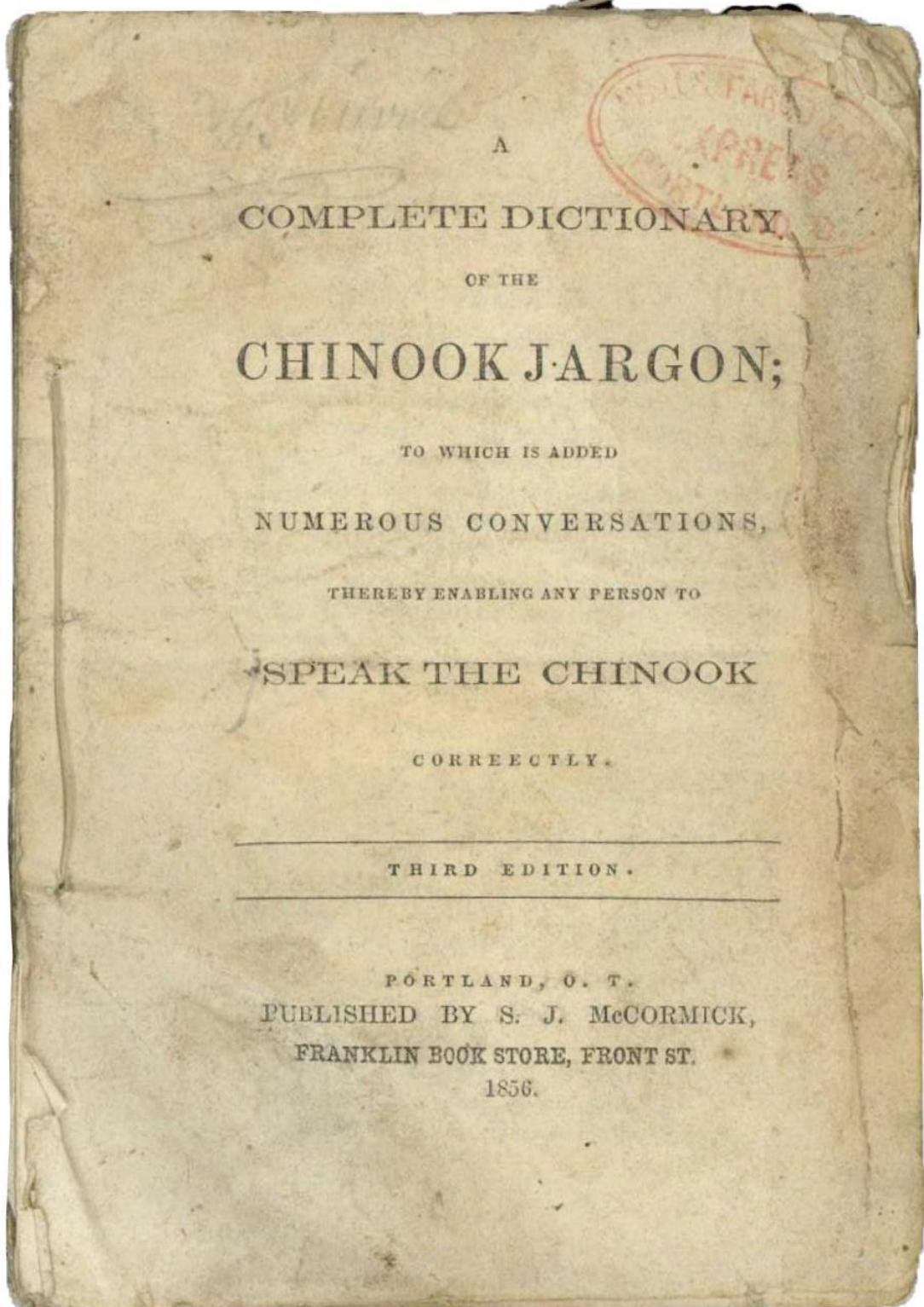
## A Complete Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon: An Oregon Rarity

Of all the works first published on America's Pacific Coast, few can boast a more complex and convoluted printing history than the *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon*. The Chinook Jargon (Chinuk Wawa) was a trade language, or pidgin, that developed among Native Americans living along the lower Columbia River of the Northwest Coast before spreading as far as parts of modern Alaska, northern California, and Montana. Like all such pidgins, the Chinook facilitated trade and cultural exchange in a region of tremendous linguistic diversity, the Pacific Northwest once being home to dozens of indigenous languages and at least three unrelated language families. Historical linguists have long debated whether the jargon's origins lay in precolonial times or followed the arrival of Spanish and Russian settlers during the late 18th century. There can be little doubt, in either case, that early Euro-Americans learned it quickly to foster their own political and economic interactions with the peoples of these diverse indigenous nations. Not until 1852, however, would the first dictionary of the Chinook become available, published (and perhaps even compiled) by an Irish bookseller and printer who had just settled in Portland with his family. In the decades to come, as Oregon bibliographer George N. Belknap put it, the little pamphlet would have "no close competitor as a hardy perennial among Oregon bestsellers" (1968:56).



Samuel J. McCormick was not the first printer in Oregon, or even in Portland (he seems to have been second), but he was certainly among the most prolific. Little is known of McCormick's early life. He was born in Dublin, Ireland, and came to New York City--where he worked in the newspaper business--some years before heading west with his wife and her sister in 1851. They settled in Portland, Oregon, then a town of scarcely more than 800 people and not a single brick building (all of Oregon Territory had a population of just over 13,000 in 1850). McCormick soon "set up in business with a little job printing office in a room seven by nine on the west side of Front Street between Washington and Adler" (Scott 1890:194). Of the very first items to appear from his press, probably issued in the months after his arrival, none are known to have survived. The earliest item identified as yet, its publication nothing less than genius, was the first edition of his Chinook dictionary. Titled *A Comprehensive, Explanatory, Correct, Pronouncing Dictionary, and Jargon Vocabulary...enabling any person to speak the Chinook Jargon*, no actual copy has ever been located. Its existence, rather, is presumed from the only surviving copy of the second edition of 1853; its 1852 copyright probably references the publication date of the now-lost first (Belknap 1968:56). This single copy of the second edition is now in the Huntington Library's Henry Wagner Collection. Wagner had acquired it at an Anderson Galleries auction in 1916, the catalogue entry for which described it as "An item of utmost importance."

Scholarly opinion is divided as to authorship of McCormick's *Dictionary*. James Pilling (1893:4) ascribed it to Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet (1795-1883), a French-Canadian priest who played a central role in the establishment of Catholicism in the Pacific Northwest. Pilling obtained his information on the *Dictionary*'s authorship from John Gill--who had purchased McCormick's



stock in the 1870s and continued its publication with a self-styled eighth edition in 1878 (Belknap notes that McCormick published at least 11 editions between 1852 and 1879, with Gill adding ten more between 1881 and 1933). Father Blanchet and his companion Father Modeste Demers were the first two missionaries to Oregon, and it is well established that both priests learned the Chinook upon their arrival in the Willamette Valley and began using it to translate hymns and a catechism for indigenous converts. They had also begun compiling a dictionary, but it is unclear how much of their work actually informed McCormick's published dictionary.

From that presumed first edition of 1852, more than 50 subsequent editions would see print by the first quarter of the 20th century, "some of them," according to Edward H. Thomas, "quite primitive, restricted, and crude" (1958:183). These words are certainly appropriate for the original issues from McCormick's press, including this copy of the third edition that we offer here. There are, as already noted, no surviving copies of the first edition and only a single recorded example of the second. **This is only the fourth known copy of the third edition; OCLC records other examples at Yale's Beinecke Library, the Newberry Library, and the American Museum of Natural History.** Save for the auction appearance of the unique second edition in 1916, we trace no other record of these first three editions ever having appeared at auction or in the trade. This third edition of 1856--like the second and presumably the first--is a small pocket guide, 16mo in size, that would likely have been carried and used in regular or daily practice rather than as a more formal desk reference. And it shows clear evidence of such use, including an oval handstamp on the title page for "Wells, Fargo & Co. / Express / Portland, O. T." It is complete at 24 pages and retains its original stitching. **We believe that this is the earliest obtainable dictionary of any Indian language ever produced on the Pacific Coast.**

Relevant sources:

Belknap, George N.

1968 *Oregon Imprints: 1845-1870*. University of Oregon Press, Eugene.

Pilling, James C.

1893 *Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages (Including the Chinook Jargon)*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Scott, Harvey Whitefield

1890 *History of Portland, Oregon. With Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Prominent Citizens and Pioneers*. D. Mason & Co. Publishers, Syracuse, NY.

Thomas, Edward Harper

1928 Chinook Dictionaries. *American Speech* 3(3):182-185.

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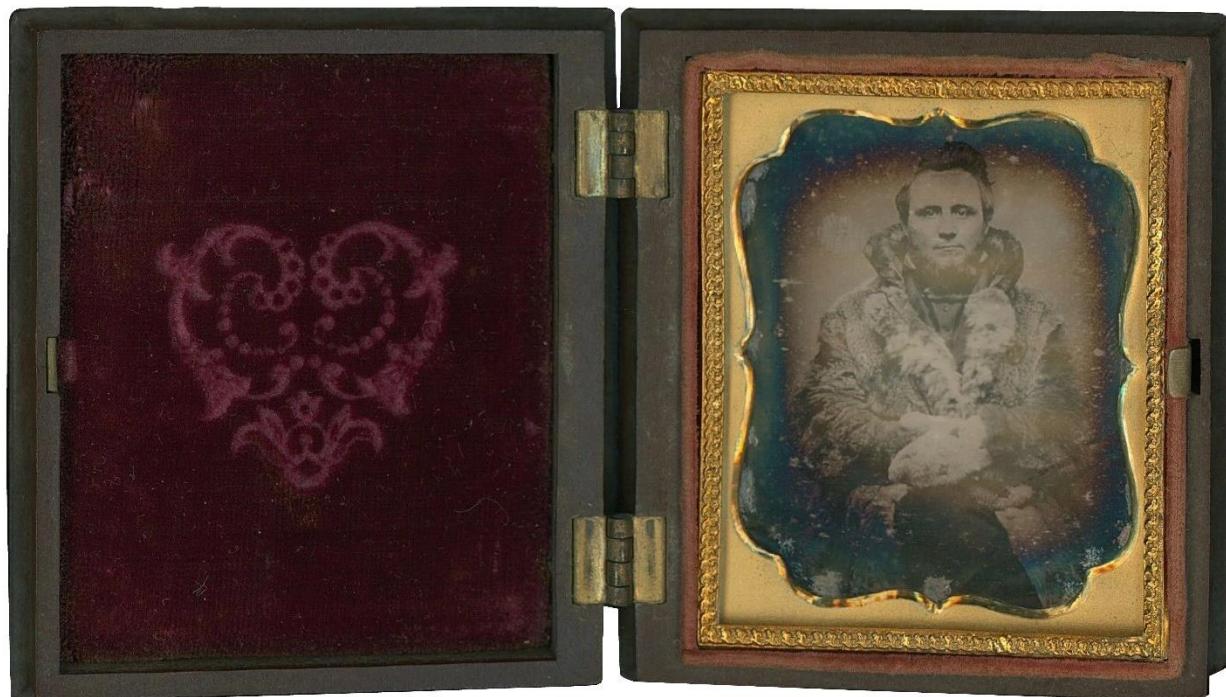
Blanchet, Francis, attributed. A COMPLETE DICTIONARY OF THE CHINOOK JARGON; TO WHICH IS ADDED NUMEROUS CONVERSATIONS THEREBY ENABLING ANY PERSON TO SPEAK THE CHINOOK CORRECTLY. Third Edition. S. J. McCormick, Franklin Book Store, Front Street, Portland, O. T., 1856. 24 pp. 16mo (14.5 cm). Stitched with wear and soiling to edges and outer leaves, old handstamp to title page. About very good.

10. SOLD.

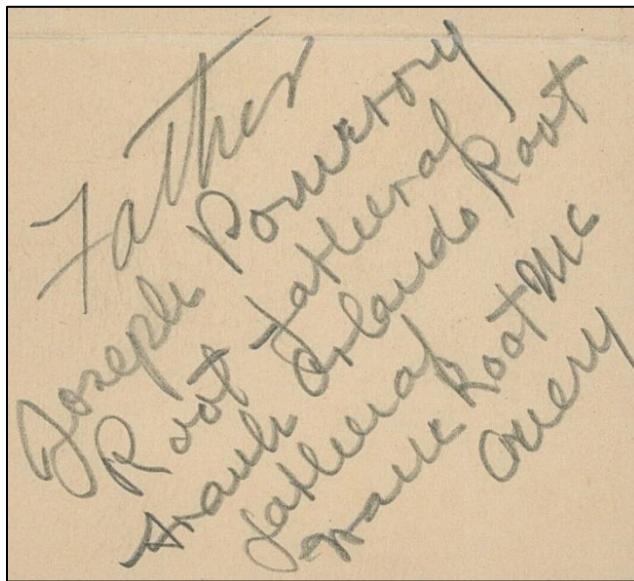
## The Only Known Daguerreotype of Kansas Abolitionist Joseph Pomeroy Root

The question of whether Kansas would enter the Union a slave state or free exposed once and for all the incommensurability of two Americas, each with a violently different understanding of personhood and liberty. Between 1855 and 1865, Bloody Kansas earned its name, from John Brown's massacre of five pro-slavery settlers at Pottawatomie in May 1856 to William Quantrill's raid on the abolitionist stronghold of Lawrence in 1863, during which his pro-slavery guerrillas killed more than 150 men and boys and looted nearly every bank and store in town before putting it to the torch. Among the first wave of northern abolitionists or free-staters to establish settlements in eastern Kansas were members of the Connecticut Kansas Colony, which founded the town of Wabaunsee along the Kansas River, about 70 miles west of Lawrence, in 1856. And among the most charismatic and active settlers of the Wabaunsee Colony was a young physician and former member of Connecticut's state legislature named Joseph Pomeroy Root. Root would go on to be elected the first Lieutenant Governor of Kansas, would later rise to the rank of Medical Director for the Army of the Frontier, and would serve as the ambassador to Chile. **This newly discovered daguerreotype features Root near the beginning of his life as a Kansas abolitionist, outfitted for deep winter on the Plains; its effect is powerful and dramatic.**

Joseph Pomeroy Root was born in Greenwich, Massachusetts, in 1826. After receiving a public education, he began to study medicine at age 20 and graduated with honors from Berkshire Medical College five years later. Root relocated to Hartford, Connecticut, and practiced there until his election to the state legislature in 1855. At the end of his term the following year he joined the Connecticut Kansas Company, also known as the Beecher Bible and Rifle Colony, launched in February 1856 when Charles Burrell Lines published a notice in New Haven's *Daily Palladium* that he was organizing a colony to emigrate to Kansas. In early March a company of 75 men met







at New Haven, drafted a constitution, and chose the colony's officers, of whom Root was one of six elected directors. The group made plans for their departure later that month, setting the date of March 26, and began purchasing supplies and provisions. Smaller committees simultaneously began making travel arrangements and exploring suitable locations for settlement.

All of the men who joined the company, along with six women who planned to accompany their husbands west, understood that they were settling Kansas as an anti-slavery force; their aim was no less than "establishing the Institutions of New England [i.e., northern abolitionism]...in that delightful country," as Lines had stated in his original announcement (in Pantle 1956:1). The next week a meeting was held at New Haven's North Church for the explicit purpose of providing the colony with arms. News of the company had spread quickly throughout the town and surrounding communities, and many local residents--including a large contingent of Yale faculty--turned out in support. The first speaker to take the pulpit was Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, brother of author Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, had burned through the nation's cultural landscape just four years earlier. Beecher promised the crowd that if 25 rifles were donated during the evening's service, his own congregation in Brooklyn would contribute another 25. By the end of the meeting, attendees had donated funds for 27 Sharps rifles, the first made by renowned Yale professor Benjamin Silliman. Within a week Beecher's promised donation arrived, as well, with 25 Bibles donated by a member of the Brooklyn church. Thus did the Connecticut Kansas Colony come to be known as Beecher's Rifle and Bible Colony.

New Haven held a farewell celebration for the company on March 31. The hall was filled to capacity and hundreds of would-be well-wishers were turned away or forced to stand and wait outside. The *New York Tribune* issued a glowing description of the company, noting that "A nobler looking body of men were never seen than our New-Haven Colony. They are mostly large, athletic men, with strong hands and strong hearts, and some of them are the flower of this, the metropolis of Connecticut Yankeedom" (in Pantle 1956:3-4). After a two-week trip by riverboat from New York City to Buffalo, then down the Ohio to St. Louis and west along the Missouri, the emigrants

reached the town of Lawrence, Kansas Territory, in mid-April. Before the end of the month they had located their colony at Wabaunsee. The first several weeks passed uneventfully, according to letters written by Charles Lines to the *Daily Palladium*, as the community began to find its footing in the unfamiliar but promising landscape. Everything changed mid-May. Men from the colony on a trip to Kansas City for supplies learned on the road that Lawrence was under immediate threat from pro-slavery forces and were asked by militiamen from Topeka to be ready with support. The Wabaunsee colony quickly formed a rifle company, dubbed “The Prairie Militia,” and dispatched three of their own to Lawrence to gauge the extent of the danger. Among these three, one of whom turned back at Topeka, were Joseph Root and William Mitchell.

When Root and Mitchell arrived at Lawrence they learned that conditions there were safe for the time being and so turned back to Wabaunsee. On the road, they were detained by a party of 16 armed Georgians who claimed the status of a “posse comitatus,” and the fates of Root and Mitchell was unknown to the colony for several days. Finally, Lines learned that Root and Mitchell had been arrested and were being held without charge in Lecompton, a pro-slavery stronghold in Douglas County. They were eventually released--still without charges and absent their personal weapons--on the evening of May 21, in time to witness the sacking of Lawrence by a pro-slavery force of more than 200 men under Sheriff Samuel Jones. Three nights later, John Brown and his band carried out the massacre of five pro-slavery men at Pottawatomie Creek, reportedly hacking them to death with broadswords. Kansas had begun its bleeding.

Root was incensed by his own treatment at the hands of the Border Ruffians, but more so by the sacking of Lawrence and the deliberate destruction of its abolitionist presses. Lines wrote in one of letters to the *Palladium* that Root had declared upon his release: “I WILL STAY NOW, AT ALL HAZARDS, AND SEE THIS THING THROUGH, IF I DIE FOR IT!” (in Pantle 1956:152, emphasis in original). He launched himself into the Free State cause. According to the Kansas volume of the *United States Biographical Dictionary* (1879), he purchased a horse upon returning to Wabaunsee and then crossed much of the territory organizing anti-slavery forces and consolidating the Free State political party. On July 4 he was at Topeka, the Free State counterpart to Lecompton, when U. S. Army Col. Edwin Sumner, commanding officer at Fort Leavenworth and under direct orders from President Franklin Pierce, dispersed its extralegal legislature as it was drafting a request to Congress for the admission of Kansas as a free state. Shortly after he was elected chairman of the Free State executive committee, the highest authority then recognized by the Free State party, and in that capacity laid out a new road for Free State emigrants seeking entry into the territory. Since Border Ruffians and even some federal troops were turning such parties away along the existing routes, Root located a road from Nebraska City south to Topeka and marked it surreptitiously so that emigration might continue. In August he took the field alongside Henry Shombre and Samuel Walker at the Battle of Fort Titus. Although Shombre was mortally wounded, the altercation ended with the complete surrender of Colonel Henry Titus, 34 of his pro-slavery forces, more than 400 muskets, 13 horses, wagons, provisions, and \$10,000 in gold and bank drafts.

Following the victory at Fort Titus, the Free State executive committee appointed Root its agent and charged him with returning East, both to raise resources for the cause and to represent true conditions in Kansas to New England supporters. Root agreed and before leaving turned over his command of abolitionist forces to James H. Lane, who would later serve as one of the first two senators from Kansas after it entered the Union in 1861. Root, by all accounts, seems to have had

a successful tour through abolitionist strongholds in the Northeast during the fall and winter of 1856-57, obtaining arms, funds, and other forms of aid for the Free State movement. By the spring of 1857 he had returned to Kansas, settling with his family in Wyandotte. There he built the first house erected by a white settler, imported as sections manufactured in Connecticut. Long known as “Dr. Root’s Pill Box” for its small size and for the pills the Doctor dispensed to his patients, it was also a place of harbor on the Underground Railroad, its cellar used as a waystation for fugitives on their way north to Nebraska (Morgan 1901:252).

This daguerreotype of Joseph Pomeroy Root, the only example known to exist, was almost certainly taken during the period of his early involvement with the Free State movement. While any daguerreotypes of settlers to Kansas Territory are rare, this one is particularly powerful and dramatic. No photographer, place, or date are indicated on the case or its accompanying note of identification, housed beneath the image. Yet we suggest that the details of the image itself enable us to situate it far more precisely in the context of Root’s Free State activities. Root’s determined gaze is striking and not unexpected for a man who had taken on so prominent a role in the politics of a disputed territory. What truly sets the photograph apart, though, are his buffalo overcoat and thick woolen mittens, also probably knitted from buffalo fur. We have scanned through dozens of cased images--including nearly fifty collected by the Kansas State Historical Society that depict early emigrants to the territory--and have not located a single comparable example. When people sat for daguerreotypes or ambrotypes, they generally did so in their best attire, and indeed we can see in this image the fine suit that Root wears beneath his conspicuous overcoat and mittens. We should conclude, then, that Root donned them here for a specific purpose.

Buffalo overcoats were not widely available in the East until after the Civil War, when the expansion of railroads into the Central Plains made it practical and economical to ship such heavy and bulky garments across very long distances (Dray 2018); the same holds true for buffalo mittens like those we believe Root wears here. Both, however, were common winter attire on the Plains when he and his fellow emigrants arrived in Kansas. Charles Lines notes in his 1856 letters to the *Palladium* that some of their men slept in the open, wrapped in buffalo robes, while Barbara Fargo writes that “it was the custom of the wives of the pioneers to spin wool from the shaggy fur of the buffalo into yarn and then knit mittens and socks from it for their menfolk” (1969:20-21). Given all of this, we suggest that Root’s daguerreotype was taken during the fall or winter of 1856-57, in response to the committee’s charge that he “represent the real condition of affairs” in the territory (*Biographical Dictionary* 1879:250). It would have offered eastern allies and supporters a visual statement of the rugged life their Free State friends were undertaking in the west. With such a political aim in mind, it is also possible that Root and his allies planned to have an engraving made from the image, as abolitionists like Brown and Douglass were already doing.

While the photograph could have been produced in an eastern studio, we think it unlikely that Root would have hauled his buffalo coat and mittens across the country just to use them as props. Rather, we suspect that he sat for the image at a local studio before undertaking the journey east, perhaps in the daguerreotype rooms of Lawrence photographer and staunch abolitionist John Bowles, whose studio was located on Massachusetts Street in 1856. Bowles was a stationmaster on the Underground Railroad, and that summer he made two daguerreotypes of Free State batteries posing with cannon captured from pro-slavery forces. In September he is believed to have made the only known portrait of John Brown taken in Kansas, though but a sketch of the original image

survives. There can be little question that Bowles and Root would have known each other, perhaps quite well given the close-knit abolitionist community. In any event, no other photographers are known to have had rooms outside of Leavenworth before about 1858 (Taft 1934).

After establishing his home at Wyandotte, Root was elected to the Free State Legislative Council of 1857-58, and when the anti-slavery Wyandotte Constitution was adopted and signed in 1859--and Kansas was subsequently admitted into the Union as the 34th state--he was elected its first lieutenant governor. Just two years later, he resigned his office to enlist with the 2nd Kansas Cavalry as a surgeon, from which position he eventually rose to become Medical Director for the Army of the Frontier. During the Grant administration he served as secretary of the congressional Committee on Public Lands before receiving appointment as ambassador to Chile, a position he held until 1873. Root returned to Wyandotte and resumed his medical practice in the 1870s, and he died there on July 20, 1885, at the age of 59. This is one of the few surviving daguerreotypes of a significant figure from territorial Kansas and captures an extraordinary man at the start of his political career. **Just as fascinating, we think, it appears to represent a very early example of the photograph as visual and political statement.**

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[Kansas--Connecticut Kansas Colony and Abolition]: [DAGUERREOTYPE PHOTOGRAPH OF EARLY KANSAS SETTLER AND FREE STATE ABOLITIONIST DR. JOSEPH POMEROY ROOT]. [n.p., n.d., but likely Lawrence, Kansas, Fall/Winter 1856-57. Ninth-plate daguerreotype in thermoplastic case. Minor edge wear to case, small chips from two lower corners, light wear to case lining; image with small rubbed spot over Root's right shoulder. Very good.

11. SOLD.

## Announcing the Completion of the Milwaukee and Mississippi Rail Road

During the second week of April 1857, the final spike in the Milwaukee & Mississippi Rail Road was driven at Prairie du Chien--Wisconsin's second oldest city, located at the confluence of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers--six-and-a-half years after its first rails were set. And on the morning of April 15 the engine *Prairie du Chien*, hauling three passenger cars and one baggage car, left Milwaukee headed west. At five-o'clock that afternoon it reached the business district of its namesake town, known as Lower Town, where it was met by a 200-gun salute and a loud cheer from the hundreds who gathered at the newly constructed depot to welcome its arrival. The *North Iowa Times* reported that "The shriek of the Lake Michigan locomotive was echoed by the bluffs and responded to by a shrill whistle of welcome from a Mississippi steamer just coming into port" (in Lorenzsonn 2010:235). Axel Lorenzsonn (2010:235) even notes that a barrel of Lake Michigan water, carried aboard the *Prairie du Chen* just for the event, was poured into the Mississippi River to honor the state's first rail linking these two great bodies of water.

This broadside commemorating the event of the railroad's completion, which includes a woodcut vignette of a steam engine running alongside a Mississippi riverboat, seems to be a unique example; per OCLC, no other such productions exist in any institutional holdings. It is also among the earliest non-newspaper imprints from Prairie du Chien, one of the most important trading hubs of the Old Northwest, where a French trading post was founded in 1685. Its first newspaper, the *Patriot*, only appeared in 1846, and the *Courier*--printer of this item--began a decade later. **OCLC lists just two earlier Prairie du Chien imprints, one likely from the press of the Patriot and the other from the mission press of Father Joseph Crétin.** A unique survival.

Relevant sources:

Butterfield, Consul W.

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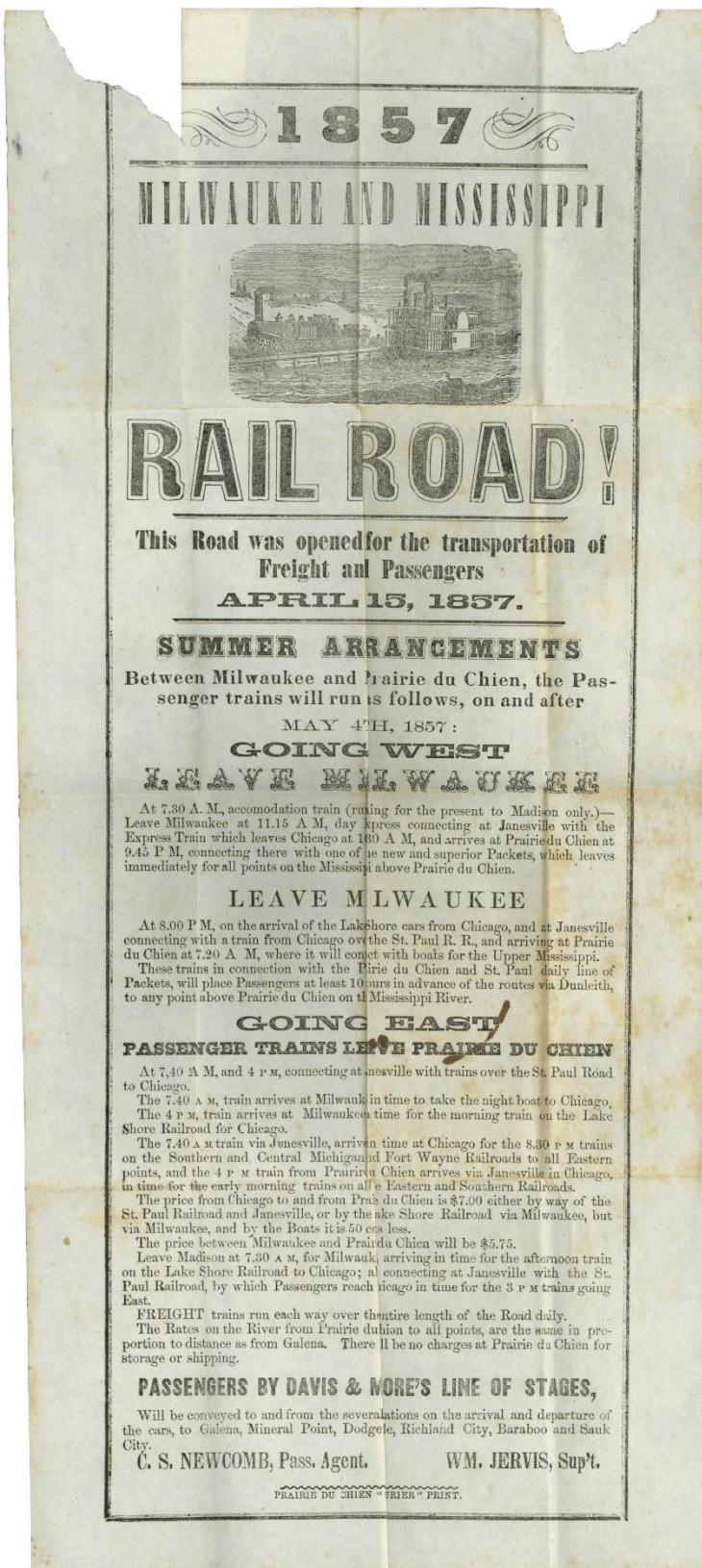
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[Wisconsin--Railroad]: 1857 / MILWAUKEE AND MISSISSIPPI / RAIL ROAD! / THIS ROAD WAS OPENED TO THE TRANSPORTATION OF / FREIGHT AND PASSENGERS / APRIL 15, 1857 [caption title]. Prairie de Chien, n.d. but April 1857. "Courier" Print. Broadside. 8 x 18 in. (20 x 46 cm). Vignette of stream engine running alongside riverboat. Light edge wear, old vertical and horizontal folds (as if mailed in cover), paper with scattered foxing, loss along upper edge where likely mounted, not affecting text. Overall very good.

12. SOLD.



## Well Done, Union Men of Kentucky! An Unrecorded Lexington Broadside

From 1861 to 1863, Kentucky's intellectual center of Lexington changed hands between Union and Confederate forces at least a half dozen times. At the start of the war, most Kentuckians believed their state could serve as a mediating force between North and South; indeed, Governor Beriah Magoffin was an avowed Southern sympathizer, while most members of the state General Assembly were committed Unionists. Accordingly, Kentucky formally declared neutrality in May 1861. Over the ensuing months, however, this stance became less and less tenable, as Kentuckians found themselves drawn inexorably into war. Confederate troops violated the Commonwealth's neutrality first, with Union forces under Grant's command following soon after. In September the Assembly passed a resolution demanding withdrawal of the Confederate troops only, then ordered that the flag of the United States be flown from the state capitol. Magoffin resigned the following year, and Kentucky became one of the most bitterly contested seats of the Civil War.

This unique broadside, apparently printed at Lexington in 1863, warns true Union men of Kentucky to rebuff any overtures from Copperhead politicians--particularly Richard Buckner and William Dudley--who while pleading for peace were actually seeking to throw the state into the secessionist ranks. Of Buckner specifically it warns: "An observation of his stereo-typed, cynical smile, low, soft and silvery, or hissing voice, will cause the intuition of your nature to assert itself and give your inner self the same warning of danger that you experience on hearing the hiss of the rattle snake." It also excoriates Kentuckians Simon Bolivar Buckner (who was Richard's cousin and then serving as lieutenant general in the Confederate Army) and John C. Breckenridge (who had served as U. S. Vice President under Buchanan but had likewise accepted appointment as a Confederate general). After summarizing Kentucky's politics from 1861-1863, it ends with an addendum noting that the Union Convention at Louisville had rejected the appeals of "Buckner, Dudley, & Co.," exclaiming "Well done, Union men of Kentucky!" **We trace no other copies of this large broadside vividly describing the state's fractured politics in 1863**

Relevant sources:

Harrison, Lowell

2010 *The Civil War in Kentucky*. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.

Hood, Larry J.

1978 For the Union: Kentucky's Unconditional Unionist Congressmen and the Development of the Republican Party in Kentucky, 1863-1865. *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 79(3):197-215.

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[Kentucky--Civil War]: A BRIEF REVIEW / OF THE / POLITICS OF KENTUCKY, FROM 1861 TO '63. N.p, n.d., but Lexington, after March 19, 1863. Broadside. 12 3/8 x 17 3/8 in. (31 x 44 cm). Old, unobtrusive dampstain to lower portion of sheet; toning along top and right edges where previously mounted; ledger page still attached to verso.; old folds. Very good.

13. **\$1750.**



## Texas Has Not Gained Much Glory: A Confederate Father's Lament

On April 14, 1863, Captain Isaac "Ike" Turner of the 5th Texas Infantry climbed to the top of a parapet overlooking the James River at Fort Huger, near Smithfield, Virginia. Only 24 years old, he was the youngest company commander in General John Bell Hood's Texas Brigade, and without question among the most popular. He had already led his troops through 16 battles, mostly in Virginia, and following the loss of all field grade officers after the Battle of Antietam he was breveted to major. After Fredericksburg he was singled out for honors with a dress parade ordered by Brigadier General Jerome Robertson "for gallantry in marching his company to the rear under fire, in perfect order and in line of march, as if on the field in ordinary field exercises" (in Schmutz 2016:318). From his vantage atop the breastwork at Fort Huger, Turner had a clear view of the James and its confluence with the Nansemond, a key position along the Confederate Army's James River defenses. But his position was exposed. A Union sharpshooter on the other side of the river took aim and fired; the bullet found its mark and Turner fell, mortally wounded. The next day, as the young captain lay dying in a shabby field hospital, his father--at home 1300 miles away in Polk County, Texas--began this letter to family in Louisiana, sharing his weariness and disillusionment with the war and his fear of its consequences for both sides, North and South. **In context, it is one of the most poignant such Civil War letters we have ever encountered.**



Joseph Algernon Sidney Turner, born in December 1808 in Putnam County, Georgia, had himself served as captain to a company of Georgians that accompanied Zachary Taylor to Mexico in 1846. He and his wife, Evaline Hubert, had six children--four sons and two daughters--and in 1859 he moved them all to property he had purchased in East Texas several years before, to which 19-year-old Ike had gone ahead to ready for the family. Just two years later the war began. Ike and his uncle, R. W. "Bob" Hubert, whose family had likewise made the move from Georgia to Texas, raised a company of about 80 men, locally known as the Polk County Flying Artillery. All of Turner's younger brothers--William, Joseph, and Charles--also joined the company. Failing to obtain commission as an artillery unit, the Polk County men earned an opportunity to go to Virginia as infantry. After arriving in September 1861, they were formally mustered as Company K, Fifth Texas Regiment of the Volunteer Infantry, with Ike as their captain.

Not quite two years had passed when his father, Joseph, sat down to write this letter. The raucous celebrations that had accompanied the would-be Flying Artillery's departure for Virginia were all but forgotten, their place taken now by the solemnities of war. "Well William. It is after 12 o'clock & no dinner. While waiting for it, I'll commence a letter to you." So he begins. Over the four pages and nearly two thousand closely-spaced words that follow, Turner ranges across Ike and his exploits with Hood's Brigade, his anxieties about the future of an independent South, and his discontents with the war and its self-professed Christian combatants. His thoughts read at times like an elegy in prose, a lamentation far more attuned to what the war had cost than to anything it had achieved. We offer large sections of it here, rather than intrude its flow.

Hargrove's Volk Co. Regt. April 10<sup>th</sup> 1863

Well William. It is after 12 O'clock & no dinner. While waiting for it I'll commence a letter to you. I received your letter & was glad to find out you where abouts but sorry to hear you were on the great Hill granted ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> you can as little as possible him to smoke. Smoking the pipe & writing the smoke flies rather too thick. Mr. Shultz is puffing away & blowing. The old man's health is good but looks care worn since the war. He ~~has~~ <sup>has</sup> had a cataract in the eye and in carrying off the eye he was drawn down, which disfigures it. He got a bullet from Shultz as well as one of our boys at the same time we received yours. All well, for summer our son, was at Mr. Bassett's & said he would leave for Roanoke shortly. Complains of weakness in the legs. I suppose not to you that he & the had been in all the battles of the Regiment up to Shapopoly when he was wounded in the right. It was some 2 inches long and was received in charge of the Regt. while the ball was cut out in an inch of where the thigh joins the body. The ball grazed the thigh bone but did not break it. It has been in all the battles. He is the only officer of the Army that held office when the Regiment was organized that has been in all the battles. He has received 2120 ~~2120~~ <sup>2120</sup> pounds. He has never been from the Regt. but 4 days. that he was with us when I was in Roanoke and the day I then took him to get to the front. He got to his company after the ball was removed at Gaines ~~He~~ <sup>He</sup> had command of a company of black soldiers at Malvern Hill. Commanded the Regiment in the late part of the battle of Monocacy. It was brought up at Shapopoly. You know <sup>you</sup> his command of 8 companies at the battle of Fredericksburg and at and at an expected battle near the same place, he had command of 12 companies. (that division was when the boys wrote between Abingdon & Petersburg). He went to the field they were placed there to meet any emergency that would arise. They took up their position at Fredericksburg on the 17<sup>th</sup> of Feb and on their march to the front encountered a noon storm of those snows from N.Y. What I have written about the I have received a reply from Bob & other sources for the winter on the fort little & scarcely any about himself. Now I will say that he has the confidence of God. But he has in the last 2 of the battles Dick got out time and about, in covering of another. Bill has only been in the battle of 7 p.m. It will take down under sense of physical disability & one in charge. He is now on Dick's plantation. I am in hope to keep him there for Dick & Charles. Started to writing this day two days ago and then to go on myself will to do the writing for sake of us to get up the necessities of life. Salt, etc. etc. there are odds to make there for we have no beef cattle &c. I have no money, & don't intend to have any at this place. It was difficult before the war to get an overseer in the country, now it is simply impossible. I have one at Mill Creek that will do under ordinary circumstances but he thinks he has every thing in a shambles. Running I have been over part of the com. I moderate stand. Com from unable to have single. Now I return from my superiors to you. I often said the last to you as little as possible goes the best way in these turbulent times, but a long breath at best will escape me & I mean, without you too, the most ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> be the greatest. All we can do is to live with love & kind after each

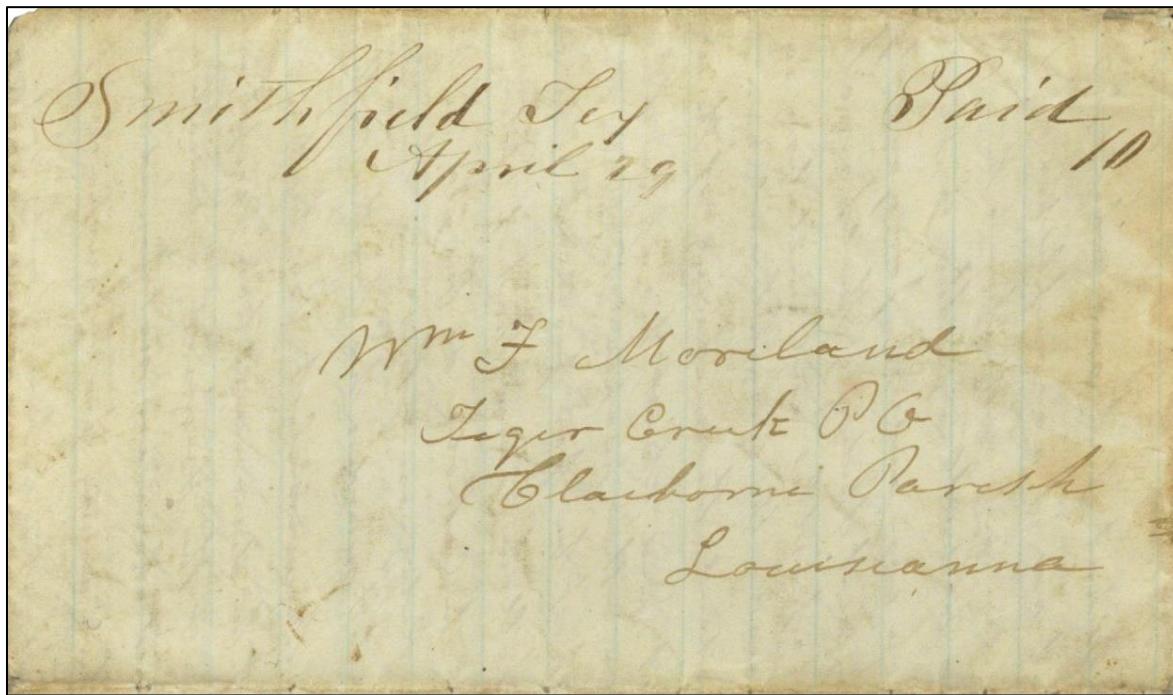
“Been to dinner. Smoking the pipe & writing. The smoke flies rather too thick. Mr. Hubert [his wife's father] is puffing away & blowing. The old man's health is good, but looks care worn since the war. He also had a cancer under the eye and in curing it, the eye lid was drawn down, which disfigures it. We got a letter from Nugleber as well as from our boys at the same time we received yours. All well. Joe Turner, our son, was at Mr. Baisden's & said he would leave for Virginia shortly. Complains of weakness in thigh bone. I suppose I wrote to you that he & Ike had been in all the battles of the Regiment up to Sharpsburg, when Joe was wounded in the thigh. It was some 11 inches long and was received in a charge the 5th Texas made. The ball was cut out in an inch of where the thigh joins the body. The ball grazed the thigh bone, but did not break it. Ike has been in all the battles. He is the only officer of the 5th Reg. that held office when the Regiment was organized that has been in all the battles. He has received but two slight wounds. He has never been from his Reg. but 4 days that he was with me when I was in Virginia, and the time it then took him to get to the Army. He got to his company after line of battle was formed at Gaines Farm. Had command of 4 Companies of Sharp Shooters at Malvern Hill. Commanded the Regiment in the latter part of the battle of Manassas. At Boonsborough & at Sharpsburg, Gen. Hood gave him command of 8 Companies at the battle of Fredericksburg and at an expected battle near the same place, he had command of 12 Companies. Hood's division was, when the boys wrote, between Richmond & Petersburg. Ike wrote he thought they were placed there to meet any emergency that would arise. They broke up their winter Quarters at Fredericksburg on the 17th of Feb., and on their march to Richmond encountered a snow storm of three successive days. What I have written about Ike I have received chiefly from Bob & other sources, for Ike writes but little, & scarcely any about himself. Bob Hubert says that Ike has the confidence of Hood. Bob has been in all but 2 of the battles. Sickness at one time and about recruiting at another. Bill has only been in the battle of 7 Pines. He broke down under disease & physical disability & was discharged. He is now on Bob's plantation. I am in hopes to keep him there, for Mark & Charley started to Virginia this day two weeks, and there is no one except Bill to do the riding for all of us, to get up the necessities of life, salt, iron, shoes, or hides to make shoes & boots, for we have no beef cattle &c. I have no overseer, & don't intend to have any at this place. It was difficult before the war to get an overseer worth anything. Any now, it is simply impossible....”

“Too dark to write, finish in the morning. 16th after dinner. Evaline napping. I took mine before dinner. Alone, too lazy to read, to [sic] tired to start to the field yet. Finished smoking. Took a chew of poor home made tobacco and nothing to do. And the mind ever at work. What better than to turn my thoughts to you with whom I have had many very very pleasant moments. God knows I wish I could have some more of them. You & I differ about the war. Well, let us differ. My opinion is the north & the south had become antagonistic and rotten for a fight, & as our government was not far seeing enough to kick up a fuss with some other nation, the warlike & murderous principle in man had to break loose upon his brother. To be sure, they hung the fight upon the N[----] question, both parties, but the truth of it is, in my opinion they wanted a fight & would have sprung some other question to have had an excuse to go to war. I now give you an opinion of us as a nation. We have had an excess of Freedom, which the masses in all ages have not been able to bear, and now we have an excess of despotism, north & south. There is no worse despotism than to be swallowed up in a military vortex. It is my opinion that a people that has the privilege of the ballot box can secure more liberty by their votes than they can by any other means. When we gain our independence, which I am in hopes we will do, we have not secured our freedom. A heavy, and I may say, enormous debt hangs over us, a large standing army which

both the north & south will have to or will keep up, will destroy our liberties. The south particularly will have to become a military people in order to maintain her independence, and history shows that a military people can not have much freedom....”

“21st. Well, Lucius, the old Waggoner has returned from Alexandria. He had to cross the river & go 20 miles to some Bayou where Mark, his wife & children & Charley took water in an open flat to go to Natchez. They will have to go through the overflow. A Texian, discharg'd soldier of the 5th Texas, who was discharged from wounds at Manassas, came on with the wagon. They had him prisoner at Fort Delaware. He was taken on the retreat from Yorktown & bears the marks of irons which he wore during his captivity....”

“22nd. I have to attend to all my business. The Darkies work well enough, but they need direction and I am not able to be in the field sufficient to give it to them, besides, they do their work rather slovenly when not attended to. I have to go off to Liberty & to Houston, the trip will take ten days, which will make much against me or the crop at this particular juncture. It was Joe that Tom Moon saw instead of Ike. Joe was in Americus. Ike has been with the Regiment all winter....”



“Yesterday I started to write to you, but my mind was clumsy & it would not act & my fingers were so stiff it was difficult to write. This morning I will again commence. What will it be. I find again my fingers are stiff, though I am not nervous. Ah me. Stiff fingers, stiff joints, pains in the limbs, prostration in the morning after a nights sleep, indicate too plainly that the system is wearing out. Whether I exercise or not, I feel wearied and prostrated. Yet I must meet it as gracefully as I can. How long the system will stand up under this bodily and mental prostration, God only knows. The Christian Religion, what of it, and what of & what has it proposed to do, & what has it accomplished in 1800 years. It has proposed to bring man into subjection to the will of God Almighty and its followers to dwell together in peace and love. Has it been accomplished.

You can answer for yourself. I answer No. The cause: It is simply by not studying the character of Christ as laid down in the 4 Apostles and imitating in all things his character, more especially the humility and non resistance of his life. If I understand the meaning of the word Christian, it is a follower of Christ. Did Christ, his Apostles & followers fight each other or even other people. No. Did they encourage resistance to the powers that be. Far from it. The only resistance on record of any of his followers was that of Peter, & he was rebuked by Christ. Does the Catholic do this. No, he kneels down & prays for the Catholic Religion and the spread of Christ's gospel & gets up & shoots & murders his brother Catholic, & so with the Episcopalian, the Universalist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist & all the rest of the denominations except one. Even the Mason, the Odd Fellow & the Howard association are doing the same. One little sect alone are not found in the ranks of the southern and northern army for the purpose of murdering each other. The Quakers. How beautiful, how lovely, how fascinating is the religion practiced by that little sect, & it affords the only [?] for me to found any hopes of the final triumph of Christianity, & until the different denominations will engrift in their faith the doctrine of nonresistance, their efforts to make the world a peace loving, God fearing people will be a failure."

"24th. These reflections or opinions you will consider as rather novel or startling, as coming from me, but this war has upset nearly every old settled opinion I ever had. I now have only notions and I don't believe any of them have arisen to the dignity of an opinion, except what I have written above. Sundown. I am so often called off, that you will find it has taken several days to write this. Such as it is, I send it. It may afford some food for reflection. We got a letter from Bob yesterday. He says they are near Petersburg. Joe is sick with the bowel complaint. I expect to hear of his sickness by going to Virginia. Ike writes that Joe limps from his wound. Bob writes that Gen. Hood has recommended Ike to be promoted to a command of a battalion of sharp shooters with the rank of Lieut. Col. Hood gave him the command of 4 Companies at Malvern Hill & at Fredericksburg, and 12 Companies at an expected fight near Fredericksburg. God bless you & Elizabeth & the children. Remember me to all the kin. Write...."

"27th. Evaline says tell Elizabeth she will write before long. She has much weight on her, both in her anxiety for her children in clothing her family & making what she can for Soldiers. We have just received news of the defeat of Sibley. I fear he is not much, neither is his men under that control which is essential to victory. Texas has not gained much glory on this side of the river. I fear it is not so much for want of bravery as the want of discipline. A good little rain & still raining. We will now make some corn on our black lands and with one shower, a good one we may. We can make a good crop. Our sandy land requires more. Rain in August makes the cotton.

J.A.S. Turner"

Capt. Isaac Hood died in camp on April 15, the day his father began this letter. On learning of his death, none other than Gen. John Bell Hood proclaimed that "he would sooner have lost any [other] officer in his command of four brigades" (in Schmutz 2016:318). We cannot know when Joseph and Evaline Turner learned of their eldest son's death in eastern Virginia; neither the Union nor Confederate governments had yet developed any formal policies for notifying families or next of kin that a loved one was lost. Ike's last words, whispered to one of his brothers still in Company K, were a request: "If you can, please take me home to my mother, for I fear that she will worry so about me" (in Williams 2012:297). Yet with war still raging all around them, it was impossible

to carry Turner back to his mother in Texas. Instead, his brother Charles was able to take his body by train to Americus, Georgia, where he was buried in the family's old plot. There he lay for more than a century, until 1991 when his remains were reinterred with those of his parents and siblings in Texas. Ike's death, though, was not the only loss that came to the Turners. Charles died in 1865 of illness contracted during the war, while Evaline herself died the following year. Joseph Turner died three years after Evaline in 1869, the cause of death--as he nearly predicted in his letter--given simply as "debility." He was 61 years old.

Most Civil War letters offered in the trade today are from the camps and battlefields and document the daily lives of soldiers in the heat or drudgery of war. Home front letters, if offered at all, seem mundane in comparison, intended as they were to keep those soldiers abreast of news and events away from the fight. Turner's letter is entirely different from any of these. It is deeply introspective and personal, expressing doubts about faith and country at a time when neither held much cause for hope. "Texas has not gained much glory," he wrote, before even knowing of the son who had fallen days before. What would he have made of the Lost Cause, had he lived long enough, its grubby veneer of glory pasted over defeat? **A profoundly moving reflection on the most searing conflict in American history, and an important item of Texana.**

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[Texas--Civil War, Hood's Brigade]: Joseph A. S. Turner: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED BY JOSEPH A. S. TURNER, FATHER OF CAPT. ISAAC TURNER, 5TH TEXAS INFANTRY (HOOD'S BRIGADE), DISCUSSING THE CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR]. Morganville, Polk County, Texas, April 15-27, 1863. [4] pp. (about 2000 words), on two lined sheets, foolscap size. Old folds, light edge wear, paper lightly tanned. Pinhole at fold costing 1-2 letters but not affecting legibility. Overall very good.

14. SOLD.

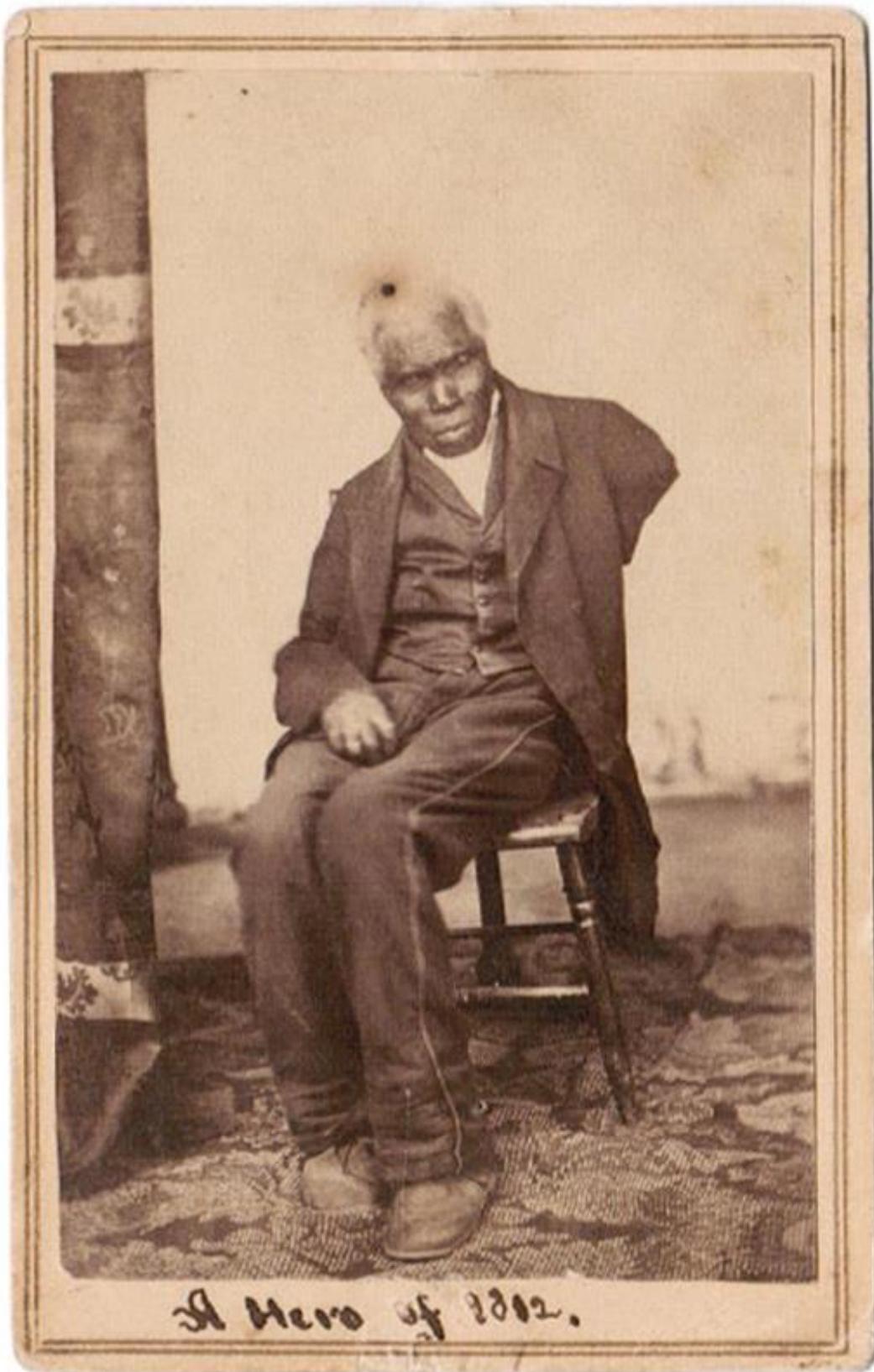
## A Hero of 1812, Photographed at Helena, Arkansas, in 1863

Thomas W. Bankes arrived in Helena, Arkansas, sometime just before 1860. He was born in England about 1830, but little is known of the circumstances that brought him to America, much less to the bustling river town midway between Memphis and Greenville, Mississippi. The earliest notice of his residence is an advertisement printed in the *Helena Southern Shield* newspaper for January 28, announcing his services as a “Plain and Decorative Paper Hanger” and an “Imitator of Fancy Woods and Marble” (in Palmquist and Kailbourn 2005:86). The Federal Census for 1860 also lists him as a teacher. Yet by the summer of 1863, when occupying Union forces repulsed a disastrous Confederate effort to retake the town, Bankes had turned to photography. For the next two years, until he moved to Little Rock in 1865, he produced dozens of photographs that chronicle the war and its consequences in Helena, situating this place in the context of the Trans-Mississippi theater. Perhaps the most significant of all his images are those he took of the town’s Black refugee camps, of which but very few examples survive. **To these we can add this previously unknown carte-de-visite, remarkable in its own right, captioned “A Hero of 1812.”** The elderly subject’s name is not recorded, but the outline of his story--handwritten here on the verso--relates a tale of courage, sacrifice, and betrayal in the early years of the American Republic.

General Samuel Ryan Curtis’s Union Army of the Southwest walked into Helena without opposition in July 1862. In a week, no fewer than fifty Black refugees in flight from neighboring plantations had made their way to the Federal camp. A thousand more would arrive in August and September, and by the end of January--after Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation ending slavery in all of the Confederate states--the number of refugees at Helena had increased to more than four thousand. Curtis and his troops were entirely unprepared. Housing in the makeshift refugee camps consisted of worn-out canvas army tents or rough-hewn cabins thrown together with scraps of wood. The camps were located near the river and so flooded regularly. The drinking water was fetid, the food was not much better, and sanitation was all but non-existent. Men were put to work on fortifications and unloading supplies from boats, but women and children had little to do and nowhere else to go. Rapes and beatings were common, even here under the so-called protection of Union men. The fact that so many remained rather than return to the plantations they had fled puts the lie to Lost Cause myths of good masters and happy slaves.

Bankes’s photographs provide the only visual record of these camps at Helena, and while refugees fill his compositions, none are presented as individuals. Excepting the unique image that we offer here, we have found no other portrait by Bankes of an African American subject. On the verso, a clear hand summarizes the man’s life story in a few broad strokes:

This man was a driver of a wagon & participated in the battle in Washington in 1812 where he lost his arm. After the close of the war he was made free--& received free papers in which his age was entered 30 years--(in consequence of his bravery & service). He was afterwards kidnapped his free papers destroyed & he was sold into slavery in Louisiana-- --On the first of Jan 1863 he became free--by the emancipation proclamation--being at the time a slave in Missouri. He is past 80 years of age & is dressed in a suit of clothes bought by the money sent from Boston to Miss Mann [emphasis in original].



This man was a  
driver of a wagon  
participated in  
the battle in  
Worthington in 1812  
where he lost his  
arm. At the close  
of the war he was  
made free - &  
T. W. BANKES,  
PHOTOGRAPHIC ARTIST.  
Helena Ark.  
Received free papers  
in which his age was  
entered 30 years (in  
consequence of his  
bravery and service).  
He was afterward  
kidnapped his free pa-  
pers destroyed & he  
was sold into Slavery  
in Gloucester - on the first

Slavery remained legal in the nation's capitol until April 16, 1862, when Lincoln signed the District of Columbia Emancipation Act. The battle in Washington referenced early in the text took place in 1814, not 1812, but this is not a surprising mistake. As American troops prepared to take on the British at Bladensburg, less than 10 miles from Washington, agents of the government impressed dozens of wagon drivers--including Free Blacks and slaves--to assist in moving national documents, stores of ammunition, and other goods to safer ground. Bankes's subject was almost certainly among these men, but this is only informed supposition, as the number of contemporary documents referencing African American service in the War of 1812 is vanishingly small. It was while participating in the capitol's defense, as a driver or in some other capacity, that he lost his left arm, a sacrifice for which he was awarded his freedom. Yet freedom was cut short. Enduring a fate that fell to so many free people of color in the antebellum era, he was kidnapped and returned to slavery in the deep South, held in bondage until his flight to Helena in 1863. Although the note on the cdv reports that he was freed by the Emancipation Proclamation, the appalling irony is that he was not, as the text continues that he was "at the time a slave in Missouri." As much as it tied the war to slavery, the Proclamation freed only those slaves in Confederate states. Missouri never seceded, so at the time of his portrait the "Hero of 1812" was still legally enslaved.

Most photographs of refugees depict them dressed in little more than rags, but the man who sat for this portrait by Bankes wears a suit of clothing bought (according to the text) with money sent from Boston to "Miss Mann." This is a reference to Maria Rebecca Mann, a niece of famed educational reformer and abolitionist Horace Mann. Maria was born in Mendon, Massachusetts, in 1817 and was an early graduate of Bridgewater Normal School, founded by her uncle in 1840 as the first state-funded school in the United States established specifically to train public school teachers. Mann worked for years as a teacher in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania, but when the war began she took a position in St. Louis with the Western Sanitary Commission. Early in 1863 the Commission dispatched her to the refugee camps at Helena--already becoming known for their particularly harsh conditions--to set up a new hospital, to teach, and to attend to the needs of the residents. Soon after arriving, she wrote that the "personal condition" of the patients in the hospital was "so deplorable that any idea of change for the better seems utterly impossible. Many of them seem to come there to die & they do die very rapidly" (in Schieffler 2017:182). Over the course of eight months, she established a new hospital, taught at a makeshift school, and distributed food, medicine, and clothes as these were available. Indeed, one of her main responsibilities was to dispense the clothing collected by the Commission from across the Midwest. Historian Thavolia Glymph, discussing one of Bankes's photographs of the camp at Helena, notes that:

Black refugees from slavery invariably reached Union lines in rags. By 1863, the only clothing they possessed likely suffered from as much as two years of wear....In Bankes's photograph, the people wear "new" and, in some cases, rather fancy attire. Though shoeless, the young boys sport nice jackets, vests, and ties; some wear full suits. The women, no longer almost naked in the worn and tattered dresses in which they generally arrived, are attired in clean clothing and fresh aprons [2015:137].

This explains the context of the suit worn by the man identified as "A Hero of 1812" in the portrait by Bankes. **What is more significant, though, is that a comparison of the handwritten note outlining his life with a letter composed at the end of the war reveals that Mann herself**

there, just long enough to  
building progresses & apply  
In that interval, if you're  
control of that clothing,  
articles, that you can turn  
very cheaply, perhaps sufficient

participated in the  
battle in Washington in 1812  
where he lost his  
arm. At the close

12<sup>th</sup>

in 1812

'65 —

1863

Washington

Washington

wrote the text that distinguishes this photograph from most others of its kind. We suspect that Mann met the subject of this portrait and learned his story during her work in the camps; she likely arranged the sitting with Bankes and then sent the photograph--embellished with her outline of his biography--to family, friends, or associates in the North or at the Commission. Photographs of Black refugees and refugee camps are extremely rare, both at auction and in the trade; images with such detailed outlines of the subject's story are all but unknown. We have certainly traced no comparable examples, nor have we traced any other photographs annotated by Mann. It is thus significant in three distinct ways: as a very early production of Bankes's Helena studio (we believe that this unrecorded backstamp is his earliest known); as an image annotated by Maria Mann, likely during her months at Helena; and most profoundly, of course, as the unique record of a man who sacrificed much for a nation that betrayed its promise, both to him and to itself.

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[Arkansas--Slavery and Emancipation]: [CARTE-DE-VISITE PORTRAIT TITLED 'A HERO OF 1812,' TAKEN IN 1863 AT HELENA, ARKANSAS, AND DEPICTING AN ENSLAVED VETERAN WHO LOST HIS ARM DURING THE DEFENSE OF WASHINGTON]. T[homas] W. Bankes, Photographic Artist. [1863]. Albumen card-mounted photograph, 2 1/2 x 4 in. (6.5 x 10 cm). Annotated in ink on verso by Maria R. Mann. Fine.

15. SOLD.

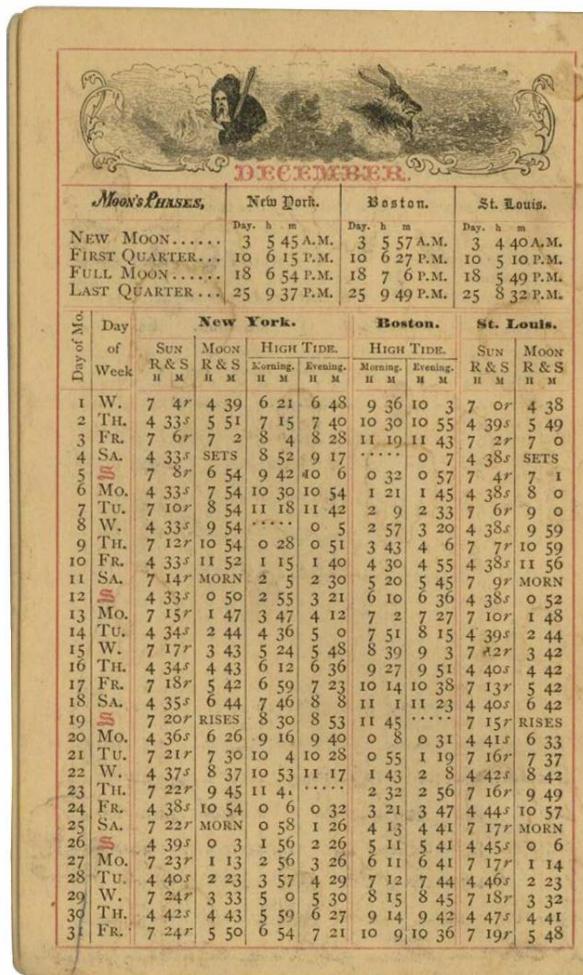
## Completing the Transcontinental Railroad: The Diary of Arthur P. Wood

Probably no single event in the history of the American West so transformed its human and natural landscapes as the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad, its final, golden spike driven down at Promontory Point, Utah, on May 10, 1869. Passenger service opened five days after the golden spike ceremony, turning what had been a dangerous and grueling four- to six-month trek by wagon--or a six-month cruise by ship around Cape Horn--into a week-long trip from New York to San Francisco. The entire railroad, joining the Union and Central Pacific lines, spanned 1,774 miles of track through Nebraska, Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, and California. California alone saw its population explode from 560,000 in 1870 to more than 1.2 million two decades later, largely a result of increased immigration from the East via rail. New towns like Laramie and Cheyenne that began as Union Pacific worker camps burgeoned into thriving communities. And within ten years the Transcontinental Railroad was moving more than \$50 million in freight, over a billion dollars in today's currency. Yet the project was devastating for Native peoples along its route, who saw their territories appropriated by farmers, ranchers, and developers; millions of acres of forests were chopped down for rails, bridges, and later construction; the buffalo were hunted to the very brink of extinction, from 30 million in 1850 to less than 500 living in the wild in 1884. When the railroad brought the West into America, no part of America would ever be the same.

We are excited to offer the 1869 diary of Arthur P. Wood, a Union Pacific engineer who worked along the route from Nebraska to Promontory Point. **Only a handful of such personal narratives exist in institutional collections, and despite extensive research we have located no comparable examples ever offered at auction or in the history of the trade.**



(1869 diary at center)



FRIDAY, JANUARY 1, 1869.

Adieu to 68. To me it has been a year full interest, in the great progress of the U.S. I feel that those been identified. May the incoming bring me as much success. Gathen a 3 years entry at Larminie Hotel to night, a fine day

SATURDAY 2

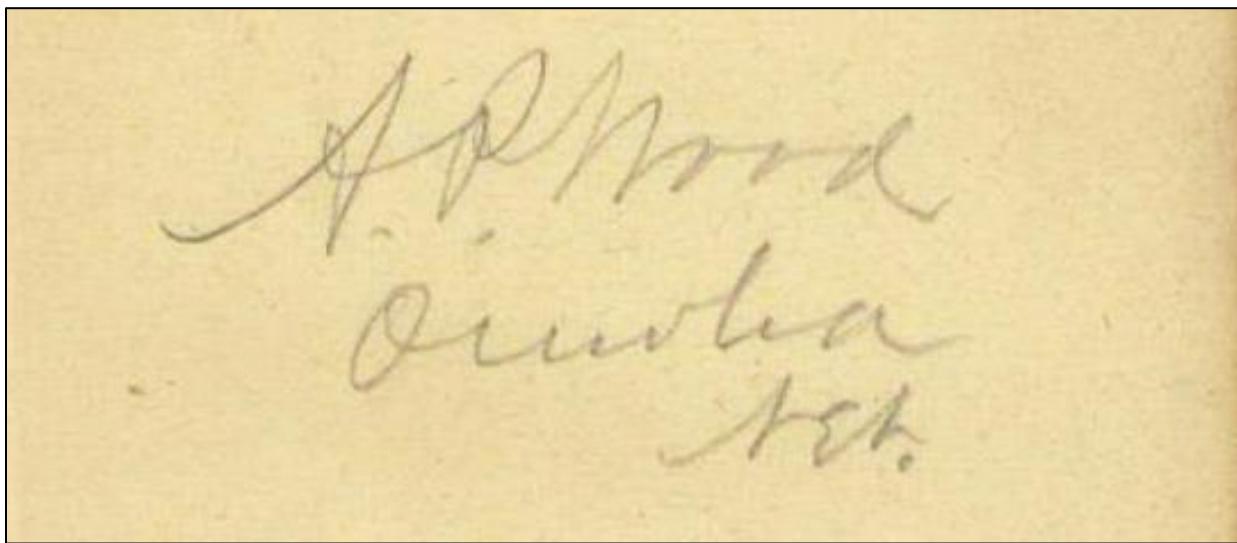
The party held until near five o'clock this morning went to Sherman and to the purchased 2500 ft. in the lumber of Weber, called in Mrs. Hunter during the P.M. Took no 3 for Bryan

SUNDAY 3

all day between Kewleys & Bryan troubled by dead bodies arrived at the office about 12 at night Hollister of Denver is with me the W.P.B. Barrack 40 took an oyster supper before the dance, many with

Moon's PHASES,		New York.		Boston.		St. Louis.		
		Day.	h m	Day.	h m	Day.	h m	
NEW MOON.....		3	5 45 A.M.	3	5 57 A.M.	3	4 40 A.M.	
FIRST QUARTER...		10	6 15 P.M.	10	6 27 P.M.	10	5 10 P.M.	
FULL MOON.....		18	6 54 P.M.	18	7 6 P.M.	18	5 49 P.M.	
LAST QUARTER...		25	9 37 P.M.	25	9 49 P.M.	25	8 32 P.M.	
Day of Mo.	Day	New York.		Boston.		St. Louis.		
of Week		SUN	MOON	HIGH TIDE.	HIGH TIDE.	SUN	MOON	
		R & S	R & S	Morning	Evening	Morning	Evening	
		H M	H M	H M	H M	H M	H M	
1	W.	7 4 <sup>r</sup>	4 39	6 21	6 48	9 36	10 3	7 0 <sup>r</sup> 4 38
2	TH.	4 33 <sup>s</sup>	5 51	7 15	7 40	10 30	10 55	4 39 <sup>s</sup> 5 49
3	FR.	7 6 <sup>r</sup>	8 4	8 28	8 28	11 10	11 43	7 2 <sup>r</sup> 7 0
4	SA.	4 33 <sup>s</sup>	SETS	8 52	9 17	9	...	0 7 4 38 <sup>s</sup> SETS
5	S.	7 8 <sup>r</sup>	6 54	9 42	10 6	0 32	0 57	7 4 <sup>r</sup> 7 1
6	MO.	4 33 <sup>s</sup>	7 54	10 30	10 54	1 21	1 45	4 38 <sup>s</sup> 8 0
7	TU.	7 10 <sup>r</sup>	8 54	11 18	11 42	2 9	2 33	7 6 <sup>r</sup> 9 0
8	W.	4 33 <sup>s</sup>	9 54	...	0 5	2 57	3 20	4 38 <sup>s</sup> 9 59
9	TH.	7 12 <sup>r</sup>	10 54	0 28	0 51	3 43	4 6	7 7 <sup>r</sup> 10 59
10	FR.	4 33 <sup>s</sup>	11 52	1 15	1 40	4 30	4 55	4 38 <sup>s</sup> 11 56
11	SA.	7 14 <sup>r</sup>	MORN	2 5	2 30	5 20	5 45	7 9 <sup>r</sup> MORN
12	S.	4 33 <sup>s</sup>	0 50	2 55	3 21	6 10	6 36	4 38 <sup>s</sup> 0 52
13	MO.	7 15 <sup>r</sup>	1 47	3 47	4 12	7 2	7 27	7 10 <sup>r</sup> 1 48
14	TU.	4 34 <sup>s</sup>	2 44	4 36	5 0	7 51	8 15	4 39 <sup>s</sup> 2 44
15	W.	7 17 <sup>r</sup>	3 43	5 24	5 48	8 39	9 3	7 8 <sup>r</sup> 3 42
16	TH.	4 34 <sup>s</sup>	4 43	6 12	6 36	9 27	9 51	4 40 <sup>s</sup> 4 42
17	FR.	7 18 <sup>r</sup>	5 42	6 59	7 23	10 14	10 38	7 13 <sup>r</sup> 5 42
18	SA.	4 35 <sup>s</sup>	6 44	7 46	8 8	11 1	11 23	4 40 <sup>s</sup> 6 42
19	S.	7 20 <sup>r</sup>	RISES	8 30	8 53	11 45	...	7 15 <sup>r</sup> RISES
20	MO.	4 36 <sup>s</sup>	6 26	9 16	9 40	0 8	0 31	4 41 <sup>s</sup> 6 33
21	TU.	7 21 <sup>r</sup>	7 30	10 4	10 28	0 55	1 19	7 16 <sup>r</sup> 7 37
22	W.	4 37 <sup>s</sup>	8 37	10 53	11 17	1 43	2 8	4 42 <sup>s</sup> 8 42
23	TH.	7 22 <sup>r</sup>	9 45	11 4	...	2 32	2 56	7 16 <sup>r</sup> 9 49
24	FR.	4 38 <sup>s</sup>	10 54	0 6	0 32	3 21	3 47	4 44 <sup>s</sup> 10 57
25	SA.	7 22 <sup>r</sup>	MORN	0 58	1 26	4 13	4 41	7 17 <sup>r</sup> MORN
26	S.	4 39 <sup>s</sup>	0 3	1 56	2 26	5 11	5 41	4 45 <sup>s</sup> 0 6
27	MO.	7 23 <sup>r</sup>	1 13	2 56	3 26	6 11	6 41	7 17 <sup>r</sup> 1 14
28	TU.	4 40 <sup>s</sup>	2 23	3 57	4 29	7 12	7 44	4 46 <sup>s</sup> 2 23
29	W.	7 24 <sup>r</sup>	3 33	5 0	5 30	8 15	8 45	7 18 <sup>r</sup> 3 32
30	TH.	4 42 <sup>s</sup>	4 43	5 59	6 27	9 14	9 42	4 47 <sup>s</sup> 4 41
31	FR.	7 24 <sup>r</sup>	5 50	6 54	7 21	10 9	10 36	7 19 <sup>r</sup> 5 48

Detail of 1869 diary



Autograph from 1888 diary

SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1869.

Telegrams announce that the Masonry of one of the Bitter Creek bridges has given out. A train in killing one man & maiming two or three. I fear some of the trouble there will reflect on myself.

SUNDAY 11

All day at Bear Creek. Telegraph to Mr. Reed announces that the two bridges shall meet on the summit of the Promontory. Officers from St. G. will be out soon with money. Another delightful

MONDAY 12

but down to the water quarry this morning did little during the course of the day. Contractors come about the office bearing anxious faces. Money is the cry

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1869.

Came up to Greeley this evening with Mr. Reed. Work progressing slowly in such corner. D. W. Warren promises me an engine to do the digesting of rock & construction material that will expedite matters.

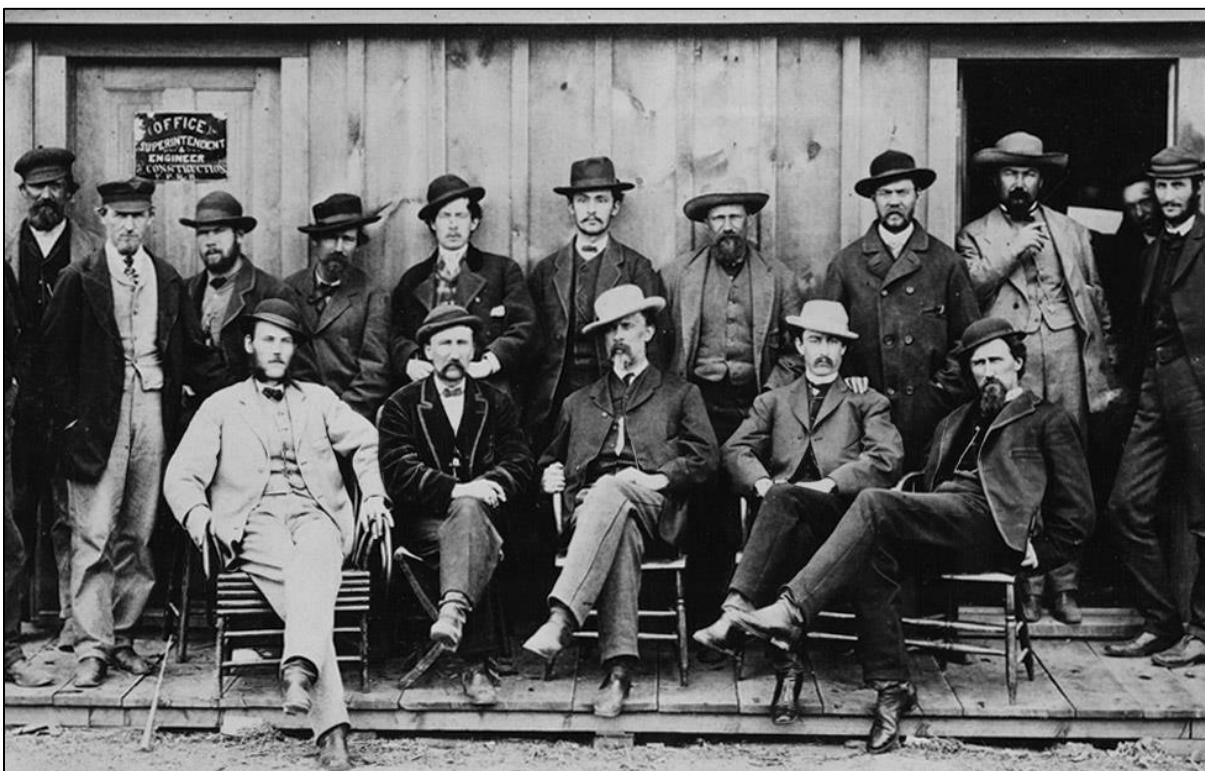
WEDNESDAY 14

Came down to Green River met Mr. Evans he gives a bad account of our bridge masonry. Says it is all falling down. Owing primarily to a deficiency in the stone. They have not used massive blocks at the base.

THURSDAY 15

After making some examinations of stone, come to a conclusion. Mr. Evans went out to Piedmont to examine a quarry of stone south of that place. His quarry at higher turns out bushels. Sam disappointed in it.

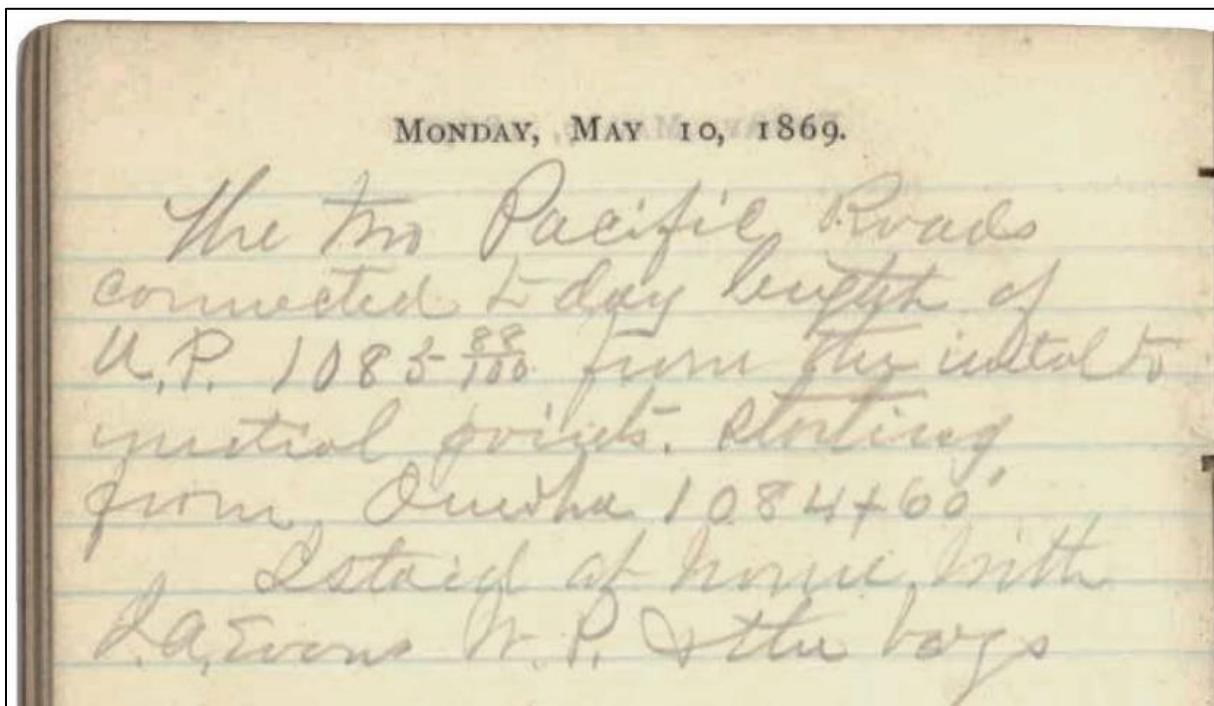
Arthur P. Wood was born in Belmont County, Ohio, in January 1837. His father was a Quaker and an abolitionist, and Morton (1911:773) writes that the family home was reportedly a station along the Underground Railroad. Wood received his education from Quaker schools in Ohio and Indiana before enrolling at the University of Michigan, where he graduated with a degree in civil engineering in 1866. He headed west immediately upon graduation, leaving Ann Arbor for St. Louis and Leavenworth, heading up the Missouri River by steamboat to Omaha. He arrived on July 17 with \$2.15 to his name (and owing \$800 for his degree at Michigan). Undeterred, he went directly to the office of Samuel B. Reed, superintendent of construction for the United Pacific Railroad, and applied for a position in the department of civil engineering. Reed hired Wood as a rod-man for survey work and sent him to the end of the line, which at that point was near modern Central City, Nebraska. He worked with the survey teams as far west as North Platte, then during the winter assisted with locating a bridge along the Missouri. When the next construction season began in 1867, he was promoted to assistant engineer and directed the building of machine shops in North Platte. Reed and other supervisors must have been pleased with Wood's performance, as he earned a second promotion the following season--to the position of division engineer--and was charged with overseeing construction of all shops and buildings along the UPRR route. He would hold this post through the remainder of his work along the line.



Construction officials at UPRR headquarters in Laramie, Wyoming, in 1868 (Andrew Russell photograph, Arthur P. Wood seated at far right)



Construction officials at Laramie in 1868 (detail from A. J. Russell stereoview, Wood seated at right with paymaster W. P. Kennedy at left and assistant paymaster O. C. Smith at center)



By January 1, 1869, when Wood opens his diary, the race to Promontory Point was finally nearing its conclusion. Seven years before, Abraham Lincoln had signed the Pacific Railway Act of 1862, authorizing the Central Pacific Railroad of California (chartered in 1861) to build a line east from Sacramento and the Union Pacific to build one west from the Missouri River. Because both railroads received federal compensation based on the amount of track they laid--the company that laid the most track earned the larger subsidy--each faced enormous pressure to outperform the other. The Union Pacific, delayed by the Civil War, would begin work at Omaha a full 18 months behind its rival. But as the labor of drilling tunnels through the Sierra Nevadas slowed the pace of the Central Pacific, the UPRR gained ground rapidly across the flat plains of Nebraska. It crossed the Continental Divide at Sherman Summit, Wyoming, in April 1868, and in October established a switching point at Bryan near the Green River Valley. Meanwhile, the race had become the most covered story in the American press, with daily or weekly updates appearing in newspapers from San Francisco to New York. "It was," according to historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, "the grandest race that ever was run--to which the Olympics were a petty play--to complete the most stupendous work that man had ever conceived, and one of the most far reaching in its results" (1890:570). At last, Promontory and the world's first transcontinental line were in sight.

Wood begins at UPRR headquarters in Laramie, Wyoming, where the company's official photographer, Andrew Russell, had visited its construction department a few months earlier. Now the department was readying for New Year's celebrations: "Adieu to '68. To me it has been a year of full interest, in the great progress of the U. P. I feel that I have been identified [he was promoted to division engineer in 1868]. May the incoming bring me as much success. I attend a N. years party at Laramie Hotel tonight. A fine day." Across 57 entries (approximately 2000 words) that span the time from January 1 to May 10, Wood's diary offers fascinating insights into the everyday dangers, frustrations, drudgeries, and comraderies of those final few weeks before the two railroads

met. On January 2, he writes that “The party held until near five o’clock this morning[.] Went to Sherman on [Engine] No. 4 purchased 25,000 ft inch lumber of Weber [Noel Webber]. Called on Mrs. Painter during the P. M. Took No. 3 for Bryan.”

The next day Wood was on the move again, heading this time to Rawlins, located 130 miles east of Bryan. After being “troubled by dead engines,” he returned to the offices after midnight to find UPRR paymaster W. P. Kennedy visiting with “Hollister of Denver” [likely Denver author and newspaper editor Ovando Hollister]. Wood “took an oyster supper to close the scene.” Other days were spent entirely in the office. On January 10, he and Kennedy (sitting next to Wood in the preceding Russell photograph) “had quite a discussion in the evening on farming & its relations to a mans [sic] success in life, and closed with a few remarks on education in general.” Wood was called to inspect work on the North Platte Bridge at St. Mary’s Hill, 25 miles east of Rawlins, on January 12. Travelling “on freight thence by hand car & on foot” to the bridge, he found “work progressing fairly, but the workers were “dissatisfied on acct. of not receiving money for the past two months.” This highlights a dark truth about the Union Pacific that neither Wood nor any of the workmen were likely to have known: the corporation was deeply behind in payments to most everyone--contractors, subcontractors, and laborers alike--because it was paying nearly 300% cash dividends to 91 stockholders, including seven congressmen (Ambrose 2000:320).

On reaching Bryan, Wood was telegraphed by the superintendent of construction, Samuel Reed, that tracks had reached Echo City--just across the Wyoming line in Utah--and that the crew should prepare to move headquarters there by February 1. The next week found Wood heading to Wahsatch, a new camp under construction at the top of the grade down Echo Canyon. A savage snowstorm had struck Wyoming on January 10, followed by a plunge in temperature. On January 17, the day Wood left Bryan, it sank to 20 degree below zero. His entry expresses the fatigue of travel under such conditions: “Woke up this morning near Evanston, train delayed[.] arrived after a tedious day[,] in Wasatch [sic] about 3 p.m. Cold & a foot of snow. People pinched with the cold trying to build their miserable shanties & make a town.” On Tuesday the 19th, he hiked down part of the grade near Wahsatch with Union Pacific civil engineer and architectural designer Henry Harding, observing that “the scenery down Echo Canon [sic] is delightful after a long season on the plains.” A week later he prepared an estimate of construction costs for Reed and headed back to Bryan: “Left Echo on the commissioners car. They have just returned from a visit to Salt Lake in which they seem to have been much delighted.”

In February, Wood makes the first notice of problems emerging in the masonry work on bridges, writing on the 12th of “another complex affair” with “conflicting descriptions from S. B. [Reed] & J. A. [Evans]. McManus [William, a chief mason] refuses to go on with his contract of Bridge Masonry, owing to a misunderstanding in takeing [sic] the contract.” This situation would continue to worsen over the weeks to come. On March 4, he offers a passing reference to national affairs back east, writing that: “Today U. S. Grant the Chieftain takes his seat as President of the United States. We are driving away out here building a Rail Road with little regard to the balance of the world or the President.” The next day he walked “the road to Green River & back to Bryan in company with Col. [Silas] Seymour,” inspecting the “[b]ridge crossings and structures.” After returning to Bryan, Seymour “made some changes of line at crossing of Black Fork [Black’s Fork of the Green River]” Wood appears not to have enjoyed the Colonel’s company much: “Character of Mr. S. that of a fault-finder rather dyspeptic in mind.”

Wood had noted “an unsatisfacting feeling” respecting his position in mid-February, and after a conversation with Reed shortly after, he began to take more responsibility for the bridges along this section of the line, particularly the masonry. It was also during the next few weeks that he began to work quite closely with James A. Evans, a division engineer and superintendent who had developed a tense rivalry with Samuel Reed. On March 21, Wood writes that he “came down to Green River by hand car, looked over the progress of work here. Took passenger train & came to Rawlings [sic] in car with Mr. Evans.” The next morning, he “went down to N. P. [North Platte] Bridge” and “examined masonry for final estimate.” This same day there was an alarming notice of possible hostilities with local Indians: “An Indian scare at Ft. Steele report 3 men missing & 48 mules.” Fort Steele was built along the North Platte River near Rawlins in 1868 to protect UPRR workers from attack; this incident is noted in Fort Steele post returns, but the only reported deaths were five Indian men killed when soldiers recovered the stolen mules (Murray 1972).

On March 24, Wood was “at Green River all day[.] went up and examined the masonry of [?] of the Bitter Creek Bridges, which I find in a bad condition.” April arrived with the problem of unpaid salaries for workers and contractors growing increasingly untenable: (April 6) “Came to Echo today. W. P. [Kennedy] reports no money on hand. Men not paid since Dec. We anticipate trouble.” Worse news came days later on April 10: “Telegrams arrived that the masonry of one of the Bitter Creek bridges has given out & let a train in killing one man & wounding two or three. I fear some of the troubles there will reflect on myself.” Dee Brown included this same incident in his history of the railroad, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow*:

A traveler in 1869 reported a narrow escape on the Union Pacific: “A bridge over Bitter Creek, just east of Green River, built upon abutments of soft sandstone, crumbled away under our train, precipitating the engine, tender, and express-car into the creek, and the passenger-car, in which I was, was only saved by a stringer or beam of the bridge catching into the roof and holding it suspended over the brink. One passenger was killed and several more or less injured....The bridge as well as two others in the vicinity had been examined the day previous and pronounced unsafe....The western portion of the road is dangerous [2001:184].

Grenville Dodge himself, Chief Engineer of the Union Pacific line, came to inspect the bridges at Bear River, just west of Bitter Creek, and declared their masonry “worthless,” writing that “We cannot trust masons who have had the reputation of being No. 1 and honest unless we employ an engineer to every structure to stand right over them” (in Ambrose 2000:344).

The next few days were a desperate rush to assess the damage and to prepare for the joining of the tracks at Promontory Point:

*April 11:* “All day at Head Quarters. Telegram to Mr. Reed announces that the two roads shall meet on the Summit of the Promintory [sic]. Officers from N. Y. will be out soon with money.”

*April 12:* “Went down to the Weber Quarry this morning....Contractors came about the office wearing anxious faces. Money is the cry.



Interior of paymaster W. P. Kennedy's tent at Laramie in 1868, Wood seated at left playing cribbage with S. S. Benedict (A. J. Russell stereoview)

*April 13:* "Came up to Wasatch this evening with Mr. Reed. Work progressing slowly in Echo Canon. D. W. Warren promises me an engine to do the destructing of rock & construction material that will expedite matters."

*April 14:* "Came down to Green River. Met Mr. Evans[.] He gives a sad account of our bridge masonry, says it is all falling down, owing primarily to a deficiency in the stone. They will not stand pressure & moisture at the same time."

*April 15:* "After making some examinations of stone, came to Granger [near Green River]. Mr. Evans went on to Piedmont to examine a quarry of stone east of that place. My quarry at bridges turns out bastards [.] I am disappointed in it" [bastard masonry is thin stone used in facing brick or rubble wall but is often a waste material].

*April 16:* "Mr. Evans telegraphs me it is useless to look further for stone. The masonry of North Platte is giving way. There is \$50,000 gone to thunder. Mr. E. goes down the road to meet with Mr. Dillon" [Sidney Dillon, prominent railroad builder and UPRR contractor].

*April 17:* "Went up to Scotts quarry to stop work, have ordered all masonry stoped [sic] between here & Wasatch."

*April 18:* "Mr. Evans returned with Mr. Dillon, gave me orders to settle all claims with masons & quarry men for work under way & stop short off which I commenced at once."

*April 19:* "Settled with Cavanaugh this morning [M. J. Cavanaugh, stone mason for Green River Bridge] by paying all costs and giving him \$800. Came to Granger, made satisfactory

arrangements with Bynum & Koch on my way. Received telegram from Mr. Reed to stop all bill digging [?]. I wonder what is going on at head quarters."

*April 20:* "Came up to Bridger and settled account with Berry [?] Flood. Pay costs and allow him six dollars per day. Settled with Brenick, allowing costs and eight dollars per day, which amounts to almost the same as per contract."

After this entry there is a gap of about three weeks. To suggest that the last entry for this portion of the diary is significant is an understatement, as it is one of only a handful of notices by people who witnessed firsthand what most contemporaries--as well as modern historians more than 150 years later--considered among the most pivotal events of the 19th century:

***May 10: "The two Pacific Roads connected today length of U.P. 1085 88/100 from the initial to central points. Starting from Omaha 1084 + 60'. I staid [sic] at home with J. A. Evans, W. P. & the boys."***

We have not located Wood in photographs of the ceremony at Promontory Point, but J. A. Evans was there, so we do not believe that Wood's statement implies that he stayed "at home" instead of attending. Rather, we interpret his statement to mean that he spent the evening of the event in the same house as Evans and Kennedy after the day's festivities.

There are 85 additional entries in Wood's 1869 diary, 19 from June to early August, and 66 from late September through the end of the year. The summer months saw him travelling across the route of the railroad, from Salt Lake City to Omaha. He was in Salt Lake City in late June and then visited again in August: (June 20) "Walked about the city saw B. Young's harem. Attended Costello's circus this p.m....Macbeth was very fairly performed; (August 1) "Spent the day in the 'Mormon Zion.' Attended service in the Tabernacle. In the p.m. it consisted of some good music from a boys choir & organ...several disjointed harmonies from returned missionaries. Brigham did not address his audience." He also reports on the others using the newly completed line: (July 15) "Left Omaha this morning. Train full of passengers for the Pacific Coast. Senator Hendrix & party aboard;" (July 16) "Made the acquaintance of Mayor Nathan Cole & party of St. Louis on their way to Oregon. Some very pleasant ladies in the party one with dangerous eyes." In the fall he went back to work, surveying a railroad between Nebraska City and Beatrice; his experiences on the project continue through the end of the year. The last 24 pages of the diary include various memoranda, cash expenses for his work on the UPRR, and a table titled "Altitudes of important points on the line of the UPRR west of Omaha." Wood did not sign his 1869 diary. We include a pair of his later diaries, from 1879 and 1888--each with scattered entries--the latter of which is clearly signed in the same hand that produced all three. Wood spent the rest of his life as a railroad contractor, developing projects in Nebraska, California, Colorado, Kansas, Wyoming, Texas, and Oklahoma. He died at Omaha in 1933 at the age of 96.

In the history of the American West, only the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill approaches the influence of the completed Transcontinental Railroad in reshaping the land, its people, and its place in the public's imagination. Certainly no other feat of engineering comes close. **Yet despite this profound significance, we can find no record of any memoirs, diaries, or journals created during construction of either the Union or Central Pacific lines--nor any comparable sets of**

**correspondence--having ever been offered at auction or in the trade.** Indeed, the selection of primary source materials is limited to the photographs of Andrew Russell and Charles Savage; in 2010, a fine large Russell image of the Last Spike ceremony reached more than \$43,000 at Swann Galleries, while even single stereoviews regularly bring four figure prices.

There are also very few institutional holdings of personal memoirs pertaining to the railroad and its construction. The only contemporary examples (excluding later recollections) we identify in physical format are the 1865-1869 diaries of surveyor Arthur N. Ferguson, archived in the Union Pacific collections at the Nebraska Historical Society. The University of Wyoming's American Heritage Center holds the 1867-1869 diaries of UPRR construction engineer Leonard Eicholtz in photocopy format. The diaries of UPRR employees O. C. Smith and John Bamford are believed to remain in private hands, and the 1869 diary of Grenville Dodge is missing from the Iowa State Historical Society's collection of his papers (Spude 2005). In sum, Arthur Ferguson's diaries are the only known sources held as original manuscripts in an institutional collection. **Arthur Wood's previously unknown and unrecorded 1869 diary is thus among the rarest possible categories of Western Americana--a contemporary personal account of the Transcontinental Railroad during the final months of its construction.** Of great historical significance.

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[Transcontinental Railroad--Diary]: Arthur P. Wood: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF UNION PACIFIC ENGINEER ARTHUR P. WOOD, DOCUMENTING THE COMPLETION OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD]. [Wyoming and Utah. January-May, 1869, with subsequent entries for Nebraska]. 12mo (16.5 cm). 142 entries, plus addenda (about 7500 words total), written in ink and pencil, all quite legible; original cloth-backed, stiff wraps, edge wear and fraying of cloth, light soiling; with two later diaries from 1879 and 1888. Very good.

16. SOLD.

## State and Sovereignty: An Act to Abolish the Narragansett Tribe

For all that state and federal civil rights legislation promised Black Americans during the period of Reconstruction, the consequences of such laws for Native Americans--particularly across New England--were often far less empowering. These collective laws, from the Civil Rights Act of 1866 through the formal adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868, purportedly enshrined equality before the law “without distinction of race or color, or previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude” (Civil Rights Act of 1866) and citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States (14th Amendment). Today it seems difficult to imagine how these acts might have had detrimental effects for any peoples of color in America, but in practice they offered state legislatures across the Northeast a legal rationale for rethinking both their relationships with and their commitments to Native tribal communities. Perhaps no case better exemplifies this process than that of the Narragansett Indians and their ties with Rhode Island. In March 1880, the state’s General Assembly approved an act that abolished “the tribal authority and tribal relations” of the Narragansetts. This slip bill was issued to the members of the Assembly at their January session of 1876. **Unique and unrecorded, it officially began the process of detribalization, a decision the tribe would not see undone until receiving federal recognition in 1983.**

AN ACT to abolish the tribal authority and tribal relations of the Narragansett Tribe of Indians.

The Narragansetts are an Algonquian-speaking people who were among the most powerful indigenous tribes in southern New England at the time of European contact, with territories that incorporated most of present-day Rhode Island and extended into eastern Massachusetts. Roger Williams purchased land from the Narragansett chieftains or sachems Canonicus and Miantonomi in 1635, on which he established the colony of Providence Plantations. Forty years later, despite their declared neutrality in the war launched by Wampanoag sachem Metacomet or King Philip in 1675, a combined force from the United Colonies of Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay, joined by Rhode Island, made a preemptive attack against the Narragansetts’ stronghold. In an assault later known as the Great Swamp Fight, the colonists slaughtered perhaps two hundred Narragansetts, mostly women, children, and the elderly. Those warriors who escaped immediately joined Metacomet’s war--burning Providence Plantations in March 1676--but with the end of the conflict came an end to Narragansett power in Rhode Island. Colonists sold many survivors into slavery in New England and the Caribbean, while others sought refuge among neighboring groups and there managed to preserve a sense of tribal identity.

Less than five hundred Narragansetts remained by the mid-19th century, retaining rights to just under a thousand acres of their traditional lands around the Narragansett Indian Church, built in the 1740s by colonists seeking to convert surviving tribal members to Christianity. Although the idea of formally terminating their tribal status had arisen as early as 1832, it was not until the end of the Civil War that the process began to gain traction. In 1866, a Rhode Island legislative committee explored ending the state’s guardianship relation to the tribe and liquidating what was left of their lands. Finding justification in the new civil rights laws enacted that year, the committee

# State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

JANUARY SESSION, A. D. 1876.

## AN ACT to abolish the tribal authority and tribal relations of the Narragansett Tribe of Indians.

*It is enacted by the General Assembly as follows:*

SECTION 1. The governor shall appoint a board of three commissioners from the residents 2 of the county of Washington, who shall be engaged to the faithful discharge of their 3 duties hereunder. Said commissioners shall appoint a time and place, where and when 4 they will hear all persons interested in any of the lands now held by the Narragansett 5 tribe of Indians, and shall be fully authorized and empowered to hear and determine 6 all questions which may arise in reference to the title thereof, or any interest or right 7 therein, and shall give thirty days notice of said time and place to the Indian council of 8 the said tribe, and by publishing the same for the like term in the Narragansett Times 9 and in the Narragansett Weekly, two newspapers published in the county of 10 Washington, and by posting a copy of said notice upon the door of the school house, and 11 another copy upon the door of the meeting house of the said tribe, in the town of Charles- 12 town, and shall also give notice of the said hearing to the town council of the town of 13 Charlestown, and at the time and place mentioned, the said commissioners shall hear all 14 persons interested in the lands, or affairs of the said tribe, or in reference to the matters 15 and things herein contained, who may appear and desire to be heard; they may compel 16 the attendance of witnesses, may severally administer oaths, and may adjourn the said 17 hearing from time to time, and do all things needful to be done to carry into effect the 18 provisions of this act.

SEC. 2. The said commissioners, after hearing the said parties, shall proceed to 2 bound out and have platted all of the tribal, or common lands of the said tribe; then 3 the said commissioners shall proceed to ascertain and determine all conflicting rights to 4 lands held by members of the said tribe, which lands have been severed from the said 5 tribal, or common lands, and to partition the same if need be, among the persons 6 interested therein, making a plat of each of said parcels of land, or representing the 7 same upon a plat to be by them made of said severed lands, with the tribal lands, as 8 shall appear to the said commissioners to be most advisable, they making a record upon 9 the said plat, and in their report hereinafter provided to be made, of the name of the 10 person to which each parcel of said land belongs.

SEC. 3. After determining the extent of the said tribal lands, and platting the 2 same, and determining the rights of the members of the said tribe in lands which have 3 been severed from the said tribal, or common lands, and platting the same, the said 4 commissioners shall make out a full report of all their doings in the premises, and shall 5 file the same with the plat made under their directions in the office of the clerk of the

informed the Narragansetts of their concern that tribal members, given their newfound status as citizens, “should still claim to owe allegiance to their tribe, rather than to the State, and to maintain even a semblance of another jurisdiction amongst us” (in O’Brien 2010:198). The Narragansetts responded that they were unconvinced these new laws would actually protect the rights of Black Americans, and moreover, that

We are not negroes: we are the heirs of Ninigret, and of the great chiefs and warriors of the Narragansetts. Because, when your ancestors stole the negro from Africa, and brought him amongst us, and made a slave of him, we extended to him the hand of friendship, and permitted his blood to be mingled with ours, are we to be called negroes, and to be told that we may be made negro citizens? We claim that while one drop of Indian blood remains in our veins, we are entitled to the rights and privileges guaranteed by your ancestors to ours by solemn treaty, which, without a breach of faith, you cannot violate.... We deny your right to take from us that which never came from you [in O’Brien 2010:199].

This first official attempt to terminate the tribe ultimately failed, but the 1870s witnessed a redoubled effort by the state to sweep away those long-guaranteed rights and privileges. In all of the published discussion and documentation that we can locate, this renewed effort is assumed to have begun in 1879, when the Rhode Island legislature resolved “that a select committee of 3 be appointed to inquire into the justice, expediency, and practibility of abolishing the tribal relations of the Narragansett Indians; of conferring the rights of citizenship upon the members thereof; of the most equitable manner of disposing of the land belonging to the said tribe, etc... (in Boissevain 1956:232]. Edward Spicer (1982:24) referenced this date, as have more recent historians such as Jean O’Brien (2010:198) and Christine Delucia (2018:156), among others. Yet the slip bill that we describe for the first time here, a unique survival, plainly indicates that this next and eventually successful effort began as early as 1876. Since this slip bill is the earliest documented reference to the Assembly’s actions, it offers the clearest evidence of that body’s intent in pursuing what has become known as detribalization. The answer, not surprisingly, was land.

Our slip bill contains the text of “AN ACT to abolish the tribal authority and tribal relations of the Narragansett Tribe of Indians” and is divided into eight sections. The first of these can leave no doubt as to the driving force behind the legislature’s intent:

Section 1. The governor shall appoint a board of three commissioners from the county of Washington [where most of the Narragansetts’ remaining land was located]....Said commissioners shall appoint a place, where and when they will hear all persons interested in any of the land now held by the Narragansett tribe of Indians, and shall be fully authorized and empowered to hear and determine all questions that may arise in reference to the title thereof, or any interest or right therein...

Section 2 authorized the three commissioners, “after hearing said parties,” to “bound out and have platted all of the tribal, or common lands of the said tribe.” The commissioners were instructed to file their report and plat of the lands with the clerk of the county’s supreme court (Section 3), and

then after the court's approval to have the report recorded and certified in the office of the town clerk of Charlestown (Section 4). Section 5, in turn, orders that the commissioners "shall, by and under the advice and direction of the governor, proceed to sell the said tribal, or common lands, in such parcels...upon such terms as the governor shall direct and approve, by public auction." The next two sections instruct that the proceeds of the sale, after deduction of expenses, "shall be set apart...and constitute a separate fund, to be known as the Indian fund...for the relief and benefit of the members of the same tribe" (Section 6), and that, as a result, "the tribal authority of the said Narragansett Indians shall cease" (Section 7). Finally, Section 8 specifies that the provisions of the act would not take effect until January 1, 1877.

As our research locates no other reference to this 1876 act, even in the Narragansett Indian Records Collection of the Rhode Island Department of State, we do not know whether any of these actions were carried out before 1880, when the final abolition bill was passed. Afterward, the Narragansetts received \$5000 in total compensation and retained rights to only a two-acre space around the 1740s church. Yet those two acres would prove essential to their legal case more than a century later, as the tribe sought federal recognition and a formal end to Rhode Island's illegal termination. Remarkably, that tiny parcel of land around the old church--small as it was--offered proof of continuous land holding for more than two-and-a-half centuries, and in 1983 they gained federal recognition as the Narragansett Indian Tribe of Rhode Island. All slip bills were printed in small numbers for legislators to use during debates over a bill. **This particular examples is both an absolute rarity and of unusual significance.**

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[Rhode Island--Narragansett Indians]: AN ACT TO ABOLISH THE TRIBAL AUTHORITY AND TRIBAL RELATIONS OF THE NARRAGANSETT TRIBE OF INDIANS...[caption title]. [N.p., n.d., but Providence, Rhode Island, January 1876]. Broadsheet, 12 x 7 1/4 in. (30.5 x 18.5 cm). Old folds with repaired split to center fold, edges chipped, scattered staining and foxing, pin holes affecting 2 or 3 letters. Good.

17. SOLD.

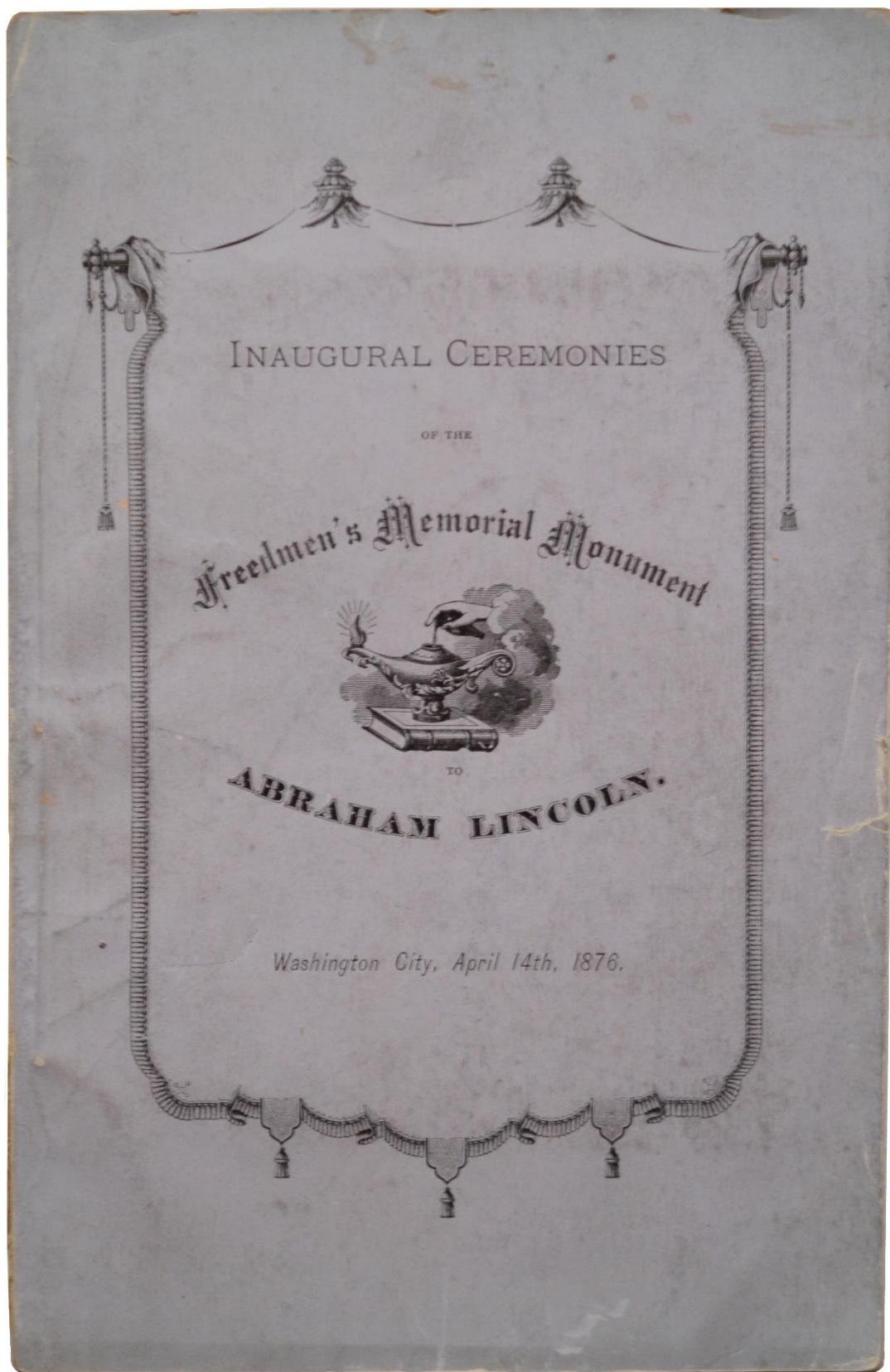
## Frederick Douglass on Race and Lincoln at the Freedmen's Memorial

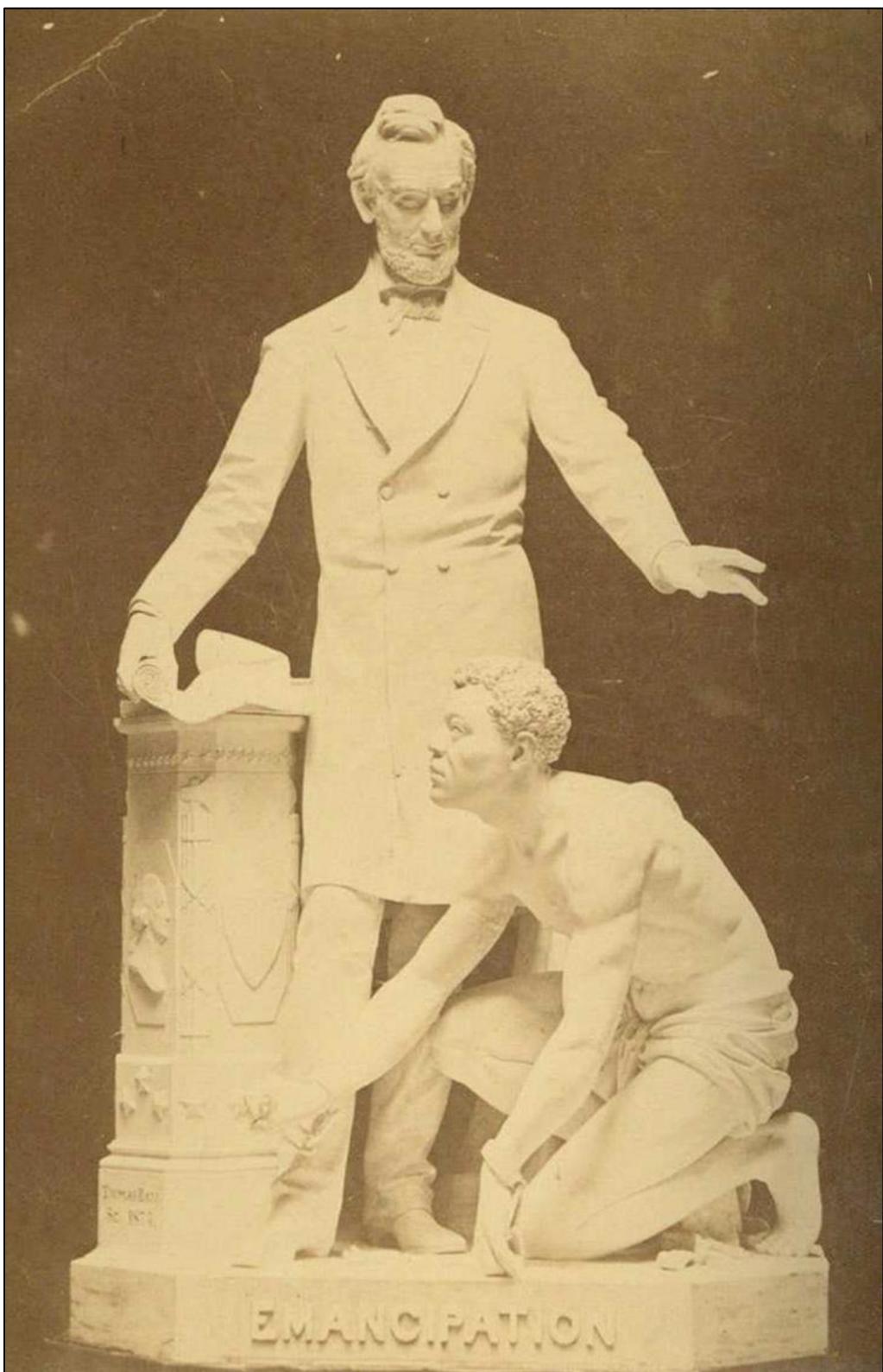
All monuments are political. Few moments have invited sharper scrutiny of that fact, or of the vital role that such works play in public political discourse, than the one in which we find ourselves today. From the reckoning over Confederate statues installed to buttress Jim Crow and white supremacy to the opening of the National Memorial for Peace and Justice--located less than a mile from the first White House of the Confederacy in Montgomery, Alabama--race continues to deepen its indelible mark on monuments and monumentality in America. Although the intent to exclude, demean, or intimidate is all too obvious in many cases, in others the effects are more subtle and nuanced, the intent to do harm less clear.

Such is the case with the *Freedmen's Memorial to Abraham Lincoln*, also known as the Emancipation Memorial, in Washington, D. C. This was the first work of any kind in the United States ever financed primarily by African Americans. Designed by Thomas Ball and installed at Lincoln Park in 1876, the monument has come under intense criticism for what modern scholars describe as its overtly paternalistic and racially stereotyped depictions of Lincoln and the nearly naked freedman kneeling at his feet. But concerns about the monument and its imagery are nothing new. Indeed, none other than Frederick Douglass, who delivered a speech at its dedication, held deep misgivings himself. This scarce pamphlet commemorates the event and includes the text of Douglass's speech, considered one of his finest. In it, he praises Lincoln for saving the Union but fearlessly refers to the Great Emancipator as "the white man's president, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men" (p. 19). Two editions of this important speech appeared in 1876, along with a report on the attendant festivities; one was printed at Washington, the other at St. Louis (there is no established priority). **We are pleased to offer this copy of the St. Louis edition, finding no other examples at auction or in the trade since 1948.**

The story of the Freedmen's Memorial begins shortly after Lincoln's assassination, when Charlotte Scott--a former slave living with the family of her former master in Marietta, Ohio--gave the man five dollars toward sponsoring a monument to the fallen president. Newspapers publicized the story, and soon local African Americans began making contributions of their own. As the fund grew, word of it reached the Western Sanitary Commission in St. Louis, a private war-relief agency that was established in 1861 to provide support for wounded soldiers but during and after the war had turned its attention to the needs of Freedmen. The Commission assumed sponsorship of the project and within just a few months had raised nearly \$20,000, most all of which arrived as small contributions from poor Black donors. Those donors, though, would have no voice either in how the funds were spent or in the final design of the monument itself. After failing to raise more than \$100,000 for far more grandiose schemes, several of which would have discarded the emancipation narrative altogether, the commissioners settled in 1871 on the design of artist Thomas Ball, based on a model that Commission founder and Unitarian minister William Greenleaf Elliot had admired in the sculptor's studio two years earlier. The U. S. Congress allocated funds for the pedestal, and the monument was unveiled to great fanfare on April 14, 1876.

The day was declared a public holiday. Preceding the unveiling of the monument was long and boisterous parade that featured nearly every Black civic association in the city. The route ran along K Street to 17th, then to Pennsylvania Avenue and through the White House grounds; to 1st





Street west, to C Street north, to 1st Street east and onto East Capitol, where the line of marchers entered Lincoln Park to the cheers of more than 25,000 people. A large podium stood before the statue, still draped in flags and patriotic bunting. Directly behind the stage sat an assembled crowd of dignitaries invited by the Commission, including President Ulysses Grant and most members of his cabinet, justices of the Supreme Court, congressmen from the House and Senate, and many other distinguished guests. There was a prayer by Bishop John Brown of the AME Church, and a Black state senator from Louisiana, J. Henry Burch, read the Emancipation Proclamation. James Yeatman, President of the Western Sanitary Commission, delivered a long speech introducing the monument, after which Grant took the stage and pulled a cord unveiling it to the crowd. Cordelia Ray, a young African American poet from New York, read what would become her first published work, titled simply "Lincoln." Finally, Frederick Douglass rose to speak. It was the first time that a Black man would address the full government of the United States.

Douglass began by offering congratulations to those gathered "upon the contrast between now and then, the new dispensation of freedom with its thousand blessings to both races, and the old dispensation of slavery with its thousand evils to both races--white and black" (p. 17). Then he returned their attention to the purpose of the celebration, "to express...our grateful sense of the vast, high and pre-eminent services rendered to ourselves, to our race, to our country and to the whole world, by Abraham Lincoln" (p. 16). He noted that never before in American history had African Americans so honored any person, regardless of how worthy. Yet he refused--even before the most powerful men in America--to avoid the uncomfortable fact that Lincoln's paramount aim was to preserve the Union, having never considered emancipation his calling:

Abraham Lincoln was not, in the fullest sense of the word, either our man or our model. In his interests, in his associations, in his habits of thought, and in his prejudices, he was a white man. He was pre-eminently the white man's President, entirely devoted to the welfare of white men. He was ready and willing at any time during the first years of his administration to deny, postpone and sacrifice the rights of humanity in the colored people, to promote the welfare of the white people of this country [p. 19].

To his "white fellow-citizens," he conceded that "you and yours were the object of his deepest affection. You are the children of Abraham Lincoln," but as for Black Americans, "We are at best only his step-children, children by adoption, children by force of circumstances and necessity. To you it especially belongs to...commend his example, for to you he was a great and glorious friend and benefactor" (p. 19). On this day, however, even as Douglass forced his audience to confront hard truths, he knew and recognized what Lincoln had achieved:

though the Union was more to him than our freedom or our future, under his wise and beneficent rule we saw ourselves gradually lifted from the depths of slavery to the heights of liberty...under his rule and his inspiration we saw the Confederate States, based upon the idea that our race must be slaves, and slaves forever, battered to pieces and scattered to the four winds [p. 21].

Douglass acknowledges here that had Lincoln placed emancipation above union, he would all but certainly have failed at both. His conclusion is heartfelt and sincere:

Had Abraham Lincoln died from any of the numerous ills to which flesh is heir...had he been permitted to see the end of his great work; had the solemn curtain of death come down but gradually, we should still have been smitten with a heavy grief and treasured his name lovingly. But dying as he did die, by the red hand of violence; killed, assassinated, taken off without warning, not because of personal hate, for no man who knew Abraham Lincoln could hate him, but because of his fidelity to union and liberty, he is doubly dear to us, and will be precious forever [p. 25].

As for the monument itself, Douglass said little of it at the unveiling, referring to it simply as “the highly interesting object which has caused you to assemble in such numbers and spirit as you have today” (p. 16). Yet in a recently discovered letter to the editor of the *National Republican* newspaper, Douglass could not have made his feelings more clear: “What I want to see before I die is a monument representing the negro, not couchant on his knees like a four-footed animal, but erect on his feet like a man. There is room in Lincoln Park for another monument” (in White and Sandage 2020). In the end, Douglass’s great speech is the lasting monument unveiled that day in 1876, a paean as much for the ruins of Reconstruction--work left undone, promises broken--as for the fallen president. Ball’s statue still stands in Lincoln Park, though many are calling today for its removal; its sister monument, recast by Ball and installed at Boston in 1879, was taken down and moved to storage in December 2020. Both 1876 editions of Douglass’s address are extremely scarce in the market: two copies of the Washington, D. C. imprint have appeared at auction in the past 20 years (per RBH), bringing \$4370 in 2006 and \$5500 in 2014. We trace no copies of this St. Louis edition since 1948; we suspect--given the St. Louis-based Commission’s sponsorship of the project--that this imprint has priority as the first edition. It is also the only one of the two with a photograph of the monument as a frontispiece. **Rare and profoundly important.**

Relevant sources:

Blight, David W.

2018 *Frederick Douglass: Prophet of Freedom*. Simon & Schuster, New York.

Savage, Kirk

2018 *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

White, Jonathan W. and Scott Sandage

2020 What Frederick Douglass Had to Say about Monuments. *Smithsonian Magazine Online*, July 30, 2020.

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[Douglass, Frederick]. INAUGURAL CEREMONIES OF THE FREEDMEN’S MEMORIAL MONUMENT TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, WASHINGTON CITY, APRIL 14, 1876. Lewison and Blythe, 219 Olive Street, Saint Louis. 28 pp., mounted albumen frontis. 8vo (23 cm). Original lavender wraps with cover vignette, light wear to spine and edges. Very good.

18. SOLD.

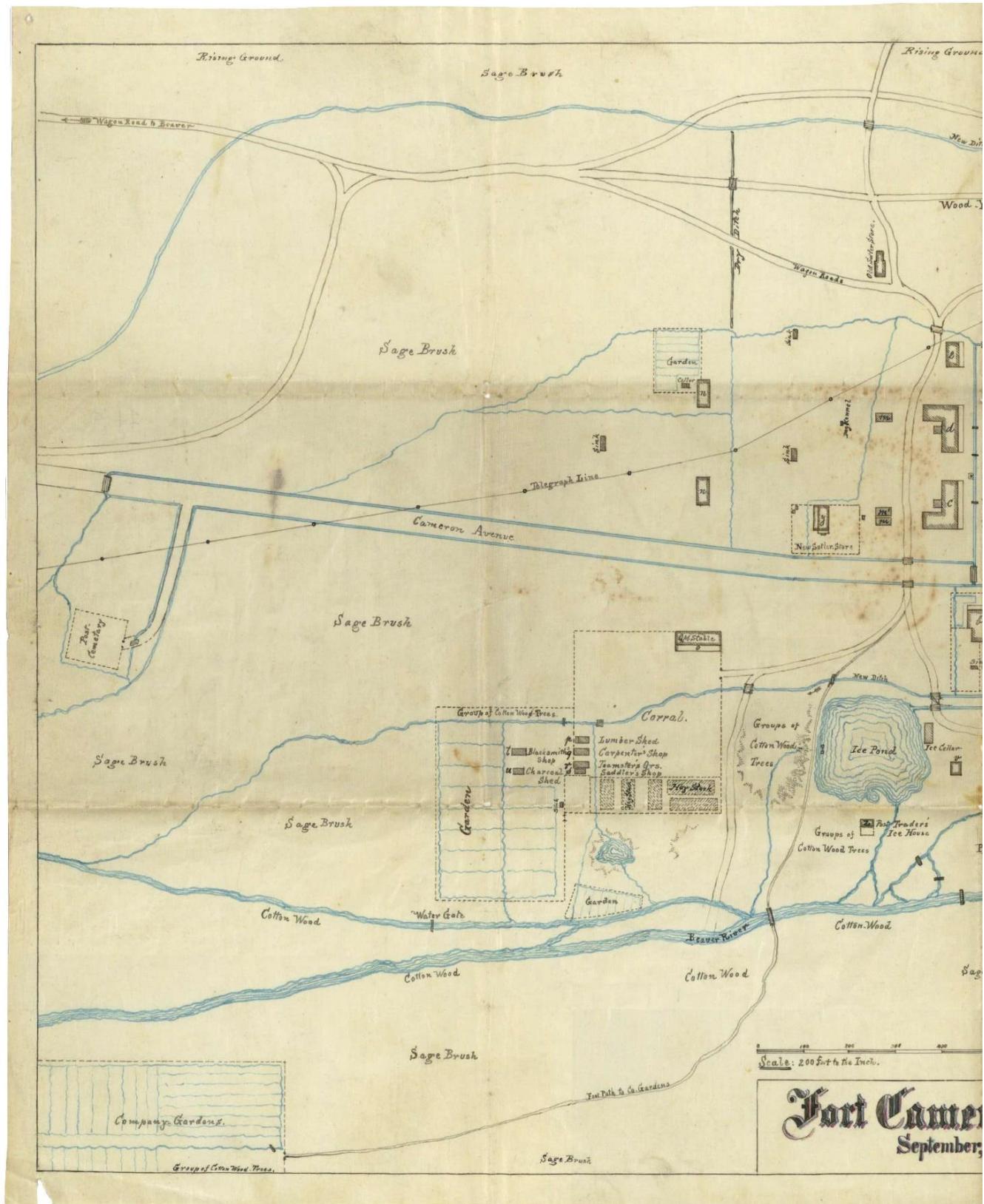
## A Recently Discovered Manuscript Map of Fort Cameron, Utah, 1879

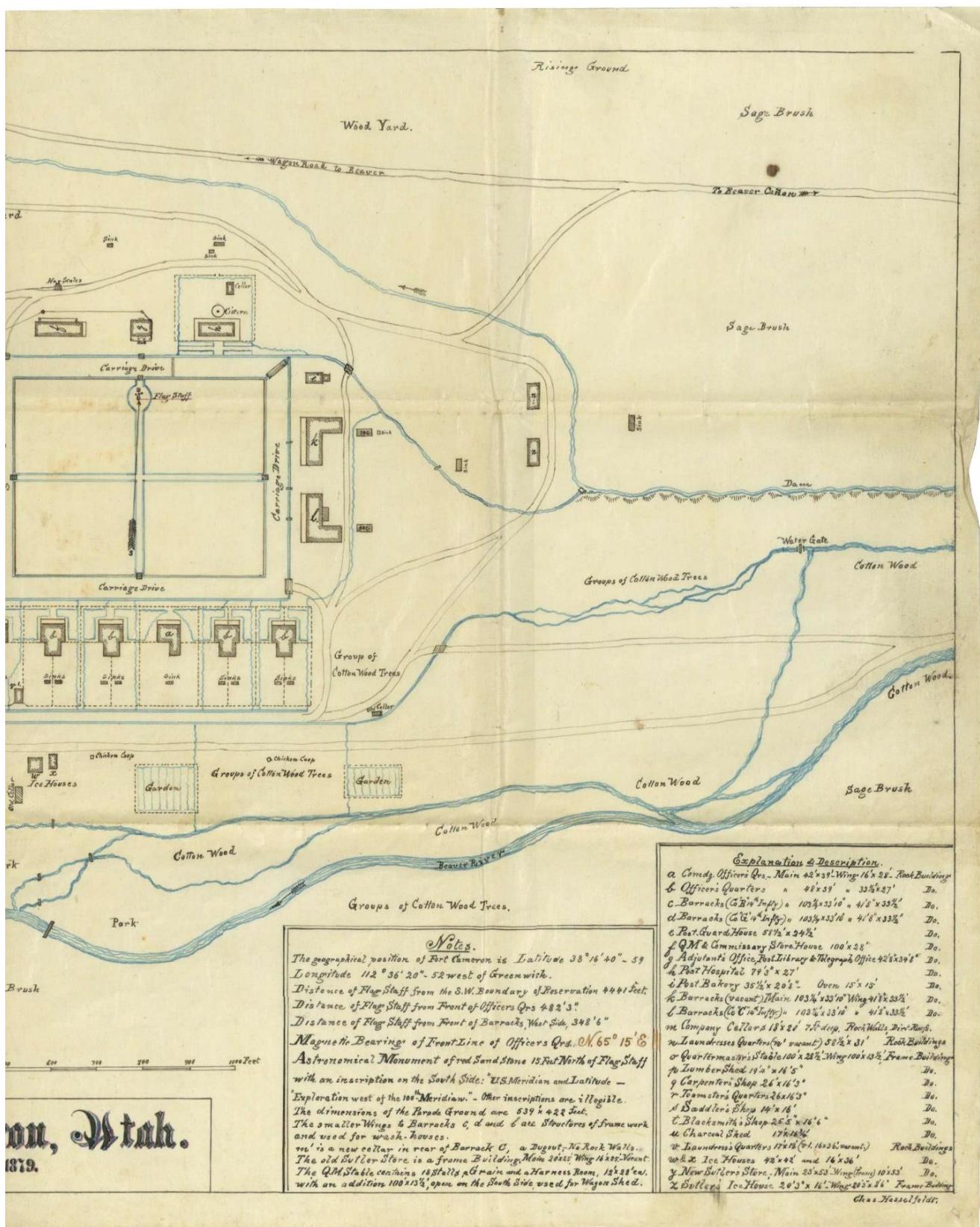
From 1865 to 1872, Utah experienced its longest and most destructive conflict between the territory's Native peoples and its recent Mormon immigrants. The so-called Black Hawk War was actually a series of skirmishes, raids, pitched battles, and outright massacres that pitted factions of the Ute, Paiute, and Navaho tribes--united under the leadership of a charismatic Ute warrior named Black Hawk--against the militias of the Latter-Day Saints, and eventually, federal troops. Through two decades of Mormon expansion, the Utes and their indigenous allies had ceded more and more of the grasslands they depended on for food to the newcomers' cattle. The desperate Utes began raiding Mormon herds to sustain themselves, and an escalation of violence soon followed. By the end of hostilities in 1872, the Utes had succeeded in capturing or driving off thousands of cattle and forcing the Mormons to abandon more than a dozen small communities in the south-central part of the territory, with losses and expenses of more than \$30 million in today's currency. Yet for indigenous communities the loss was far greater: while the Mormons counted fewer than 75 dead, the Utes suffered losses in the hundreds, and in the end they were forced to relinquish their remaining territories and accept relocation to the barren Uintah Reservation.

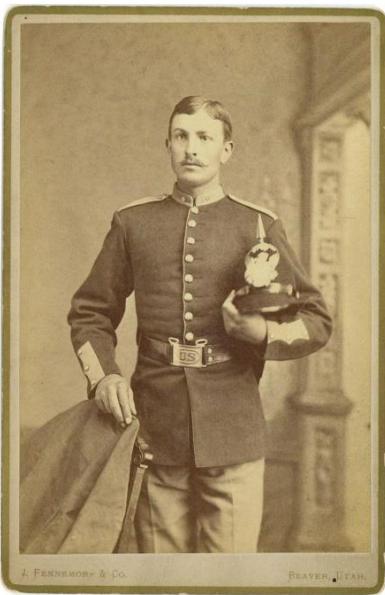


In the war's immediate aftermath, Mormon residents sought an increased presence of the federal troops that had finally been called on to put down the Utes' uprising. Territorial governor George L. Wood sent his constituents' concerns to Washington, and in 1872 Congress authorized deploying a large military force to Utah; immediately after, Secretary of War William W. Belknap recommended to the U. S. House of Representatives that the federal government spend \$120,000 on a fort near the town of Beaver, located along the Beaver River in the heart of the area most threatened during the Black Hawk War. Congress soon approved, and Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan dispatched four companies (181 men) to open the post, which they built on the north side of the river about a mile east of town. Fort Cameron was formally established on May 12, 1873. This wonderful manuscript map, rendered in pen and ink with extraordinary detail, was drafted six years later--in September 1879--and shows the garrison at its greatest extent. Charles Hasselfeldt, the artist, was an Army private who served with the 14th Infantry in Utah, Nebraska, and other western theaters during the 1870s. **His view of Fort Cameron is among the most exquisitely rendered maps of any frontier fort built during the Indian Wars era.**

Fort Cameron was nearly rectangular in plan, with a large parade ground in the center, and was surrounded by trees and irrigation networks. On both the east and west sides, black basaltic rock barracks were built, one for each of its four companies. To the south, a commanding officer's quarters and five duplexes for officers were also built. The rectangle was bordered on the north by a hospital, the headquarters building, and the commissary store. Next to the east barracks stood

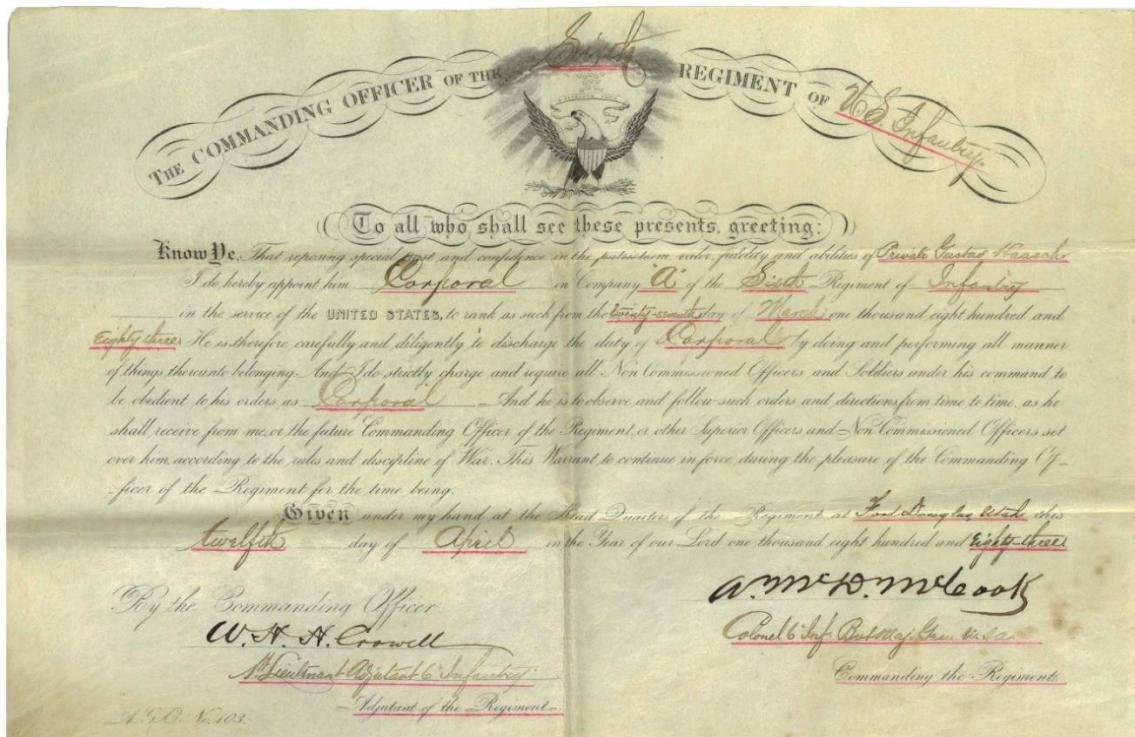
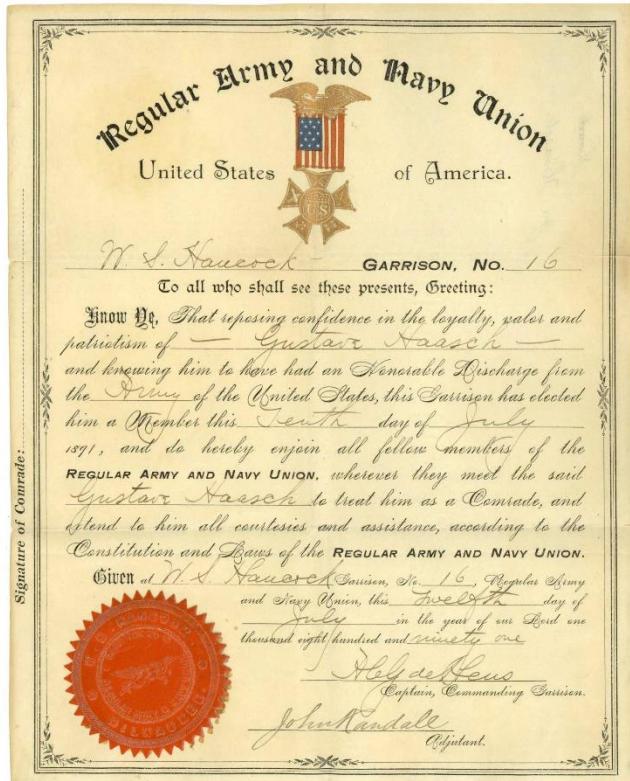
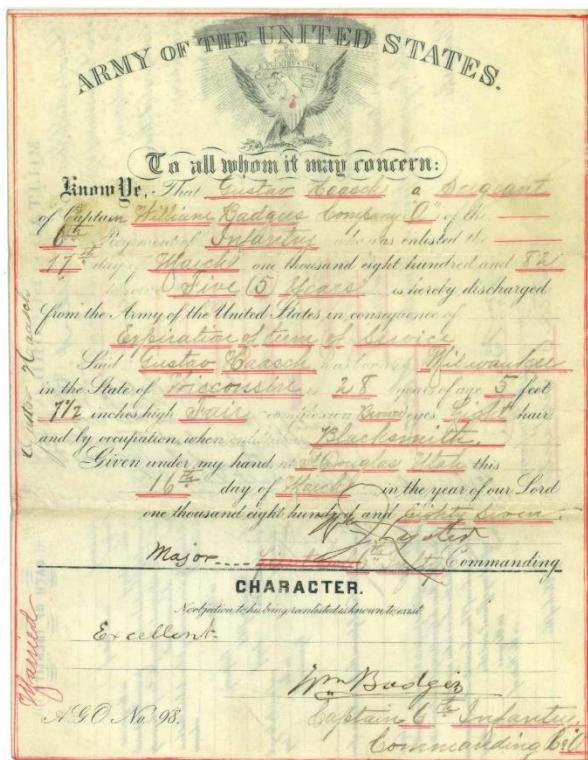






a bakery, and about 300 yards west of the post were stables. All buildings, except the stables, were built of the local black stone, which was quarried from outcroppings readily available in the nearby foothills. Both the construction of the fort and its subsequent provisioning employed residents from Beaver; teamsters were hired to carry supplies, and local masons, carpenters, plasterers, lime burners, lumbermen, and painters were all employed at the construction site. Once the fort was finished, Beaver residents were hired to work in the laundry, the blacksmith shop, and the carpenter shop. In addition, several boarding houses sprang up in the town, a brewery was opened, and many townspeople sold meats, vegetables, fruit, and even milk cows to the soldiers.

Although the end of the Black Hawk War had largely settled hostilities between Utes and Mormons, there was another long-festering problem that required federal attention. Fifteen years earlier, in 1857, more than 120 members of the Baker-Fancher emigrant train were slaughtered in what later became known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Initial investigations revealed that most of the killings were committed by members of the Nauvoo Militia, who disguised themselves as Indians to conceal their role in the atrocity. At the time, tensions were high across Utah, as its Mormon residents anticipated an imminent invasion by U. S. forces intent on replacing Brigham Young as governor. The members of the Baker-Fancher train were essentially in the wrong place at the wrong time and were easy targets in a climate of mounting fear. The U. S. Civil War delayed federal investigations, but in 1871 prosecutors obtained the affidavit of a former Mormon bishop who had participated in the massacre before subsequently leaving the church. He identified eight local leaders for their involvement in planning and carrying out the attack, and while all eight were indicted, with warrants issued for their arrest, only John D. Lee--member of the Council of 50 and adopted son of Brigham Young--was ever brought to trial. Cyrus Hawley, associate justice of the territorial supreme court, had not believed that the case could be closed without the presence of a federal garrison to offer protection for witnesses, and so he had strongly advocated placing Fort Cameron near Beaver, about 100 miles northeast of Mountain Meadows. After a hung jury in his first trial, Lee was convicted in a second and held at Fort Cameron, where he remained until being taken back to Mountain Meadows and shot by firing squad in 1877.



Hasselfeldt's map of Fort Cameron is minute in its detail of the garrison and surrounding areas. In addition to the buildings already described are the sutler's store; ice houses; laundress's and teamsters' quarters; the carpenter's, saddler's, and blacksmith's shops' and the post cemetery; there are soldiers' gardens, irrigation canals, stands of cottonwood and patches of sagebrush, even the hay stacks and the path of the garrison's telegraph line. We are unaware of any more superbly executed drawings of a U. S. military installation from this time in the American West. Hasselfeldt is known to have produced at least two other military renderings while in Utah, a bird's eye view of Fort Cameron and one of Fort Douglas, established in 1862 about three miles east of Salt Lake City. The latter drawing was acquired by the Bancroft Library in 1952 (*Bancroftiana* 6:2). As for the artist himself, we have learned little except that he was born in Germany about 1840 and came to the United States in 1859. He appears to have joined the 4th Regiment in 1867 and served until 1892, after which he lived at the U. S. Soldiers' Home in Washington, D. C., until his death at the age of 75 in 1915. He is buried in the National Cemetery. Fort Cameron was decommissioned in 1881, its grounds now serving as a golf course and race track.

The map was recently discovered in a small archive of papers belonging to Sgt. Gustav Haasch (or Heisch) of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Haasch was born in 1858 in Prussia and enlisted with the U. S. 6th Infantry in 1879. He may have served with Hasselfeldt at Fort Douglas, as the 6th and 14th infantries briefly overlapped at Fort Douglas in May 1883. We do not know how he came to own the map, but none of the other documents are associated with Hasselfeldt. The three cabinet card photographs are all of Haasch, one taken after his enlistment in Milwaukee; one in Beaver while he was serving at Fort Cameron, and the third in Salt Lake City when he was at Fort Douglas. He was with the 6th until 1888 and died in Milwaukee eight years later. **A small but fascinating archive from the Indian Wars era, with an extraordinary map.**

Relevant sources:

Alexander, Thomas G. and Leonard J. Arrington  
1964 The Utah Military Frontier, 1872-1912: Forts Cameron, Thornburgh, and Duchesne. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 32(4):330-354.

Bonar, Linda L.  
1994 Fort Cameron. In *Utah History Encyclopedia*, edited by Allen Kent Powell, pp. 197-198.  
University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

Walker, Ronald W., Richard E. Turley, and Glen M. Leonard  
2011 *Massacre at Mountain Meadows*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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[Utah--Indian Wars]: Charles Hasselfeldt: FORT CAMERON, UTAH / SEPTEMBER, 1879 [manuscript title]. Fort Cameron, Beaver, Utah Territory, 1879. Pen and ink (black and blue, with red highlighting in title) on a sheet of thin coated paper, 22 1/2 x 14 in. (57 x 35.5 cm). Captioned at bottom of sheet with notes and explanations. Small chip along lower outer margin, not affecting image. Old vertical and horizontal folds, short split along bottom vertical fold. With three cabinet card photographs and several military documents on paper and vellum. Very good.

19. SOLD.

## All the Airs of a City: Tombstone, Arizona, in 1882

One of the last great boomtowns of the American West--and likely the most infamous of all--Tombstone, Arizona, was almost exactly three years old when resident Lewis Seymour Garrett sent this long and revealing letter to a friend back east in 1882. Tombstone's history begins five years earlier, though, when U. S. Army scout Ed Schieffelin commenced to prospecting a line of hills east of the San Pedro River in the wilderness of what was then Pima County, about 30 miles from the Mexican border. After months of scouring the landscape, and with nothing to show for it, Schieffelin was working on a plateau called Goose Flats in 1877 when he finally found pieces of silver ore that he eventually traced back to a rich source vein. He filed his claim in September and called it Tombstone, after the warning of his friend and fellow scout, Al Sieber, who had once advised that Schieffelin would find nothing but his tombstone in the desert. The townsite, which took its name from Schieffelin's claim, was laid out on Goose Flats in March 1879, and by autumn its population had exploded in true boomtown manner from barely a hundred to several thousand people. Violence followed, culminating in a series of shootings between the Earp and McClary brothers and their respective allies, the most notorious of which occurred near the O. K. Corral on October 26, 1881. **Lewis S. Garrett wrote this letter less than six months later, just when the dust was settling on the shoot-out and its even bloodier aftermath.**



Garrett writes to E. S. Hughes of Trenton, New York--Garrett's own hometown--having resided at Tombstone for a little more than a year. Before Tombstone, he had lived for 18 months in the San Juan mining district of southwestern Colorado, working "on the Smuggler Mine 11,000 feet above sea level" (Smuggler was one of the richest lodes in what is now Dolores County, about 30 miles southwest of Telluride). Tiring of the cold and snow that lasted from late October through June, Garrett had "started for the 'sunny south,' or in other words, for the cacti sands and deserts of Arizona. Here the winters are magnificent and the altitude being 6,000 ft the summer is not so terribly hot as one might suppose." He had left from Colorado on the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railroad, following the Rio Grande through New Mexico. The trip, he notes:



was one of great interest to me as the country was pure Mexic[.] They still use the same kinds of wagons, plows & that their fathers did one hundred years ago. The whole valley is admirably adapted for the culture of grapes and other fruits. And no doubt as Americans get possession of the land (as they are bound to do) it will be converted to a veritable Eden.

Here Garrett turns his attention to Tombstone, where he is working nearby as a shift boss on the Bob Ingersoll mine. After situating the town in its natural landscape, “located on table lands between the Dragoon and Huachuca Mts.,” he offers a rare description of life in Tombstone at the peak of its wealth and notoriety; it is among the most detailed such descriptions extant. Particularly noteworthy are his racist opinions of Tombstone’s thriving Chinese population, which had grown to more than 400 people by 1880:

Tombstone is nearly three years old and numbers nearly 8,000 souls. (or rather bodies for souls are scarce) ‘Tis terribly cosmopolitan. Nearly every nation on the earth is represented[.] The Chinese and Mexicans form about 1/3 of the population. The Chinese are a sore eye to fully 9/10 of the Pacific Coast people. Arthur was censured for vetoing the Chinese restriction bill [President Chester B. Arthur had vetoed the Chinese Exclusion Act of April 4, 1882, but then signed a revised version into law in May]. One must live among the thieving, low-lived, immoral sons of guns to realize what a curse they are to any community.

He was equally unhappy with the local ruffians and surrounding Native groups, reserving special vitriol for the Apaches (as well as for the U. S. Army troops offering nominal protection to the citizenry of Tombstone and nearby farms, ranches, and communities):

As we are so near the Mexican border (about 25 miles) the country is terribly infested with cattle thieves, cutthroats, road agents, outlaws and Indians. Both nations are troubled with the same class who commit depredations, then cross the border where they are comparatively safe. A dozen men have been shot and killed in this County the past month. The majority of them were toughs so "the more the merrier"

General Sherman and staff were in the city this month. The devilish Apaches (been government pets) are again on the war path butchering men women and children. The troops after Indians are nearly as efficient as wooden men. Will follow them one day, then go back to camp after rations, which give the imps plenty of time to butcher and escape.

Garrett’s notice of men shot and killed in Cochise County (formed from Pima County with Tombstone as the county seat in February 1881) is a reference to what is now known as the Earp Vendetta Ride of March 20 to April 15, 1882, itself the culmination of violence that began with a gunfight near the O. K. Corral six months before. On October 26, 1881, four nominal Tombstone lawmen--Wyatt, Virgil, and Morgan Earp, together with ally John Henry “Doc” Holliday--had confronted five members of the Cowboys, a loosely-knit group of local outlaws, for not turning in

their guns on entering the town. In the ensuing melee, which lasted all of about 30 seconds, three of the Cowboys were killed and Virgil and Morgan Earp wounded. Just two months later, three Cowboys ambushed Virgil, and though the assassination attempt failed, his left arm was crippled for the rest of his life. Then on March 18, 1882, a month before Garrett wrote this letter, unknown assailants shot and killed Morgan as he shot pool at Hatch's Saloon. With Virgil still recovering from his wounds, he and his wife decided to leave for California; Wyatt formed a posse to protect them as they boarded a train in Tucson, and in the process killed another Cowboy laying in wait for Virgil. The posse, accorded federal status through Wyatt's role as a U. S. marshal, rode out of Tombstone the next night and by March 24 had gunned down three more Cowboys. Sometime in mid-April, Wyatt, Holliday, and the rest of the posse crossed into New Mexico Territory to avoid pursuit by another posse led by the Cochise County sheriff, an ally of the Cowboys. **Garrett's letter is among the only contemporary manuscripts from Tombstone to specifically reference any of these now legendary events involving the Cowboys and the Earps.**

Yet despite the turmoil, Garrett seems generally pleased with Tombstone itself. He writes to his friend that "Though our town is on the extreme frontier, it puts on all the airs of a city, with its four churches, High Schools, two daily papers, Opera House, & etc. The freight on the furniture for the Grand Hotel was \$3000 from Kansas City." Freight was not the only high price, as he notes the cost of everyday expenses: "Potatoes \$3 per bushel[,] Eggs 40¢ per doz, Butter 45¢;, Milk 50¢ per gal, sugar, white, 18¢;, Beef 12 1/2 to 25¢, Pork 25¢ flour \$5 per hundred, Board \$8 per week and not much made at that." At eight pages. his letter contains more besides on mines and mining and local scenery. Arizona Territory records indicate that Garrett died at Tombstone, of causes now unknown, on November 18, 1883, at the age of 30. His letter is a rare first-hand account from the greatest boomtown of the West, during the moment that set its reputation.

Relevant sources:

Isenberg, Andrew C.

2013 *Wyatt Earp: A Vigilante Life*. Hill and Wang, New York.

Johnson, Paul L.

2012 *The McLaurys in Tombstone, Arizona: An O. K. Corral Obituary*. University of North Texas Press, Denton.

Shillingberg, William

1999 *Tombstone, A.T.: A History of Early Mining, Milling, and Mayhem*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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[Arizona--Tombstone]: Lewis S. Garrett: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED DESCRIBING LIFE AND WORK IN TOMBSTONE, ARIZONA, SIX MONTHS AFTER THE GUNFIGHT AT THE O. K. CORRAL]. [Tombstone, Arizona, April 23, 1882]. 8 pp. on two folded sheets, approximately 1000 words. With original cover postmarked 'Tombstone, / APR 23 1882 / Arizona.' Fine.

20. SOLD.

## ***Hand-Book of Northern Texas: One of Three Known Copies***

From 1885 to 1889, the C. S. Burch Publishing Company of Chicago produced more than a dozen immigration guides, or “Hand-Books,” all concentrating on a particular county or broader region in the Southern Plains of Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. Each Burch guide offered a wide range of information for potential settlers and visitors, including facts about the landscape and climate, the farming and ranching industries, and the notable persons, families, and businesses of its subject place. The volumes were all quarto in size, bound in wraps, and illustrated throughout with wood engravings of architecture, people, and scenery. Much of the content focused on short biographical sketches of prominent citizens, and it seems that copies of each volume were obtained by subscription only, with those profiled individuals and families paying \$30 for the privilege of appearing within its pages. Today, examples of 16 different handbooks are known to survive in institutional collections—12 for places in Kansas, two in Arkansas, and one each in Missouri and Texas. **All are extremely scarce.** While OCLC reports 13 physical copies of the guide for Ness County, Kansas, the next most frequently occurring issues exist in only 7 copies, and most in the series (13) apparently survive no more than 1 to 3 copies. **Similarly, we find no examples of any Burch guide offered for sale or at auction since a Parke-Bernet sale in 1964** (and that item was a copy of the aforementioned *Hand-Book of Ness County, Kansas*).

Among those rarest examples is the *Hand-Book of Northern Texas*, issued in 1886. This guide provides an overview of the North Texas region encompassing Collin, Denton, Fannin, and Grayson Counties. OCLC lists only one copy, in the research library of the Amon Carter Museum of Art in Fort Worth, and we trace another in the Denton, Texas, Public Library. Including front and back wraps, there are 178 discrete wood engravings throughout the guide, most of which are attractive images of ranches, farms, and architecture, with a scattering of portraits. A review in the *Sunday Gazetteer* of Dennison, Texas (for December 19, 1886) observes that it contains “pen and pencil pictures of various stock farms, business houses and private residences of the cities and surrounding country of Denison, Sherman, Gainesville, Denton, Honey Grove, McKinney, etc., as well as the more important ones of the Indian Nation” (p. 3). A rare Texas item.

Relevant sources:

The Portal to Texas History

2015 Description of *Hand-Book of Northern Texas*, posted on The Portal to Texas History, hosted by the University of North Texas. Last updated on Nov. 24, 2020:  
<https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph643127/#description-content-main>.

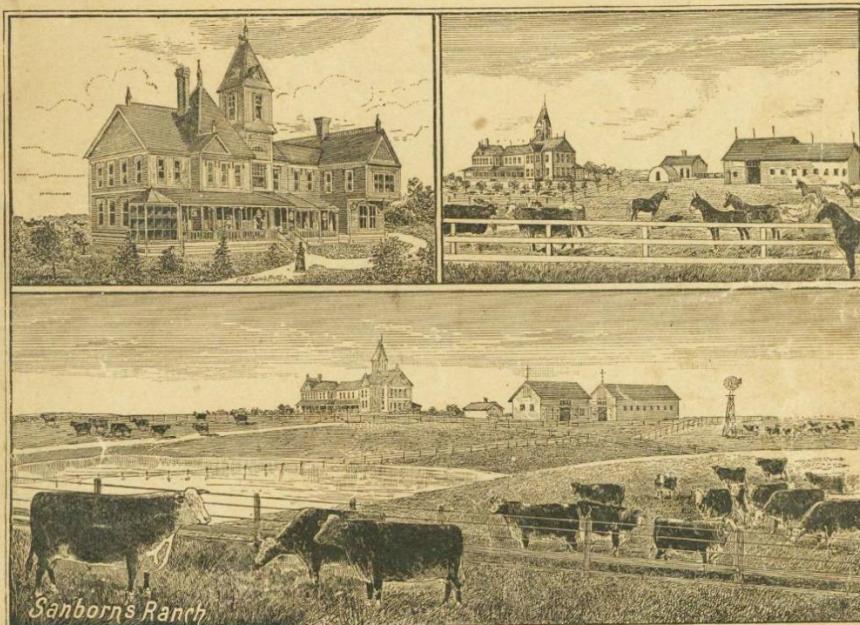
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C. S. Burch Publishing Company. HAND-BOOK OF NORTHERN TEXAS. Chicago, 1886. 38 pp., illus. Small 4to (32 cm). Original printed wraps, spine repaired with homespun cloth. Edge wear to covers, three chips to rear cover with no loss of text or image; p. 3-4 with long horizontal tear, no loss of text or image. About very good.

21. SOLD.

# HAND-BOOK

—OF—



H. B. SANBORN'S STOCK RANCH, TWELVE MILES WEST OF SHERMAN.

# NORTHERN TEXAS.

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C. S. BURCH PUBLISHING COMPANY,

CHICAGO.

1886.

Item 21

## ***The Administratrix: Emma Ghent Curtis and the First Cowboy Novel***

The cowboy is, almost without question, the most idealized figure in our popular culture of the American West. Owen Wister's novel, *The Virginian*, published in 1902, long held pride of place in standard bibliographies as the first cowboy novel--that is, the first to feature a cowboy as its central character. From this beginning, according to conventional wisdom, sprang the likes of Zane Gray, Louis L'Amour, J. Frank Dobie, Jack Schaefer and dozens of other rugged writers (all men) who brought the cowboy to a popular audience. Yet recent scholarship challenges this narrative, revealing that the roots of the genre lay not with Wister, a wealthy Philadelphian who regularly summered in the West, but with a Colorado suffragist and farmer's wife, Emma Ghent Curtis. Her 1889 novel, *The Administratrix*, predates *The Virginian* by more than a decade and was the first work of fiction outside of the old dime novel tradition to feature a cowboy as its main protagonist. **We are pleased to offer a copy of *The Administratrix* here in its original decorated cloth; OCLC lists only 11 copies in institutions, and the only known example ever to appear in the market was sold by us in our first catalogue in 2017.**

# ADMINISTRATRIX

Emma Frances Ghent was born in Frankfort, Indiana, in May 1860, one of a dozen children raised in a Midwestern farming family. She graduated from Frankfort High School in 1877, and eight years later she married an Englishman, James Curtis, and moved to Canon City in Fremont County, Colorado. There, she and James--a farmer like her father--started a family while sharing a home with several of James's relatives. Despite the living arrangements and having two young children of her own, she began to write seriously during this time, and her efforts met with quick success. In 1888, the New York firm of John A. Berry & Company published the first of her two novels, *The Fate of a Fool*. In it, an idealistic teacher from back east moves to the mountains of Colorado and marries a handsome, successful rancher with a dark secret: as a single man, he had occasionally enjoyed the company of prostitutes. Gessia, the heroine (or victim), eventually dies brokenhearted, unable to live with her disgrace.

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



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

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

Curtis would remain involved in the suffrage and populist movements for the rest of her life. She would also continue to write, though *The Fate of a Fool* and *The Administratrix* were to be her only novels. Beyond this, she published one other piece of prose fiction, a short story titled "In the Dark of the Moon," as well as numerous poems in various local and national magazines. She also edited a Canon City newspaper, *The Royal Gorge Review*. Emma Ghent Curtis died in Canon City on February 20, 1918. The epitaph on her tombstone reads:

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

Relevant sources:

Baym, Nina

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

Lamont, Victoria

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

Mead, Rebecca J.

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

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Curtis, Emma Ghent. THE ADMINISTRATRIX. John B. Alden, New York, 1889. 373 pp. 20 cm. Original light blue cloth, spine with black ink lettering and lasso vignette, front board with black ink vignette of cowboy on horseback. Light edge wear, scuffing, and staining to spine and boards, binding tight; marginal chip to pp. 317/318, not affecting text. Overall very good. [Wright American Fiction v. 3, 1876-1900; no. 1350].

22. SOLD.

## The Brands of the Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association

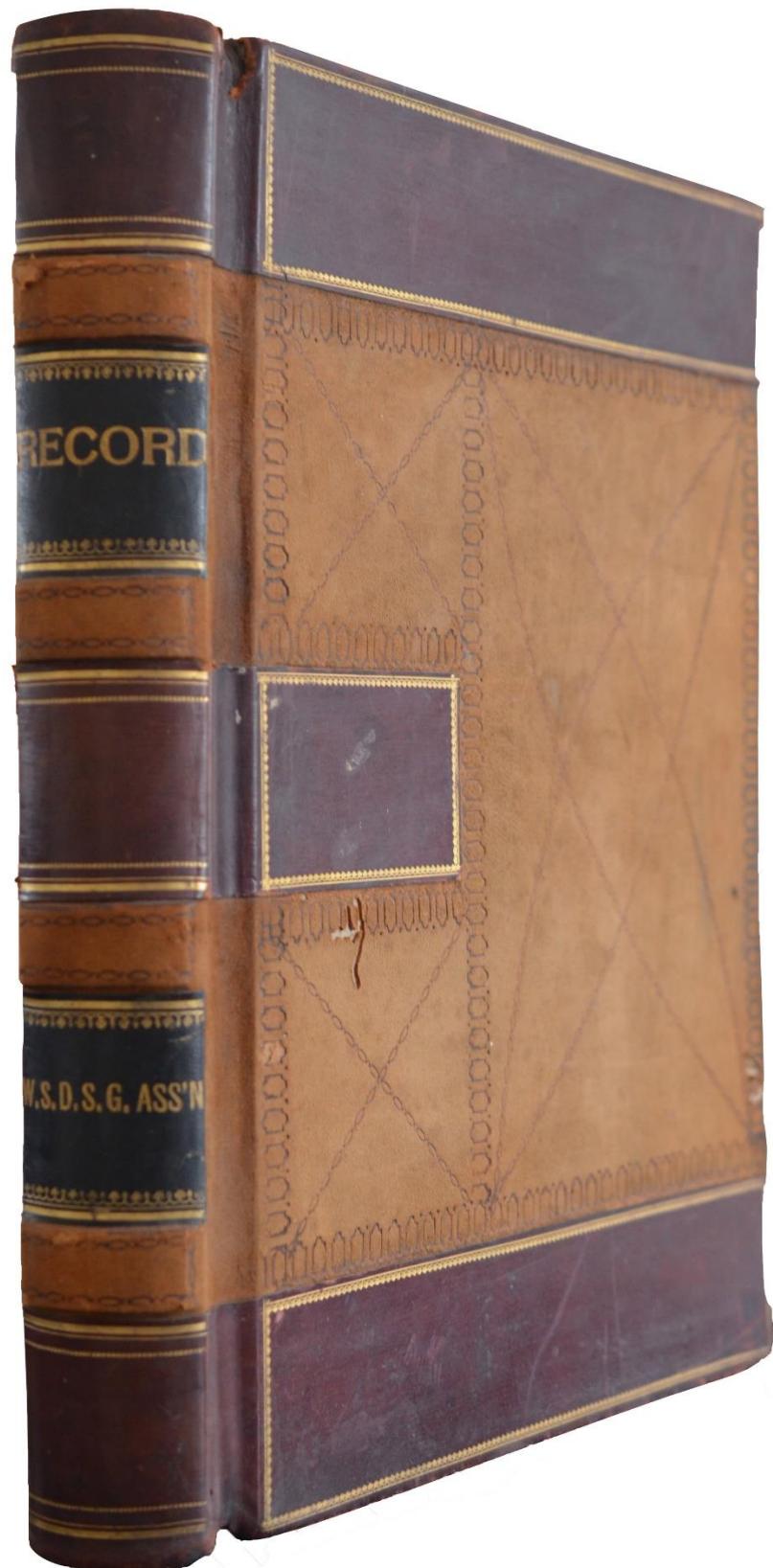
Gold was the lure that brought droves of miners, merchants, investors, and hangers-on to western Dakota Territory--to the Black Hills and Deadwood Gulch--in 1876. Fortune seekers, in turn, brought the demand for fresh meat, beef in particular, so cattle operators from Wyoming and Nebraska soon followed. And after the Sioux Agreement of 1877, which forced the Lakota to cede their claims to the land or face starvation, the grasslands surrounding the Black Hills became a well-stocked cattle range, dominated by a few large companies based in neighboring territories or even across the Atlantic in Scotland and England. The profits could be enormous: cattle purchased elsewhere for \$15 a head might be sold in Deadwood and nearby communities for \$100. Even the weather was cooperative, as the mild and pleasant winters of the mid-1880s encouraged a relentless expansion of the range. The good times ground to a halt in 1885-1886, though, as blizzards began in November and continued unabated through March. The smaller operations, with fewer cattle to feed and a strategy of keeping herds closer to home, fared better than the larger firms that left their herds to winter on the open range and suffered losses as high as 90 percent. The ranches that survived, by adopting new techniques for improving the quality and resilience of their herds, had largely rebounded when South Dakota achieved statehood in 1889.

### Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association.

After 1890, ranchers began to reorganize earlier cattlemen's groups, such as the Black Hills Live Stock Association, that had declined after 1886. On January 13, 1893, the largest and most comprehensive of these, subsuming 11 branch lodges, was officially incorporated as the Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association. Its stated purpose was to:

advance the interests of the stock growers of South Dakota and adjoining states, and for the protection of the same against fraud and swindlers, to prevent the stealing, taking or driving away of cattle, horses, mules, and asses from the rightful owners thereof, and to enforce the stock laws of South Dakota [in McCord 2018:35].

Over the next half century the WSDSGA would become one of the most powerful political forces in South Dakota, counting state legislators and even a governor among its ranks. Its power was particularly enforced in confrontations with Native tribes in the state, most frequently the Oglala Sioux, upon whose lands the cattle of association ranchers would trespass for years. This massive folio ledger (weighing 13 pounds) was produced specifically for WSDSGA secretary and treasurer Frank M. Stewart of Buffalo Gap in 1895. It contains records of members, their brands, and all of the cattle shipped by association members to markets in Chicago, Omaha, and Sioux City during the first five years of its incorporation, from July 1893 through November 1897. Across 400 pages the ledger documents thousands of different transactions involving dozens of ranches, as well as all of the brands associated with each transaction, and also contains a tabbed index of all members and a catalogue of the brands themselves. **We believe it is one of the most important primary sources of the western cattle industry to reach the market in decades.**



## Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association.

Date	Reported from	No. of Report	DESCRIPTION, BRANDS, MARKS.	Shipped from	Shipped by
Aug 11	Chicago	31	1 Tex Stein HI	Bismarck	P. Dardanel
11	"	37	1 Nat. Cow UT right side X left side	Sioux City	James M. Penwell
"	"	39	10 - steers L2 or EL	"	"
"	"	"	1 - JF	"	"
"	"	40-1	2 - V -	St. Paul	Jan. Blaup
"	"	"	1 Tex -	"	"
"	"	"	1 - O6	"	"
"	"	"	V	"	"
"	"	43	1 - V	Belle J	Western R
"	"	45	1 Nat. Cow I	"	Robinson
"	"	20-2	1 - steers WH right side AX-2	"	Western R
"	"	46	V U 1 L - O -	"	Malidor Co
"	"	"	V V T -	"	"
"	"	"	X - L side	"	"
"	"	47	1 Nat. Cow V V right -	Sioux City	Cornwall Co
"	"	"	EL left -	"	"
"	"	50	1 Tex Stein V V O - - - - L	Bismarck	E. Holman
"	"	52	2 Nat. Cows O O left side	Belle J	Malidor Co
"	"	53	2 - steers RR	"	L.D. & C
"	"	54	2 - L P -	"	J. Knobler
"	"	56	1 - L E E K E	"	Vermont L & C
"	"	"	L -	"	"
"	"	57	1 Nat. - XH	Madison	P. Winkler
"	"	58	12 - 3 cows RR	Belle J	Shelday Co
"	"	"	F F 2 -	"	"
"	"	59	15 steers 6 cows QA left side	"	Hoffmann & Co
"	"	60	7 Tex Steers TX right	"	C. J. Hall
"	"	61	6 Nat. - F F -	"	"
"	"	"	C C left	"	"
"	"	62	1 Tex V V right O -	"	"
"	"	"	O6 -	"	"
"	"	60-2	3 Nat. - 2 Cows B 4 -	"	"
"	"	"	1 - L - L - L - L -	"	"
"	"	"	AE - side	"	"
"	"	3	JH	"	"
"	"	"	1 - C-L Q L C-L -	"	"
"	"	61	4 - L2 V -	Sioux City	Cornwall Co
"	"	"	2 Tex L2 L Q E L -	"	"
"	"	62	1 - H -	"	"
"	"	"	1 - J -	"	"
"	"	65	2 - Cows V V A side -	"	H. D. Brown
"	"	"	L2 V left -	"	Cornwall Co
"	"	"	KU1 right -	"	"

## Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association.

Proceeds Sent by Commission Men.	Net Proceeds.	Forwarded by Secretary to	REMARKS.
Clay R. & Co.	27.40	Ramona D. & P.	
C R. & Co.		A. M. Donnell	X
do		H. G. Nease	
Dominick, Flaherty & Co.		Nease L. & Co.	
	33.55	Aug 12. Taugh & Tellefson	Check #1593-3215 to C. R. & Co.
	34.30	-	Check #1595
C R. & Co.		E. J. Huppman	
C R. & Co.		A. D. Marmatt	
Awarded 4/13	46.45	Aug 20-96 J. H. Harriman and	Check #1017-4125 Feb 5.00
C R. & Co.		E. Holloman	
"		Nease Ranches	
"		do	
"		Shidley C. Co.	
"		D. M. Donnell	
"		Nease Ranches	
"		A. Gates	
"		R. R. C. C.	
"		C. W. Barney	
"		Calleen Bros	
"		Wunderhall -	
"		Doody -	
"	46.59	Aug 20 J. C. Nease	Check #1598
"	47.84	Feb 9 J. Brainerd	Chq. 1/4
Kearney		R. R. C. C.	
"		Mrs. Ford	
"		Huppman & D.	
"		Vermaud L. & Co.	
"		Mrs. M. C. Ford	
"		Doody Bros	
"		E. Holloman	
"		Huppman & Shidley	
"		E. Barsham	
"		A. H. Drew	
"		E. H. Smith	
"		N. Palmer	
Awarded 4/13	43.36	Apr 20-96 J. D. Blair	Check #1016-3826 Feb 5.00
C R. & Co.		D. M. Donnell	
"		do	
"		Nease L. & Co.	
"		Shidley C. Co.	
"		D. M. Donnell	
"	26.04	Aug 27 B. Kupper	Check #1604

3	"	L	LSH	2	S	L	H
3	"	9R			RS		
1	"	—	Lsh	3L	S	L	H
1	"	⑥			RS		
3	"	KUI			RS		
4	"	JH			LS		
1	"	MD			BS		
5	Steers	6	Cows	D	RS	VAN	LS
1	"	D	RS	V	Lsh	A	SNH
3	Cows		D			RS	
2	Nat. Steers	♂				LS	
6	"	F			RH	> S	
1	"	WF			RS		
2	Tex	"	RR		RS		
1	Nat	"	X		RS		
1	"	Cows	SS		LS		
1	Tex	Sheep	O		LS	H	
1	Nat	"	O	Bsh	=	BHams	
1	Tex	"	+ ♂	Lsh	S	H	
1	"	TX		RS			
1	Nat	"	DC	LS	W	LH	
1	Tex	"	O	RH	O	Rsh	LN
6	1	Nat	"	C	LS	H	
1	Tex	"	XX		LS		

The WSDSGA ledger is over 17 inches tall, 14 inches wide, and two inches thick. It is bound in reverse calf with finely tooled boards and gilt-decorated, dark red morocco panels. The spine has four raised bands and two black morocco labels, the top reading "RECORD," the lower reading "W.S.D.S.G. ASS'N." Edges and end papers are marbled, and the inner front pastedown holds a binder's label from the A. C. McClurg Co. of Chicago. This binder's label indicates that the ledger was produced for Fred H. Heim, Jr., of Buffalo Gap in July 1895. Heim was the son of Dakota pioneer Frank Heim, Sr., and shortly after 1900 was operating a candy store in Sturgis; he otherwise had no clear ties to the cattle industry. The link to Buffalo Gap, however, suggests that Heim was working with or for Frank Stewart, who had settled there in 1886 and developed a ranch of 6000 acres in Custer County. Stewart would serve as secretary and treasurer of the WSDSGA from its incorporation through more than a quarter-century and likewise advocated livestock and agricultural interests as a member of the state legislature for eight sessions.



Ledger entries are nearly all in a single clear hand, which we assume to be Stewart's. All of the leaves have a running header, *Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association*. The first 26 leaves are unnumbered but are tabbed with a letter of the alphabet. These leaves contain the names, locations, and brands of all WSDSGA members from 1893 to 1897, some 396 in all. **There are nearly 1500 different brands, all recorded in red ink.** Numbered leaves 1-199 report the records of all cattle shipments by association members during these same years, **a total of more than 8500 transactions.** Each entry crosses facing leaves and contains information on date; the place from which sales were reported (usually Chicago or Omaha); the report number; the number and type of cattle (e.g., 'steer,' 'cow,' 'Tex'); the brands of those cattle sold; the place from which the cattle were shipped; the name of the shipper; the "commission men" who sent proceeds; the net proceeds; to whom proceeds were forward by the secretary; and comments. All information is recorded in black ink through the first 74 leaves (August 1896), after which the relevant brands are shown in red. Finally, leaves 202-367 contain a catalogue of brands used by the association's members. These are grouped by the brand's core element (e.g., a letter or number), alphabetically first, then by number, and last by non-alphabetic or non-numerical character; also included are the ranch or owner, the location, and the nearest post office. Much of this information was certainly published in the association's first brand book, printed in 1893. Significantly, however, no copies of the WSDSGA brand book in its first edition are recorded in OCLC, nor do any appear to have ever been offered at auction or in the trade. The earliest edition listed in both OCLC and RBH is the third of 1895 (with six institutional copies and one trade record from 1981).

**Primary sources such as this, documenting a major western cattle association through the first five years of its existence, are extraordinarily rare.** The only comparable materials we can trace are in the Wyoming Stock Growers Association records, held by the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming; the Montana Stockgrowers Association records, held by the

Montana Historical Society; and the records of the Colorado Stock Growers Association, held by the Colorado Historical Society. Little else is like it. The Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association dropped the “Western” from its title in 1937 and continues today as one of the most important such organizations in the American West. A unique opportunity for research, containing data on thousands of brands and transactions not recorded in any other source.

Relevant sources:

Iverson, Peter  
1994 *When Indians Became Cowboys: Native Peoples and Cattle Ranching in the American West*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Johnson., M. B.  
1930 *Cattle Ranch Organization and Management in Western South Dakota*. Bulletin 255. Agricultural Economics Department, South Dakota State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts Brookings.

Kingsbury, George W.  
1915 *History of Dakota Territory*, Vol. IV. S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago.

Lee, Bob, and Richard Brown Williams  
1964 *Last Grass Frontier: The South Dakota Stock Grower Heritage*. Black Hills Publishers, Sturgis, SD.

McCord, Monty  
2018 *Calling the Brands: Stock Detectives in the Wild West*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Lanham, MD.

Pulling, Hazel A.  
1940 History of the Range Cattle Industry of Dakota. *Dakota Historical Collections* XX:467-521.

Starrs, Paul F.  
2000 *Let the Cowboy Ride: Cattle Ranching in the American West*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Witt, Thomas, Kathleen Corbett, Holly Norton, and James Steely  
2013 The History of Agriculture in South Dakota: Components for a Fully Developed Historic Context. SWCA Environmental Consultants. Report submitted to the South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office, Pierre.

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[South Dakota--Cattlemen's Associations]: Western South Dakota Stock Growers Association: [MANUSCRIPT LEDGER BOOK OF THE WESTERN SOUTH DAKOTA STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION, CONTAINING INFORMATION ON MEMBERS, BRANDS, AND CATTLE TRANSACTIONS FROM 1893 TO 1897]. Buffalo Gap, South Dakota, July 1893-December 1897. 400 leave. (368-400 unused). 14.25 x 17.25 in. (36 x 44 cm). Original reverse calf boards with dark red morocco panels, gilt decoration and tooling; raised bands and black morocco labels on spine; marbled edges and end papers. Light scuffing and edge wear, short tears to leather panel on rear board. Exterior very good, interior fine.

23. SOLD.

## Clearing a Path to Statehood: Oklahoma and the Curtis Act

Just prior to the Civil War, a series of federal appropriations had reduced Indian Territory to an area the size of present-day Oklahoma. Greater concessions followed, as the United States government compelled tribes that joined or supported the Confederate cause to cede even more of their allotted lands. A two-million acre zone in the center of the territory, ceded by Creek and Seminole Indians, became known as the Unassigned Lands and was legally opened for settlement in the Land Rush of 1889. A year later Congress passed the Oklahoma Organic Act, carving the entire western half of Indian Territory--some 24 million acres--into a newly organized Oklahoma Territory, less than two million acres of which would remain off-limits to settlement as reservation lands. Almost immediately, demands grew to join the new territory with that of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory (Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Seminoles, and Creeks or Muscogees) to create a single state. All of Indian Territory, however, was held communally by autonomous tribal governments that had full control over their own jurisdictions, courts, and rules of citizenship. Forging a state from the two territories would require that to change.

For the protection of the people of the Indian Territory, and  
other purposes.

On June 28, 1898, Congress enacted the Curtis Act, so named for its chief sponsor, U. S. House Representative from Kansas, future Vice President, and mixed-blood Kaw Indian Charles Curtis. The Curtis Act extended the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, which legislated the allotment of communal tribal lands into individually owned plots, to the hitherto exempted Five Civilized Tribes of Indian Territory. In so doing, it laid the foundations for Oklahoma statehood a decade later on November 16, 1907. This printing of the Curtis Act was published as a supplement to the *Daily and Weekly Ardmoreite* of Ardmore, the first daily newspaper in Indian Territory. **Not only is it a unique survival, produced on low quality newsprint, but it seems to be the only separate printing of this decisive act to appear in either territory.**

The general boundaries of Indian Territory were established by the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 as “all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas,” and at its greatest extent it incorporated most of modern-day Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and part of Iowa. These lands were set aside, with a promise of self-determination, for the resettlement of Native peoples forcibly removed from the East. Yet from its founding, the incommensurability of indigenous sovereignty and federal control in the territories proved an intractable problem both in Washington and in the Native capitals of Indian Territory. Three decades later, the end of the Civil War gave authorities in Washington an opportunity to transform relations between federal and tribal governments entirely. First were the land concessions that reduced the size of the territory. Next came the Dawes Act, which removed a key plank of tribal self-determination by authorizing the U. S. President to subdivide communal landholdings into allotments assigned to individual tribal members and family heads, effectively turning Native systems of land management into a capitalist system of private property that made non-allotted lands eligible for sale. At first, this process of identifying tribal members and allotting

**SUPPLEMENT TO THE**  
**Daily and Weekly Ardmoreite**

**THE CURTIS BILL,**

As agreed to in conference, passed both Houses, and signed by the President of the United States. The Bill treats specifically on all provisions affecting townsites and all lands in the Indian Territory; contains, also, the Agreement made and entered into by a Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes and the Choctaw and Chickasaw Tribes of Indians, and known as "The Atoka Agreement;" and is entitled,

**AN ACT**

For the protection of the people of the Indian Territory, and other purposes.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, that in all criminal prosecutions in the Indian Territory against officials for embezzlement, bribery, and embracery the word "officer," when the same appears in the criminal laws heretofore extended over and put in force in said Territory, shall include all officers of the several tribes or nations of Indians in said Territory.

SEC. 2. That when in the progress of any civil suit, either in law or equity, pending in the United States court in any district in said Territory, it shall appear to the court that the property of any tribe is in any way affected by the issues being heard, said court is hereby authorized and required to make said tribe a party to said suit by service upon the chief or governor of the tribe, and the suit shall thereafter be conducted and determined as if said tribe had been an original party to said action.

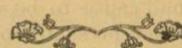
SEC. 3. That said courts are hereby given jurisdiction in their respective districts to try cases against those who may claim to hold as members of a tribe and whose membership is denied by the tribe, but who continue to hold said lands and tenements notwithstanding the objection of the tribe; and if it be found

# W. H. TENNISON,



: MANUFACTURER OF :

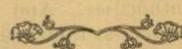
## Saddles and Harness.



A Large Stock of .....

### California Saddles.

..... A Full Stock of All Kinds of Harness.



Next Door to the Blue Front, on Main Street,

land accordingly was undertaken on a tribe-by-tribe basis, with little immediate effect on the Five Civilized Tribes, but the drive to combine Oklahoma and Indian territories pushed lawmakers to legislate away all exemptions, regardless of previous treaties.

Rep. Charles Curtis drafted what officially became “An Act for the Protection of the People of Indian Territory,” or bill HR8581. By the time it came to the floor for a vote, little of his original text remained, a fact for which he--an enrolled member of the Kaw Indian Nation himself--later expressed regret. The Curtis Act shifted responsibility for determining tribal membership from the Five Tribes themselves to the white members of the federal Dawes Commission. After allotting land to households based on tribal membership, the federal government subsequently identified all non-allotted lands as surplus and made these available for sale, usually to white speculators and settlers. The Five Tribes immediately ceded control of 90 million acres. Finally, the act specified the abolition of tribal governments, including tribal courts, on March 6, 1907. The Curtis Act was to be the final blow against true tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Two years before its abolition policies went into effect, the Five Tribes formally proposed to create a new state from Indian Territory, named in honor of the Cherokee polymath, Sequoyah. Congress refused to even consider their proposal. In November 1907, Oklahoma and Indian Territories were combined and admitted to the Union as the 46th state.

The Government Printing Office in Washington officially published the Curtis Act both as House and Senate documents and in the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior. Yet apart from the title that we offer here, a supplement to the *Daily and Weekly Ardmoreite*, we trace no separate appearances in either Indian or Oklahoma Territories. This is an ephemeral, cheap, and hastily produced issue, printed on thin newsprint. Only the rectos of each leaf are numbered, with each verso (including the front cover) containing a full page advertisement for businesses in and around Ardmore. **One of the most transformative pieces of federal legislation pertaining to Native American sovereignty, surviving here in a unique territorial imprint.**

Relevant sources:

Chang, David A.

2010 *The Color of the Land: Race, Nation, and the Politics of Landownership in Oklahoma, 1832-1929*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Debo, Angie

1973 *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

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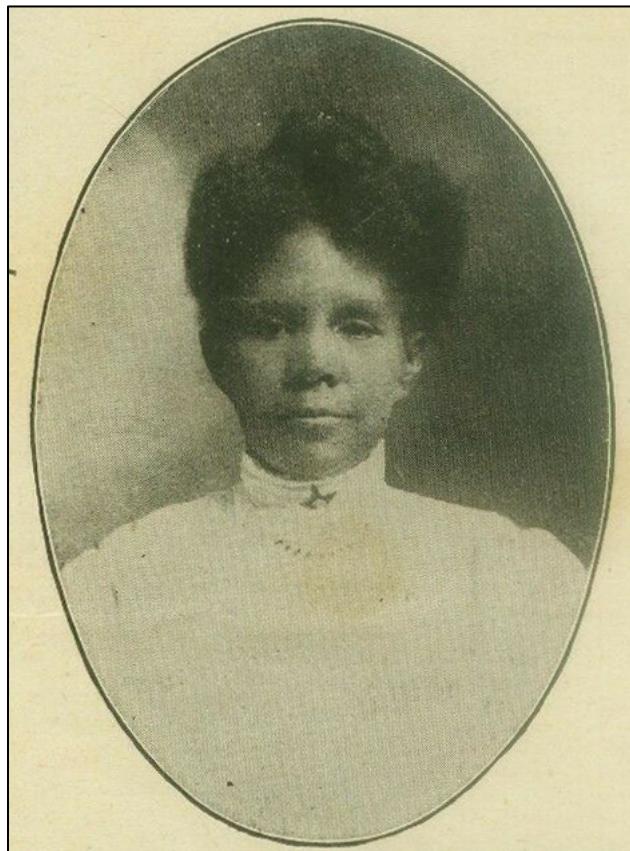
[Indian Territory--The Curtis Act]: THE CURTIS BILL....AN ACT FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE PEOPLE OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY, AND OTHER PURPOSES. [Ardmore, Indian Territory, n.d., but 1898]. *Supplement to the Daily and Weekly Ardmoreite*. 27 numbered pp., 29 ll., incl. front and rear wrap. Large 8vo (26 cm). Printed on newsprint, stitched as issued; small chips to wraps, not affecting text; a few short tears to interior leaves. Very good.

24. SOLD.

## Jennie Coleman McClain's *History of the Springfield Colored Woman's Club*

In 1895, Florence Balgarnie of the English Anti-Lynching League sent a letter to American journalists seeking their support in the fight against lynching. Among the recipients was president of the Missouri Press Association, James Jacks. His deeply racist and despicable reply--one that demeaned African American women, in particular--would inadvertently launch one of the most progressive social reform movements of the early 20th century. Immediately, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, leader of Boston's New Era Club--founded in 1893 to improve the lives of Black women and to strengthen their communities--called for a national conference of African American women to be held that year. Over four days from July 29 to August 1, representatives of 42 clubs from 14 states met in Boston for the First National Conference of the Colored Women of America, the first such meeting ever organized. During the conference Ruffin founded the National Federation of Afro-American Women, which merged a year later with the Colored Women's League to form the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC). Its membership would grow from 5000 women in 1897 to more than 100,000 by 1925, and dozens of chapters sprang up across the United States. Among these was the Colored Women's Club of Springfield, Illinois, established in 1899. Mrs. Jennie Coleman McClain prepared this rare history of the Springfield club near the time of its ten-year anniversary. **It is one of only three known copies.**

Jennie Coleman McClain, born in Springfield in 1855, was the third of ten children. Her parents, Landrum and Melissa Coleman, had come to Illinois from Virginia in 1852; Landrum had



**THE HISTORY**

OF THE  
**SPRINGFIELD**  
**COLORED**  
**WOMAN'S**  
**CLUB**

BY

**MRS. JENNIE COLEMAN McCLAIN**

Hannah Printers, So. Sixth St.

worked as a shoemaker until entering the ministry in 1871, then served the Wood River Baptist Association until his death in 1902. The Colemans ensured that Jennie obtained three years of high school beyond her grammar school education, after which she moved to Missouri and taught school for some years in Columbia, Meica, Shelbyville, and several other towns. On returning to Springfield she married farmer Henry McClain in 1905 and became deeply involved with a range of activities and services on behalf of the African American community. No one was better suited to write a history of the Springfield Colored Women's Club, since at the time of its publication she was serving as president and had also served in the roles of recording secretary and treasurer. She was a committed activist at the state level, as well; Elizabeth Davis notes in her *Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs* that McClain "missed only one session in twenty one years and has held the offices of Chairman of the Committee on Constitution and By-Laws. Assistant Secretary, and President" (1922:42). After 1912 she became matron of the Prince Hall Masonic and Eastern Star Home for the aged in Rock Island, Illinois, a position she held until becoming a resident herself in the 1920s. She is listed as such in the 1930 U. S. Census, but we can find no record of her after this; the date of her death is unknown.

McClain's *History* contains summaries of service and activism accomplished by the club during each year of its existence, 11 reports in total from 1899 through 1910; each annual summary also includes a list of club officers. Much of the club's charitable work focused on financial and service support for Springfield's Lincoln Colored Old Folks' and Orphans' Home. All material related to the African American club movement is quite scarce today, especially in the market, and such comprehensive histories of local clubs are rarely offered. **We trace two institutional copies of McClain's *History*, at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Springfield and at Springfield's Lincoln (Public) Library; NYPL has a photocopy.** A rare and noteworthy record of Black women's activism and community support in the early 20th century.

Relevant sources:

Davis, Elizabeth Lindsey

1922 *The Story of the Illinois Federation of Colored Women's Clubs*. No publisher or place of publication identified, probably Chicago.

Hendricks, Wanda A.

1998 *Gender, Race, and Politics in the Midwest: Black Club Women in Illinois*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

White, Deborah Gray

1999 *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994*. W. W. Norton & Co., New York.

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McClain, Jennie Coleman. THE HISTORY OF THE SPRINGFIELD COLORED WOMEN'S CLUB. N.p, n.d., but probably Springfield, Illinois, 1910. 24 pp, (unnumbered), frontis. portrait of author. 8vo (22 cm). Original printed wraps (stapled), small stains to front wrap, light wear to spine and wrap edges, old horizontal fold. Very good.

25. SOLD.





