PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 4

Winter 2021

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

444 South 5th Avenue
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
(734) 355-2986
primarysources25@gmail.com
www.psamericana.com

Robin and Laoma Beck

Terms of Sale

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

On the covers: 18. Edwin Curley's Friend-In-Need Mining Company (detail).

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 4, Winter 2021

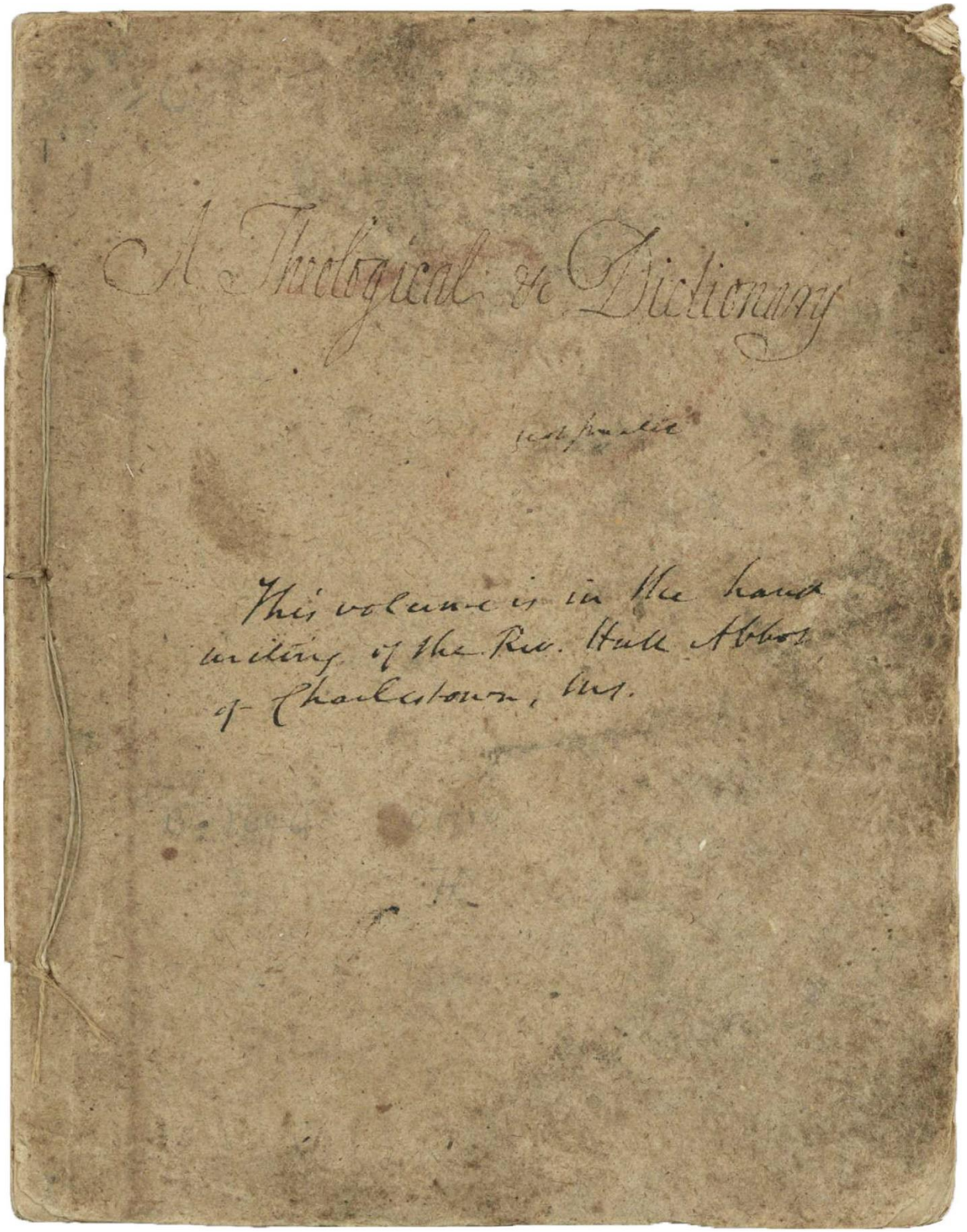
Contents

A Theological Dictionary: Assembling the Divine in Colonial New England

The decades of the Enlightenment, or Age of Reason, witnessed an almost unprecedented explosion in Western scientific, philosophical, and political thought, opening the door to entirely new fields of knowledge and practice. As early as the first quarter of the 18th century, a handful of writers had begun to recognize the need for ordering such knowledge, distilling the essence of diverse intellectual fields in the first modern dictionaries and encyclopedias, books intended for use by scholars and educated laymen alike. Perhaps the most successful and influential of these efforts was that of Ephraim Chambers, whose *Cyclopaedia: or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* was published in its first edition in 1728. Over the next fifty years, it would go on to serve both as a springboard for Diderot's monumental, 28-volume *Encyclopédie* and as a source of inspiration for Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. Chambers's opus proved no less influential in the American colonies, though its impact far from the centers of early 18th-century European thought is less easily traced. This remarkable manuscript**--a 200,000-word theological dictionary compiled by Harvard-educated Hull Abbot, who served as pastor of First Church at Charlestown, Massachusetts, from 1724 to 1774--**uniquely illustrates how colonial American readers engaged with Chambers's text, if in private rather than public venues.

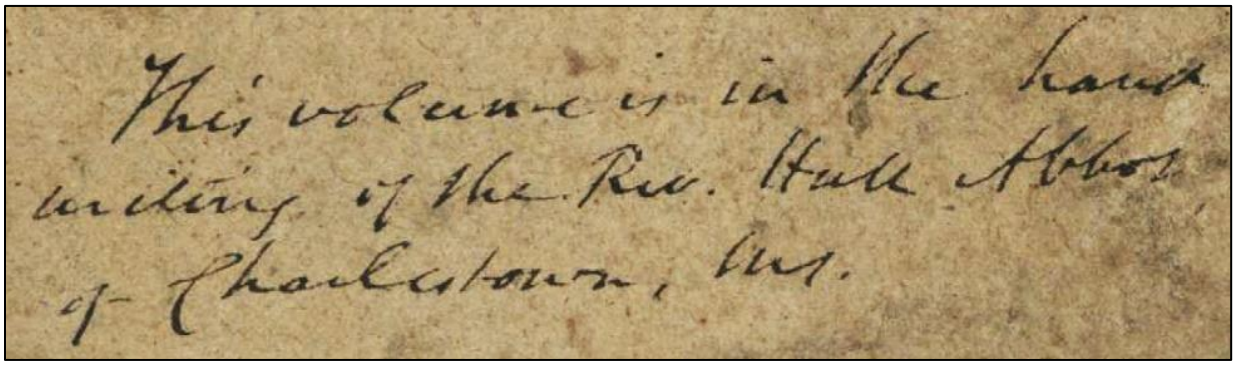
It is difficult to overestimate the role of the *Cyclopaedia* in setting the course for how we classify and access knowledge today. Philipp Blom, in his book-length history of Diderot's own contribution, notes that "Through years of determination, and while barely scraping a living as a book reviewer and translator, Chambers...created the first modern encyclopedia, the direct ancestor of all modern works of reference, and the father of the *Encyclopédie*" (2004:xxv). Although hardly an objective authority, Chambers himself observed in a prospectus for the 1738 second edition of his work that it was nothing less than "the best Book in Universe" (1738:4). What is it then, that made the *Cyclopaedia* so different from its predecessors and competitors?

Chambers's work was not the first to offer a synthesis of the arts and sciences, nor the first to order its contents alphabetically for ease of access. Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* had appeared at the Hague in 1690, followed by John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum*, published at London in 1704. Harris prefigured Chambers in asserting that his *Lexicon* was more than merely a reference tool, to be consulted like other technical lexicons, but was rather a coherent book in its own right, worthy of close and careful reading in addition to an occasional consultation. Chambers would argue in his *Cyclopaedia*'s Preface that Harris and the others had not gone far enough. None of these authors, he observes, had "attempted any thing like Structure in their Works; nor seem to


A Theological Dictionary
This volume is in the hand writing of the Rev. Hull Abbot of Charlestown, Mas.

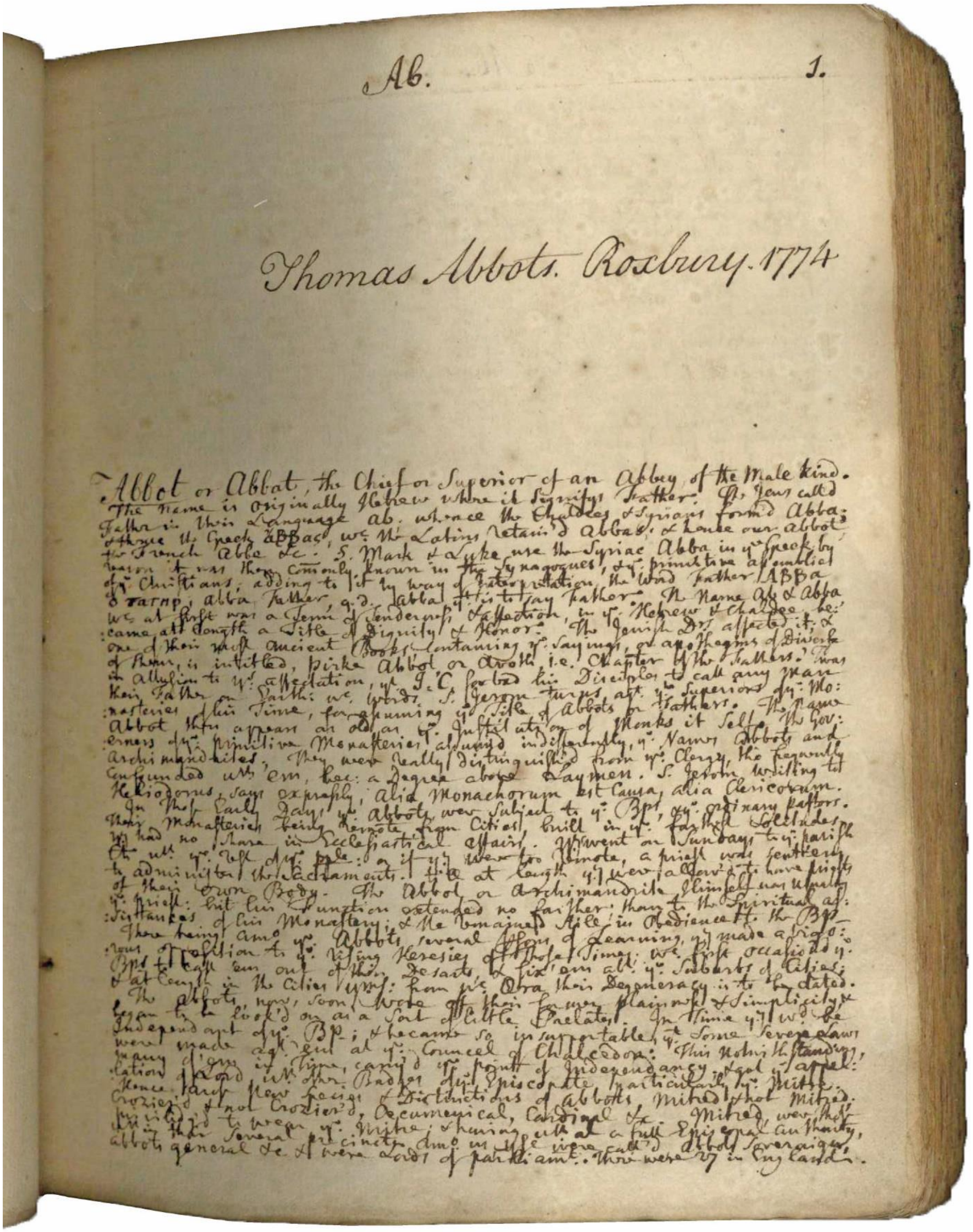
have been aware that a Dictionary was in some measure capable of the Advantages of a continued Discourse" (1728:I:i). The structure that enabled Chambers' s "continued discourse," as Richard Yeo observes (1996, 2000, 2003), drew on the Renaissance tradition of commonplacing, in which students and seasoned scholars collected significant phrases, expressions, and ideas arranged by subject heads in personal codices they continually revised and supplemented.

The *Cyclopaedia*, as noted, was organized alphabetically--not topically--and thus seems to share little with the structure and organization of a commonplace book. Yet Chambers's Preface includes a tabular View of Knowledge that consists of 47 distinct subject heads, each a specific art or science. Each of these heads, in turn, is linked by footnote to numerous cognate terms dispersed throughout the text. Chambers thus demonstrates that his labors were guided by a method: he first collected his terms by subject and grouped them under their respective heads in the long-standing commonplace tradition, then arranged them in alphabetical order for ease of use. Yet through his View of Knowledge and its footnotes, diligent readers might restore each head to completeness as a consummate whole. As Chambers puts it himself, "by shewing the Origin and Derivation of the several Parts, and the Relation in which they stand to their common Stock and to each other; will assist in restoring 'em to their proper Places, and connecting 'em together" (1728:I:ii). It is the 16th head in Chambers's View of Knowledge, "Theology, or Revelation," that returns us to Hull Abbot of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and his manuscript dictionary.


This volume is in the hand writing of the Rev. Hull Abbot of Charlestown, Mas.

Hull Abbot was born in Boston in 1702. His father, a mariner, was lost at sea in February 1718. Despite a childhood of relative poverty, he graduated from Harvard College with the Class of 1720, the expense of his education met by wine sales at the store of a maternal relative. Each graduating class elected a member "who stood first in order of seniority" (Shipton 1942:366), and the Class of 1720 chose a young man named Rosewall Saltenstall. Yet when Saltenstall ran afoul of a tutor and was stripped of the honor, the class chose Abbot in his stead. After wealthy London merchant and Harvard benefactor Thomas Hollis received notice of Abbot's oration, he wrote to the College suggesting that the young man be placed on the Hollis foundation. Abbot was thereby funded for two years of graduate study and received his AM in December 1723.

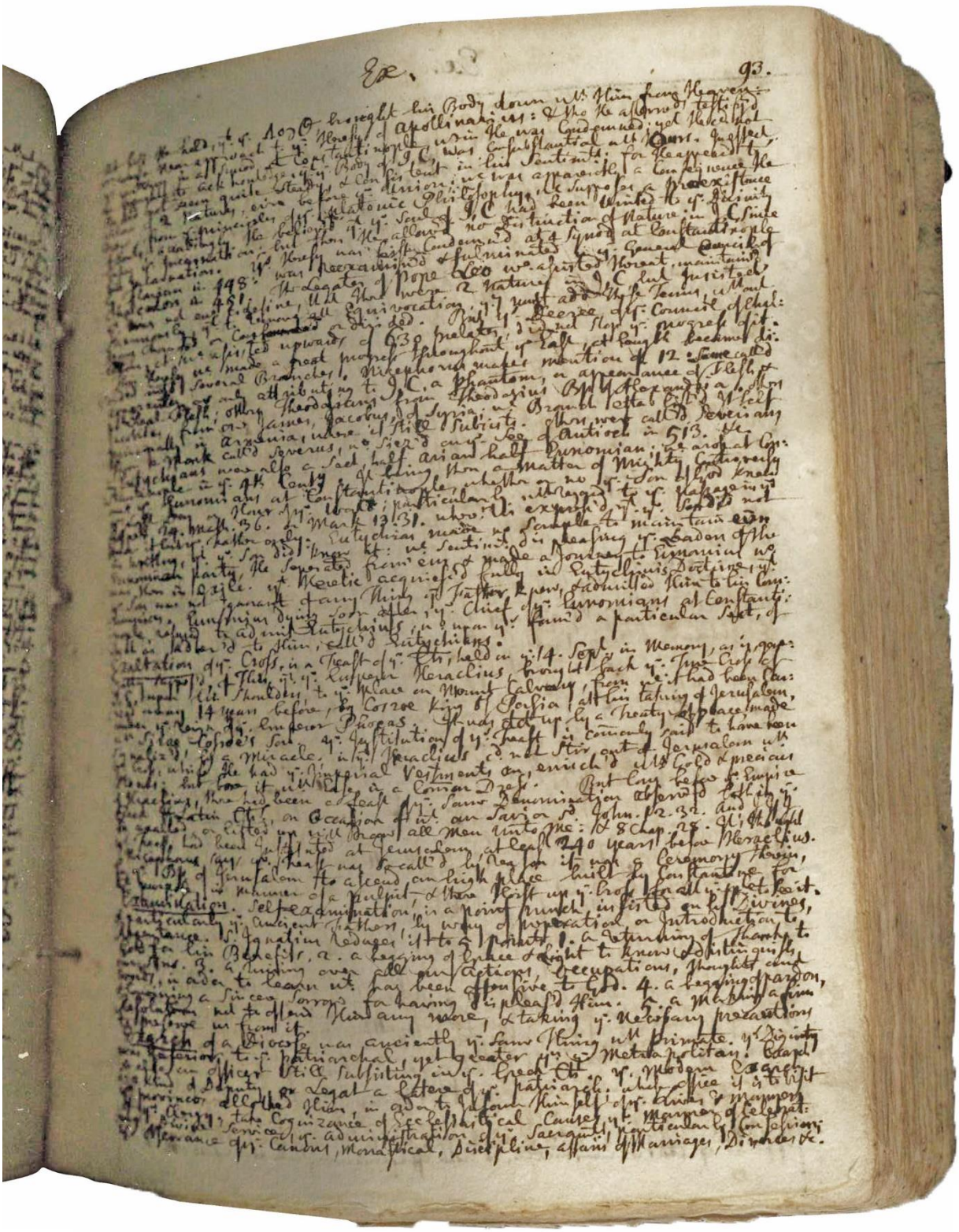
On February 5, 1724, Abbot was ordained as colleague of the Reverend Simon Bradstreet at First Church in Charlestown; his old pastor, Cotton Mather, delivered the charge. Seven years later, Abbot married Bradstreet's daughter, Mary, great-granddaughter of the renowned poet Anne Bradstreet. He would serve as associate pastor at First Church for 17 years before becoming senior pastor himself upon Bradstreet's passing in 1741. It was a position that he held until his own death



Ab. 1.

Thomas Abbots. Roxbury. 1774

Abbot or Abbat, the Chief or Superior of an Abbey of the Male kind.
The Name is Originally Hebrew where it Signifys Father. The Jews called
Father in their Language ab. whence the Chaldees & Syrians form'd Abba:
& thence the Greeks ἀββᾶς, w^ch the Latins retain'd Abbas: & hence our abbot,
the French Abbé &c. S. Mark & Luke use the Syriac Abba in y^e Greek, by
reason it was then commonly known in the Synagogues, & y^e primitive assemblies
of y^e Christians; adding to it by way of Interpretation, the Word Father ABBA
ὁ πατήρ; abba, Father, q.d. Abba that is to say Father. The Name Ab & Abba
w^ch at first was a Term of Tenderness & affection, in y^e Hebrew & Chaldee, be:
:came at length a Title of Dignity & Honor. The Jewish Drs affected it, &
one of their most ancient Books, containing y^e sayings, or apothegms of Divers
of them, is intitled, Pirke Abbot or Avoth i.e. Chapter of the Fathers. 'Twas
in allusion to y^t affectation, y^t J. C. forbad his Disciples to call any man
their Father on Earth: w^ch words, S. Jerom turns ag^t y^e Superiors of y^e Mo:
:nasteries of his Time, for assuming y^e Title of Abbots or Fathers. The Name
Abbot then appears as old as y^e Institution of Monks it Self. The Gov:
:erners of y^e primitive Monasteries assumed indifferently, y^e Names Abbots and
Archimandrites. They were really distinguished from y^e Clergy, tho frequently
confounded w^th 'em, bec: a degree above Laymen. S. Jerom writing to
Heliodorus, says expressly, Alia Monachorum est Causa, alia Clericorum.
In those Early Days y^e abbots were Subject to y^e Bps, & y^e ordinary Pastors.
Their Monasteries being remote from Cities, built in y^e farthest Solitudes,
y^y had no share in Ecclesiastical affairs. y^y went on Sundays to y^e parish
Ch: w^th y^e rest of y^e people: or if y^y were too remote, a priest was sent 'em
to administer the Sacraments. till at length y^y were allow'd to have priests
of their own Body. The Abbot or Archimandrite Himself was usually
y^e priest: but his Function extended no farther than to the Spiritual as:
:sistances of his Monastery; & he remained still in Obedience to the Bp.
There being am^g y^e Abbots several Men of Learning, y^y made a vigo:
:rous opposition to y^e rising Heresies of those Times: w^ch first occasion'd y^e
Bps to call 'em out of their Desarts, & fix 'em ab^t y^e Suburbs of Cities;
& at length in the Cities themselves: from w^ch Æra their Degeneracy is to be dated.
The abbots now, soon wore off their former plainness & Simplicity, &
began to be look'd on as a Sort of little Prelates. In time y^y w^d be
Independent of y^e Bp; & became so insupportable, y^t some severe Laws
were made ag^t 'em at y^e Councel of Chalcedon: This notwithstanding,
many of 'em in time, carry'd y^e point of Independancy, & got y^e appel:
:lation of Lord, w^th other Badges of y^e Episcopate, particularly y^e Mitre.
Hence arose new Degrees & Distinctions of abbots, Mitred & not Mitred.
Crozier'd & not Crozier'd, Oecumenical, Cardinal &c. Mitred, were those
privileg'd to wear y^e Mitre; & having w^th al a full Episcopal authority,
within their several precincts. Am^g us those were call'd Abbots Soveraign,
abbots general &c. & were Lords of parliam^t. there were 27 in England.



in 1774. Over the course of his career at Charlestown, Abbot delivered several significant sermons and orations, including the 10th annual Dudleian lecture (on revealed religion) at Harvard College in 1764. At least five of these orations were published during his lifetime, in addition to which are three longer manuscripts held by Harvard Archives: the original manuscript draft of his Dudleian lecture; a collection of nine sermons delivered in 1759 and 1761; and a transcribed copy of Harvard tutor Henry Flynt's "Catechism Geographical, Historical, and Chronological," copied in 1718/19 while Abbot was student at the College. Save for a manuscript list of 16 books in folio and quarto that he donated to Harvard College Library after its devastating fire of 1764, little more was known of Abbot's intellectual life until the recent discovery of this extraordinary volume, which is surely among the most meticulous--if not obsessive--such undertakings of the colonial era.

Abbot did not sign the manuscript he titled "A Theological &c Dictionary;" another hand has noted beneath the title on its front wrap: "This volume is in the hand writing of the Rev. Hull Abbot of Charlestown, Ma." His son, Thomas--himself a Harvard-educated minister appointed to West Roxbury (AB 1764)--signed and dated the top of the first manuscript leaf in 1774, when the volume undoubtedly passed to him upon his father's death. We cannot say precisely when Abbot began the herculean task of compiling his dictionary, nor can we say when he managed to complete the effort. We suggest that the manuscript was likely finished by about 1740, when Bradstreet's failing health would have greatly increased Abbot's responsibilities at First Church. We can be more certain that he must have begun the project after 1728, since most of his nearly 1500 entries derive from the celebrated *Cyclopaedia* of Ephraim Chambers. It is important to note, though, that the footnote to Chambers's "Theology" head only contains about 250 cognate terms. Abbot thus explored well beyond Chambers's published list, mining the *Cyclopaedia* for many hundreds of additional words to produce a uniquely comprehensive guide to the divine.

Here we should consider the problem of authorship more closely. Is it accurate to identify Abbot as the author of this volume? And what does authorship mean in the context of a reference work like this, or even Chambers's own *Cyclopaedia*? During Harvard College's first century of existence (1638-1738), including those years during which Abbot received his education, most of the textbooks used by Harvard students were only available as student-transcribed texts. This was due to both the relatively small number of American printing houses and the difficulty of acquiring London-produced works in the American colonies. Thomas and Lucia Zoucha Knowles (1999b) recently created a checklist of 75 such transcribed texts, among which is the example in Abbot's hand noted earlier (No. 45, 1999b:41). While such manuscripts exhibit considerable variation in size, format, handwriting, layout, and skill, Knowles and Knowles note that "many students took genuine care to produce manuscripts that were neat, orderly, and legible" (1999a:354). This is certainly true of Abbot's own contribution to the genre, which is available for online viewing at https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:46494464$1i. Abbot, as such, was quite well versed in the practice of student transcription, a knowledge he likely carried into his post-Harvard career as a clergyman at Charlestown. But does transcription, implying the faithful copying of an original source, adequately convey the intellectual intent behind his dictionary?

Perhaps, we suggest, but only in part. Abbot's work is as much an example of compilation as it is a case of direct transcription. And if authorship seems not at all pertinent to the practice of transcription, then compilation falls into a grayer zone between copying and creating, with intent as the mitigating factor. Chambers himself was quite concerned with such matters, carefully laying

out in the Preface to his *Cyclopaedia* what Krista Kennedy has referred to as a "conceptualization of authorship through arrangement and transformation" (2013:41). That is, a collector or compiler of words might justly claim the mantle of authorship if by changing the structure and arrangement of knowledge he produces something new. A dictionary or encyclopedia, if compiled according to a well-considered plan, becomes a novel work its own right, As Chambers observes:

> Call me what you will; a Daw and say I am stuck over with other Peoples Feathers: with all my Heart; but it would be altogether as just to compare me to the Bee, the Symbol of Industry, as that of Pride. For tho I pickup my Matters in a thousand Places; 'tis not to look gay my self, but to furnish you with Honey. I have rifled a thousand Flowers; prickly ones many of 'em, to load your Hive [1728:xxix].

Abbot rifled fewer than a thousand flowers in compiling his theological dictionary--most of his rifling seems limited to a single very rich bloom--but what he made was something all his own and for his own private purposes. After all, so far as we can determine, he never sought to publish the manuscript. From his point of view, authorship was likely moot.

What Abbot accomplished, though, is precisely the charge that Chambers delivered in his *Cyclopaedia's* Preface. His used its View of Knowledge as the springboard for reassembling his subject--nothing less than the nature of God and Divinity--from the alphabetical sundering that had dispersed its cognate terms through two thick folio volumes. We have traced no other example of a contemporary reader, on either side of the Atlantic, who so followed Chambers's instructions for restoring a subject to wholeness. The result is itself an extraordinary document: 254 manuscript pages, nearly 1500 entries, and approximately 200,000 words. It retains its original paper wrappers (though the spine is largely perished), its original string binding is still intact, and the handwriting throughout is fine and legible; indeed, there is hardly so much as a single strikethrough anywhere in the text. **Our research suggests that Abbot's volume is both the first theological dictionary produced in British America, whether in print or manuscript form, and the earliest surviving technical lexicon of any sort produced in the colonies; finally, it may be also be the earliest reference work compiled in America by an American-born scholar**.

Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* influenced American writers from Abbot's famous contemporary Jonathan Edwards, who acquired the first edition for his own library and used it while composing several important sermons, to Herman Melville, who incorporated many of Chambers's scientific definitions into *Moby Dick*. Hull Abbot's "Theological &c Dictionary" offers unprecedented new insights into how the earliest American readers actively engaged with Chambers's great work. We do not believe that any comparable document has ever been offered in the trade, and our exhaustive search of holdings across a wide range of online databases leads us to suspect that no comparable document even exists, particularly for the time and place. **Simply put, nothing like it seems ever to have been produced in the American colonies**. **Unique and highly important**.

Relevant sources:

Blom, Philipp
2004 *Enlightening the World: Encyclopédie, The Book That Changed the Course of History*. St. Martin's Press, New York.

Kennedy, Krista
2013 The Daw and the Honeybee: Situating Metaphors for Originality and Authorial Labor in the 1728 Chambers' *Cyclopædia*. *College English* 76(1):35-58.
Knowles, Thomas and Lucia Zaucha Knowles
1999a 'In Usum Pupillorum:' Student-Transcribed Texts at Harvard College Before 1740. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 109(2):333-314.
1999b Student-Transcribed Texts at Harvard College Before 1740: A Checklist. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 109(2):415-472.
Shipton, Clifford K.
1942 Hull Abbot. In *Sibley's Harvard Graduates Volume VI. 1713-1721*, pp. 365-369. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
Yeo, Richard
1996 Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopædia* (1728) and the Tradition of Commonplaces. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57(1):157-175.
2001 *Encyclopaedic Visions: Scientific Dictionaries and Enlightenment Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
2003 A Solution to the Multitude of Books: Ephraim Chambers's "Cyclopaedia" (1728) as "The Best Book in the Universe." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64(1):61-72.
2007 Lost Encyclopedias: Before and after the Enlightenment. *Book History* 10:47-68.

– –

[Massachusetts--Colonial Religion]: Rev. Hull Abbot: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT TITLED IN ABBOT'S HAND, "A THEOLOGICAL &C DICTIONARY," AND CONTAINING NEARLY 1500 ENTRIES, MOSTLY BORROWED OR ADAPTED FROM EPHRAIM CHAMBERS'S 1728 *CYCLOPAEDIA*] [n.p., n.d., but likely Charlestown, Massachusetts, ca. 1730-1740]. Small 4to (21 cm). 134 leaves, 127 of which (254 pp.) contain approximately 200,000 words of text in a fine legible hand (4 blanks in front and 3 at rear). Original stiff paper wraps, titled by author on front wrap with later hand indicating authorship; much of spine perished, original cords holding well and volume generally tight, untrimmed; very good.

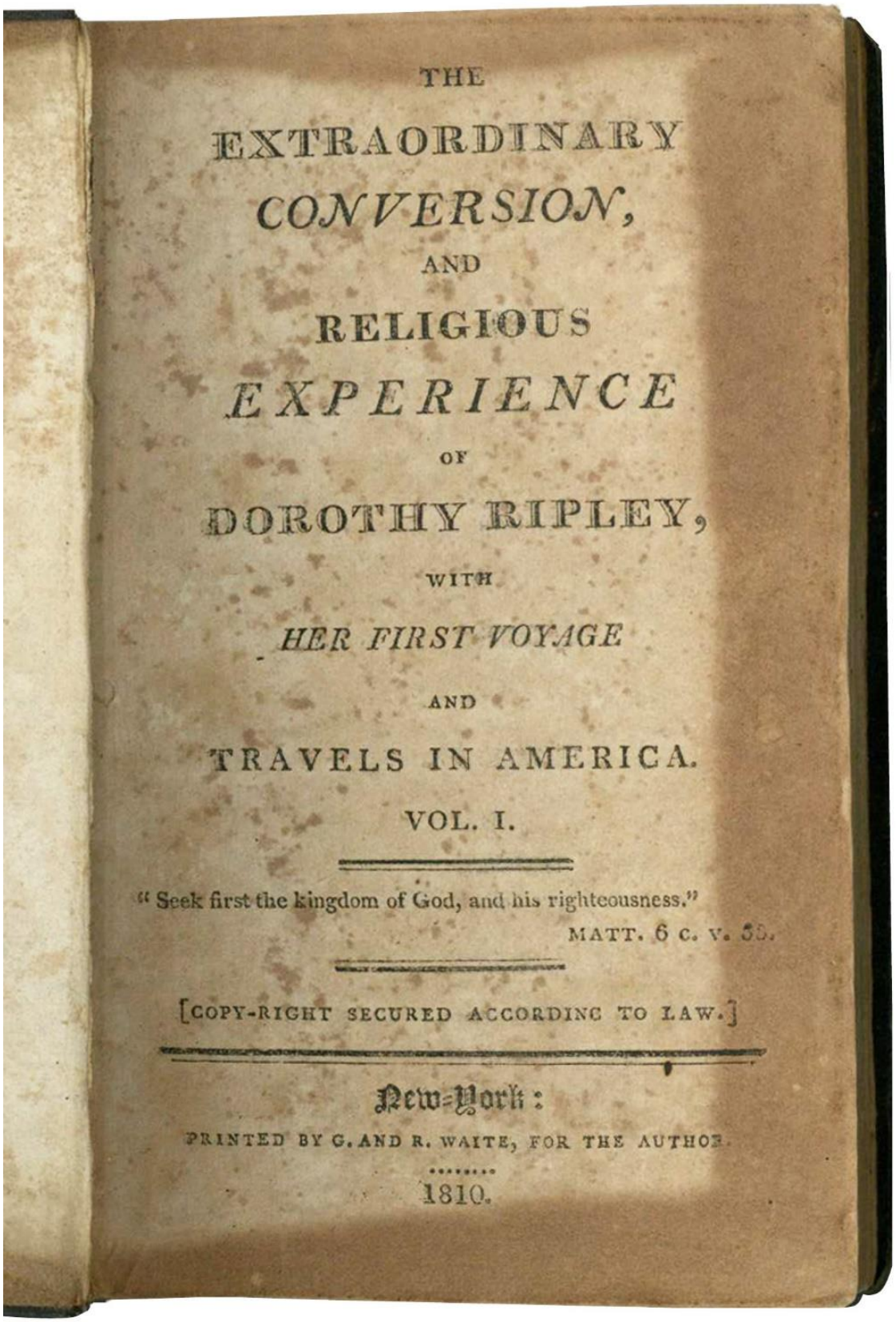
1. SOLD.

The First Woman to Speak Before Congress: Dorothy Ripley's *Conversion*

On January 12, 1806, a 39-year-old Englishwoman named Dorothy Ripley strode across the newly completed Hall of Representatives in Washington City and took her seat in the Speaker's chair. In attendance on that Sunday morning were the President and Vice President of the United States, together with a host of assembled House and Senate members who had remained in town for the weekend. When Ripley stepped to the rostrum a short time later and began delivering her sermon, by all accounts a fervent call upon her audience to serve the nation as better disciples of Christ, she became the first woman to address either chamber of Congress and the first to speak in any official capacity at the Capitol. Ripley was already a skilled evangelist, having crisscrossed the Eastern Seaboard for much of the previous five years, ministering to enslaved Africans and warning against the evils of slavery from New York to Charleston. This rare volume, published for Ripley at New York in 1810, contains an autobiographical account of her spiritual awakening and subsequent first years as an itinerant preacher in America, including her private audience with its slave-holding third president, Thomas Jefferson. **Fewer than ten copies of this work, the first edition of her *Extraordinary Conversion*, are known to have survived**.

Dorothy Ripley was born in the seaside town of Whitby, North Yorkshire, in 1767. Her father, William, was a close associate of famed evangelist John Wesley, who after William's death observed that he was "for many years a burning and shining light" (in Warner 2007:19). William encouraged his daughter to pursue a life in Christian ministry, an unconventional position even for Methodists of the era; while Wesley and his followers were not opposed to having women speak publically on religious matters, women preachers--in practice--were rare. In the span of just seven years, Ripley suffered a series of traumas that would deeply inform her evangelism: the 1782 death of her brother, her beloved father's death in 1784, an earthquake that destroyed her family's home in 1788, and her sister Mary's death that same year after a three-year battle with consumption. In caring for Mary during the final weeks of her life, Dorothy contracted the illness herself and nearly shared her sister's fate. Ripley relates in *Extraordinary Conversion* that a mystical vision pulled her back from the precipice when she heard God cry out: "I am thy life! I am thy strength! I will restore. Arise and preach salvation unto fallen man beyond the seas, where poor Ethiopia's chains of darkness shall fall off" (*Conversion* p. 17). Thus did God Himself deliver the commission for her life's work among the enslaved and dispossessed of America.

Despite continued dramatic visions, it was not until 1801 that Ripley was finally able to act on her spiritual awakening and set out for America, where she would spend most of the next three decades advocating abolitionism and preaching to enslaved Africans, Indians, and prisoners. After leaving Whitby on December 29, Ripley spent several weeks traveling on foot or by wagon and cart, finding shelter among her friends in the Quaker community. At Bristol she found passage on the Quaker-captained brig *Triton* (leaving from London was beyond her means), which set sail on



THE

EXTRAORDINARY *CONVERSION,*

AND

RELIGIOUS *EXPERIENCE*

OF

DOROTHY RIPLEY,

WITH

HER FIRST VOYAGE

AND

TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

VOL. I.

"Seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness."

MATT. 6 c. v. 33.

[COPY-RIGHT SECURED ACCORDING TO LAW.]

New-York:

PRINTED BY G. AND R. WAITE, FOR THE AUTHOR.

1810.

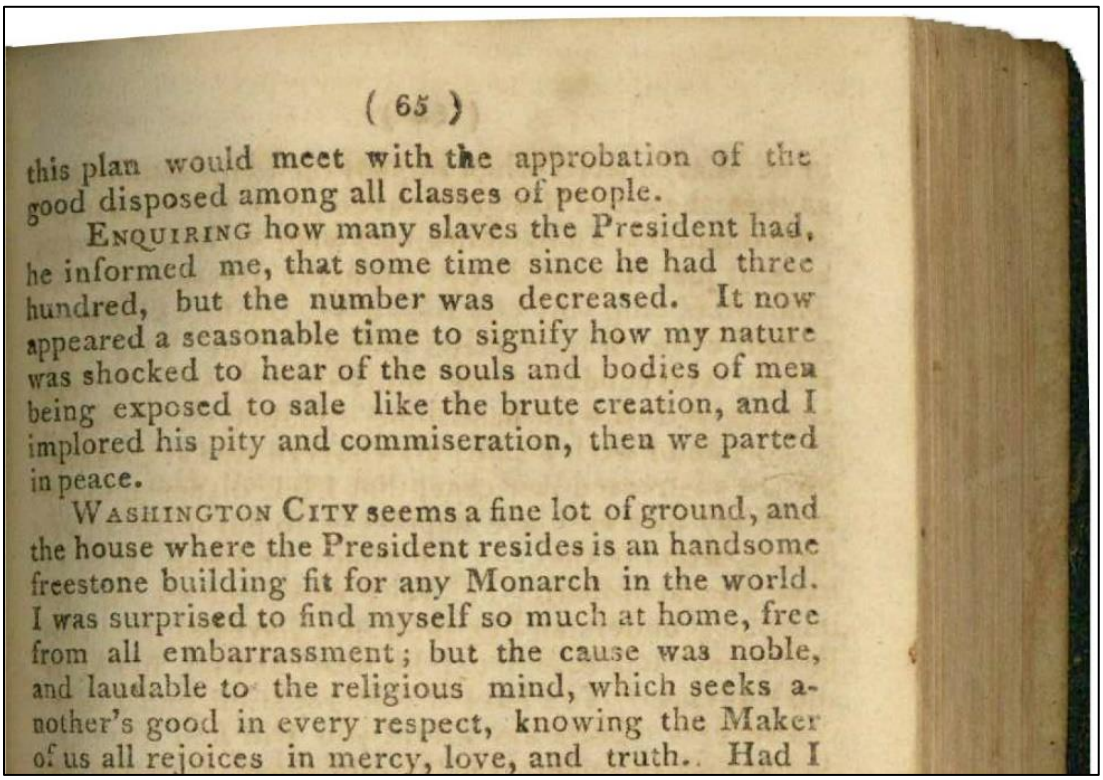
March 13. Nearly three weeks later, on April 1, she arrived at Rhode Island. In a whirlwind next few days, she was taken in briefly by a local Quaker family before embarking again for New York City, where she arrived on April 7. Robert Bowne and his wife Elizabeth, wealthy members of the city's Society of Friends, offered her a letter of introduction to Ann Mifflin, herself among the most prominent Quaker reformers in Philadelphia. Soon Ripley was speeding by stage across New Jersey, sharing the overnight coach which two men who attempted to assault her--a single woman travelling alone. Rebuffing their efforts, "till they lay with submission and shame at my feet," she reached Philadelphia at seven the next morning; there she would find in Mifflin "a sympathizing sister" eager to introduce her to the city's Friends, many of whom were convening in late April for the Yearly Meeting (*Conversion* p. 62).

Ann Mifflin, widow of renowned Quaker abolitionist Warner Mifflin, was likewise known for her vocal anti-slavery stance and was just beginning work as a minister to the Native American communities of New York and western Pennsylvania. And like Ripley, she regularly faced the disapproval of male colleagues, even among her fellow Quakers. Mifflin thus proved a loyal and devoted supporter of her English guest, support that Ripley would need to draw upon in the days to come. God had spoken to her yet again, issuing a charge that shocked those Friends gathered at Philadelphia. "Some days after the yearly meeting," she writes,

> many of the ministers and elders sat a little with me at the close of the meeting of ministers and elders, which was very acceptable to me, although I could not take their advice: **for the Lord required me to go on to Washington City that very day to have an interview with the President**, so I told them it would have been pleasant to me if I could have taken their advice, but I must obey God and not man" (*Conversion* p. 62, emphasis added).

Despite the pleadings of many in the Meeting's leadership--some of whom literally pursued her to the home of James Pemberton, exiled to Virginia in 1777 for refusing to bear arms against British forces in Philadelphia--Ripley was determined to follow her vision. Pemberton supplied his own fine chaise and accompanied her as far as Darby, along with his wife Phoebe and Mifflin, "whom we took up in the street as we were passing through the city" (*Conversion* p. 62). From Darby, the extended community of activist Friends sprang into action, conveying her over the next few days to Chichester, Wilmington, and Baltimore. John McKims of that city saw her into Washington on May 4, not five full weeks since the *Triton* had reached America.

Arriving in Washington, Ripley carried a letter of introduction to the home of Dr. William Thornton, British-born physician, inventor, and architect whose plans had won a competition to design the U. S. Capitol and whom Jefferson had just appointed to serve as the first Superintendent of the U. S. Patent Office. Given her intentions, Ripley could not have arrived at a more opportune time, for Thornton was hosting a lively party whose guests included the Secretary of State, James Madison, and Secretary of War Gen. Henry Dearborn. Even more auspicious for Ripley was the presence of Madison's Quaker wife, Dolley, who insisted that Ripley reside with them during her stay in Washington. Dearborn, in turn, assured that he would personally escort her to Jefferson's offices the next morning. In an extraordinary understatement, Ripley writes that "The Lord was gracious to me in preparing the way thus far" (*Conversion* p. 64). On May 5, she went to visit the President, accompanied by Dearborn, Thornton, and her "old friend," Quaker William Canby, who



(65)

this plan would meet with the approbation of the good disposed among all classes of people.

ENQUIRING how many slaves the President had, he informed me, that some time since he had three hundred, but the number was decreased. It now appeared a seasonable time to signify how my nature was shocked to hear of the souls and bodies of men being exposed to sale like the brute creation, and I implored his pity and commiseration, then we parted in peace.

WASHINGTON CITY seems a fine lot of ground, and the house where the President resides is an handsome freestone building fit for any Monarch in the world. I was surprised to find myself so much at home, free from all embarrassment; but the cause was noble, and laudable to the religious mind, which seeks a-nother's good in every respect, knowing the Maker of us all rejoices in mercy, love, and truth.. Had I

had traveled with her from Delaware. No less a figure than Vice President Aaron Burr conducted them all into Jefferson's private sitting room and introduced her to the nation's head of state. Here we can let Ripley recount the experience in her own words (*Conversion*, p. 64-65):

> I said, my concern was at present, for the distressed Africans, that I felt disposed to lay aside my own ease and happiness, to put forth an effort to promote their's [sic] if possible: and also, wish to have thy approbation before I move one step in the business, understanding thou art a slave holder. The President then rose from his seat, bowing his head and replying, "You have my approbation, and I wish you success: but I am afraid you will find it an arduous task to undertake." I said again, then I have thy approbation, to which he rose and performed the same ceremony over, repeating nearly the same sentence he had already done, with this addition, "I do not think they are the same race; for their mental powers are not equal to the Indians." I told him, God had made all nations of one blood...to train them up with the view that they were not the same race, would prove only a curse to the land, especially the females, whom I felt myself concerned for the most, on account of their exposed situations to the vile passions of men...
>
> Enquiring how many slaves the President had, he informed me, that some time since he had three hundred, but the number was decreased. It now appeared a reasonable time to signify how my nature was shocked to hear of the souls and bodies of men being exposed to sale like the brute creation, and I implored his pity and commiseration, then we parted in peace.

Dearborn and Thornton "approved of what was advanced and seconded the same with their warm sentiments" (*Conversion*, p. 65), while Canby sent Jefferson a letter later that month sharply criticizing the President's assessment of Africans and their innate intelligence. As remarkable as it was for Ripley to have rebuked Jefferson in his own sitting room, it is equally remarkable for her to have done so while voicing concern for the vulnerability of enslaved women. Rumors were already spreading, both in Washington and Virginia, that the President was engaged in a long-term relationship with one of his own slaves, Sally Hemmings, rumors that polemicist James Callender would begin to publish in September 1802. It seems quite unlikely that the well-connected men who witnessed Ripley's meeting with Jefferson were unaware of this chatter. Ripley believed, in any event, that she now had the President's approval--however skeptical--to pursue her evangelical mission among both the slavers and the enslaved, including plans to open a school in Washington for the education of African American women. Interestingly, the two would meet again four years later, when she returned to Washington in January 1806 for her address at the Capitol; Jefferson and his second Vice President, George Clinton, sat in attendance throughout.

From Washington, Ripley traveled back to Philadelphia and New York before departing the Northeast by sea for Alexandria, Virginia. She spent the next several weeks moving among Quaker and Methodist communities in Virginia and Maryland. Not surprisingly, she found her welcome there less enthusiastic than in the northern states, and she was assailed for both her stance on slavery and her status as an unmarried woman traveling alone. She was refused entry into many homes, and the Caroline County, Virginia, Quarterly Meeting would have had the local magistrate confine her to a workhouse if not for the timely arrival of a fellow abolition-minded Friend. After six weeks among allies in Richmond, Ripley returned to Baltimore and Washington. It was here during the autumn months of 1802 that she began work on a memoir:

> Washington City, 12th month, 1802.--For three months past I have been heavily afflicted in my spirit, believing God requires me to preach repentance to the Africans in the Cities of America, and that it will be necessary for me to print my conversion and life of faith, before I engage in any work for them here...as I came with an intention to instruct the poor children, I wished speedily to commence the school in Washington City, which could not be done without a large sum of money, and some to assist in the arduous work (*Conversion*, p. 115).

Ripley thus began *Extraordinary Conversion*, self-published eight years later, as a means of raising funds for her planned school. Her memoir contains no entries for the winter, but in April she preached for the first time before an African American congregation, in the countryside near Baltimore. Later that month she traveled north again to Philadelphia, where God sent her another vision: she was to sail back to England and further prepare her ministry there before returning to continue her labors in America. First, however, she sought meetings with the city's most renowned African American clergy, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, seeking permission to preach before their respective congregations at the Bethel AME Church and the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas. Both agreed (Allen with some reluctance), likely making Ripley the first white woman invited to speak at either house of worship; in *Conversion* she published correspondence she later received from each minister expressing their appreciation of her work. She departed Philadelphia in late May to attend the Friends Yearly Meeting in New York City. On June 27, she boarded the

ship *Young Factor* for England, reaching her home at Hull on August 15, 1803, finding that her beloved mother had died during her absence. After mourning briefly in contemplation of her loss and sacrifice, she received a new vision: "then was I made to understand that my things must be prepared against the latter end of the twelvth month, 1804, and that a new mission must be given me to go forth twenty thousand miles..." (*Conversion*, p. 155).

Ripley's first memoir thus ends in Hull, though she would not complete it for publication until 1809, onboard the ship *Herald* while crossing from Hull to America for the *third* time. True to her vision, December of 1804 had found her embarking on a second voyage, during which she would speak before Congress and extend her ministry beyond Virginia into South Carolina and Georgia. That story is taken up in her second memoir, *The Bank of Faith and Works United* (New York, 1819; London, 1822). In all, Ripley made no fewer than nine transatlantic crossings before her death at Mecklenburg, Virginia, in 1831. An obituary published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal* declared that she "was perhaps the most extraordinary woman in the world" (February 10, 1832). **As for her *Extraordinary Conversion*, both the New York first edition of 1810 and the London second of 1817 are quite scarce today; only eight copies of the New York first--such as we offer here--are recorded in institutional holdings (per OCLC), and we have traced no other copy ever offered for sale or at auction**. A rare memoir by a determined and charismatic abolitionist worthy of far greater recognition than she enjoys today.

Relevant sources:

Brekus, Carolina A.
1998 *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America: 1740-1845*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Everson, Elisa Ann
2007 "A Little Labor of Love:" The Extraordinary Career of Dorothy Ripley, Female Evangelist in Early America. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History, Georgia State University, Atlanta.

Harris, Matthew L. and Thomas S. Kidd, editors
2012 *The Founding Fathers and the Debate Over Religion in Revolutionary America: A History in Documents*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Warner, Laceye C.
2017 *Saving Women: Retrieving Evangelistic Theology and Practice*. Baylor University Press, Waco, TX.

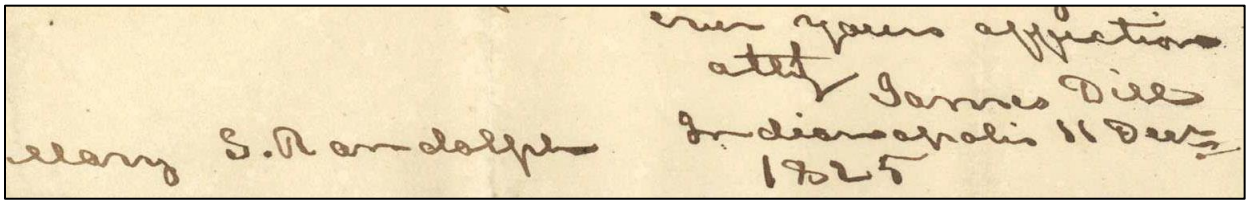
– –

Ripley, Dorothy. THE EXTRAORDINARY CONVERSION AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF DOROTHY RIPLEY, WITH HER FIRST VOYAGE AND TRAVELS IN AMERICA. VOL. 1. Printed by G. and R. Waite, for the Author, New York, 1810 (only volume published). 1-168; 1-8 pp. "Address to the Mayor and Corporation of New-York," July 2, 1810, included after the memoir. 12mo (17 cm). Bound without end papers in plain black cloth, light to moderate tanning due to poor paper quality, heaviest in front and back. Overall very good.

2. SOLD.

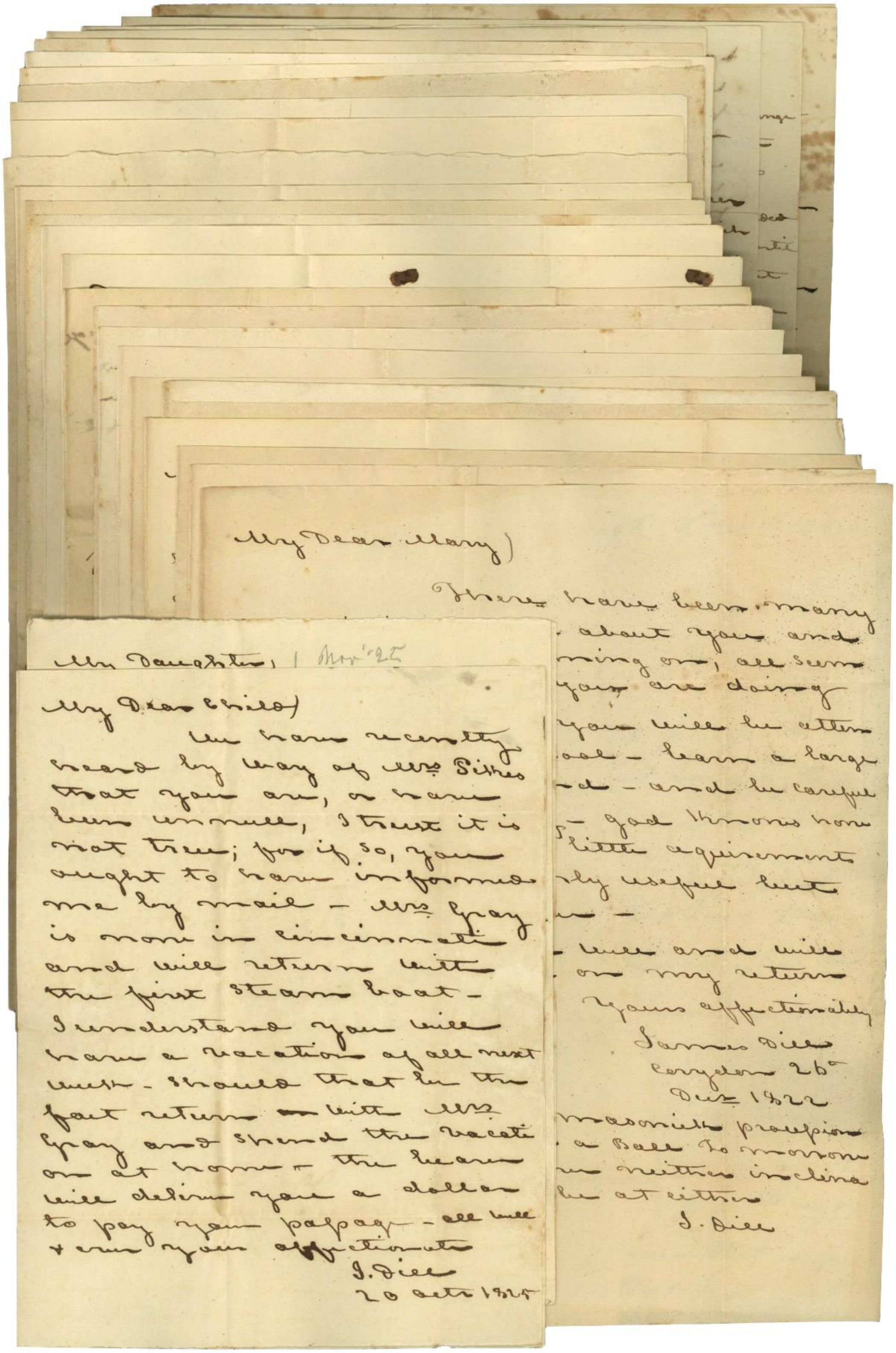
Letters from Indiana Pioneer James Dill to Mary Skipwith Randolph

When James Dill wed Elizabeth Lawrence at Cincinnati in 1799, he was marrying into one of the most esteemed and powerful families then residing along the country's rapidly expanding western frontier. Lawrence was the daughter of Arthur St. Clair, who had served as major general in the Continental Army during the American Revolution, as President of the Continental Congress in 1787, and as governor of the Northwest Territory--its first--since 1788. She was also the widow of Captain John Lawrence, to whom she had borne five children that Dill adopted soon after their marriage. One of the children, Mary, would wed Thomas Randolph, Indiana Territory's attorney general and first cousin of Thomas Jefferson, in 1810. Yet Randolph--serving as aide-de camp to General William Henry Harrison--fell at the Battle of Tippecanoe just one year later, and Mary's own death in 1816 orphaned their only child, Mary Skipwith Randolph. James and Elizabeth Dill took the young child into their own household and raised her to adulthood. James Dill wrote most of these 26 letters to Mary (Elizabeth penned two) during the years from 1822 to 1833, when either he was away from home or Mary was away in Cincinnati for schooling.



Dill himself was born in Dublin, Ireland, in 1772 and came to America shortly after the Revolution. He made his way west to the newly established town of Cincinnati and joined with the army of General Anthony Wayne, serving as an aide de-camp in the general's Indian campaigns alongside fellow aide William Henry Harrison, with whom Dill would go on to develop a lifelong friendship. Following the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, he settled in Cincinnati and entered the legal offices of Arthur St. Clair, Jr., where he studied law and began to practice. It was during this time that he became a favorite of the St. Clair family and met his soon-to-be wife, Elizabeth. In partnership with his friend, Samuel C. Vance--who would later marry another of Dill's adopted daughters--he established a store at Cincinnati in 1802. Yet when it failed the following year, he and Vance left together with their families for Dearborn County, Indiana Territory, where each owned land and Vance had laid out a town he named Lawrenceburg for his wife.

Here Dill and Vance would each find the public success that had largely eluded them at Cincinnati. By this time, Dill's old friend Harrison was serving as Indiana's territorial governor and wrote to Vance in 1803 seeking nominees to fill Dearborn's county offices and guidance on locating the county seat. In short order, Vance was appointed county clerk, Dill became county recorder--a position he held for the rest of his life--and Lawrenceburg was named county seat. Dill moved his family into the town, building a large house along the Ohio River, and began to practice law. William Steele Holman would later observe that Dill was "a grand character in the history of Dearborn," and that when he appeared in court "it was in the full costume of the gentleman of the last [18th] century--his knee breeches and silver buckles and venerable cue neatly plaited and flowing over his shoulders" (in *History of Dearborn*…1885:148-149).



My Dear Child

We have recently heard by way of Mrs Sikes that you are, or have been unwell, I trust it is not true; for if so, you ought to have informed me by mail - Mrs Gray is now in Cincinnati and will return with the first steam boat - I understand you will have a vacation of all next week - should that be the fact return with Mrs Gray and spend the vacation at home - the bearer will deliver you a dollar to pay your passage - all well & ever your affectionate

J. Dill

20 octr 1825

Dill attained the rank of colonel in Dearborn's militia during the War of 1812 and in 1816 was promoted to brigadier general in the Indiana militia. He served as secretary of the commission that produced the 1814 Treaty of Greenville with the Wyondots and their allies, then was appointed to the same role for negotiations with the Potawatomis that resulted in the 1818 Treaty of St. Mary's. After serving for two terms in the territorial assembly (1811 and 1813), Dill represented Dearborn County as one of 43 men elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1816. Meeting at the territorial capitol of Corydon on June 10, the delegates began the task of forming a constitution and state government. The next morning, Dill himself reported 27 rules for conducting convention business. By June 29 the convention's work was all but complete, and Indiana was admitted into the Union as the 19th state on December 11, 1816. Dill was later elected secretary of the Senate in ten sessions of the General Assembly (1817-19, and from 1822-23 to 1829-30).

Mary Skipwith Randolph was born in 1811 and adopted by James and Elizabeth Dill in 1816 after the death of her parents. In 1833 she would marry William Harrison Sheets, a Madison attorney and former Clerk of the Indiana House of Representatives who at the time of the marriage had just been elected Indiana's Secretary of State. The earliest of these letters from James to Mary is dated Dec. 26, 1822; the latest is Feb. 21, 1833. Dill addressed six of his first seven letters to Miss Mary S. Randolph at Lawrenceberg (she was visiting at Cincinnati when he sent the other) and appears to have written them all while serving in the General Assembly. One is specifically addressed from Corydon (Dec. 26, 1822) and two others from the Senate Chamber itself (Dec. 2 and Dec. 20, 1823). Throughout this correspondence, Dill repeatedly urges Mary to improve her spelling and writing, and to devote herself to school. He also gives her news of friends at Corydon and of his own work in the assembly:

> *Senate Chamber. Dec. 2, 1823*
> My Dearest Child,
> You will be gratified to learn that I have again been elected Secretary of the Senate by a unanimous vote—Three prominent characters sounded the senators, and would each of them have been candidates, had they met encouragement—but there was no chance—your old friend Major [Henry] Hurst was one—I am in excellent health pleasantly situated and hope to realize some cash to aid in your education which is the first wish of your affectionate Father…
>
> *Dec. 7. 1823*
> My Dear Daughter,
> You will be glad to hear than I am well....You will hear from me occasionally but if I continue to fatten as I have began, you will scarcely know me—be attentive to your writing and improvement--for absolutely if you and me both live--you shall come down with me next winter—
> Tell your grandmother, she has ruined me, by putting up only two shirts—I can Scarcely keep clean—and if opportunity offers in a week; send me one shirt
>
> *Senate Chamber. Dec. 20, 1823*
> I enclose you a trifle to get raisins for Christmas, and more by ways of showing I never forget you than for its value—We are legislating but slowly and it is generally believed we shall sit till the first of March—.

In 1825, James and Mary were dealt another blow, as Elizabeth suddenly fell ill and died while he was away in Corydon. Mary must have sent James a letter informing him of Elizabeth's swiftly deteriorating condition, to which he responeded on January 16:

> *Sunday night. Jan. 16, 1825*
> My Dearest Child,
> Your letter by Mr. Deems has been received. I now regret I left home—I lament that Mother's situation is so alarming as you describe it—inasmuch as it would be too late in all probability for me even to see her again—We must submit to the will of God—There is still yourself, Betsy and Hamilton left to me—bear up my child against this shock with firmness attend to your duties—moral and religious in this world, and we have no reason to fear a transition to the next—

Mary was 14 years old at the time of Elizabeth's death, and Dill was unable to care for her and see to her educational needs during the legislative session. By October he had enrolled her in school at Cincinnati, where she appears to have resided with the family of his old friend, William Henry Harrison; six of the next ten letters in the archive--from October 1825 through March 1826--are addressed to her "at Gen'l Harrisons / Cincinnati." Most of these letters contain brief descriptions of news from home and inquire after Mary's health and schooling. However, Dill does sometimes make note of his work:

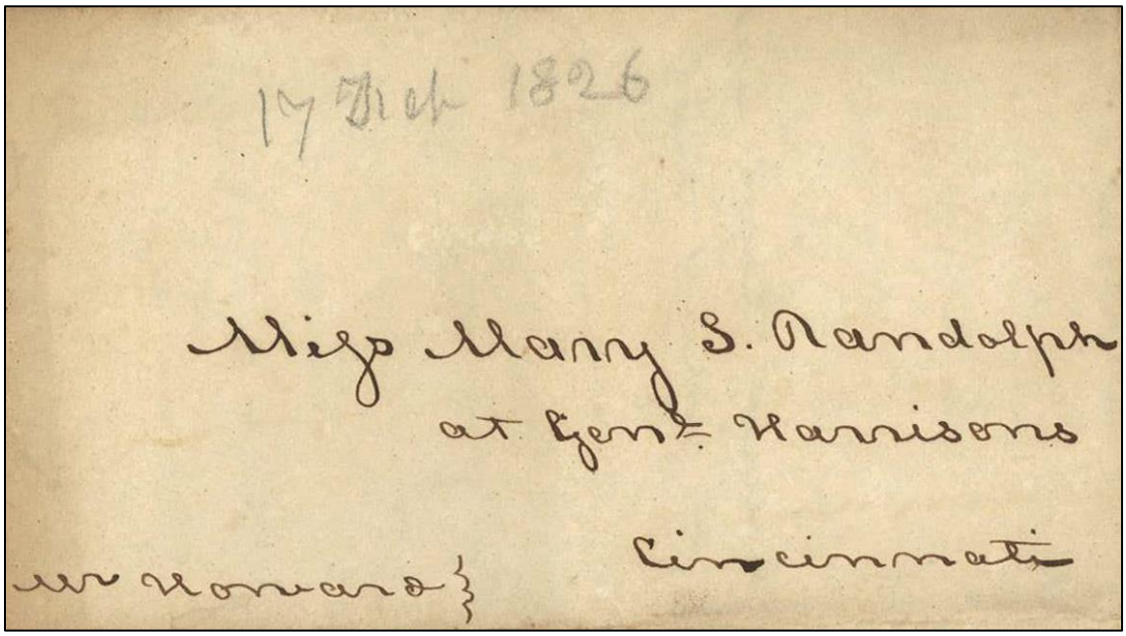
> *Indianapolis. Dec. 11, 1825*
> My Dearest Child
> You will be gratified to hear that I have been again elected Secretary of the Senate of Indiana by a unanimous vote—and I can venture to [?] stand higher with that body, than I have ever done— —

Early the next year, Mary did not reply to several letters from Dill, whose worries increased with each week of silence:

> *Feb. 17, 1826*
> I have for some time felt much anxiety about you—more especially as I understand everybody is down with the influenza, why have you not written by mail, if no other opportunity offered—for my own part, I have not had a well day since I left you and I cannot say I am growing better—having no physician to consult, nor medicine to apply to, I find myself growing weaker every day….let us hear from you by next mail, if no earlier conveyance offers…
>
> *Feb. 27, 1826*
> I cannot well imagine the reason of your determined silence—surely you might write a line on Saturday or Sunday evening and deposit it in the Post Office—over which your school room is situated…

Perhaps we cannot know why Mary broke off contact with her family in Lawrenceberg, but it is probably no coincidence that the following letter from Dill, dated March 23, reported that Mary's step-brother, Hamilton (the only child of James and Elizabeth), would "be up for you on Friday or

Saturday—and that you had better send your large trunk home with the bearer Mr. Bedford and such thinks packed in it as will be cumbersome." Whether intentional or not, her refusal to write apparently had the effect of returning her to Lawrenceburg.



Following Mary's return, she and Dill maintained regular correspondence. He continued to send news of his legislative triumphs at Indianapolis:

> *Dec. 5, 1827*
> You will no doubt have heard before this reaches you, that I have been again unanimously elected Secretary to the Senate of Indiana;—your old friend Hurst again tried to oppose me, but finding that fruitless, he became a candidate for assistant secretary, and received one vote—Mr. [John H.] Farnham and Mr. Charles Test were the two prominent candidates, Farnham on the first ballot had 10 votes, Test 9, Hurst 1, and no person having a majority of all the votes, a second balloting became necessary—upon which second ballot Farnham received 11 and Test 9 votes—this much for the election—

and to express concern for her well-being:

> *Jan. 11, 1830*
> Your woe be gone, letter was received this morning, I regret exceedingly to see you in such dull spirits—and so absolutely given up to melancholy—if you supposed regional requires it you are miserably mistaken—for if any thing [?] to gladden the heart, and make the soul rejoice, it is the practice of genuine religion, and such my dear child I have believed you to possess—

James Dill would serve the Indiana State Senate through the close of the 1830 session, when he retired to the family home in Lawrenceburg. In this year, Dearborn County laid out the

town of Dillsboro in his honor. Mary would move to Indianapolis, where she lived with the family of Judge Bethuel Morris. Dill wrote to her there in early 1833 on his life in retirement:

> *January 29, 1833*
> We had a most delightful, cheering and pleasant party yesterday at our house, which continued till near midnight marching, dancing, waltzing, singing, and reciting, I greatly lamented your absence—

Just four months later, on May 29, Mary wed William Sheets, then serving as Indiana's Secretary of State. Dill died after a lingering illness on August 18, 1838. Mary moved to Philadelphia after William's death in 1872, where she lived for another two decades. On her death in 1892 she was interred with her husband at Crown Hill Cemetery in Indianapolis. The Indiana Historical Society holds 11 letters from Dill to Mary that date from 1833 to 1838, thus bookending the archive that we offer here. Together, James Dill's letters to Mary Skipwith shed light on family life and politics among Indiana's early elite. **Correspondence archives from this period of Indiana history are rarely met with in the trade today, particularly given that the writer was a pioneering figure whose years of public service bridged the territorial and early statehood eras**.

Relevant sources:

Anonymous
1885 *History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties, Indiana; From Their Earliest Settlement*. F. E. Weakley, Chicago.
Carmony, Donald F.
1998 *Indiana, 1816-1850: The Pioneer Era.* Indiana Historical Society. Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis.
Egle, William H., editor
1898 *Notes and Queries, Historical and Genealogical, Chiefly Relating to Interior Pennsylvania*. Annual Volume, 1897. Harrisburg Publishing Co., Harrisburg.
Thornbrough, Gayle and Dorothy Riker, editors
1950 *Journals of the General Assembly of Indiana Territory 1805-1815*. Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis.

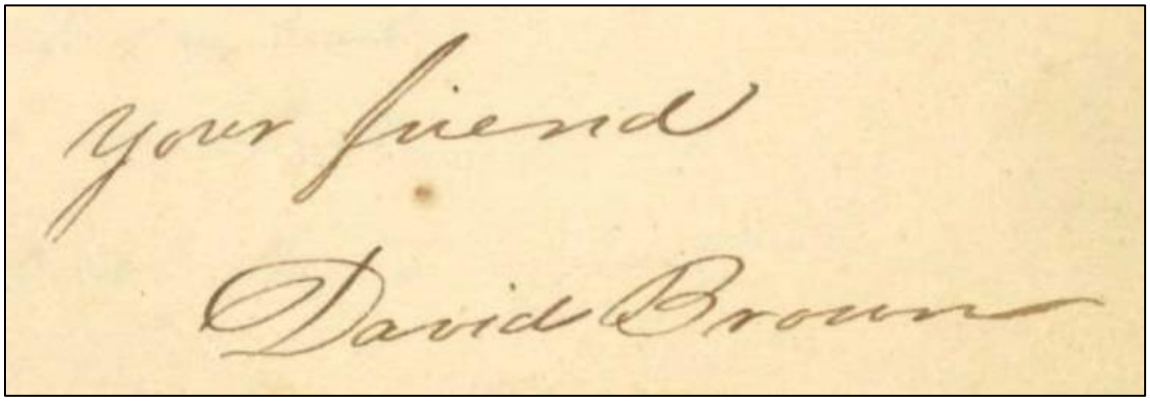
– –

[Indiana--Early Politics and Education]: James Dill: [ARCHIVE OF 26 AUTOGRAPH LETTERS SIGNED FROM INDIANA PIONEER JAMES DILL TO HIS ADOPTED GRANDDAUGHTER MARY SKIPWITH RANDOLPH]. [Corydon and Indianapolis, Indiana, 1822-1833]. 30 manuscript letters, each 1 to 2 pp. in length, approximately 39 pp. total. Archive also contains two autograph letters from Elizabeth St. Clair Lawrence Dill, Skipwith's grandmother, and two from her step-brother, Arthur Hamilton Dill, all dating to the same period. Light to moderate wear and soiling, wax tears and loss to blank leaves not affecting text; letter of January 23, 1833 with strip missing from first leaf costing a line of text; all with old folds, about very good.

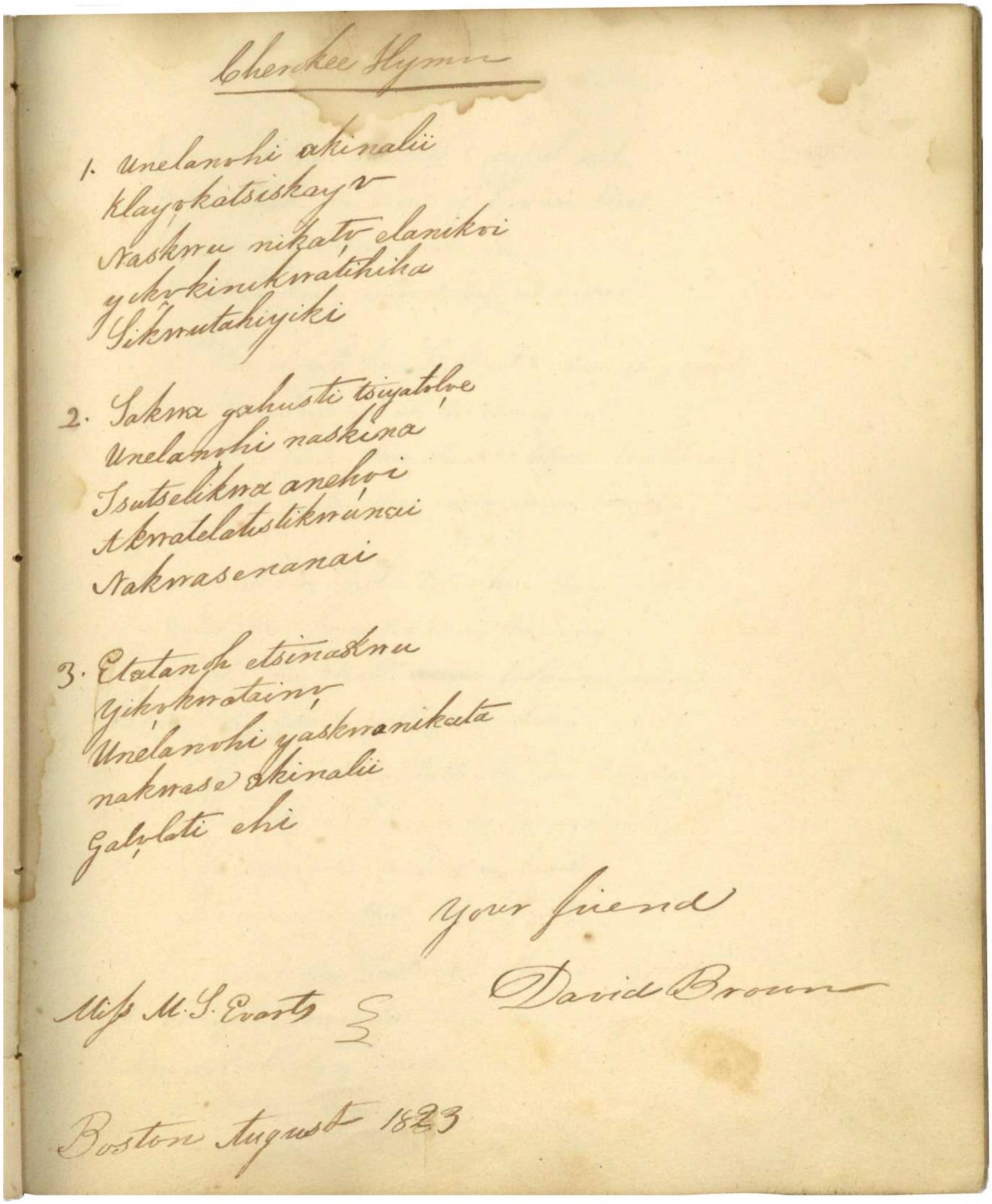
3. SOLD.

A Cherokee Hymn: David Brown Signs Martha Evarts Autograph Album

Martha Sherman Evarts of New Haven, Connecticut, was a young woman of 14 years in 1823, when she began having friends and family add their poetry and sentiments to her autograph album. Her father, Jeremiah, was Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and a tireless advocate for Native American rights, particularly in his vocal opposition to Removal. Through his position, Evarts was deeply involved in operations of the ABCFM's Foreign Mission School, established at Cornwall, Connecticut, in 1817 and tasked with offering a western-style education to young men from Hawaii, India, China, and Native American nations. In the process, the school would convert its students to Christianity and return them home as missionaries. Evarts himself became quite close to a pair of highly promising scholars from the Cherokee Nation, Elias Boudinot and David Brown. During the Fall and Winter of 1823-1824, he and Brown--whom he had placed at Andover Theological Seminary upon completion of his studies at the Mission School--would travel together on a speaking and fundraising tour throughout New England and the Mid-Atlantic. Brown signed Martha's album in August, shortly before the trip with her father. Remarkably, he included three stanzas from a hymn in his Native language. **We believe this hymn is the earliest surviving manuscript in Cherokee**.



David Brown was born about 1801 near the important Cherokee community of Creek Path, located in Browns Valley in what was then the southwestern portion of the Cherokee Nation (now northeastern Alabama, between modern Huntsville and Fort Payne). His parents were John Brown (*Yau-nu-gung-yah-ski*)--a mixed-blood headman--and Sarah Webber Brown (*Tsa-luh*), while his older sister, Catharine, would in death become perhaps the most celebrated Cherokee woman of the 19th century. In 1817, Catharine left home as one of the first Cherokee students at Brainerd, a mission and school in present Chattanooga, Tennessee, founded that year by ABCFM missionary Cyrus Kingsbury. Two years later, at the age of 18, David would follow. At Brainerd he proved to be a singularly talented student, with a profound facility for language and an abiding interest in improving literacy among his people. He collaborated with Brainerd missionary Daniel Butrick (sometimes Buttrick) on *Tsvlvki sqclvclv: A Cherokee Spelling Book*, published at Knoxville in 1819. This little book, the first published work to document the Cherokee language, is known to survive in just three copies; the Siebert copy brought $57,500 in 1999. Butrick left Brainerd in 1820, establishing a new mission and school in Creek Path at Brown's request. Brown left at about the same time, but his path led north to Cornwall and the Foreign Mission School.


Cherokee Hymn

1. Unelanvhi akinalii
klayvkatsiskayv
Naskwu nikatv elanikvi
yikvkinukwatihiha
Yikwutahiyiki

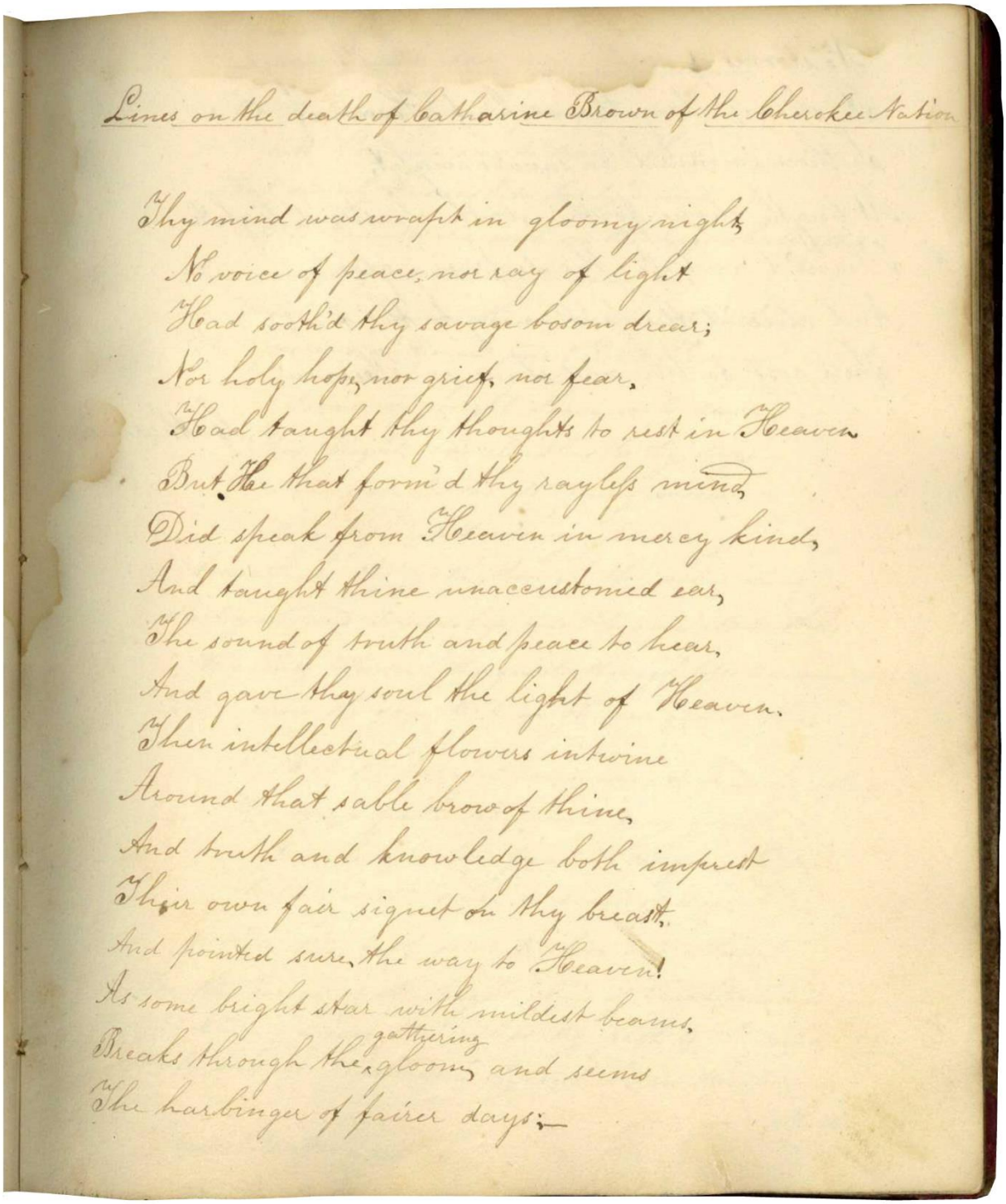
2. Sakwa gahusti tsiyatolve
Unelanvhi naskina
Tsutselikwa anehvi
Akwatelatistikwanai
Nakwasenanai

3. Etatanvh etsinaskwu
Yikvkwataina
Unelanvhi yaskwanikata
nakwase akinalii
Galvlati ehi

Your friend
David Brown

Miss M. S. Evarts

Boston August 1823



Lines on the death of Catharine Brown of the Cherokee Nation

Thy mind was wrapt in gloomy night,
No voice of peace, nor ray of light
Had sooth'd thy savage bosom drear;
Nor holy hope, nor grief, nor fear,
Had taught thy thoughts to rest in Heaven.
But He that form'd thy rayless mind,
Did speak from Heaven in mercy kind,
And taught thine unaccustomed ear,
The sound of truth and peace to hear,
And gave thy soul the light of Heaven.
Then intellectual flowers intwine
Around that sable brow of thine,
And truth and knowledge both impress
Their own fair signet on thy breast,
And pointed sure the way to Heaven!
As some bright star with mildest beams,
Breaks through the gathering gloom, and seems
The harbinger of fairer days;—

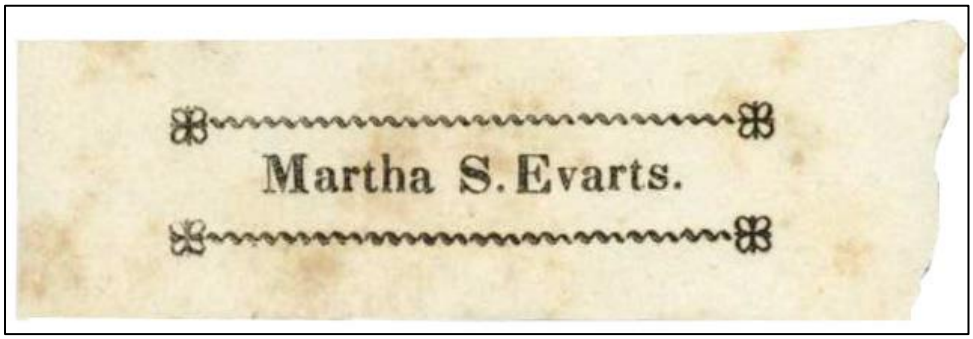
Brown would flourish at Cornwall, studying alongside fellow Cherokee scholars such as John Ridge and Elias Boudinot. It was here that he came to the attention of Evarts, as well as that of John Pickering, Boston jurist and gentleman scholar who was one of the most important figures in the early history of American linguistics. Pickering must have met Brown just after the latter's arrival in May 1820, for later that year he referenced both his personal conversations with Brown and the 1819 *Cherokee Spelling Book* in the revised edition of his *Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian Languages of North America* (1820; the first edition, published in Vol. 4 of *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* in 1818, mentions neither Brown nor the Cherokee speller, not yet published). The aim of Pickering's "uniform orthography" was to create a common alphabetic system for translating biblical texts from English into different indigenous languages, a goal that closely matched Brown's own sense of purpose. By 1823, Brown had finished his course of study at Cornwall and with Evarts's encouragement had begun an additional year of schooling at Andover. This seems to have been the time when his conversations with Pickering became a full-on collaboration; at Brown's prompting, the linguist had decided to create a Cherokee alphabet from his orthographic system, for the use of students and missionaries alike.

Brown's contribution to Martha Evarts's album, dated "Boston, August 1823," is from this period of intense collaboration with Pickering. His "Cherokee Hymn" consists of three stanzas of five lines each, all composed in the alphabetic script (with English-language characters) that he and Pickering were developing together. Significantly, we believe that this composition derives from the first of two hymns included by Butrick and Brown at the end of their 1819 speller (titled simply *Te Kv Na Ge Sti I*, or Hymn I), but revised according to the rules that Pickering outlined in his uniform orthography. The three stanzas that Brown includes in his entry for Evarts appear to correspond with the first, second, and fifth of Hymn I's six stanzas. Both of the hymns included in the 1819 speller were published in Cherokee only--with no English translations--and we are not aware of any subsequent work with these two compositions. We have not attempted to translate Brown's revised version of Hymn I from Evarts's album, but it would be an interesting exercise to compare it with a translation of the earlier version published in the speller. We suspect, in any event, that Brown was the only Cherokee writer who ever used the alphabetic script he developed with Pickering, and we can trace no other manuscript example in his hand.

Neither Brown nor Pickering could have had any knowledge of the monumental labor that was then reaching fruition--far from Boston and the intellectual centers of White America, along the frontiers of the Cherokee Nation in Alabama and Arkansas Territory--that was soon to make the product of their own labor obsolete before it even reached completion. We can devote but little space here to the polymath Sequoyah and his invention of the modern Cherokee script, but suffice it to say that his syllabic approach proved enormously more suitable for writing Cherokee than the alphabetic script derived from Pickering's orthography. Sequoyah may have begun initial work on his syllabary as early as 1809, but by 1821 it was complete in the form of 86 characters (later reduced to 85). He and his daughter, Ahyokah, then proved its effectiveness before the Cherokee National Council, which was meeting at Sauta in modern Jackson County, Alabama. The Council recognized what Sequoyah had accomplished and voted to disseminate his syllabary throughout the Nation. In a matter of months, much of the tribe was becoming literate.

Brown only learned of these events in 1824, when he traveled home to the Cherokee Nation for a visit. He never returned to Andover. Instead, he immediately acknowledged the superiority

of Sequoyah's work and soon earned a commission from the Cherokee National Council to make a translation of the entire New Testament. Aiding him in the labor was his future father-in-law George Lowrey, a chief and early convert to Christianity who had a better command of their Native tongue. They completed the task by 1825, and their manuscript was soon circulating widely across the Nation, copied time and again by Cherokee believers. Pickering, on the other hand, was quite petulant and seemed bewildered that the Cherokees would prefer a written language developed by one of their own. Sequoyah's syllabary was, he wrote to Wilhelm von Humboldt, "quite contrary to our notion of a useful alphabetic system" (in Lepore 2007:75). His assessment did eventually soften, as he came to appreciate the measure of Sequoyah's success. Yet his own planned grammar and orthography of the Cherokee language remained incomplete; while he published the first few signatures in 1825, no more ever appeared. Despite its rapid spread among Cherokees, we trace no extant manuscripts written in Sequoyah's syllabary prior to the late 1820s. No doubt most such documents were lost in the tumult of Removal. **We believe, as such, that Brown's "Cherokee Hymn," dated August 1823, is the earliest surviving Cherokee manuscript, if in the alphabet of Brown and Pickering rather than the syllabary of Sequoyah**.



While David Brown's "Cherokee Hymn" is certainly the most significant item in Evarts's album, there is another interesting contribution directly related to Brown and the Cherokees, an unpublished monody titled "Lines on the Death of Catharine Brown of the Cherokee Nation." As noted, Catharine Brown was David's older sister, and she was among the first Cherokee students to attend school at Brainerd. In 1818 she gained national renown as the "Indian convert," being the first known member of the Cherokee Nation to receive a public baptism. She became a teacher at the Creek Path school in 1820, but within a year had contracted tuberculosis, the malady that would claim her life in July 1823 (David himself would succumb to this same ruthless disease in 1829). Catharine's reputation only increased after her death, due in large part to the sympathetic biography authored by Rufus Anderson, *Memoir of Catharine Brown, A Christian Indian of the Cherokee Nation*. The first edition was published at Boston in 1825, but it was reprinted several times into the 1850s in locations as far afield as London and York. The monody in Evarts's album is not in the hand of her brother--using his handwriting in this same volume for comparison--and we are unable to determine who composed it. It does, however, provide additional context for the hymn that David Brown contributed, as well as evidence for the near-celebrity status of youthful Native converts such as the Browns within the New England missionary community.

The exterior of Evarts's album is in fair condition only: it lacks the front board, there is significant old staining on the first leaf--a calligraphic title page--and the binding is shaken. The interior, though, is generally clean and legible, with only minor, peripheral staining. Both Brown's

hymn and the monody in memory of his sister, Catharine, are in very good condition overall. The album contains nearly 100 pages of manuscript entries by friends and classmates of Evarts, dating from 1823 to 1828, and most are signed in full name or with initials. We have not attempted to identify all of these, but it is possible that others were also associated with her father's missionary and educational work. **Primary source material related to early Cherokee writing, whether in print or manuscript form, is of the utmost rarity**. An exciting contribution to the study of Native American language and literacy, worthy of additional research.

Relevant sources:

Cushman, Ellen
2010 The Cherokee Syllabary from Script to Print. *Ethnohistory* 57(4):625-649.
2011 *The Cherokee Syllabary: Writing the People's Perseverance*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Harvey, Sean P.
2015 *Native Tongues: Colonialism and Race from Encounter to the Reservation*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
Lepore, Jill
2007 *A is for American: Letters and Other Characters in the Newly United States*. Vintage Books, New York.
Martin, Joel W.
2010 Crisscrossing Projects of Sovereignty and Conversion: Cherokee Christians and New England Missionaries during the 1820s. In *Native Americans, Christianity, and the Reshaping of the American Religious Landscape*, edited by Joel W. Martin and Mark A. Nicholas, pp. 67-92. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
Parins, James W.
2013 *Literacy and Intellectual Life in the Cherokee Nation*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Thomas, William J.
2008 Creating Cherokee Print: Samuel Austin Worcester's Impact on the Syllabary. *Media History Monographs* 10(2).
Walker, Willard, and James Sarbaugh
1993 The Early History of the Cherokee Syllabary. *Ethnohistory* 40(1):70-94.

– –

[Cherokee Indians--Language and Literacy]: Martha S. Evarts: [AUTOGRAPH ALBUM OF MARTHA S. EVARTS CONTAINING THE EARLIEST SURVIVING MANUSCRIPT IN THE CHEROKEE LANGUAGE, A HYMN BY DAVID BROWN]. Various places, including Boston and Philadelphia, 1823-1828. 6 1/2 x 8 1/2 in. (16.5 x 21.5 cm). Approx. 100 manuscript pp., 50 blank pp. Original red leather spine and brown paper covered boards; front board lacking, hinges weak. Old staining throughout, heaviest to first leaf, a calligraphic title page; interior with much lighter stains to tops of leaves and gutters. Exterior fair, interior good/very good.

4. SOLD.

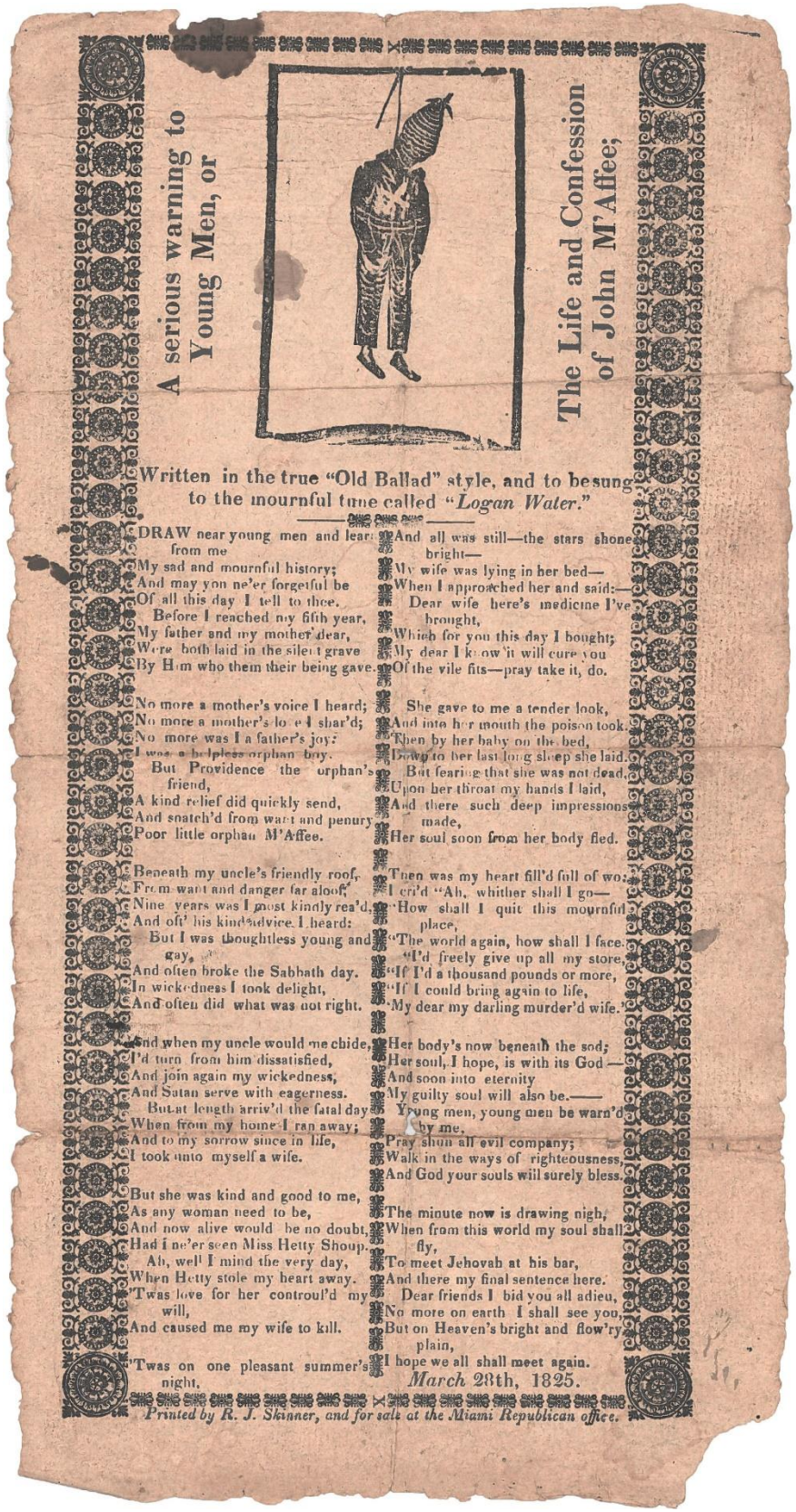
Hanging John McAffee: A Rare Broadside Confession from Dayton, Ohio

One of the most intriguing, if lurid, genres in British and American street literature is the murder and execution broadside. Beginning in the mid-1500s and continuing for the next three centuries, millions of these ephemeral sheets were printed on both sides of the Atlantic, filled with tales of scintillating misdeeds, courtroom dramas, and lives snuffed out at the snap of a hangman's noose. By now, only a fraction of these imprints even survive, and most in no more than a dozen copies. Scholars have invested considerable research in the genre, exploring topics such as social class, race, gender, the ethics of capital punishment, and of course, crime. American imprints are not as numerous as British examples--though hundreds of American survivals are recorded--with most of these coming from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. **The broadside that we offer here is particularly significant, as it seems to be the first example of the genre published west of the Allegheny Mountains; only one other copy is known**.


The Life and Confession
of John M'Affee;

The earliest known execution broadside from Great Britain was printed 1557, when Lord Staunton and four of his servants were hung for the murders of two brothers whom the nobleman had long considered his enemies. Staunton himself met his end at the end of a silk noose, setting him apart from his men who hung from everyday hemp. The earliest American examples date to the second quarter of the 18th century, by which time the genre had attained a recognizable form with common tropes; these included a narrative of the crime, a crude woodcut illustration of the crime or its punishment, and a song or ballad warning others to avoid the same fate. Eventually the popular form developed into the sensationalist crime literature of the 19th century

This broadside, titled "A Serious Warning to Young Men, or The Life and Confession of John M'Affee," was published by Dayton, Ohio, printer Robert J. Skinner on March 28, 1825, at the offices of the *Miami Republican* newspaper. On that date, more than five thousand citizens of Dayton and neighboring villages massed at what was then the edge of town, near the rain-swollen Miami River, to witness the spectacle of Montgomery County's first public execution. Less than a year before, a young man named John McAffee had committed what is believed to be the first murder in Dayton, and now the multitudes had gathered to witness him hang. McAffee seems to have been born about 1803 in Huntington County, Pennsylvania, just over a hundred miles east of Pittsburgh (all of the known details of McAffee's life come from this broadside or a small pamphlet that Skinner published simultaneously, summarized by Howard Burba in an article for the *Daily Dayton News*, Nov. 23. 1930). Orphaned at the age of five, McAffee was taken in and raised by an uncle who provided him a "friendly roof." Developing wanderlust as a teenager, he ran away from his uncle's home and some years later found himself in Dayton.



A serious warning to Young Men, or

The Life and Confession of John M'Affee;

Written in the true "Old Ballad" style, and to be sung to the mournful tune called "*Logan Water.*"

DRAW near young men and learn from me
My sad and mournful history;
And may you ne'er forgetful be
Of all this day I tell to thee.
Before I reached my fifth year,
My father and my mother dear,
Were both laid in the silent grave
By Him who them their being gave.

No more a mother's voice I heard;
No more a mother's love I shar'd;
No more was I a father's joy:
I was a helpless orphan boy.
But Providence the orphan's friend,
A kind relief did quickly send,
And snatch'd from want and penury
Poor little orphan M'Affee.

Beneath my uncle's friendly roof,
From want and danger far aloof,
Nine years was I most kindly rea'd,
And oft' his kind advice I heard:
But I was thoughtless young and gay,
And often broke the Sabbath day.
In wickedness I took delight,
And often did what was not right.

And when my uncle would me chide,
I'd turn from him dissatisfied,
And join again my wickedness,
And Satan serve with eagerness.
But at length arriv'd the fatal day
When from my home I ran away;
And to my sorrow since in life,
I took unto myself a wife.

But she was kind and good to me,
As any woman need to be,
And now alive would be no doubt,
Had I ne'er seen Miss Hetty Shoup.
Ah, well I mind the very day,
When Hetty stole my heart away.
'Twas love for her controul'd my will,
And caused me my wife to kill.

'Twas on one pleasant summer's night,
And all was still—the stars shone bright—
My wife was lying in her bed—
When I approached her and said:—
Dear wife here's medicine I've brought,
Which for you this day I bought;
My dear I know it will cure you
Of the vile fits—pray take it, do.

She gave to me a tender look,
And into her mouth the poison took.
Then by her baby on the bed,
Down to her last long sleep she laid.
But fearing that she was not dead,
Upon her throat my hands I laid,
And there such deep impressions made,
Her soul soon from her body fled.

Then was my heart fill'd full of woe:
I cri'd "Ah, whither shall I go—
"How shall I quit this mournful place,
"The world again, how shall I face.
"I'd freely give up all my store,
"If I'd a thousand pounds or more,
"If I could bring again to life,
"My dear my darling murder'd wife."

Her body's now beneath the sod;
Her soul, I hope, is with its God—
And soon into eternity
My guilty soul will also be.——
Young men, young men be warn'd by me.
Pray shun all evil company;
Walk in the ways of righteousness,
And God your souls will surely bless.

The minute now is drawing nigh,
When from this world my soul shall fly,
To meet Jehovah at his bar,
And there my final sentence hear.
Dear friends I bid you all adieu,
No more on earth I shall see you,
But on Heaven's bright and flow'ry plain,
I hope we all shall meet again.

March 28th, 1825.

Printed by R. J. Skinner, and for sale at the Miami Republican office.

Dayton in the early 1820s was still a new town, incorporated in 1805, with a population of just about a thousand people. Even so, it was Ohio's fifth largest community, nearly three times larger than Cleveland. McAffee was 18 when he arrived and soon met the daughter of a prominent early family--her name is apparently unrecorded in any of the surviving sources--whom he married the following year. They were happy for a brief time ("But she was kind and good to me / As any woman need to be"), but McAfee soon fell back into his old ways of gambling, drinking. and other wickedness. Worse, he became infatuated with another woman, "Miss Hetty Shoup," who resided at the home of a neighboring family. County records indicate that Shoup encouraged McAffee's affections and imply that she played an accomplice's role in subsequent events. On the evening of June 20, 1824, he came home with medicine for his wife, who had been ill with "vile fits." Yet McAffee's supposed cure was poison, and she quickly lapsed into a deep slumber. An impatient McAffee, unsure his poison had worked, then strangled her to death. He hid her body beneath the bed, and wanting nothing more to do with Miss Shoup, fled the house and disappeared.


'Twas on one pleasant summer's night, I hope we all shall meet again.
March 28th, 1825.
Printed by R. J. Skinner, and for sale at the Miami Republican office.

The body of McAffee's wife was soon discovered, but despite weeks of intensive searches, the murderer himself was not to be found. Then several months later, early in the autumn, McAffee reappeared in Dayton. He was recognized almost immediately, arrested, and arraigned on a charge of murder. He told his captors that he had hidden in an abandoned building for three days, then walked into western Virginia and found work in a coal mine until he was overcome with a desire to revisit the scene of his crime. A trial was held later that year, and after a short deliberation the jury returned a verdict of guilty. While awaiting his fate, McAffee supposedly wrote a confession in rhyme, which Skinner helpfully published in the form of this broadside. Given that the tropes of the broadside confession were well established by 1825, it is quite unlikely that these words are the murderer's own (though who can say as for the sentiment of remorse). In any event, McAffee made no confession from the scaffold and hung on March 28, 1825.

Skinner's broadside bears the same date as McAffee's execution, so it was likely printed for distribution at the hanging. So, too, was the 14-page pamphlet containing a summary of court proceedings and the text of the judgement. While the broadside confession is illustrated with a crude woodcut of a hanging man, hooded and with his arms bound by his sides, the pamphlet wraps are illustrated with a woodcut coffin. Skinner had been a key figure in early Dayton printing since at least 1816, when he published his first issue of the *Ohio Watchman*, Dayton's fourth recorded newspaper. He would later be affiliated with the *Miami Republican*, on which press he probably ran off these accounts of McAffee's crime and punishment. In 1826 he would publish the town's first set of ordinances; Douglas McMurtrie (1935) located only a single copy of this book, held in the collection of Dr. A. W. Drury, though its present whereabouts is unknown. **Likewise, only a single copy each of the McAffee broadside and pamphlet were known to have survived prior to the discovery of this broadside**; both are held in the comprehensive James V. Medler Crime Collection at the Clements Library. **Moreover, this is the earliest example of an execution or murder broadside published in what is now the American Midwest**.

While the historical context of McAffee's crime is all but forgotten, the confessional ballad appearing for the first time here in Skinner's broadside is not. Whether composed by Skinner, an anonymous poet, or McAffee himself, it has lived on in the annals of American Midwestern and Appalachian folk music, usually recorded as "McAffee's Confession" or "Murdered Wife." Albert H. Tolman, writing in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1916, recorded an almost line-by-line rendition of the broadside's dirge, observing that: "This text was obtained through Mrs. Pearl H. Bartholomew from Mrs. M. M. Soners, both of Warren, Ind. The mother of Mrs. S. sang it to her almost fifty years ago in Ohio. Mrs. S. states that the poem records an actual occurrence, and that her mother knew Hettie Stout well" (1916:186). A much compressed and reworked version of the ballad is listed as No. 68, "Young McFee," in Louise Pound's classic anthology *American Ballads and Songs* (1922:153-154). Henry Belden, in his monumental *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society* (1940:317), reports that versions of the song had travelled as far afield as North Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Texas, Kentucky, and into the Ozark Mountains. **An important Midwestern broadside**.

Relevant sources:

Bates, Kate
2020 *Crime, Broadsides and Social Change, 1800-1850*. Palgrave-Macmillan, London.
Belden, Henry M.
1940 Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society. *The University of Missouri Studies* Vol. XV, No. 1. Columbia.
Burba, Howard
1930 The Day They Hung John McAfee. *Daily Dayton News* for Nov. 23.
McMurtrie, Douglas C.
1935 *Early Printing in Dayton, Ohio*. Printing House Craftmen's Club of Dayton and Vicinity.
Pound, Louise, editor and compiler
1922 *American Ballads and Songs*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.
Seay, Scott D.
2009 *Hanging Between Heaven and Earth: Capital Crime, Execution Preaching, and Theology in Early New England*. University of Northern Illinois Press, DeKalb.
Tolman, Albert H.
1916 Some Songs Traditional in the United States. *The Journal of American Folklore* 29(112):155-197.
Wilcox, Don
1994 Startling and Thrilling Narratives of Dark and Terrible Deeds. *The Quarto* 1(2):1-3, 8.

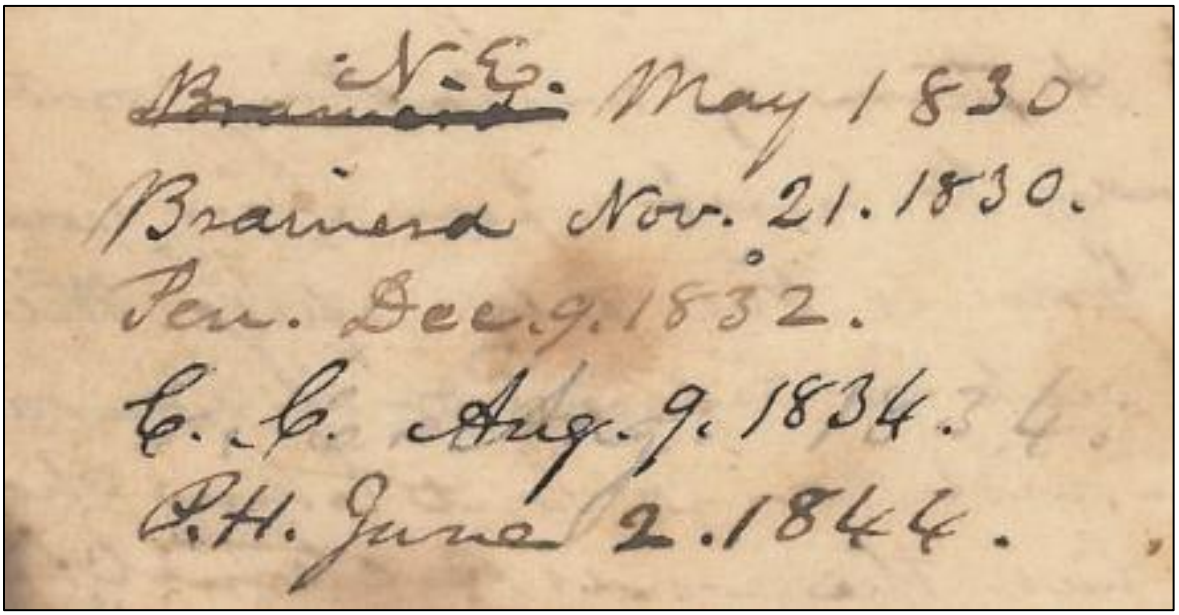
– –

[Ohio--Execution Broadside]: A SERIOUS WARNING TO / YOUNG MEN, OR / THE LIFE AND CONFESSION / OF JOHN M'AFFEE [caption title]. N.p., but Dayton, Ohio, March 28, 1825. Printed by R. J. Skinner, and for sale at the Miami Republican office. Broadside. 6 3/4 x 13 in. (17 x 33 cm). Untrimmed, old folds with small pinholes costing no text, small stains, light edge wear. Overall very good. Morgan 8431, not in McMurtrie or McDade.

5. SOLD.

The Only Surviving Sermons of Samuel A. Worcester, Cherokee Messenger

Of all the Christian missionaries who have shared their faith among the peoples of Native America, few have had a greater or more lasting influence in their respective mission fields than Samuel A. Worcester, upon whom the Cherokee Indians bestowed their honorific *Atsenusti*, or the Messenger. From his early work with Elias Boudinot developing the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper at New Echota, to his legal case before John Marshall's Supreme Court--which ultimately decided in the missionary's favor--to his continued service at Park Hill in Indian Territory, after Removal and the Trail of Tears, Worcester earned the trust and respect of the Cherokee Nation, even through the violent factionalism that drove its peoples apart. This archive of ten manuscript sermons, all in Worcester's hand and spanning the breadth of his experience among the Cherokees, are the only such documents to have survived the dual ravages of disaster and war. **Previously unknown and entirely unpublished, they offer unparalleled insights into Worcester's approach to his life's mission across two tumultuous decades of service and sacrifice**.



Samuel Austin Worcester was born in 1798 in Peacham, Vermont. After early schooling there with renowned missionary, activist, and printer Josiah Everts, he attended the University of Vermont--graduating with honors in 1817--and then spent four more years at Andover Theological Seminary. He married Ann Orr, whom he met at Andover, and choosing the path of mission work was ordained a Congregational minister in 1825, just weeks before leaving to begin his assignment among the Cherokees. In August, Samuel and Ann arrived at Brainerd Mission, located within the limits of present-day Chattanooga, Tennessee. His namesake uncle, Samuel Worcester, founder of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), had died at Brainerd and was buried in its cemetery. Samuel and Ann quickly settled into life at the mission, welcoming their first daughter, Ann Eliza, in November the following year.

The Worcesters would not remain in Brainerd long. In 1827, the ABCFM board decided to expand its mission footprint to the Cherokee Nation's capitol at New Echota, located about 50 miles south of Brainerd near modern Calhoun, Georgia. Samuel and Ann moved as soon as their new home was ready, arriving in late December. They were joined at the capitol by Elias Boudinot (*Gallegina Oowatie*), the New England-educated son of a Cherokee leader, who had just recently arrived with his new wife, Harriet, daughter of a prominent Connecticut family. Together, Samuel Worcester and Elias Boudinot would achieve the exceptional feat of publishing the first newspaper ever produced in a Native American language.

Sequoyah (George Gist or Guess) had completed his syllabary by 1821, and in just a few years it spread among Cherokee speakers from Arkansaw Territory (where he had found the first adults willing to learn it) to North Carolina and Georgia. The Cherokee Nation formally adopted it for all official business in 1825. Two years later, the Cherokees' General Council would allocate funds to establish a newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix*, including support for production costs and salaries for an editor and printer. Boudinot was to be the former, and Worcester--who had learned the printer's art from his father--would acquire type through the ABCFM and manage the printing

process. Worcester had been studying the syllabary from the time of his arrival at Brainerd two years before and had since made several revisions to the shape and organization of the characters that would better suit the shift from handwritten script to movable type. Initially, the ABCFM was opposed to his work with Sequoyah's syllabary, preferring instead the universal, alphabet-based orthography that Boston linguist John Pickering had developed in 1819. Yet Worcester understood that the future of Cherokee literacy was inextricably bound to the syllabary, writing to the Board in 1827 that "if books are printed in Guess's characters, they will be read; if in any other, they will lie useless" (in Cushman 2011:103). The Board relented and even began to cooperate, acting as agents for the Cherokees in the purchase of a press. Worcester traveled back to Boston to handle the purchase and to directly oversee the casting of type.

While waiting for materials after his return, Worcester and Boudinot made preparations at New Echota, outfitting their offices and hiring two printers, Isaac Harris and John Wheeler, the latter a Cherokee. The printing materials finally arrived near the end of January 1828, and they all went quickly to work. Just three weeks later, on February 21, they released the first issue of *The Cherokee Phoenix*, both the first newspaper published by Native Americans and the first published in a Native American language. Once the paper was successfully underway, Worcester returned to his key printing interest, the translation of religious works, spellers and textbooks, temperance tracts, and literature into the Cherokee language. Here the partnership with Boudinot was essential for each man's labors. Worcester never learned to speak Cherokee, and evidence suggests that Boudinot--although fluent in written English--never became proficient in the syllabary. Boudinot thus handled translation, while Worcester set the translations in type. Working together, the two men produced more than 50,000 pages of published text at New Echota, including 800 copies of a songbook, *Cherokee Hymns*, and 1000 copies of the *Gospel According to Matthew*.

But the partnership between Worcester and Boudinot, as with everything at New Echota and across the Cherokee Nation, was about to be undone. White settlers first discovered gold in north Georgia, probably near present-day Dahlonega, in 1828, and by 1829 the rush was on through four counties and into territory legally owned by the Cherokees. Hundreds of mining operations employing tens of thousands of workers sprang up practically overnight, bringing these trespassers into immediate confrontation with the Nation. The state of Georgia, recognizing that missionaries like Worcester were among the loudest and most persuasive advocates of tribal sovereignty, passed legislation that prohibited white men from living on Native American land without a license issued by the state. Worcester and eleven other missionaries protested that since the Cherokees were a sovereign nation, Georgia lacked authority to impose any of its own laws in tribal territory. George Gilmer, Georgia's governor, ordered state militia to arrest Worcester and any others who refused to obtain a license; during the weeks before his trial, as he waited in a dank cell, Worcester's infant daughter died, and Ann remained ill. On September 16, 1831, all twelve men were sentenced to four years of hard labor in the Georgia State Penitentiary at Milledgeville. Ten of these accepted pardons and left the state. Only Worcester and Elizur Butler refused, remaining in prison so that the Cherokees could mount a legal challenge to Georgia's law.

After direct pleas to President Andrew Jackson failed, Worcester's allies at the ABCFM had no choice but to file an appeal with the United States Supreme Court. From February 20 to February 23, 1832, attorneys William Wirt and John Sergeant argued the case of *Worcester v. The State of Georgia* before the Court. Gilmer, to the contrary, dispatched no representatives to stand

on the state's behalf. On March 2, after a bit more than a week of deliberation, Chief Justice John Marshall delivered the majority opinion in favor of Worcester. But the implications of the Court's decision reached far beyond the fate of the two jailed missionaries. The state of Georgia had also passed legislation--with Jackson's blessing--that brought all Cherokee territory and tribal members in the five gold-bearing counties under the state's jurisdiction. The new laws also barred Indians from mining, even on their private lands, and made it illegal for anyone to council Cherokees not to move west beyond the Mississippi. In striking down the law requiring licenses to live on Native land, specifically concluding that Georgia had no such jurisdiction, the Court was striking down these other laws, as well. This should have sealed the victory both for Worcester and the Cherokee Nation, yet on learning of the Court's decision, Jackson is reputed to have declared, "John Marshall has made his decision, let him enforce it." Inevitably, removal would follow.

Boudinot recognized such and began to advocate that his people secure the best possible terms for removing west to Indian Territory, a position rejected by most other Cherokees, including Principal Chief John Ross and the National Council. Boudinot resigned his position as editor of the *Phoenix* in August. After serving 16 months in prison, Worcester and Butler were released by Gilmer's successor, William Lumpkin, in January 1833. Worcester returned to New Echota and tried to resume his duties, but Georgia's land lottery forced his family from their home in March 1834. They spent the following year at Brainerd, but when conditions in Tennessee also began to unravel, they joined the family of John Wheeler--former printer of the *Phoenix*--and left on April 8, 1835, for Dwight Mission in the Western Cherokee Nation. Meanwhile, Boudinot had become a leader of the so-called "treaty faction" of Eastern Cherokees. On December 19, 1835, he joined in signing the Treaty of New Echota, which the United States ratified despite the fact that it was still opposed by Ross and the Council. The treaty ceded all of the Cherokees' eastern territory for $5,000,000 (to be distributed to tribal members), $500,000 in educational funding, and title to land in Indian Territory equal to what they had relinquished in the east. The actions of the pro-treaty group remain controversial even today, but there can be no doubt of the price its leaders paid for what most other Cherokees viewed as a betrayal of their people.

Worcester, in Indian Territory with his family when news of the treaty arrived, was shocked to hear of Boudinot's part in what he described as a "fraudulent and wicked transaction," though he continued to believe that his friend "was, in the ordinary sense of the word, conscientious in the part he acted" (in Gaul 2005:74). The Worcesters had reached Dwight Mission--established near Marble City, Oklahoma, just a few years earlier--in difficult circumstances. Following a long and grueling journey west from Brainerd, one slowed by Ann's illness, they learned on arrival that the barge carrying most of their belongings had sunk in the Arkansas River. Even worse, among the losses was a new printing press, the old one from New Echota having been seized by the Georgia Militia. Although the press and printing supplies were salvaged and soon put to use, few of the family's belongings could be saved, including most of the manuscripts, translations, books, and pamphlets that Samuel had taken from New Echota. Like so many of the Eastern Cherokees who were soon to begin the Trail of Tears, Samuel and Ann were starting over.

At first, Worcester established his new press at Union, an ABCFM mission to the Osage Indians located about 35 miles north of Fort Gibson. On August 2, 1835, he printed the first book published in what is now Oklahoma, a Muskogee-language primer entitled *Istutsi in naktsokv*, or *The Child's Book*. Also printed here was the first edition of the *Cherokee Almanac* (1836), which

he would publish every year until his death in 1859. In December 1836, Worcester relocated with his family and the press--along with Wheeler, who was still serving as printer--to Park Hill, located closer to the projected site of Tahlequah, the capitol of the Cherokee Nation in the West. The next autumn, soon after he and Wheeler had begun printing new materials, Boudinot arrived with his own family from the east. Worcester immediately sought to bring his old friend into the work as translator, but Boudinot's role in precipitating the Trail of Tears was not so easily forgotten among the other Cherokees. Just two years later, on June 22, 1839, Boudinot and three other signers of the New Echota treaty were murdered in broad daylight. Boudinot was working on his new home less than a quarter-mile from the Worcester's place when he was set upon by three men and hacked with knives and tomahawks. He died with Worcester at his side, who is noted to have exclaimed in horror, "They have cut off my right hand!" (Bass 1936:256). The loss must have been especially painful for Worcester, who had buried his wife, Ann, less than a month earlier.

Yet he and his press would flourish for two decades more, despite the repeated threats from Chief Ross and his allies to expel him in retaliation for his friendship with Boudinot. Over that span of time, he produced hundreds of imprints--including translations of most of the Old and New Testaments--totaling as many as 14 million pages of printed materials for the Cherokee Nation and millions more for the neighboring Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks. Sometime early in 1859 he fell from a ladder into a deep well that he was cleaning; his resulting injuries kept him bedridden until his death at the age of 61 on April 20 of that year. Shortly after, Park Hill would find itself gripped by the same violence that drove the county in two, as pro-Union Cherokees under Chief John Ross engaged in bitter warfare against the pro-Confederacy faction under Boudinot's younger brother, Stand Waitie. The mission, the press, and even Worcester's home were pillaged multiple times by each side. His daughter, Hannah, lost her husband to an ambush by pro-Union men just a month before witnessing her home on the mission burned by Waitie's forces. Her journal entry of September 10, 1862, reads, "Today I went to the Printing Office. I did not know before, how completely it had been cleaned out: the Press, types, papers &c. all carried off or destroyed" (in Wright 1941:351). The mission never recovered. Little remains today, but for the cemetery where the Worcesters and their children lay buried, near the grave of Elias Boudinot.

Samuel Worcester's legacy is not in Park Hill as a place, however, nor in New Echota (but his home is the only original structure still standing on this site of the Cherokees' old capitol). His legacy is in his ministry and the printed pages that carried Sequoyah's great gift forward. Much less is known, though, of Worcester's ministry than his printing; while copies of his imprints--rare as they are--are held by many institutional and private collections, very little manuscript material pertaining to his spiritual leadership has survived. This is hardly surprising, considering both the loss of his personal papers in 1835, during the move to Indian Territory, and the later ransacking of Park Hill Mission during the Civil War. **The ten manuscript sermons that we are pleased to offer here, all in Worcester's hand and docketed with the date and place of delivery, are the only such manuscripts known to exist and cover the full breadth of his experience among the Cherokees**. Four were composed in the east, at Brainerd or New Echota, and somehow survived the journey into Indian Territory. Six were composed at Park Hill. Most were delivered several times at different mission stations: Brainerd, New Echota, Maryville, and Candy's Creek in the east; Dwight, Union, Park Hill, and Fairfield in the west. Perhaps the most noteworthy place of all is simply identified as "pen." The date, Dec. 9, 1832, indicates that Worcester delivered it to his fellow inmates while he was incarcerated at the Georgia State Penitentiary. The sermons range

in length from three to seven pages and total 49 manuscript pages. The entire list of sermons, with their subjects and places/dates of delivery, are as follows:

(1) Luke 19:12-27. 7 pp., used at: Brainerd, 6/18/26; New Echota [N. E.], 12/23/27; Park Hill [P. H.], 4/3/36; Union, 4/10/36; Park Hill [P. H.], 4/24/43; Fairfield [where Elizur Butler served after Removal], 4/29/43.
(2) Ezekiel 14:23. 6 1/2 pp., used at: New Echota {N. E.], 1/29; Park Hill [P. H.], 5/26/44.
(3) John 6:66-69. 3 pp., used at: New Echota [N. E.], 5/30; Brainerd, 11/21/30; Georgia State Penitentiary, Milledgeville [pen.], 12/9/32; Candy's Creek, [C. C.], 8/9/34); Park Hill, 6/2/44.
(4) Hebrews 12:18, 19, 22-24. 4 1/2 pp., used at: New Echota [N. E.], 8/3/33; Candy's Creek [C. C., mission in northern Georgia], 3/30/34; Maryville [mission in northern Georgia], 4/2/34; Brainerd, 5/18/34; Dwight, 10/4/35; Union, 3/13/36; Park Hill [P. H.], 5/15/36; Mr. Griffin's, 10/2/36; Park Hill [P. H.], 2/4/43.
(5) 2 Peter 1:19-21, No. 1. 3 pp., used at: Park Hill [P. H.], 2/12/43.
(6) 2 Peter 1:19-21, No. 2. 3 pp., used at: Park Hill [P. H.], 2/19/43.
(7) John 5:39. 5 1/2 pp., used at: Park Hill [P. H.], 9/24/43.
(8) Acts 5:39. 5 1/2 pp., used at: Park Hill [P. H.], 12/24/43; Fairfield, 12/31/43; Dwight, 1/6/44.
(9) Genesis 1:1. 4 pp. used at: Park Hill [P. H.], 1/14/44.
(10) The Sabbath, 7 pp., used at: Park Hill [P. H.], 11/17/44.

Although Worcester did not sign any of these sermons, the places and dates leave no doubt that he was the author. Moreover, the archive is accompanied by an undated, typescript biography of the missionary by one of his granddaughters, Edith Hicks Walker (1856-1941) of Fort Gibson, Oklahoma. Walker was a daughter of Hannah and Abijah Hicks, and her biography specifically references these manuscript sermons, remarking "I call your attention to the written sermons in Mr. Worcester's own handwriting. Tho very finely written, the words are all legible while almost a hundred years old. They are all dated, when preached and where" (Walker TS, p. 6). The sermons likely descended to Walker from her mother. They later became part of the Martin Ismert Western Americana Collection, most of which was auctioned at Kansas City in 1963. Worcester's sermons were not included in the auction, however, but were stored with other ephemera from the collection until purchased in bulk by a Kansas ephemera and antiques dealer in 2016.

The ten surviving sermons that constitute this archive address several key messages that informed Worcester's perspectives on salvation, service, and divine providence, with respect both to individuals and nations. His sermon on Ezekiel 14 focuses on God's providence as it relates to nations that accept--and those that reject--the gospel, a message that would have resonated among Christian Cherokees seeking to establish a national identity through print culture. In preaching on the Parable of the Ten Pounds (or Talents) in Luke 19, Worcester encourages his congregation to invest their talents or abilities in the service of God. He uses John 6 to discuss why self-professed disciples of Christ walk away from the calling; given that this sermon was delivered while he and Butler were jailed in Milledgeville, it may have acquired additional reference to those missionaries who accepted Gilmore's pardon and left Georgia. His sermon drawn from Hebrews 12 emphasizes how the welcoming spirit of the gospel and its new covenant replaces the Old Testament covenant

of rituals and blood sacrifice, while those on 2 Peter 1 focus on the nature of prophesy. With John 5, he addresses the need to continue searching and studying the scripture, a message that buttressed his continuing efforts to translate and print a complete Cherokee Bible. Drawing from Acts 5, he admonishes his congregation not to fight against God, which included "opposing the work of God around us;" such a message may have been aimed at opponents to his mission within the Cherokee Nation, particularly the governing faction of Chief John Ross. Finally, two of his sermons focus on how to understand Creation (Genesis 1) and how to recognize the Sabbath. **As a group, these manuscripts open a new window onto the ministry of Samuel A. Worcester, one of the most important missionaries ever to work and serve in Native America.**

Relevant sources:

Bass, Althea
1936 *Cherokee Messenger*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Cushman, Ellen
2011 *The Cherokee Syllabary: Writing the People's Perseverance*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Gaul, Theresa S., editor
2005 *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Holt, Kerri
2015 "We, too, the People:" Writing Resistance in the Cherokee Nation. In *Writing Region in Early American Writing*, edited by Edward Watts, Kerri Holt, and John Funchion, pp. 199-225. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Starr, Emmet
1921 *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore*. The Warden Company, Oklahoma City, OK.

Thomas, William J.
2008 Creating Cherokee Print: Samuel Austin Worcester's Impact on the Syllabary. *Media History Monographs* 10(2).

Wright, Muriel H.
1941 Notes on the Life of Mrs. Hannah Worcester Hicks Hitchcock and the Park Hill Press. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 19(4):348-253.

– –

[Cherokee Indians--Printing, Christianity, and Removal]: Samuel A. Worcester: [ARCHIVE OF TEN MANUSCRIPT SERMONS IN THE HAND OF MISSIONARY AND PRINTER SAMUEL A. WORCESTER, DELIVERED AT NOTED CHEROKEE MISSIONS IN THE EAST AND WEST FROM 1826 TO 1844]. Various places, including Brainerd (TN) , New Echota (GA), and Park Hill (IT) missions, 1826-1844. 2 3/4 x 5 in. (7 x 12.5 cm), 3 to 7 pp. each, 49 pp. total (about 8000 words), side-stitched, all docketed with dates and places delivered. Light occasional tanning and foxing; very good. In a custom-made box with accompanying documents.

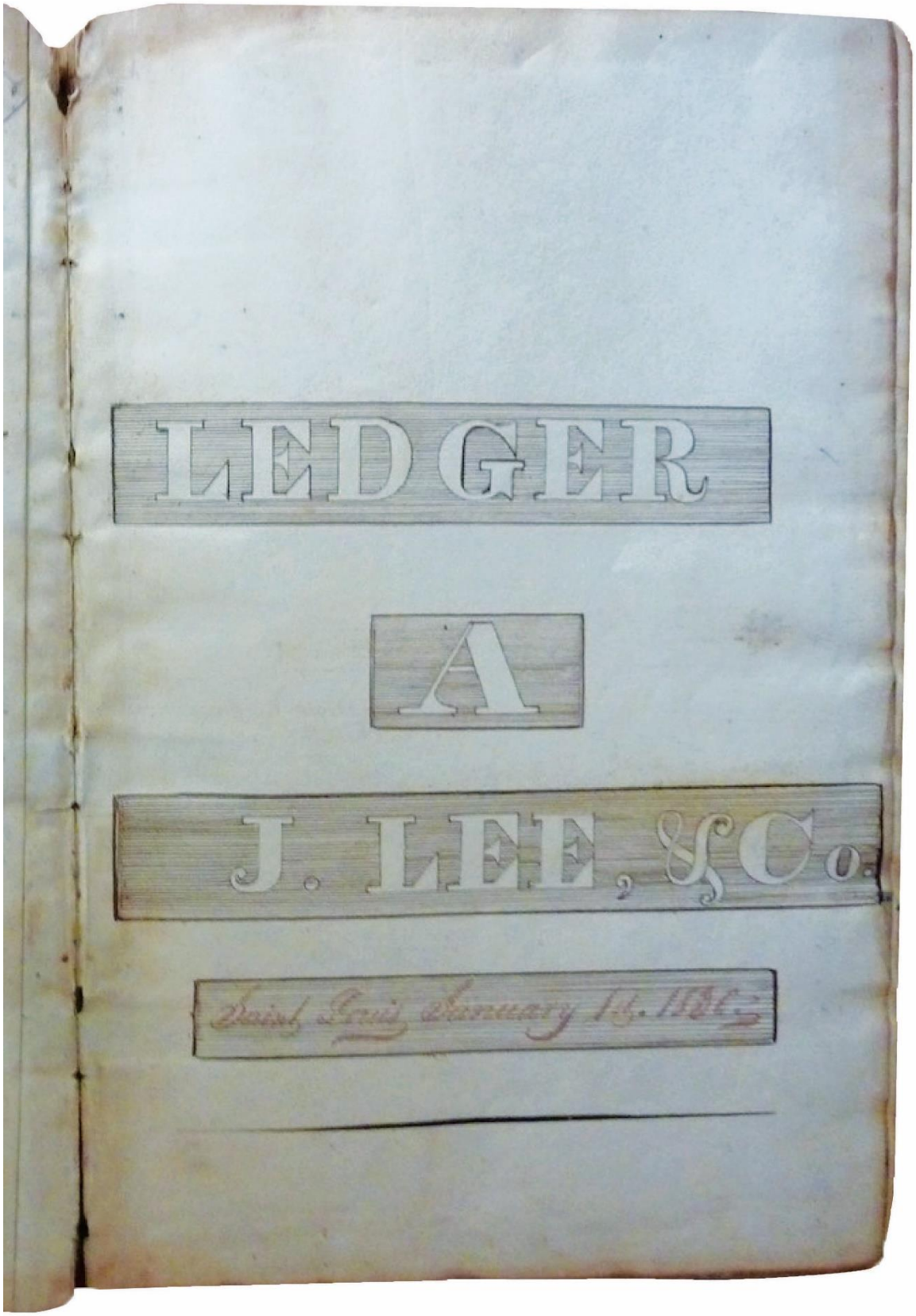
6. SOLD.

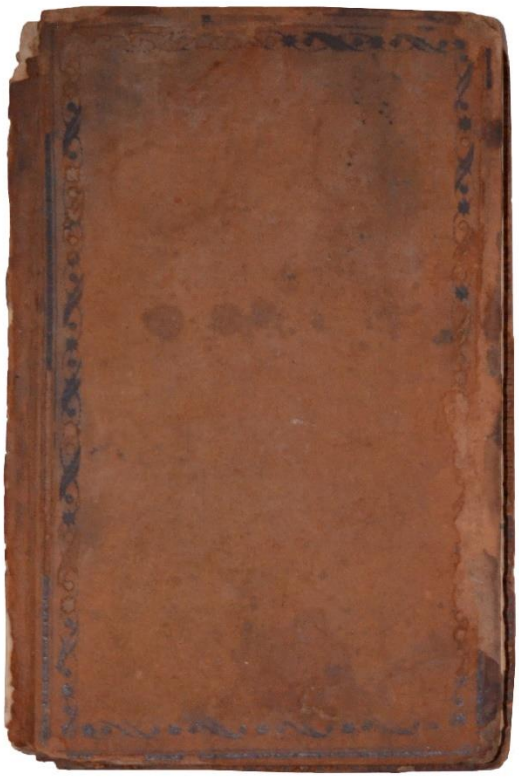
John Lee & Company, St. Louis: Documenting the Early Steamboat Trade

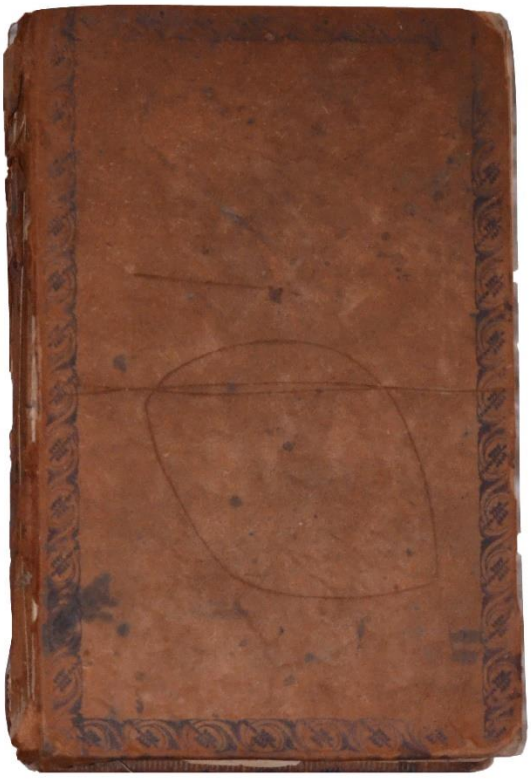
St. Louis was on the brink of a boom in 1830. Although founded in 1764 by French fur traders Pierre Laclède and his stepson Auguste Chouteau, it was not actually incorporated as a city until 1822, only a year after Missouri was admitted to the union as the 24th state. Contemporary visitors such as Henry Schoolcraft and Timothy Flint were favorably impressed and agreed that its commercial potential appeared limitless. Such observations were based in large part on the city's ideal location. Spread along the western banks of the Mississippi River, just downstream from its confluence with the Missouri, St. Louis sat at the very heart of the continent. Manufactured goods arrived from eastern centers by way of the Ohio, or from the south by way of New Orleans, while materials like pelts, furs, livestock, and metals entered from the Southwest, Plains, and Rockies for shipment to eastern markets. Despite so much potential, the years after its incorporation had proven difficult. An economic depression, together with successive years of malaria, had dropped its population by a third of its size at incorporation. Yet a resurgence was imminent, its momentum fueled in large part by the turn of the steamboat's wheel.

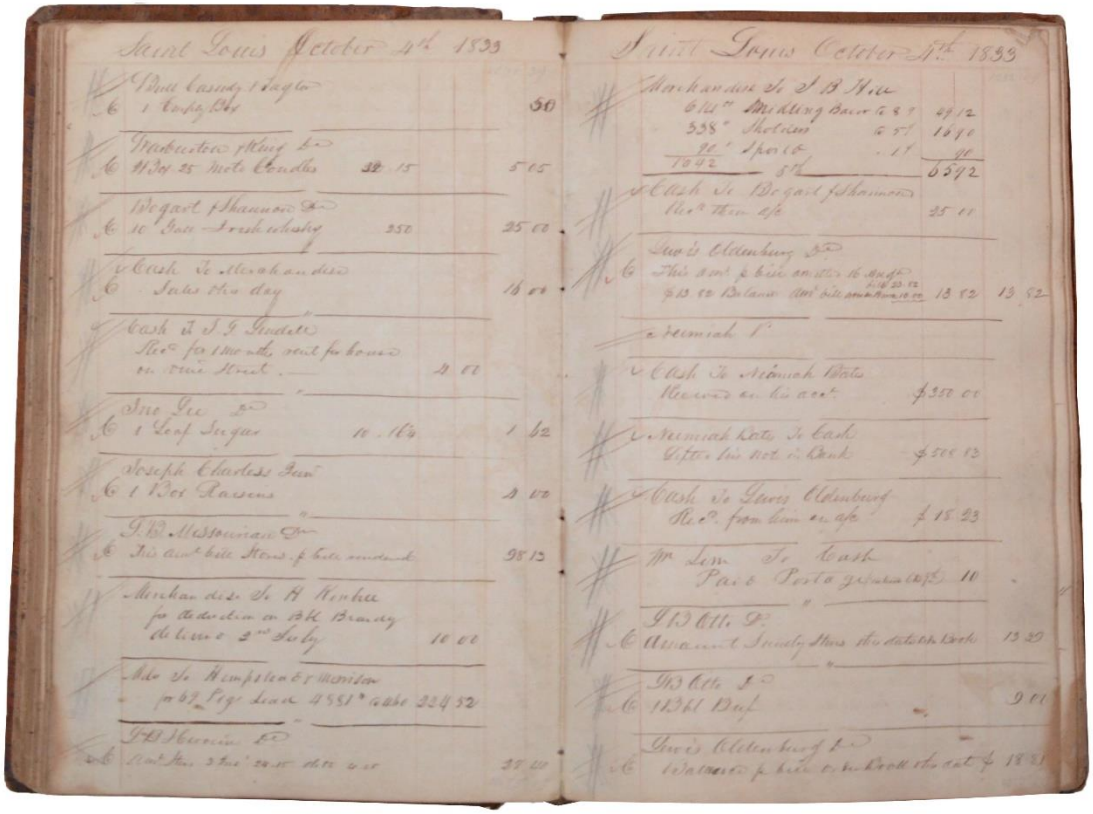
On July 27, 1817, the steamboat *Zebulon M. Pike* docked along the riverfront at St. Louis after a six-week trip from Louisville. The *Pike*--the first steamboat to arrive at St. Louis--could reach a top speed of about four miles per hour, making it a bit slower than the average Mississippi River keelboat. But the average keelboat could only reach such speeds on the downstream portion of its run; going upstream, its crew had to push it forward with poles and were lucky to cover a mile an hour working 15-hour days. The *Pike* and its kindred were clearly the future of the river trade in North America. They were just as surely the future of St. Louis. By 1830, as the city was poised to leave the doldrums of the early 1820s behind, more than 200 steamboats plied the western rivers, and it was not uncommon to see many of these docked against the St. Louis wharf on any given day. Of course, such a rapid growth in traffic was cause and consequence of a rapid growth in commerce, with new merchants set to reap fantastic rewards. One such establishment was John Lee & Company, grocers and commission merchants, operated by brothers John and Elliott Lee and their brother-in-law Jesse G. Lindell. The Lees and Lindells were among the best-connected mercantile families in early St. Louis, and this new business was the first to have drawn the families together. We are excited to offer three extensive and detailed ledgers from the firm of John Lee & Co., covering most of the period from January 1, 1830 to July 31, 1834. **Totaling more than a thousand manuscript pages, we trace few surviving primary sources that so thoroughly document St. Louis and its commerce at the dawn of the steamboat age**.

The Lee family had moved to St. Louis from Kentucky in 1808, with their patriarch, John Lee, Sr., meeting with some success in land speculation within what would later become the city's early business and manufacturing districts. Two of his sons, John, Jr., and Elliott, partnered with Jesse Lindell in January 1830 to launch John Lee & Co, located along the river at Front Street and


LEDGER
A
J. LEE, & Co.
Saint Louis January 1st. 1856



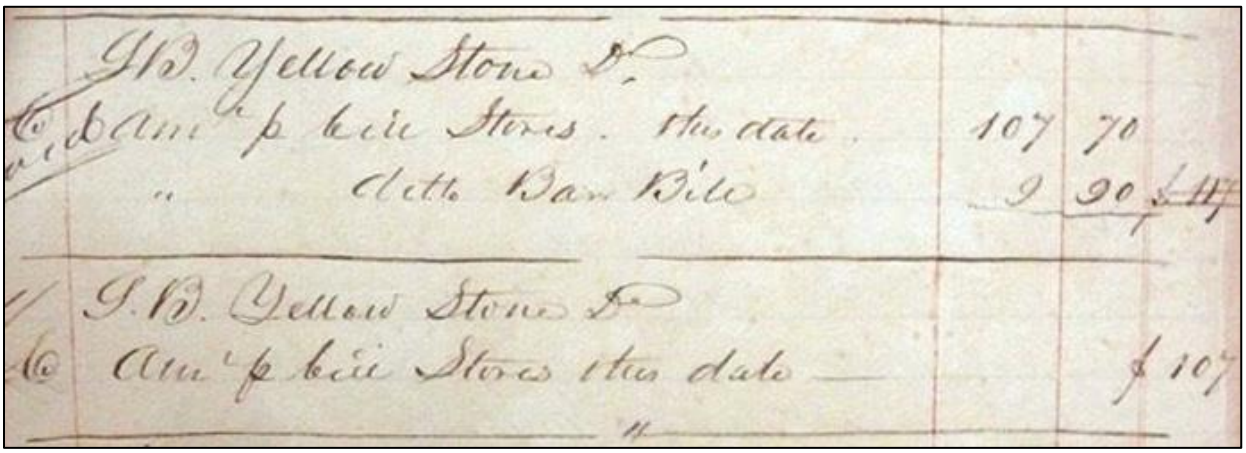



Saint Louis October 4th 1833
Saint Louis October 4th 1833

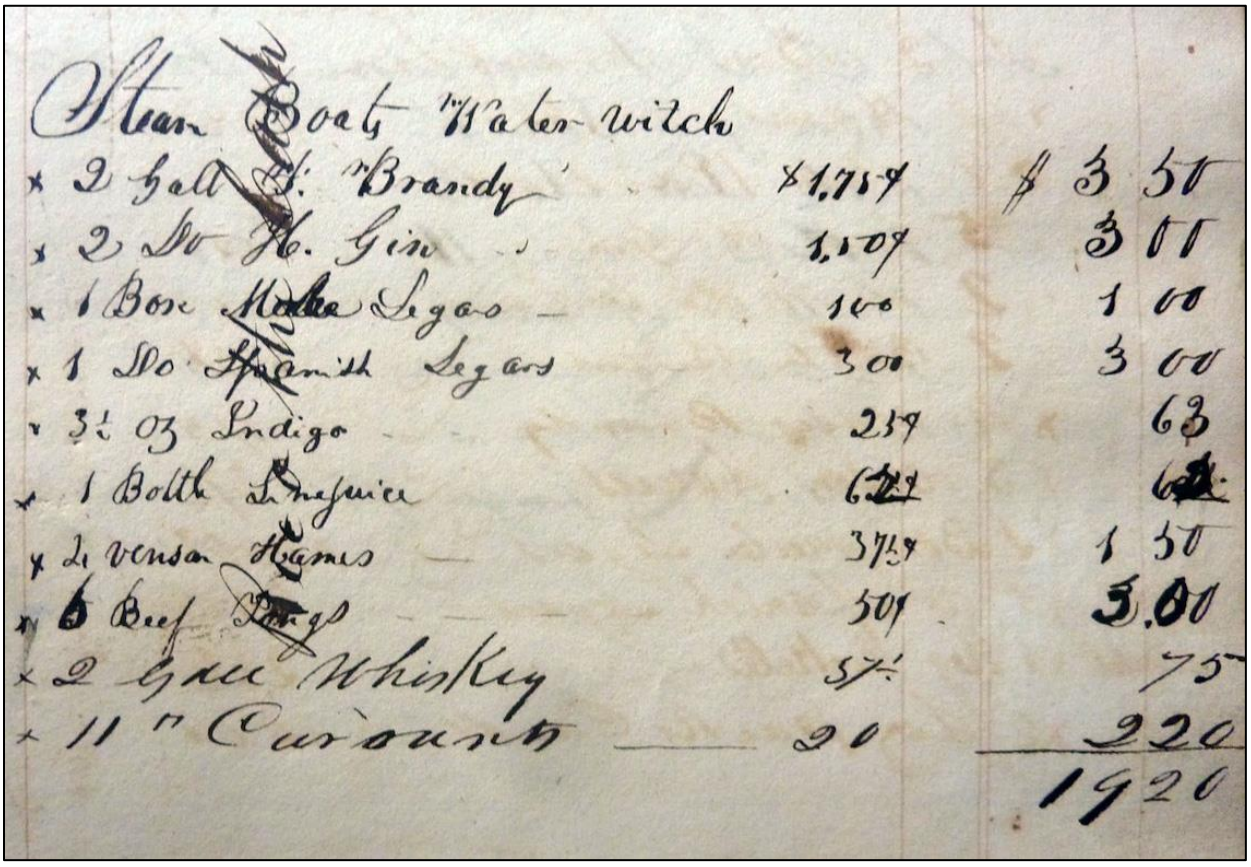
O'Fallon's Row (from an advertisement for the firm placed in the *Western Address Directory* of 1837). Lindell, who had married Jemima Lee in 1825, was himself the youngest brother of Peter Lindell, one of the most successful merchants and land developers in early St. Louis, who had first come to the city and founded a general dry goods store on Main Street in 1811. The business grew quickly, and Lindell invested his profits in real estate. After a few years he sent east for Jesse, still living at the family home in Maryland. Together, they became two of the wealthiest men in the city. By 1825, when Jesse and Jemima were married, he and Peter had largely quit the mercantile business and begun to devote their time and resources to property. We suspect, then, that Lindell provided the capitol for John Lee & Co., while brothers John and Elliott managed its day-to-day operations. We have found few details regarding the former, beyond his role in the business, but Elliott would later become a prominent name in the Santa Fe trade. In 1847, when visiting another brother, Stephen, who had moved to Taos in the 1820s, he narrowly avoided being murdered by conspirators who killed several American authorities in an uprising. Stephen Lee, having recently been appointed sheriff there, was not so fortunate.

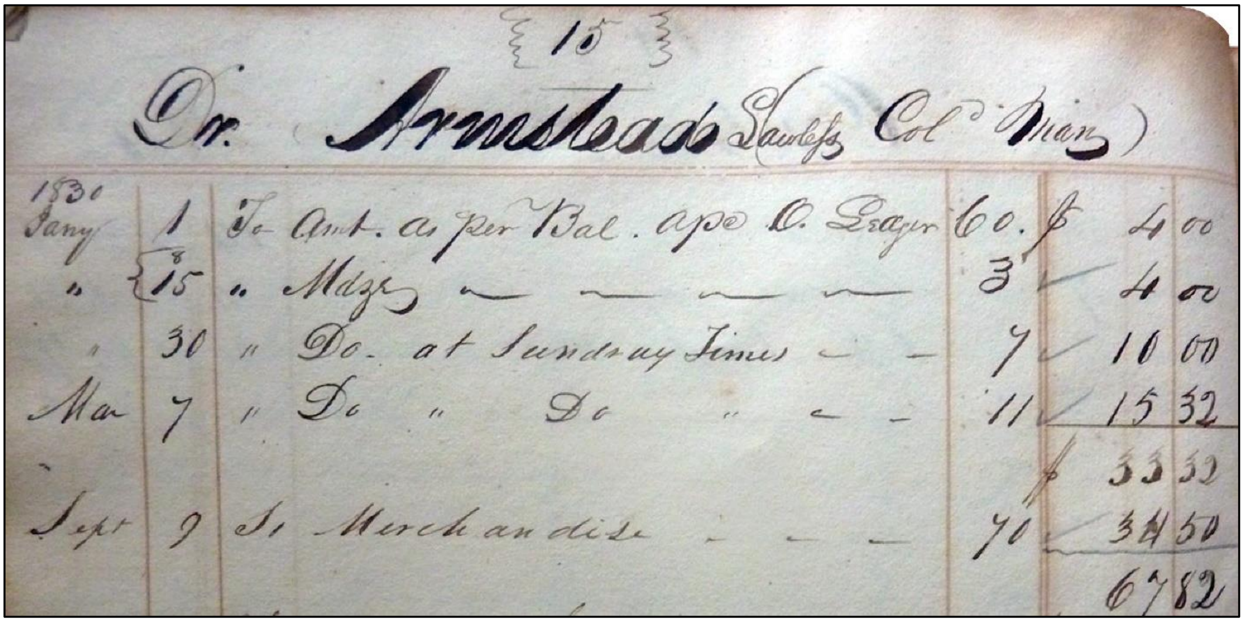
The Lee & Co. ledgers record many thousands of individual entries over the 5-year period from 1830-1834. To better convey the extent of the firm's commercial links throughout the greater Mississippi Valley, it is useful to organize these accounts into several categories: St. Louis-based individuals and businesses; non-local individuals and businesses; United States military officers and employees; and steamboats. John Lee & Co. held hundreds of accounts with individuals and businesses located in St. Louis, far too many to summarize here; instead, a sample of these should describe the scope of this firm's local network: American Fur Company; St. Louis College; grocer Jacob Baum; Indian trader, agent, and trapper William Gordon; Larkin Deaver, proprietor of a successful St. Louis carpet and clothing store; Lewis Oldenburg, proprietor of the Washington Hall hotel and boarding house; Erskine & Rhodes, a commission business jointly operated by Greene Erskine and Christopher Rhodes, two prominent citizens (Erskine had founded the Knickerbocker Magazine in New York before moving west to St. Louis, while Rhodes was one of the city's first Unitarians); famed Missouri River steamboat builder and captain Joseph Throckmorton; Missouri politician William G. Pettus, Secretary of the State Convention of 1821; grocers and wholesalers Hempstead (William) & Morrison (William), who operated in both St. Louis and Galena, Illinois; merchant W. H. Savage, who partnered with his brother, Charles, of New Orleans.; Robert Payne, St. Louis merchant who partnered with Auguste Chouteau in the western Indian trade; steamboat magnate and businessman James Dozier; livery owner John Calvert; former Kentucky slave and free person of color Armstead Lawless, who owned three slaves himself; Dr. Seth Millington, who had arrived in St. Charles County with his family in 1799; and many more.

Non-local and military accounts are likewise well-represented here, with hundreds of such entries recorded from locations in western Missouri into what is now Kansas, in Illinois as far to the north as Beardstown along the Illinois River, as far east as Louisville in Kentucky, and south to New Orleans. Among the individuals, merchants, and military personnel appearing are: Moses D. Bates, founder of Hannibal, Missouri; Nehemiah Bates, a pioneer of Galena, Illinois, who ran a smelting furnace there; Campbell & Morehouse, wholesale grocers also located at Galena; Elisha McClelland, who owned a tavern in Columbia, Missouri in the early 1830s; Hezekiah Smith, who kept a public house at Beardstown, Illinois; Taylor & Steel, wholesalers and grocers operating at Louisville, Kentucky; and Maj. Joseph V. Hamilton, sutler at Fort Leavenworth, which had been established on the Missouri River in what is now the state of Kansas in 1829.



What truly distinguishes these ledgers, though, is their detailed documentation of the early steamboat trade in the heart of America's midcontinent. There are hundreds of entries for dozens of different boats, some consisting of a single line, many others filling an entire page. Among the boats with accounts at Lee & Co. were the famous *Yellow Stone*, the first powered boat to reach above Council Bluffs on the Missouri River, and the boat that carried both George Catlin and Karl Bodmer (along with his sponsor, Prince Maximillian) to the settlements of the Mandan Indians in 1832 and 1833, respectively. Also accounted for is the *Water Witch*, which had taken Bodmer and Maximillian from Louisville to St. Louis earlier in their journey. The *Warrior* is here as well, best



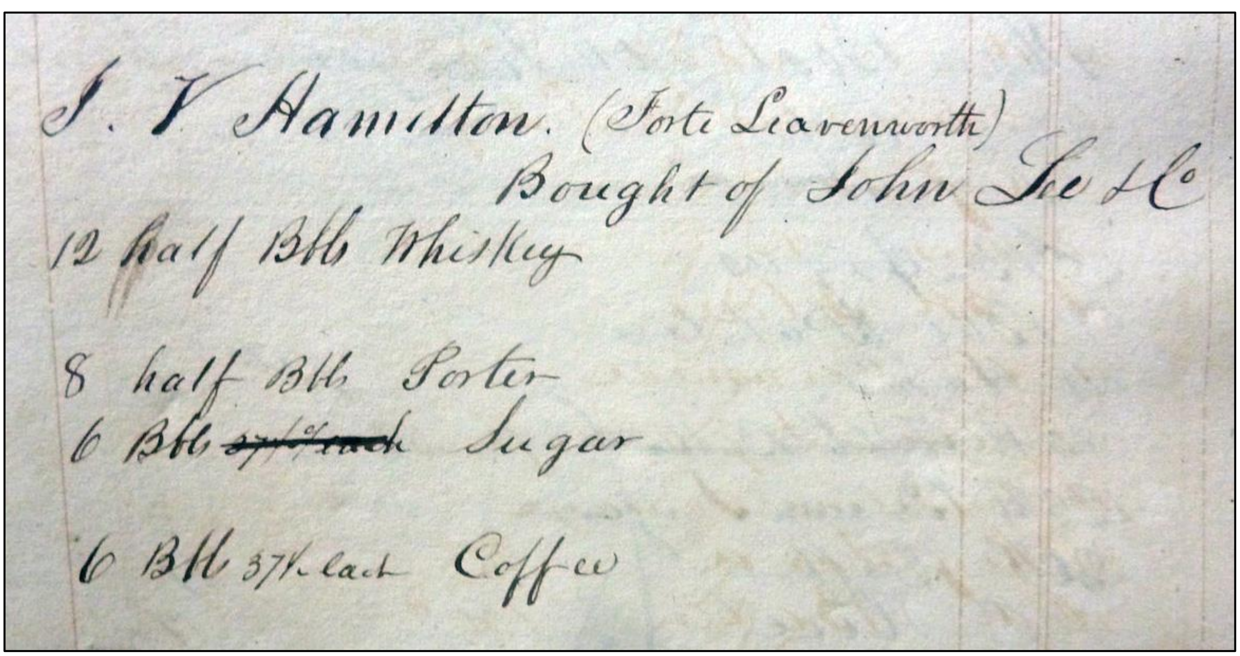


15

Dr. Armstead (Sawless Col. Juan)

1830 Jany	1	To Amt. as per Bal. ap. O. Leager	60.	$ 4 00
"	15	" Mdze	3	4 00
"	30	" Do. at Sundray times	7	10 00
Mar	7	" Do " Do	11	15 32
				$ 33 32
Sept	9	" Merchandise	70	34 50
				67 82

remembered for its decisive role at the Battle of Bad Axe during the Black Hawk War of 1832. A longer list includes the steamboats: *Aleona*, *Argus*, *Ben Franklin*, *Chester*, *Crusader, Don Juan*, *Galiman*, *Globe*, *Heroine*, *Maryland*, *Michigan*, *Missourian*, *New Brunswick*, *Orion*, *Otto*, *Saint Louis*, *Sarpy*, *Traveler*, and *Wanderer*. The range of merchandise listed in these accounts is quite impressive, particularly considering the time and place: whiskey, port wine, brandy, gin, and other spirits; food such as beef tongue, cheese, oysters, bacon, hams, salt, almonds, cloves, crackers, cod fish, and sugar; and goods including sperm whale candles, coffees and teas, Spanish "segars," bars of lead, bags of shot, pearl ash, oars, hooks, brooms, poles, block and tackle, buckets, the list goes on. Few sources paint as clear and detailed a view of commerce here in the 1830s.



J. V. Hamilton. (Forte Leavenworth)
Bought of John Lee & Co
12 half Bbl Whiskey
8 half Bbl Porter
6 Bbl ~~37½ each~~ Sugar
6 Bbl 37½ each Coffee

Only the first volume, identified as Ledger A on its manuscript title page, is given such a letter designation. It covers the months from January 1, 1830, to October 16, 1831, and contains approximately 350 manuscript pages. Its reverse calf boards show considerable wear, and while the spine is largely perished, the signatures are sound and the interior pages are fresh and entirely legible. The boards of the second volume, which spans the period from March 1, 1832, to October 7, 1833, are similarly worn (spine perished), but it is likewise tightly bound with interior pages in excellent condition; it contains approximately 300 manuscript pages. Finally, the last volume runs from May 1, 1833, through July 1, 1834. It therefore overlaps for several months with the second volume, which served as more of a day book. This third volume is the largest of the group, holding approximately 400 pages of manuscript entries. Its boards are also in much better condition than the other two volumes, and its spine is sound.

We trace no auction records for any directly comparable materials, nor has our exhaustive research located any such materials ever offered in the trade, particularly at the scale of these three volumes. The nearest comparable is a 140-page account book documenting inventory purchased by merchant James Aull of Independence, Missouri, from January 1827 to December 1828; this volume brought $14,400 at a Swann Galleries sale in 2007. **The John Lee & Company ledgers thus provide a rare opportunity for scholars--an exceptionally rich and previously unknown source that illuminates St. Louis's role at the heart of the early steamboat trade**.

Relevant sources:

Buchanan, Thomas C.
2004 *Black Life on the Mississippi: Slaves, Free Blacks, and the Western Steamboat World*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Gudmestad, Robert
2011 *Steamboats and the Rise of the Cotton Kingdom*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Hunter, Louis C.
1949 *Steamboats on the Western Rivers: An Economic and Technological History*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Primm, James Neal
1998 *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980*. Third edition. Missouri Historical Society Press, Columbia.

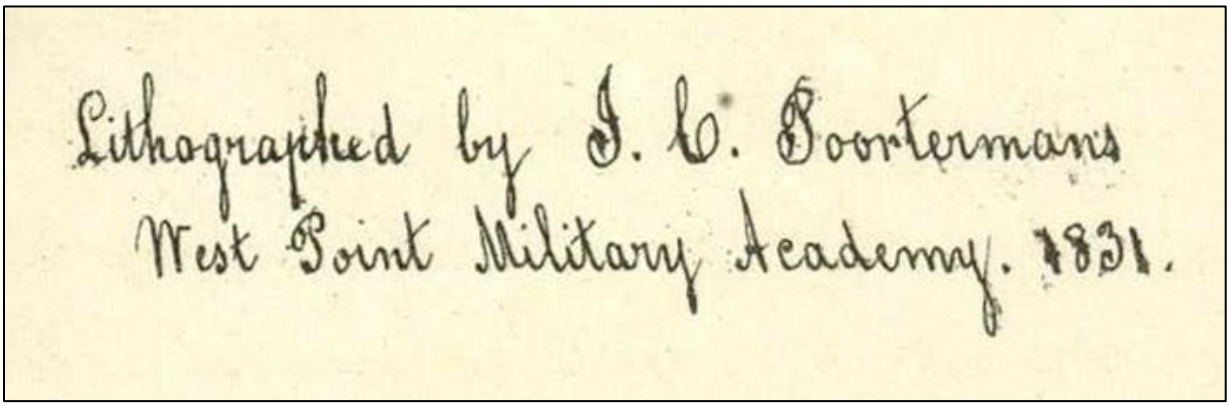
– –

[Missouri--St. Louis Steamboat Trade]: John Lee & Co. [THREE MANUSCRIPT LEDGERS OF ST. LOUIS COMMISSION MERCHANTS JOHN LEE & COMPANY, DOCUMENTING THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY STEAMBOAT TRADE]. St. Louis, January 1, 1830-July 1, 1834. Three volumes, approximately 1050 pp., total. First two volumes 9 x 12 in. (23 x 30.5 cm); third volume 10 x 13 in. (25.5 x 33 cm). All three with reverse calf and tooled boards, moderate to heavy exterior wear, spines of first two volumes perished; interior pages fresh and entirely legible with occasional spotting and foxing. Overall about very good.

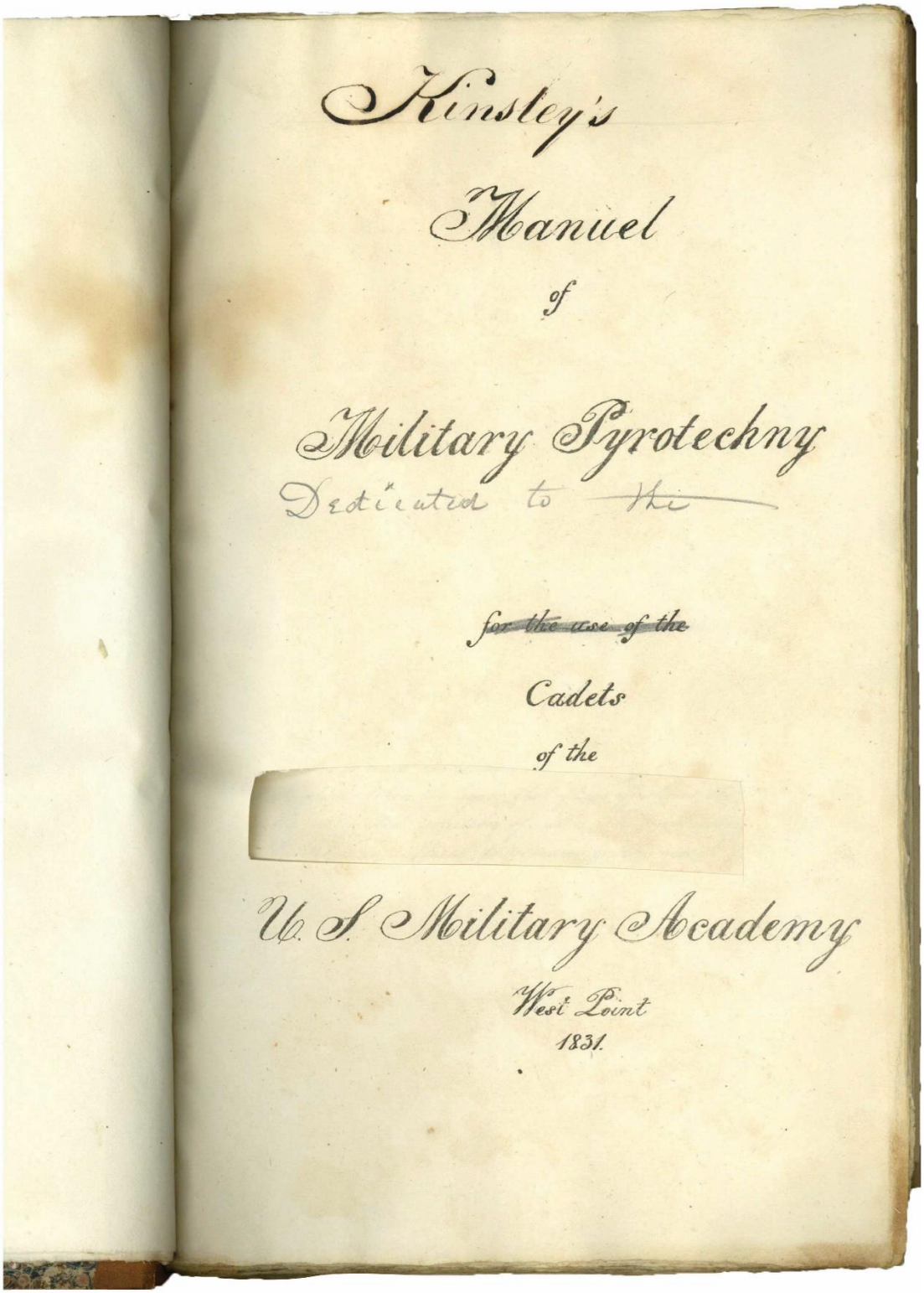
7. SOLD.

Kinsley's Manual of Military Pyrotechny, Lithographed at West Point, 1831

The first lithograph published in the United States appeared in the July 1819 issue of *The Analectic Magazine*, twenty years after German playwright Alois Senefelder invented the process in 1798. There were still just three commercial lithographic firms operating in the United States in 1825, with only eight presses among them. While lithographic illustrations regularly began to appear in a broad range of scientific and literary journals, gift books, and biographical, travel, and historical works, most all of this American lithography was produced in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. Perhaps the first such press to operate outside of these centers, and almost certainly the first intended for non-commercial work, was the shop established by Dutch lithographer and painter Johannes Cornelius Poortermans for the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1831, under the direction of military theorist and professor Dennis Hart Mahan. Poortermans' first and only production was the *Manual of Military Pyrotechny*, the largest and most elaborate of any technical work printed on the Academy's press. Folio in size and holding 56 pages of lithographed text and 24 folding lithographed plates, it is also among the scarcest--**only five copies of this, the 1831 true first edition, are recorded in institutional holdings**.



Very little is known either of Poorterman's work at West Point or the circumstances that brought him to the Academy. Indeed, several descriptions in bookseller, auction, and institutional catalogues mistakenly identify the 1832 second edition as the first (the respective title pages are entirely different lithographic productions). The press itself arrived in 1830 with Mahan, who had obtained it in Paris at the request of Sylvanus Thayer, the Academy's superintendent. Mahan had graduated from West Point in 1824, ranked first in his class, then was hired to teach the next cohort of cadets that very same autumn. After two years, and in deteriorating health, he was granted leave for travel to Europe, where he continued his studies in Metz at the School of Applied Artillery and Engineering. It was here that he developed his philosophy of military education, grounding his curriculum in extensive science, engineering, and mathematics, with a particular emphasis on the importance of industrial drawing. Although the lack of suitable American textbooks presented a challenge to his curricular ambitions, lithography offered a relatively affordable means for him to print such texts himself, being far cheaper than having the accompanying illustrations engraved on copper. He returned to New York on July 1, 1830, and was immediately assigned to duty at West Point as Assistant Professor of Engineering. That September, he accepted the title of Professor, a position he would hold for 39 years. His press began work soon after.



Kinsley's

Manuel

of

Military Pyrotechny

Dedicated to ~~the~~

~~for the use of the~~

Cadets

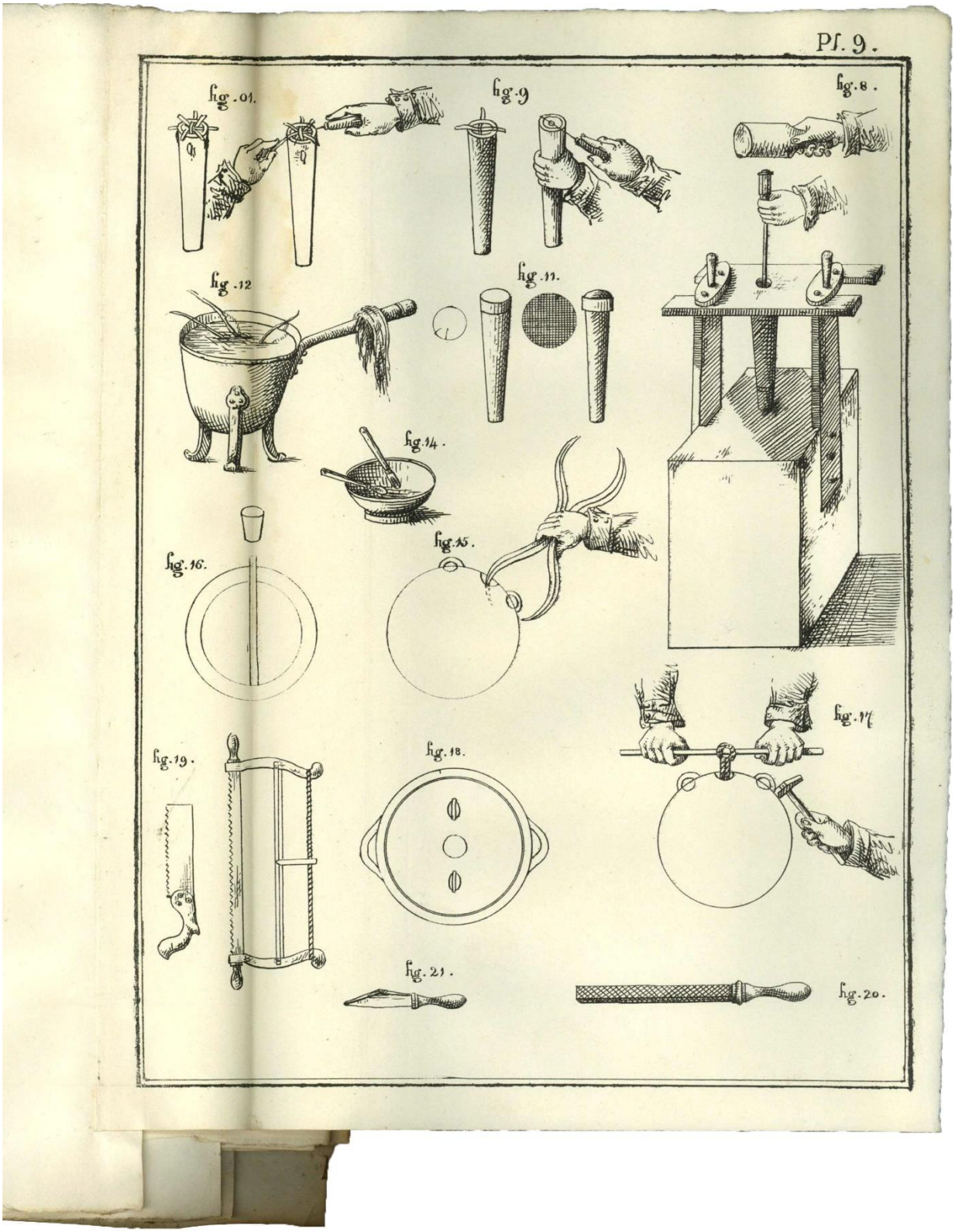
of the

[redacted]

U. S. Military Academy

West Point

1831.


Pl. 9.
fig. 01.
fig. 9
fig. 8.
fig. 12
fig. 11.
fig. 14.
fig. 15.
fig. 16.
fig. 17
fig. 19.
fig. 18.
fig. 21.
fig. 20.

As for the lithographer, J. C. Poortermans, he was born in the Netherlands in 1786, but we have traced nothing of his illustration work prior to the publication of this *Manual* in 1831. We suspect that Mahan met Poortermans in Europe, recruiting him to operate the Academy's newly acquired press. In any event, Poortermans's residence in America was brief, and so far as we can determine his only lithographic productions at West Point were the first and second editions of this impressive work. By July 1833, he was residing in Cape Colony, South Africa, actively pursuing his trades as painter and lithographer, anf for a period he appears to have been the only practicing lithographer there. While most details of his life--whether in Europe, the United States, or South Africa--are lost to us today, the watercolor lithographs he produced in Cape Town and Piketberg are considered among the rarest and most important such views of early South Africa, with small collections of his work curated at the Africana Museum in Johammesburg and at both the National Library of South Africa and the Library of Parliament in Cape Town.

The *Manual of Military Pyrotechny* was written by Zebina J. D. Kinsley, who was assistant instructor of infantry tactics at West Point front 1820 to 1835 (the work has sometimes mistakenly been attributed to Miner Knowleton, the Academy's instructor of artillery and cavalry for much of this same period). Its printed text was lithographed from Kinsley's manuscript, and its 24 plates were reproduced from accomplished line drawings that illustrate the manufacturing processes for numerous explosive devices and forms of military ordnance. The *Manual* was reprinted at West Point through the 1840s, if not beyond; the plates in editions after the second of 1832 are initialed "GA" for Poortermans's replacement, George Aspinwall. Intended for the exclusive use of West Point cadets, all editions had very small print runs and are quite rare today. **We trace no auction records for the 1831 first edition and locate only five institutions holding copies** (the Hagley Library, NYPL, USMA, UVA, and Princeton).

The copy that we are offer here was issued to Cadet Thomas M. Hill of Bath, Maine, who arrived at West Point in 1828 and graduated in 1832. Upon graduation he was assigned to the 1st Infantry at Fort Crawford in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin Territory. Hill attained the rank of 1st Lieutenant in 1837, but he returned home to Bath and died there of unknown causes, while still on

duty, in 1839. The full body sketch of a cadet in uniform, which we suspect is a portrait of Hill drawn from life, was accomplished in pencil on a blank sheet between the title page and the first leaf of text. Save for a small rectangle cut from the title page (with no loss of text), this copy of Kinsley's *Manual* is entirely in original condition, its spine and boards still clean and fresh, its plates and text practically as-issued. **A superb copy of this rare work, an early and ambitious example of American scientific lithography.**

Relevant sources:

Barnhill, Georgia B.
2010 Commercial Nineteenth-Century American Lithography: An Economic History. Paper presented at "Representations of Economy: Lithography in America from 1820 to 1860." The Ninth Annual Conference of the Program in Early American Economy and Society. Library Company of Philadelphia.

Griess, Thomas
1968 Dennis Hart Mahan: West Point Professor and Advocate of Military Professionalism. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History, Duke University, Durham.

Logel, John Scott
2016 *Designing Gotham: West Point Engineers and the Rise of Modern New York, 1817-1898*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Hacker, Barton C.
1993 Engineering a New Order: Military Institutions, Technical Education, and the Rise of the Industrial State. *Technology and Culture* 34(1):1-27.

Piola, Erika
2014 The Rise of Early American Lithography and Antebellum Visual Culture. *Winterthur Portfolio* 48(2/3):125-137.

– –

Kinsley, Zebina J. D. MANUAL OF MILITARY PYROTECHNY, FOR THE USE OF THE CADETS OF THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY. Lithographed by J. C. Poortermans, West Point, New York, 1831. First Edition. Title, blank leaf, and 56 pp. of lithographed text followed by 24 folding lithographed plates. Small folio. Bound in original marbled boards and roan spine with tips. Kinsley's name added in ink above lithographed title, in same manuscript style, at top of title page; rectangular piece cut from title with no loss of printed text. Very light occasional foxing, otherwise an exceptionally bright and clean copy. Very good.

8. SOLD.

The Knickerbocker, or New-York Monthly Magazine: A Unique Broadside

The term "knickerbocker,' which has come to reference anything pertaining to New York City, was already old in 1809 when Washington Irving borrowed it for his nom de plume, Dietrich Knickerbocker, narrator of his satiric work *A History of New York from the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*. At the time of Irving's appropriation, it generally signified any New Yorker who traced descent from the first Dutch settlers. Only later, after publication of the comic *History*, did it come to be synonymous with the city and all of its residents. Moreover, the original Dutch name, Knickerbacker, had nothing to do with knickers, the short pants usually rolled at the knee we now associate with the word. Knickerbacker derived from 'knikker' or marble (of the sort that children play with) and 'bakker' or baker, thus marble baker. By 1833, when Charles Fenno Hoffman assumed the role of editor for a new periodical, *The Knickerbacker, or New-York Monthly Magazine*, the word had fully assumed its modern usage.

Hoffman resigned after seeing its first three issues to press, whereupon its publishers turned the magazine over to Samuel Daly Langtree and Timothy Flint, who would change the name to *Knickerbocker*. A year later, Lewis Gaylord Clark and Clement Edson bought the magazine and relaunched it with Clark at its helm, a position that he would hold for 25 years. Under Clark's able leadership, *The Knickerbocker* would become the most influential literary publication in the United States, featuring the work of such important authors as James Fennimore Cooper, William Cullen Bryant, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Gilmore Simms, Lydia Sigourney, Sarah J. Hale, Noah Webster, Fanny Kemble, and Washington Irving himself. This large broadside prospectus was issued by Clark and Edson in 1836, the second year of their ownership. **It is unique, and indeed, we trace no other surviving prospectus or broadside associated this iconic American magazine**.

Relevant sources:

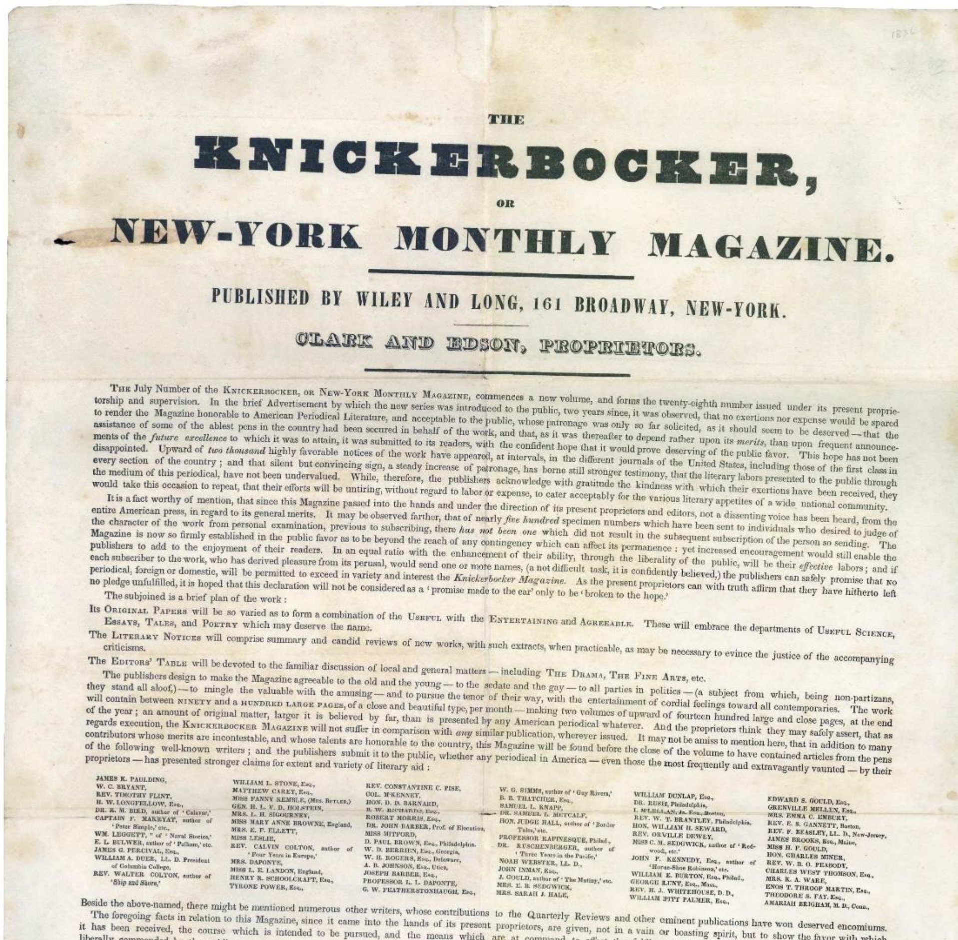
Chielens, Edward E.
1986 *American Literary Magazines: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Greenwood Press, New York.

Lorang, Elizabeth
2013 The Knickerbocker Magazine. In *Encyclopedia of American Literature*, edited by George Parker Anderson (principal editor). Third edition. Manly, Inc., New York.

– –

[New York--Literary Magazines]: THE / KNICKERBOCKER / OR / NEW-YORK MONTHLY MAGAZINE [caption title]. N.p., n.d., but New York, 1836. Wiley and Long, Publishers, 161 Broadway, New-York. Broadside. 13 x 22 in. (33 x 56 cm). Light wrinkling and edge wear, old folds, paper with scattered foxing, untrimmed. Very good.

9. **$1250**.



THE

KNICKERBOCKER,

OR

NEW-YORK MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

PUBLISHED BY WILEY AND LONG, 161 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK.

CLARK AND EDSON, PROPRIETORS.

THE July Number of the KNICKERBOCKER, OR NEW-YORK MONTHLY MAGAZINE, commences a new volume, and forms the twenty-eighth number issued under its present proprietorship and supervision. In the brief Advertisement by which the new series was introduced to the public, two years since, it was observed, that no exertions nor expense would be spared to render the Magazine honorable to American Periodical Literature, and acceptable to the public, whose patronage was only so far solicited, as it should seem to be deserved — that the assistance of some of the ablest pens in the country had been secured in behalf of the work, and that, as it was thereafter to depend rather upon its *merits*, than upon frequent announcements of the *future excellence* to which it was to attain, it was submitted to its readers, with the confident hope that it would prove deserving of the public favor. This hope has not been disappointed. Upward of *two thousand* highly favorable notices of the work have appeared, at intervals, in the different journals of the United States, including those of the first class in every section of the country; and that silent but convincing sign, a steady increase of patronage, has borne still stronger testimony, that the literary labors presented to the public through the medium of this periodical, have not been undervalued. While, therefore, the publishers acknowledge with gratitude the kindness with which their exertions have been received, they would take this occasion to repeat, that their efforts will be untiring, without regard to labor or expense, to cater acceptably for the various literary appetites of a wide national community.

It is a fact worthy of mention, that since this Magazine passed into the hands and under the direction of its present proprietors and editors, not a dissenting voice has been heard, from the entire American press, in regard to its general merits. It may be observed farther, that of nearly *five hundred* specimen numbers which have been sent to individuals who desired to judge of the character of the work from personal examination, previous to subscribing, there *has not been one* which did not result in the subsequent subscription of the person so sending. The Magazine is now so firmly established in the public favor as to be beyond the reach of any contingency which can affect its permanence: yet increased encouragement would still enable the publishers to add to the enjoyment of their readers. In an equal ratio with the enhancement of their ability, through the liberality of the public, will be their *effective* labors; and if each subscriber to the work, who has derived pleasure from its perusal, would send one or more names, (a not difficult task, it is confidently believed,) the publishers can safely promise that no periodical, foreign or domestic, will be permitted to exceed in variety and interest the *Knickerbocker Magazine*. As the present proprietors can with truth affirm that they have hitherto left no pledge unfulfilled, it is hoped that this declaration will not be considered as a 'promise made to the ear' only to be 'broken to the hope.'

The subjoined is a brief plan of the work:

Its ORIGINAL PAPERS will be so varied as to form a combination of the USEFUL with the ENTERTAINING and AGREEABLE. These will embrace the departments of USEFUL SCIENCE, ESSAYS, TALES, and POETRY which may deserve the name.

The LITERARY NOTICES will comprise summary and candid reviews of new works, with such extracts, when practicable, as may be necessary to evince the justice of the accompanying criticisms.

The EDITORS' TABLE will be devoted to the familiar discussion of local and general matters — including THE DRAMA, THE FINE ARTS, etc.

The publishers design to make the Magazine agreeable to the old and the young — to the sedate and the gay — to all parties in politics — (a subject from which, being non-partizans, they stand all aloof,) — to mingle the valuable with the amusing — and to pursue the tenor of their way, with the entertainment of cordial feelings toward all contemporaries. The work will contain between NINETY and a HUNDRED LARGE PAGES, of a close and beautiful type, per month — making two volumes of upward of fourteen hundred large and close pages, at the end of the year; an amount of original matter, larger it is believed by far, than is presented by any American periodical whatever. And the proprietors think they may safely assert, that as regards execution, the KNICKERBOCKER MAGAZINE will not suffer in comparison with *any* similar publication, wherever issued. It may not be amiss to mention here, that in addition to many contributors whose merits are incontestable, and whose talents are honorable to the country, this Magazine will be found before the close of the volume to have contained articles from the pens of the following well-known writers; and the publishers submit it to the public, whether any periodical in America — even those the most frequently and extravagantly vaunted — by their proprietors — has presented stronger claims for extent and variety of literary aid:

JAMES K. PAULDING,
W. C. BRYANT,
REV. TIMOTHY FLINT,
H. W. LONGFELLOW, Esq.,
DR. R. M. BIRD, author of 'Calavar,'
CAPTAIN F. MARRYAT, author of 'Peter Simple,' etc.,
WM. LEGGETT, " of 'Naval Stories,'
E. L. BULWER, author of 'Pelham,' etc.
JAMES G. PERCIVAL, Esq.,
WILLIAM A. DUER, LL. D. President of Columbia College,
REV. WALTER COLTON, author of 'Ship and Shore,'

WILLIAM L. STONE, Esq.,
MATTHEW CAREY, Esq.,
MISS FANNY KEMBLE, (MRS. BUTLER,)
GEN. H. L. V. D. HOLSTEIN,
MRS. L. H. SIGOURNEY,
MISS MARY ANNE BROWNE, England,
MRS. E. F. ELLETT,
MISS LESLIE,
REV. CALVIN COLTON, author of 'Four Years in Europe,'
MRS. DAPONTE,
MISS L. E. LANDON, England,
HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, Esq.,
TYRONE POWER, Esq.,

REV. CONSTANTINE C. PISE,
COL. M'KENNEY,
HON. D. D. BARNARD,
B. W. RICHARDS, Esq.,
ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.,
DR. JOHN BARBER, Prof. of Elocution,
MISS MITFORD,
D. PAUL BROWN, Esq., Philadelphia,
W. D. BERRIEN, Esq., Georgia,
W. H. ROGERS, Esq., Delaware,
A. B. JOHNSON, Esq., Utica,
JOSEPH BARBER, Esq.,
PROFESSOR L. L. DAPONTE,
G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, Esq.,

W. G. SIMMS, author of 'Guy Rivers,'
B. B. THATCHER, Esq.,
SAMUEL L. KNAPP,
DR. SAMUEL L. METCALF,
HON. JUDGE HALL, author of 'Border Tales,' etc.
PROFESSOR RAFINESQUE, Philad.,
DR. RUSCHENBERGER, author of 'Three Years in the Pacific,'
NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D.,
JOHN INMAN, Esq.,
J. GOULD, author of 'The Mutiny,' etc.
MRS. E. B. SEDGWICK,
MRS. SARAH J. HALE,

WILLIAM DUNLAP, Esq.,
DR. RUSH, Philadelphia,
I. M'LELLAN, Jr. Esq., Boston,
REV. W. T. BRANTLEY, Philadelphia,
HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
REV. ORVILLE DEWEY,
MISS C. M. SEDGWICK, author of 'Redwood,' etc.
JOHN P. KENNEDY, Esq., author of 'Horse-Shoe Robinson,' etc.
WILLIAM E. BURTON, Esq., Philad.,
GEORGE LUNT, Esq., Mass.,
REV. H. J. WHITEHOUSE, D. D.,
WILLIAM PITT PALMER, Esq.,

EDWARD S. GOULD, Esq.,
GRENVILLE MELLEN, Esq.,
MRS. EMMA C. EMBURY,
REV. E. S. GANNETT, Boston,
REV. F. BEASLEY, LL. D., New-Jersey,
JAMES BROOKS, Esq., Maine,
MISS H. F. GOULD,
HON. CHARLES MINER,
REV. W. B. O. PEABODY,
CHARLES WEST THOMSON, Esq.,
MRS. E. A. WARE,
ENOS T. THROOP MARTIN, Esq.,
THEODORE S. FAY, Esq.,
AMARIAH BRIGHAM, M. D., Conn.,

Beside the above-named, there might be mentioned numerous other writers, whose contributions to the Quarterly Reviews and other eminent publications have won deserved encomiums.

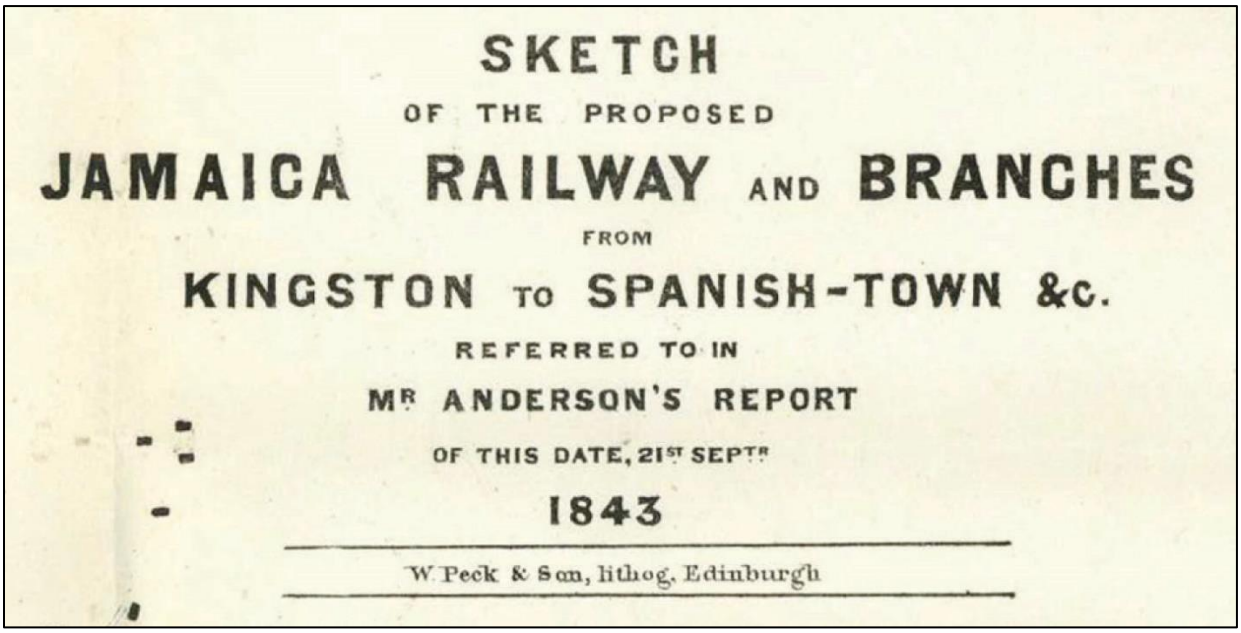
The foregoing facts in relation to this Magazine, since it came into the hands of its present proprietors, are given, not in a vain or boasting spirit, but to show the favor with which it has been received, the course which is intended to be pursued, and the means which are at command to effect the fulfilment of the promise assumed by the work, and so liberally commended by the public.

For the first time, and in consideration of the approaching commencement of a new volume, a few of the many favorable opinions which have been expressed by some of the most prominent American and English journals concerning this Magazine, are ventured below:

Item 9

The Jamaica Railway Company's 1844 *Prospectus*, with a Lithographed Map

The United States became the first nation in the Western Hemisphere to enter the railroad age in 1830, when the first section of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad opened between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills. A year later, the line was extended as far as Frederick, and a steam-powered locomotive replaced the horses that pulled its cars. Next were Canada and Cuba, which launched their first steam railroads in 1836 and 1837, respectively. The fourth such nation in the Americas launched its own railroad in 1845, with a 14.5 mile line between Kingston and Spanish Town on the island of Jamaica. Proposed in 1843 by William Smith of Manchester, England, a West Indies merchant who owned land in Jamaica, and his brother David, a resident sugar planter, the railway was intended both to move agricultural products into Kingston--particularly sugar--and to promote the construction of sugar mills in the interior. The brothers hired James Anderson, a civil engineer from Edinburgh who had lived on the island for several years and was familiar with the region, to survey and prepare a map of the route and to provide an estimate of the construction costs. On February 24, 1844, they issued this *Prospectus* for the Jamaica Railway Company, illustrated with Anderson's map, lithographed and carefully hand-colored. **Despite its profound significance for the history of rail development in the Americas, this appears to be the only surviving copy of either the *Prospectus* or Anderson's large and striking map**.

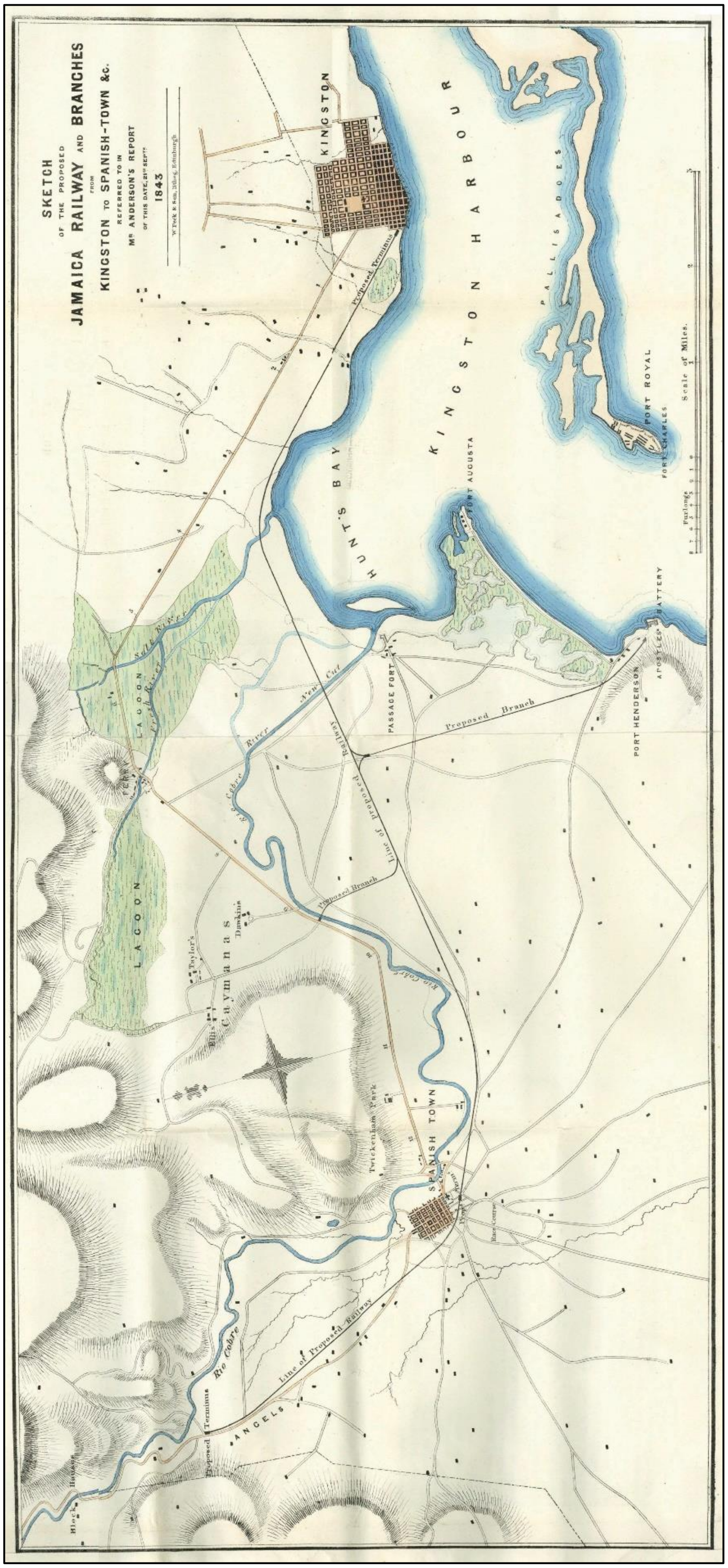


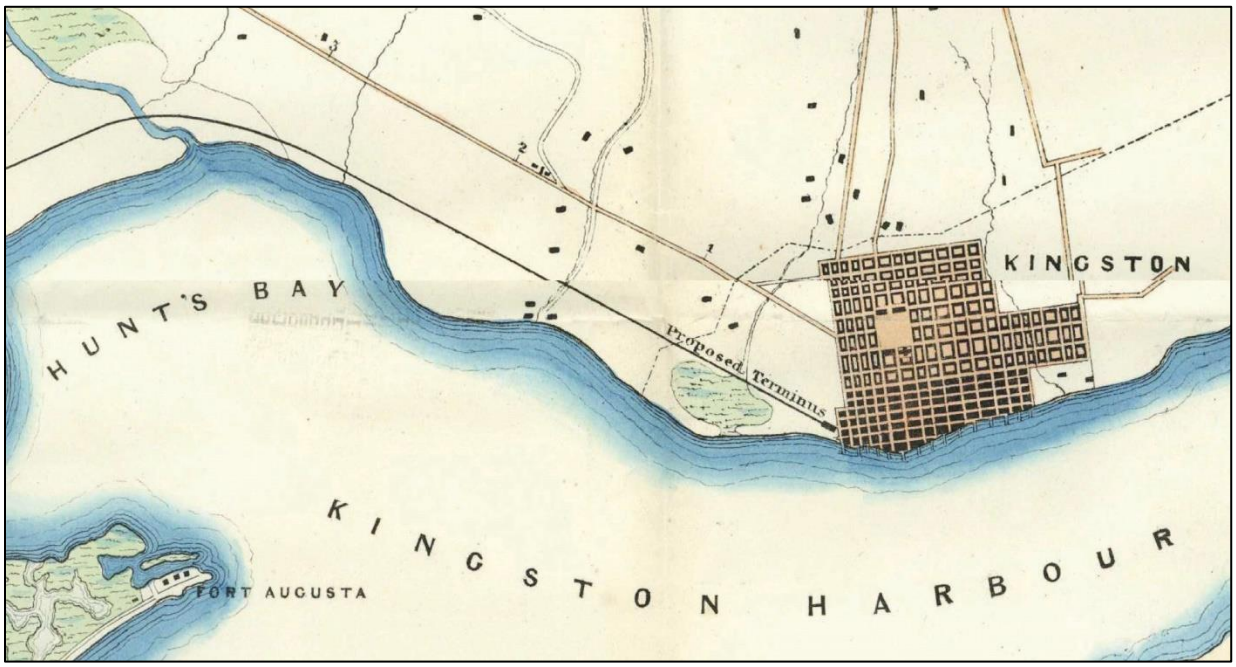
Jamaica was entering a period of economic transformation when the Smith brothers began to develop their ideas for a railway. Oliver Cromwell's England had seized the island from Spain in 1655, a transfer that became official after the Treaty of Madrid in 1670. For most of the next century and a half, Jamaica's economy was dominated by an extremely lucrative monoculture, the production of sugar cane. Dutch planters, migrating north after their expulsion from Brazil by the Portuguese in 1654, had introduced sugar cultivation throughout the Caribbean, and by the early 18th century Jamaica had surpassed Barbados as Britain's wealthiest colony in the Americas. Yet the sugar plantation system favored by the Dutch required far more labor than the island's system

JAMAICA RAILWAY COMPANY.

1844.

PROSPECTUS.

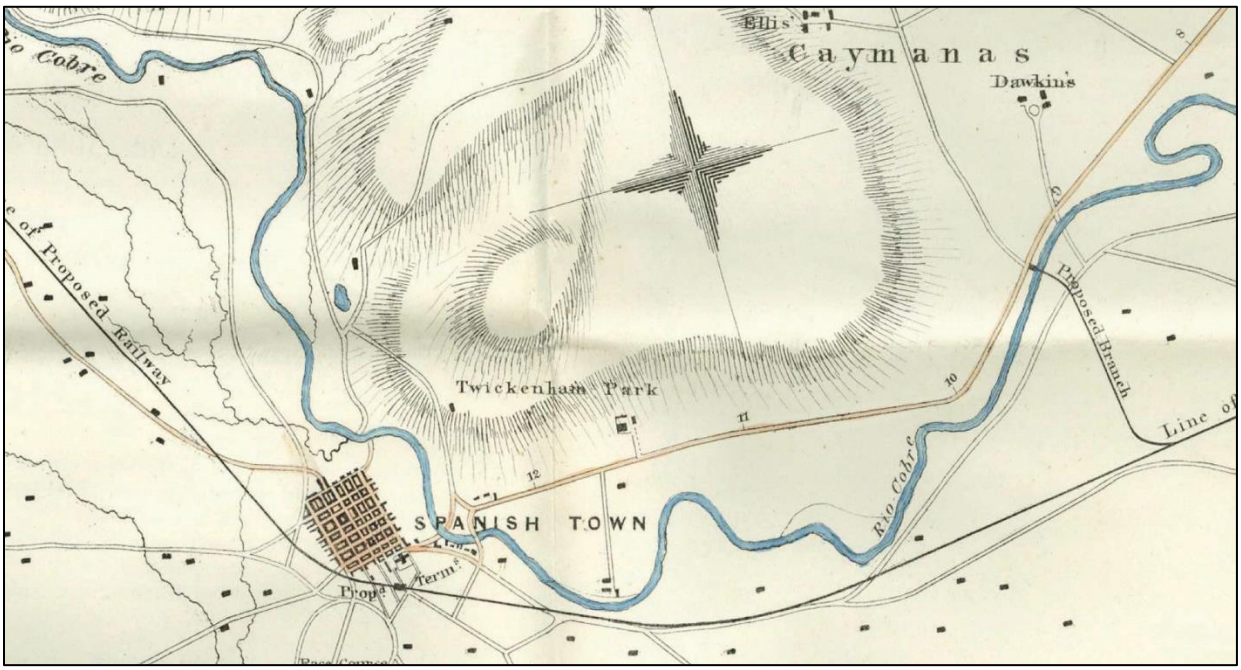

SKETCH
OF THE PROPOSED
JAMAICA RAILWAY AND BRANCHES
FROM
KINGSTON TO SPANISH-TOWN &c.
REFERRED TO IN
MR ANDERSON'S REPORT
OF THIS DATE, 21ST SEPT.
1843
KINGSTON
KINGSTON HARBOUR
HUNT'S BAY
PALLISADOES
PORT ROYAL
FORT CHARLES
FORT AUGUSTA
APOSTLES BATTERY
PORT HENDERSON
PASSAGE FORT
Proposed Branch
Line of proposed Railway
LAGOON
Caymanas
SPANISH TOWN
Twickenham Park
Rio Cobre
ANGELS
Proposed Terminus
Scale of Miles



of small farms and free labor could sustain. The resulting labor demands drove explosive growth in the transatlantic slave trade. Slave traders and plantation owners brought hundreds of thousands of Africans to Jamaica during the 18th century, such that by 1830 the ratio of enslaved Africans to slave owners approached the astonishing figure of 33:1. In 1831, as many as 60,000 of the island's 300,000 slaves joined a rebellion known as the Baptist War (so named for Sam Sharpe, an enslaved Baptist minister who led the uprising). As a direct result of the plantocracy's brutality in putting down the revolt, Britain's Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, which stipulated the unconditional end of all chattel slavery throughout the Empire by 1838.

Emancipation and the shift to a wage economy upended Jamaica's sugar cane industry, as Cuba and Brazil--its chief rivals in sugar production--still relied almost exclusively on the labor of enslaved Africans. William and David Smith thus hoped that a railway from Kingston to Spanish Town, from the island's main port to its seat of government with good access to the interior, would improve efficiency in transport and help to keep Jamaica's production and profitability on par with the pace of its surging competitors. In 1843, the Assembly of Jamaica approved the brothers' plan for a double track between the two towns, with branch lines running to Angels (just outside Spanish Town), Port Henderson, and the Caymanas sugar estate. With government approval, the Smiths hired Anderson to survey proposed routes and to prepare a report for potential investors, which he completed at Edinburgh in September 1843. The accompanying map was lithographed by W. Peck & Son of Edinburgh, and the *Prospectus* was issued in 1844.

The *Prospectus* of the Jamaica Railway Company, published in foolscap size, opens with an outline of the company's structure and organization, including a list of its Directors, Consulting Engineer, Bankers, and Solicitors, followed by an opening statement on the project's significance and feasibility, together with an application for purchasing shares (pp. 3-5); the statement is dated February 24, 1844, Liverpool. Anderson's Preliminary Report to the Committee is then submitted



as Appendix A. His report offers a description of the proposed main route together with the three branch lines, as well as an abstract of the probable estimate for construction, which he offered as £150,927 (pp. 7-10); the report is dated September 21, 1843, Edinburgh. Appendix B contains a summary of usage along the turnpike between Kingston and Spanish Town, indicating the potential revenue to be gained by a rail line (pp. 13-14). Finally, Appendix C reprints the Assembly's "Act for Making and Maintaining a RAILWAY from KINGSTON to SPANISH TOWN with liberty to continue the same to Angel's Pen or Plantation situate in the Parish of Saint Catherine's, and for other purposes." The large folding map is meticulous and visually appealing, containing abundant detail of the social and physical landscapes along the proposed routes. The gridded streets and lots of both Kingston and Spanish Town are carefully depicted in hand coloring, as are the roads and paths that crisscross the area between them. Topography is indicated by fine line hatching, while lagoons and marshes are indicated by hand coloring. It is a beautiful production. **As noted, we trace no other surviving copies of either the *Prospectus* or the map**.

Flush with capital from Britain, construction on the Jamaica Railway began later in 1844 and continued for more than a year. Then on November 21, 1845, the Governor of Jamaica, James Bruce, 8th Lord of Elgin, officially opened the main line between Kingston and Spanish Town. In attendance at the event were military officers, heads of the government's Departments of the Civil Service, and the wealthiest members of the community, all of whom were invited to ride as the first passengers. With great fanfare, the company's steam engine, *Projector*--built specifically for the Jamaica Railway by the Sharp Brothers of Manchester--pulled out from the newly constructed Kingston station pulling ten carriages filled with Jamaica's colonial elites. The Regimental Band occupied the last carriage and played music that added to the festivities, while crowds of onlookers lined the tracks for miles. It took one hour for *Projector* to travel the 14.5 miles between the two termini, including several short stops for passengers to view the impressive new bridge across the Rio Cobre and other well-known sites along the route.

Unfortunately for the company and its shareholders, though, Anderson had underestimated the cost of construction, which ballooned to more than £220,00 for the main line alone. While the Railway added several additional engines over the next five years, these initial deficits--combined with a decline in sugar fortunes during the late 1840s--limited the company's profitability. Despite extending the line another 12 miles to Old Harbour in 1869, its finances deteriorated further, and in 1879 the Smith brothers finally sold their railroad to the government. Whatever its ultimate fate as a business, its launch in 1845 made Jamaica just the fourth nation in the Western Hemisphere to open a steam-powered line, laying the foundations for nearly two centuries of continuous rail service across the island. **A unique and significant railroad incunabulum**.

Relevant sources:

Due, John F.
1985 *The Jamaica Railway: A Preliminary Survey*. Faculty Working Paper No. 1152, College of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
Forsythe, H. G.
1967 *Railways of Jamaica: An Outline History.* The Jamaica Railway Society, Kingston.
Green, William A.
1976 *British Slave Emancipation: The Sugar Colonies and the Great Experiment, 1830-1865*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Harter, Jim
2005 *World Railways of the Nineteenth Century, A Pictorial History in Victorian Engravings*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
Horsford, James
2010 *The Railways of Jamaica*. Mainline & Maritime Limited, Wiltshire.
Roxsburgh, T. L., and Joseph C. Ford
1899 *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1899: Published by Authority, Comprising Historical, Statistical, and General Information Concerning the Island*. Government Printing Office (Jamaica), Kingston.

– –

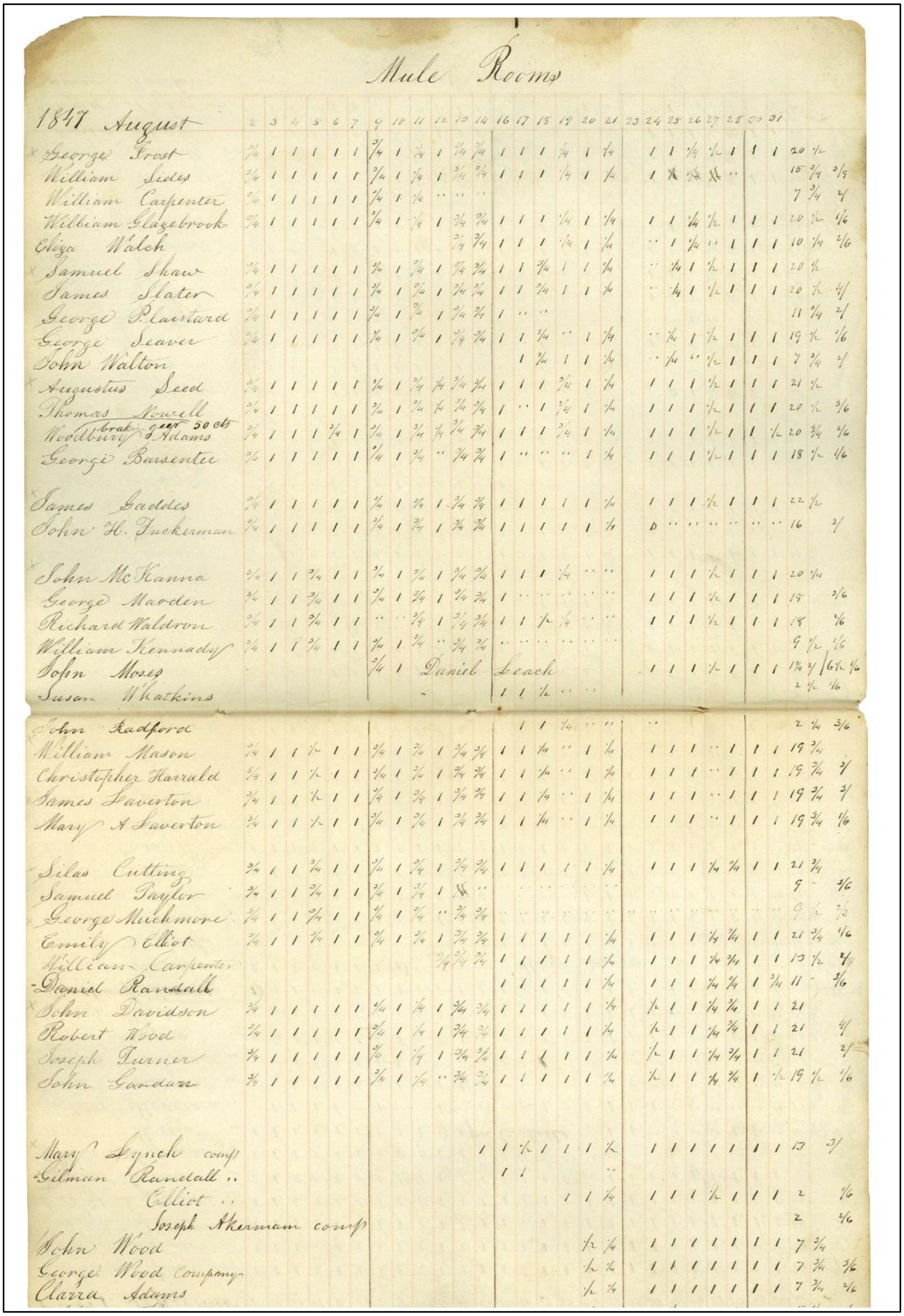
JAMAICA RAILWAY COMPANY. 1844. PROSPECTUS. [Edinburgh, Scotland, February 24, 1844]. [16]pp. (including self wraps) on folded foolscap. 4to (34 cm). Large lithographed map with handcoloring of proposed route between Kingston and Spanish Town, 24 x 11 in. (61 x 28 cm). Stitched in self wraps, as issued. Old horizontal folds and light wrinkling. Very good.

10. SOLD.

Minding the Mule Rooms: Child Labor in the Industrializing North

Despite increasing activism throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, the industrial use of children's labor remained legal in the United States until 1938, when Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act. The FLSA mandated that children under the age of 14 could not be employed for non-agricultural work and that children between the ages of 14 and 16 could only be employed for a limited number of hours and for a limited range of approved jobs. With its passage, one of the darkest and most brutal chapters in America's industrial revolution drew to a close, one that deprived millions of children of youth and cost them their education, their health, and far too often their lives. Of all the industries that thrived on child labor in the century from 1830 to 1930, few did so as prominently and pervasively as textiles. Although today it is common to associate textile mills and child labor with the post-Civil War South, the history of such exploitation began in New England, with the founding of the first steam-powered mills during the late 1820s. And in no part of the textile mill was child labor more important than in the mule rooms.

The mule was, as Anthony F. C. Wallace describes it, "the supreme machine of the spinning industry" (1978:140). Developed by Samuel Crompton in Lancashire, England, in 1779, it was so



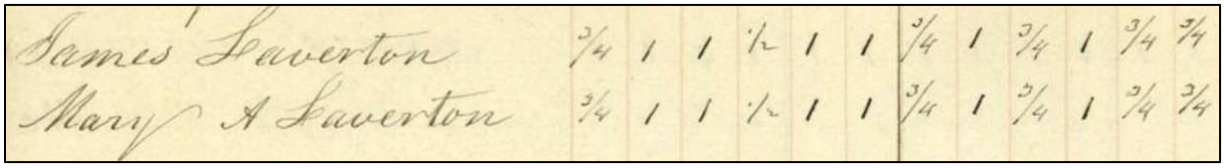
Mule Rooms

1847 August

George Frost
William Sides
William Carpenter
William Glazebrook
Eliza Walch
Samuel Shaw
James Slater
George Plaistard
George Seaver
John Walton
Augustus Seed
Thomas Nowell
Woodbury Adams — brak geer 50 cts
George Barsentee
James Geddes
John H. Tuckerman
John McKanna
George Marden
Richard Waldron
William Kennady
John Moses — Daniel Leach
Susan Whatkins
John Radford
William Mason
Christopher Harrald
James Laverton
Mary A Laverton
Silas Cutting
Samuel Taylor
George Muchmore
Emily Elliot
William Carpenter
Daniel Randall
John Davidson
Robert Wood
Joseph Turner
John Gardam
Mary Lynch comp
Gilman Randall ..
Elliot ..
Joseph Akerman comp
John Wood
George Wood Company
Clara Adams

called because--like the hybrid offspring of a horse and a donkey--it crossbred the water frame of Richard Arkwright and the spinning jenny of James Hargreaves. Crompton's spinning mule would revolutionize the textile industry by allowing one person to manage more than a thousand spindles simultaneously By the 1830s, after decades of further development, it was "one of the largest and most complex mechanical devices ever made by man" (Wallace 1978:142). So essential was it to the operation of any mill that the mule spinner or minder (almost always a man, due to the physical strength needed to push and control its carriage) was the highest-paid worker on the floor. Minders were assisted by teams of several young boys or girls: the piecers, who repaired broken threads at the end of a run; the creel attenders, who supplied the mule with bobbins for holding thread; and the scavengers, who ducked under the growing sheet of yarn between carriage and frame to collect fuzzballs and broken ends, as well as to keep the space free of dirt.

This pay ledger records working hours, six days a week, for dozens of mule room workers from August 1847 to February 1849. No town or city is indicated, but we have nonetheless traced it to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, by cross-referencing the names of the identified laborers (via ancestry.com). For example, 35 out of 42 workers recorded in the entries for August 1847 match residents of Portsmouth in the period from 1840-1860; most of these are listed as such in the 1850 census. Moreover, all save one of these workers were born between 1831 and 1837--making them 10 to 16 years of age at the time of these ledger entries--and the great majority (n=24) were born in the narrower range of 1832 to 1835. Most, that is, were 12 to 15 years of age. The only worker outside of this age range, John Gaddes, was born in England in 1808 and is recorded in the 1850 census as a spinner. Gaddes was clearly the minder for the group. Gender patterns are also quite interesting, with only one young girl for each boy listed. And while most of these children were born in New Hampshire and Maine, others were from Ireland, England, and Canada.



Given both time and place, we believe that this ledger tracked the labor of workers at the Portsmouth Steam Factory, construction of which began in 1845 and was completed the following year. Contemporary newspapers described its central structure as the largest factory building in the world, and although this was probably hyperbole, it did feature 21,250 spindles and 420 looms run by a high pressure steam engine. The Portsmouth factory employed about 400 people during its peak years of production from about 1850 to 1860. **Primary source documentation of child labor in American textile mills, particularly from such an early date, is exceedingly scarce in recorded institutional holdings and all but non-existent in the history of the trade**. Significant and worthy of more extensive research.

Relevant sources:

Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd, James L. Leloudis, Robert R. Korstad, Mary Murphy, Lu Ann Jones
1987 *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Hindman, Hugh D.
2015 *Child Labor: An American History*. Routledge, London.

Honeyman, Katrina
2007 *Child Workers in England, 1780–1820: Parish Apprentices and the Making of the Early Industrial Labour Force*. Routledge, London.
Kulik, Gary, Roger Parks, and Theodore Z. Penn, editors
1982 *The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860*. MIT Press, Cambridge.
Rivard, Paul E.
2002 *A New Order of Things: How the Textile Industry Transformed New England*. University Press of New England, Hanover, NH.
McIntyre, W. D.
1960 Anglo-American Rivalry in the Pacific: The British Annexation of the Fiji Islands in 1874. *Pacific Historical Review* 29(4):361-380.
Wallace, Anthony F. C.
1978 *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution*. Knopf, New York.

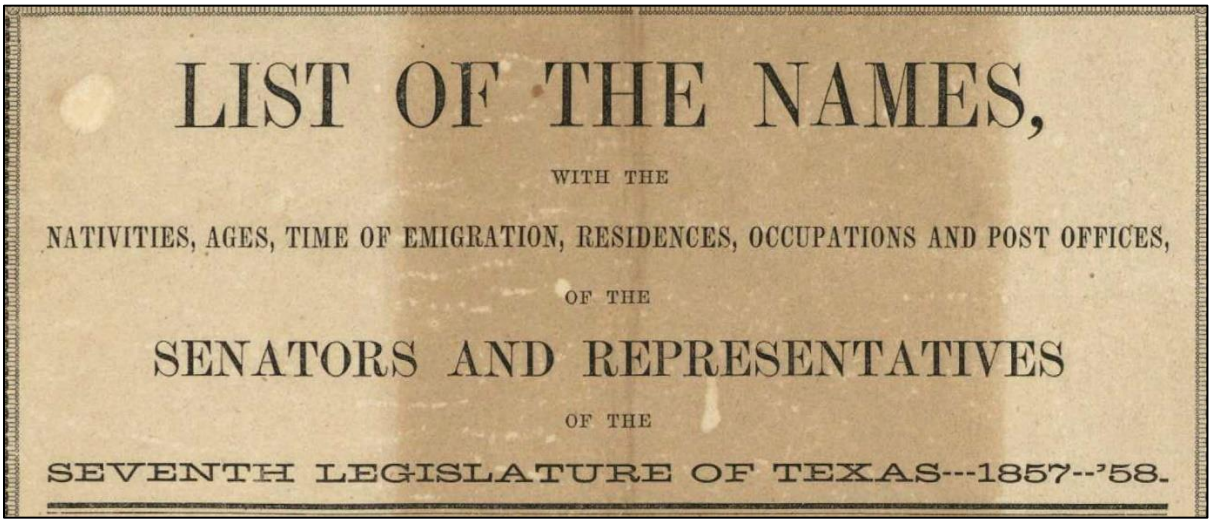
– –

[New Hampshire--Child Labor and Manufacturing]: [Portsmouth Steam Factory]: [LEDGER RECORDING THE LABOR OF MULE ROOM WORKERS, MOSTLY CHILDREN, AT THE PORTSMOUTH STEAM FACTORY, NEW HAMPSHIRE]. N.p., n.d., but Portsmouth, New Hampshire, August 1847-February 1849. Small 4to (xx cm). 40 manuscript pp. Original marbled paper covers detached but present, interior with scattered light staining, very good.

11. SOLD.

An Elephant Folio Broadside Announcing the Seventh Legislature of Texas

As its Seventh Legislature assembled in November 1857, the formerly independent nation of Texas was entering its second decade as the 28th state in the Union. Yet in less than five years it would reject this role for membership in another nation, the Confederate States of America. The 15 years between statehood and secession were dominated by war and the threat of war. Shortly after the United States had annexed Texas in December 1845, Mexico--still embittered by its loss of the rebellious province in 1836--had abruptly broken off relations with Washington. In a matter of months, the Mexican-American War was raging across the Rio Grande, culminating in Mexico's loss of the greater Southwest, including California. Thousands of new residents poured into Texas over the next several years, most migrating from the American South and bringing with them its cotton economy and bottomless demand for slave labor. For most Texans there was little debating the merits of slavery. The debating, instead, was how far the state's planters might go to maintain that cotton economy, up to and including rebellion. This large and extremely rare broadside was issued just as Texans were nearing the precipice. **Only one other copy is known**.


LIST OF THE NAMES,

WITH THE

NATIVITIES, AGES, TIME OF EMIGRATION, RESIDENCES, OCCUPATIONS AND POST OFFICES,

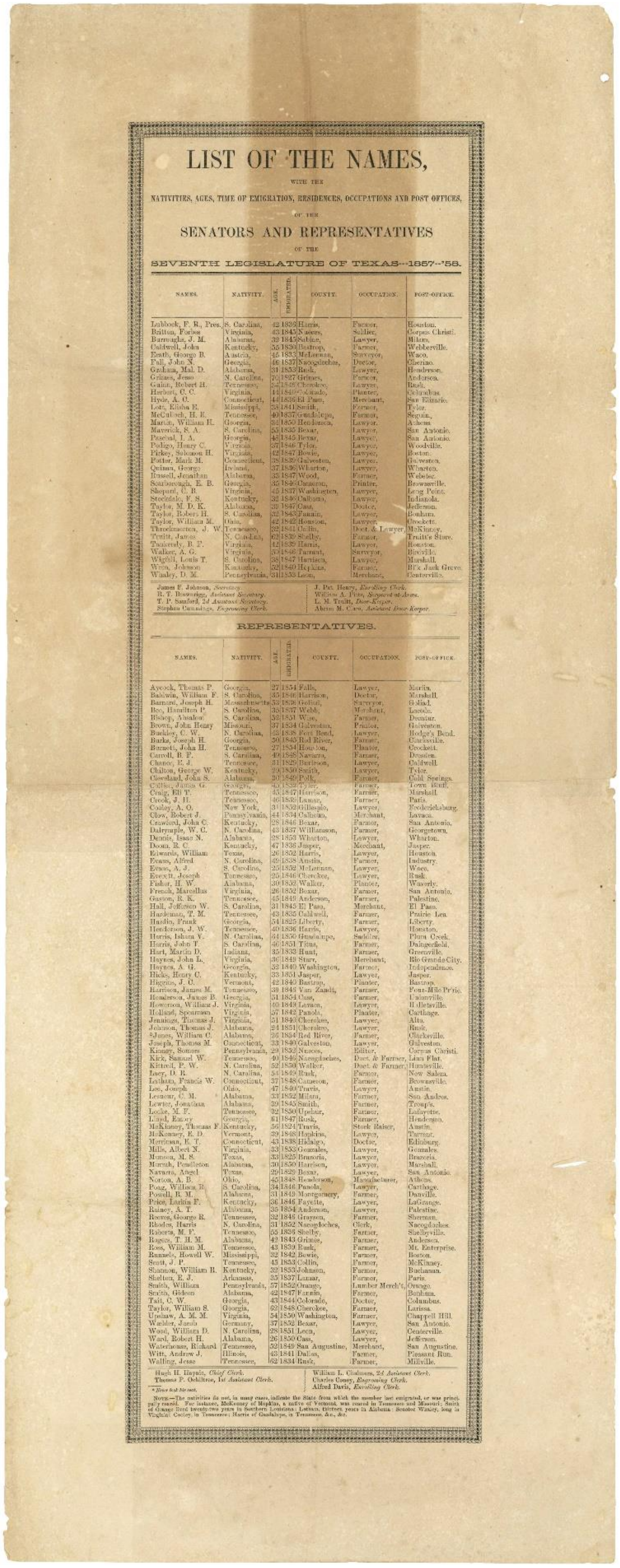
OF THE

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

SEVENTH LEGISLATURE OF TEXAS---1857--'58.

The 1857 gubernatorial campaign had pitted the greatest hero and longest serving politician in all Texas--certainly then if not today--against a cotton planter and Democratic party functionary who in normal times could have expected little more than a respectable showing. But these were anything but normal times. Sam Houston, as Commander-in-Chief of the Texan Army, had led his forces to victory against Mexico's Santa Ana two decades earlier, gaining independence in the process. He had served as the Republic's first elected President, then was elected again as the third President and served as U. S. senator from Texas after annexation. As senator, though, he voted against the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which broke the Missouri Compromise by tossing the decision on slavery in new territories to a popular vote of its citizens. This, together with his consistently anti-secessionist stance, was too much for most Texans. In August, Houston suffered his first and only electoral defeat at the hands of Hardin Richard Runnels, a states rights Democrat who won the governorship with nearly 58% of the vote, 32,552 to 23,628. Runnels had served as lieutenant governor under his predecessor, Elisha Pease, and was well known for his enthusiastic support of the fire breather's pro-slavery cause; indeed, he enslaved 39 people himself.



LIST OF THE NAMES,

WITH THE

NATIVITIES, AGES, TIME OF EMIGRATION, RESIDENCES, OCCUPATIONS AND POST OFFICES,

OF THE

SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES

OF THE

SEVENTH LEGISLATURE OF TEXAS---1857--'58.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	AGE.	EMIGRATED.	COUNTY.	OCCUPATION.	POST-OFFICE.
Lubbock, F. R., Pres.	S. Carolina,	42	1836	Harris,	Farmer,	Houston.
Britton, Forbes	Virginia,	43	1845	Nueces,	Soldier,	Corpus Christi.
Burroughs, J. M.	Alabama,	32	1845	Sabine,	Lawyer,	Milam,
Caldwell, John	Kentucky,	55	1830	Bastrop,	Farmer,	Webberville.
Erath, George B.	Austria,	45	1833	McLennan,	Surveyor,	Waco.
Fall, John N.	Georgia,	46	1837	Nacogdoches,	Doctor,	Cherino.
Graham, Mal. D.	Alabama,	31	1853	Rusk,	Lawyer,	Henderson.
Grimes, Jesse	N. Carolina,	70	1827	Grimes,	Farmer,	Anderson.
Guinn, Robert H.	Tennessee,	34	1848	Cherokee,	Lawyer,	Rusk.
Herbert, C. C.	Virginia,	44	1840	Colorado,	Planter,	Columbus.
Hyde, A. C.	Connecticut,	44	1836	El Paso,	Merchant,	San Elizario.
Lott, Elisha E.	Mississippi,	38	1841	Smith,	Farmer,	Tyler.
McCulloch, H. E.	Tennessee,	40	1837	Guadalupe,	Farmer,	Seguin,
Martin, William H.	Georgia,	34	1850	Henderson,	Lawyer,	Athens.
Maverick, S. A.	S. Carolina,	55	1835	Bexar,	Lawyer,	San Antonio.
Paschal, I. A.	Georgia,	48	1845	Bexar,	Lawyer,	San Antonio.
Pedigo, Henry C.	Virginia,	37	1846	Tyler,	Lawyer,	Woodville.
Pirkey, Solomon H.	Virginia,	42	1847	Bowie,	Lawyer,	Boston.
Potter, Mark M.	Connecticut,	38	1839	Galveston,	Lawyer,	Galveston.
Quinan, George	Ireland,	37	1836	Wharton,	Lawyer,	Wharton.
Russell, Jonathan	Alabama,	33	1847	Wood,	Farmer,	Webster.
Scarborough, E. B.	Georgia,	35	1846	Cameron,	Printer,	Brownsville.
Shepard, C. B.	Virginia,	45	1837	Washington,	Lawyer,	Long Point.
Stockdale, F. S.	Kentucky,	32	1846	Calhoun,	Lawyer,	Indianola.
Taylor, M. D. K.	Alabama,	39	1847	Cass,	Doctor,	Jefferson.
Taylor, Robert H.	S. Carolina,	32	1843	Fannin,	Lawyer,	Bonham.
Taylor, William M.	Ohio,	42	1842	Houston,	Lawyer,	Crockett.
Throckmorton, J. W.	Tennessee,	32	1841	Collin,	Doct. & Lawyer,	McKinney.
Truitt, James	N. Carolina,	62	1839	Shelby,	Farmer,	Truitt's Store.
Tankersly, B. F.	Virginia,	42	1839	Harris,	Lawyer,	Houston.
Walker, A. G.	Virginia,	39	1846	Tarrant,	Surveyor,	Birdville.
Wigfall, Louis T.	S. Carolina,	38	1847	Harrison,	Lawyer,	Marshall.
Wren, Johnson	Kentucky,	52	1840	Hopkins,	Farmer,	Bl'k Jack Grove.
Whaley, D. M.	Pennsylvania,	31	1853	Leon,	Merchant,	Centerville.

James F. Johnson, *Secretary.*
R. T. Brownrigg, *Assistant Secretary.*
T. P. Sanford, *2d Assistant Secretary.*
Stephen Cummings, *Engrossing Clerk.*
J. Pat. Henry, *Enrolling Clerk.*
William A. Pitts, *Sergeant-at-Arms.*
L. M. Truitt, *Door-Keeper.*
Abram M. Cain, *Assistant Door-Keeper.*

REPRESENTATIVES.

NAMES.	NATIVITY.	AGE.	EMIGRATED.	COUNTY.	OCCUPATION.	POST-OFFICE.
Aycock, Thomas P.	Georgia,	27	1854	Falls,	Lawyer,	Marlin.
Baldwin, William F.	S. Carolina,	35	1846	Harrison,	Doctor,	Marshall.
Barnard, Joseph H.	Massachusetts	53	1836	Goliad,	Surveyor,	Goliad.
Bee, Hamilton P.	S. Carolina,	35	1837	Webb,	Merchant,	Laredo.
Bishop, Absalom	S. Carolina,	52	1851	Wise,	Farmer,	Decatur.
Brown, John Henry	Missouri,	37	1834	Galveston,	Printer,	Galveston.
Buckley, C. W.	N. Carolina,	43	1838	Fort Bend,	Lawyer,	Hodge's Bend.
Burks, Joseph H.	Georgia,	30	1845	Red River,	Farmer,	Clarksville.
Burnett, John H.	Tennessee,	27	1854	Houston,	Planter,	Crockett.
Carroll, B. F.	S. Carolina,	49	1848	Navarro,	Farmer,	Dresden.
Chance, E. J.	Tennessee,	31	1829	Burleson,	Lawyer,	Caldwell.
Chilton, George W.	Kentucky,	29	1850	Smith,	Lawyer,	Tyler.
Cleveland, John S.	Alabama,	30	1849	Polk,	Farmer,	Cold Springs.
Collier, James G.	Georgia,	45	1852	Tyler,	Farmer,	Town Bluff.
Craig, Eli T.	Tennessee,	45	1847	Harrison,	Farmer,	Marshall.
Crook, J. H.	Tennessee,	46	1839	Lamar,	Farmer,	Paris.
Cooley, A. O.	New York,	31	1852	Gillespie,	Lawyer,	Fredericksburg.
Clow, Robert J.	Pennsylvania,	44	1834	Calhoun,	Merchant,	Lavaca.
Crawford, John C.	Kentucky,	28	1846	Bexar,	Farmer,	San Antonio.
Dalrymple, W. C.	N. Carolina,	43	1837	Williamson,	Farmer,	Georgetown.
Dennis, Isaac N.	Alabama,	28	1853	Wharton,	Lawyer,	Wharton.
Doom, R. C.	Kentucky,	47	1836	Jasper,	Merchant,	Jasper.
Edwards, William	Texas,	26	1852	Harris,	Lawyer,	Houston.
Evans, Alfred	N. Carolina,	49	1838	Austin,	Farmer,	Industry.
Evans, A. J.	S. Carolina,	25	1852	McLennan,	Lawyer,	Waco.
Everett, Joseph	Tennessee,	25	1846	Cherokee,	Lawyer,	Rusk.
Fisher, H. W.	Alabama,	30	1852	Walker,	Planter,	Waverly.
French, Marcellus	Virginia,	26	1852	Bexar,	Farmer,	San Antonio.
Gaston, R. K.	Tennessee,	45	1849	Anderson,	Farmer,	Palestine.
Hall, Jefferson W.	S. Carolina,	31	1845	El Paso,	Merchant,	El Paso.
Hardeman, T. M.	Tennessee,	43	1835	Caldwell,	Farmer,	Prairie Lea.
Hardin, Frank	Georgia,	54	1825	Liberty,	Farmer,	Liberty.
Henderson, J. W.	Tennessee,	40	1836	Harris,	Lawyer,	Houston.
Harris, Isham Y.	N. Carolina,	64	1850	Guadalupe,	Saddler,	Plum Creek.
Harris, John T.	S. Carolina,	46	1851	Titus,	Farmer,	Daingerfield.
Hart, Martin D.	Indiana,	35	1833	Hunt,	Farmer,	Greenville.
Haynes, John L.	Virginia,	36	1849	Starr,	Merchant,	Rio Grande City.
Haynes, A. G.	Georgia,	52	1840	Washington,	Farmer,	Independence.
Hicks, Henry C.	Kentucky,	33	1851	Jasper,	Lawyer,	Jasper.
Higgins, J. C.	Vermont,	42	1840	Bastrop,	Planter,	Bastrop.
Harrison, James M.	Tennessee,	39	1846	Van Zandt,	Farmer,	Four-Mile Pr'rie.
Henderson, James B.	Georgia,	51	1854	Cass,	Farmer,	Unionville.
Howerton, William J.	Virginia,	40	1849	Lavaca,	Lawyer,	Hallettsville.
Holland, Spearman	Virginia,	57	1842	Panola,	Planter,	Carthage.
Jennings, Thomas J.	Virginia,	51	1840	Cherokee,	Lawyer,	Alto.
Johnson, Thomas J.	Alabama,	24	1851	Cherokee,	Lawyer,	Rusk.
*Jones, William C.	Alabama,	26	1854	Red River,	Farmer,	Clarksville.
Joseph, Thomas M.	Connecticut,	33	1840	Galveston,	Lawyer,	Galveston.
Kinney, Somers	Pennsylvania,	29	1852	Nueces,	Editor,	Corpus Christi.
Kirk, Samuel W.	Tennessee,	40	1846	Nacogdoches,	Doct. & Farmer,	Linn Flat.
Kittrell, P. W.	N. Carolina,	52	1850	Walker,	Doct. & Farmer,	Huntsville.
Lacy, D. R.	N. Carolina,	54	1849	Rusk,	Farmer,	New Salem.
Latham, Francis W.	Connecticut,	37	1848	Cameron,	Farmer,	Brownsville.
Lee, Joseph	Ohio,	47	1840	Travis,	Lawyer,	Austin.
Lesueur, C. M.	Alabama,	33	1852	Milam,	Farmer,	San Andres.
Lewter, Jonathan	Alabama,	39	1845	Smith,	Farmer,	Troup's.
Locke, M. F.	Tennessee,	32	1850	Upshur,	Farmer,	Lafayette.
Lloyd, Emory	Georgia,	61	1847	Rusk,	Farmer,	Henderson.
McKinney, Thomas F.	Kentucky,	56	1824	Travis,	Stock Raiser,	Austin.
McKenney, E. D.	Vermont,	39	1848	Hopkins,	Lawyer,	Tarrant.
Merriman, E. T.	Connecticut,	43	1838	Hidalgo,	Doctor,	Edinburg.
Mills, Albert N.	Virginia,	33	1853	Gonzales,	Lawyer,	Gonzales.
Munson, M. S.	Texas,	33	1825	Brazoria,	Lawyer,	Brazoria.
Murrah, Pendleton	Alabama,	30	1850	Harrison,	Lawyer,	Marshall.
Navarro, Angel	Texas,	29	1829	Bexar,	Lawyer,	San Antonio.
Norton, A. B.	Ohio,	45	1848	Henderson,	Manufacturer,	Athens.
Poag, William R.	S. Carolina,	34	1846	Panola,	Lawyer,	Carthage.
Powell, R. M.	Alabama,	31	1849	Montgomery,	Farmer,	Danville.
Price, Larkin F.	Kentucky,	36	1846	Fayette,	Lawyer,	LaGrange.
Rainey, A. T.	Alabama,	35	1854	Anderson,	Lawyer,	Palestine.
Reeves, George R.	Tennessee,	32	1846	Grayson,	Farmer,	Sherman.
Rhodes, Harris	N. Carolina,	31	1852	Nacogdoches,	Clerk,	Nacogdoches.
Roberts, M. F.	Tennessee,	55	1836	Shelby,	Farmer,	Shelbyville.
Rogers, T. H. M.	Alabama,	42	1843	Grimes,	Farmer,	Anderson.
Ross, William M.	Tennessee,	43	1839	Rusk,	Farmer,	Mt. Enterprise.
Runnels, Howell W.	Mississippi,	32	1842	Bowie,	Farmer,	Boston.
Scott, J. P.	Tennessee,	45	1853	Collin,	Farmer,	McKinney.
Shannon, William R.	Kentucky,	32	1853	Johnson,	Farmer,	Buchanan.
Shelton, E. J.	Arkansas,	35	1837	Lamar,	Farmer,	Paris.
Smith, William	Pennsylvania,	57	1852	Orange,	Lumber Merch't,	Orange.
Smith, Gideon	Alabama,	42	1847	Fannin,	Farmer,	Bonham.
Tait, C. W.	Georgia,	43	1844	Colorado,	Doctor,	Columbus.
Taylor, William S.	Georgia,	62	1848	Cherokee,	Farmer,	Larissa.
Upshaw, A. M. M.	Virginia,	54	1850	Washington,	Farmer,	Chappell Hill.
Waelder, Jacob	Germany,	37	1852	Bexar,	Lawyer,	San Antonio.
Wood, William D.	N. Carolina,	28	1851	Leon,	Lawyer,	Centerville.
Ward, Robert H.	Alabama,	26	1850	Cass,	Lawyer,	Jefferson.
Waterhouse, Richard	Tennessee,	52	1849	San Augustine,	Merchant,	San Augustine.
Witt, Andrew J.	Illinois,	43	1841	Dallas,	Farmer,	Pleasant Run.
Walling, Jesse	Tennessee,	62	1834	Rusk,	Farmer,	Millville.

Hugh H. Haynie, *Chief Clerk.*
Thomas P. Ochiltree, *1st Assistant Clerk.*
William L. Chalmers, *2d Assistant Clerk.*
Charles Coney, *Engrossing Clerk.*
Alfred Davis, *Enrolling Clerk.*

* *Since lost his seat.*

NOTE.—The nativities do not, in many cases, indicate the State from which the member last emigrated, or was principally reared. For instance, McKenney of Hopkins, a native of Vermont, was reared in Tennessee and Missouri; Smith of Orange lived twenty-two years in Southern Louisiana; Latham, thirteen years in Alabama; Senator Whaley, long in Virginia; Cooley, in Tennessee; Harris of Guadalupe, in Tennessee, &c., &c.

Such was the state of Texas politics when the legislature convened in Austin. There was broad consensus across the ideological spectrum on any number of issues, particularly those that pertained to internal order: frontier defense against Native Americans; protecting Mexican carters against attack from Anglo settlers who resented the competition; and obtaining compensation from the federal government for moving Native Americans to reservations. The Seventh Legislature also revised the state's slave codes and race control measures, establishing more severe penalties for inciting insurrection, illegally transporting slaves or abetting fugitives, and making marriage between blacks and whites a felony. It created no fewer than 37 new counties and passed an act establishing the University of Texas. Through all of these various acts and measures, though, the dark clouds of separatism hung over its deliberations, and the legislature of 1857 would be the last before those clouds finally burst. In 1859, Texas took a brief step back from the precipice, electing Sam Houston to the governorship over Runnels by a margin as great as Runnels's own two years before. But the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 made secession a foregone conclusion, and in January 1861 the Eighth Legislature bypassed Houston to validate a Secession Convention. The Texas Ordinance of Secession passed by a vote of 166 to 8. Governor Houston was removed from office, and Texas joined the Confederacy on March 4, 1861.

The impressive broadside that we offer here lists the names of all elected members of the Seventh Legislature, both senators and representatives, along with their native states, ages, year of emigration, county of residence, occupation, and nearest post office (where they could be reached by mail). **It measures 30 x 11 3/4 inches, and we can trace no larger surviving broadside from antebellum Texas**. No copies are listed in OCLC or RBH, but it is listed in the 11th installment of Winkler's "Check List of Texas Imprints, 1846-1876" (1945), which records a single example at the Texas State Library (not in the TSL online catalogue). **Rare and desirable**.

Relevant sources:

Carroll, Mark M.
2001 *Homesteads Ungovernable: Families, Sex, Race, and the Law in Frontier Texas, 1823-1860*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
Jillson, Calvin C.
2007 *Texas Politics: Governing the Lone Star State*. McGraw-Hill, New York.
Spaw, Patsy McDonald, editor
1990 *The Texas Senate, Volume 1: Republic to Civil War, 1836-1861*. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

– –

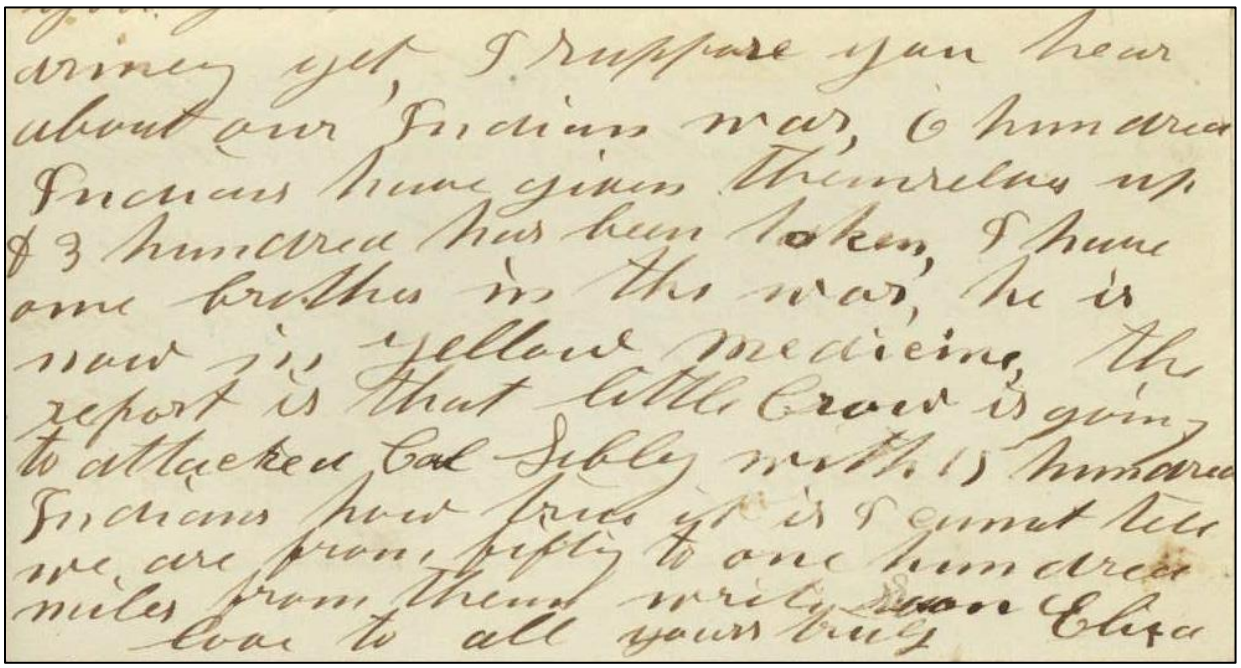
[Texas--Antebellum Government]: LIST OF THE NAMES… / OF THE / SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES / OF THE / SEVENTH LEGISLATURE OF TEXAS--1857-'58 [caption title]. N.p., n.d., but Austin, 1858. John Marshall & Co., State Printers. Broadside. 11 3/4 x 30 in. (30 x 76 cm). Toning and light scattered foxing with area of old offsetting, three closed tears measuring approx. 1 to 1 1/2 in., small chips along margins, horizontal fold across center. Overall very good. Winkler 1075.

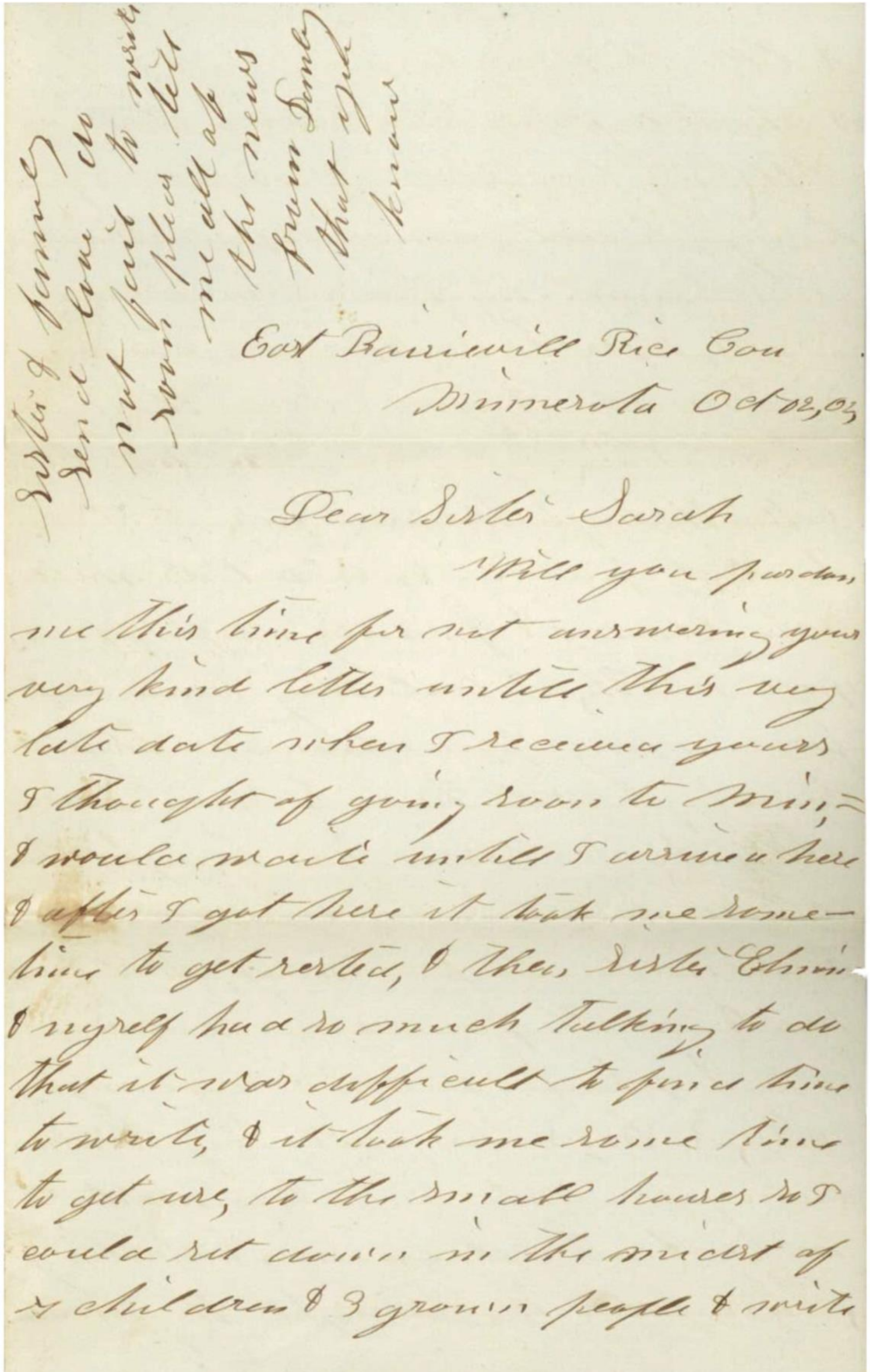
12. SOLD.

Rumors of the Dakota War: "Eliza" Writes Home from Minnesota

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

On August 17, the federal government's treaty payment arrived at Fort Ridgely near the Dakotas' reservation. It was already too late. That morning, four young Dakota men hunting near Acton Township--about 50 miles northeast of Flora--took eggs from a farm and then killed five white settlers. It was dark before the warriors slipped back to the reservation. Their chief, Red Middle Voice, listed to their account and concluded that war against the settlers might be preferable to facing the consequences of the Acton killings passively. He and his men traveled downstream to seek the support of Little Crow (Taoyateduta). Reluctantly, the great Sioux chief agreed to lead his people into a conflict he knew they could not win. At an impromptu meeting of war and peace chiefs in Little Crow's house, he told the assembly that the whites were like locusts, and that to kill one or a hundred meant nothing. The peace chiefs thought that in making the case against war




Sister if Jennie
Sends love do
not fail to write
soon please tell
me all of
the news
from Lima
that you
know

East Barriewill Rice Cou
Minnesota Oct 02, 03

Dear Sister Sarah
Will you pardon
me this time for not answering your
very kind letter untill this very
late date when I received yours
I thought of going soon to Min;
I would waite untill I arrived here
& after I got here it took me some-
time to get rested, & then sister Elmi
& myself had so much talking to do
that it was difficult to find time
to write, & it took me some time
to get use, to the small houses so I
could sit down in the midst of
7 children & 3 grown people & write

he was rejecting the cause of bloodshed. Yet Little Crow turned to the war chiefs, and over the din of the warriors gathering outside, is reported to have said "Taoyateduta is not a coward. He will die with you" (Schultz 1992:28). There was no turning back.

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

Of the estimated 1200 settlers in Renville County in 1862, more than 160 lost their lives in those 48 hours of August 17 and 18. More than 50 residents of Milford Township in neighboring Brown County were also killed, nearly wiping out the community. Another 200 settlers, mainly women and children, were taken hostage. Over the course of the next few weeks, at least 500 (and perhaps as many as 800) white settlers died, along with about 100 soldiers. Refugees numbered in the thousands. Little Crow, though, was not mistaken in his assessment of the conflict and its consequences for his people. After meeting almost no resistance early in their offensive, hundreds of Dakota warriors were repulsed at the battles of New Ulm and Fort Ridgley between August 20 and 23. Despite minor victories in the weeks that followed, their failure to win either engagement cost them their only chance of winning the war.

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

Yet when "Eliza" wrote this letter from Prairieville to "Sister Sarah" on October 2, just nine days after the Battle of Wood Lake, such an outcome seemed far from certain. Little Crow was still at large, and no one knew how many Dakota warriors remained at his side, preparing to launch a new round of attacks on exposed communities such as hers. Although the violence never reached as far east as Prairieville, located about 70 miles east of New Ulm, the rumors and doubt left most residents in a state of perpetual unease. Eliza appears to have been a recent emigrant to Minnesota and not yet at home in her new life there. She writes to Sarah that "I cannot say that I like the western country, or rather, the western people. The country is beautiful but the people are course & unrefined, most of them use profane language..." But the ongoing hostilities--and threat

of worse--weigh on her closing lines: "I suppose you hear about our Indian War, 6 hundred Indians have given themselves up, & 3 hundred has been taken. I have one brother in the war, he is now in Yellow Medicine, the report is that little Crow is going to attacked Col Sibley with 15 hundred Indians how true it is I cannot tell we are from fifty to one hundred miles from them..." **Personal correspondence regarding the Dakota War and its aftermath are quite scarce, with few such examples having appeared at auction or in the trade**. A rare and personal glimpse of the deep uncertainties pervading Minnesota's frontier near the end of the conflict.

Relevant sources:

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

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

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

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

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

– –

[Minnesota--Dakota War of 1862]: "Eliza": [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED FROM "ELIZA" OF EAST PRAIRIEVILLE, MINNESOTA, TO "SISTER SARAH," SHARING NEWS OF THE 1862 DAKOTA WAR]. East Prairieville, Minnesota, October 2, 1862. [4] pp. on a single folded sheet. Old folds, light scattered foxing and edge wear. Very good.

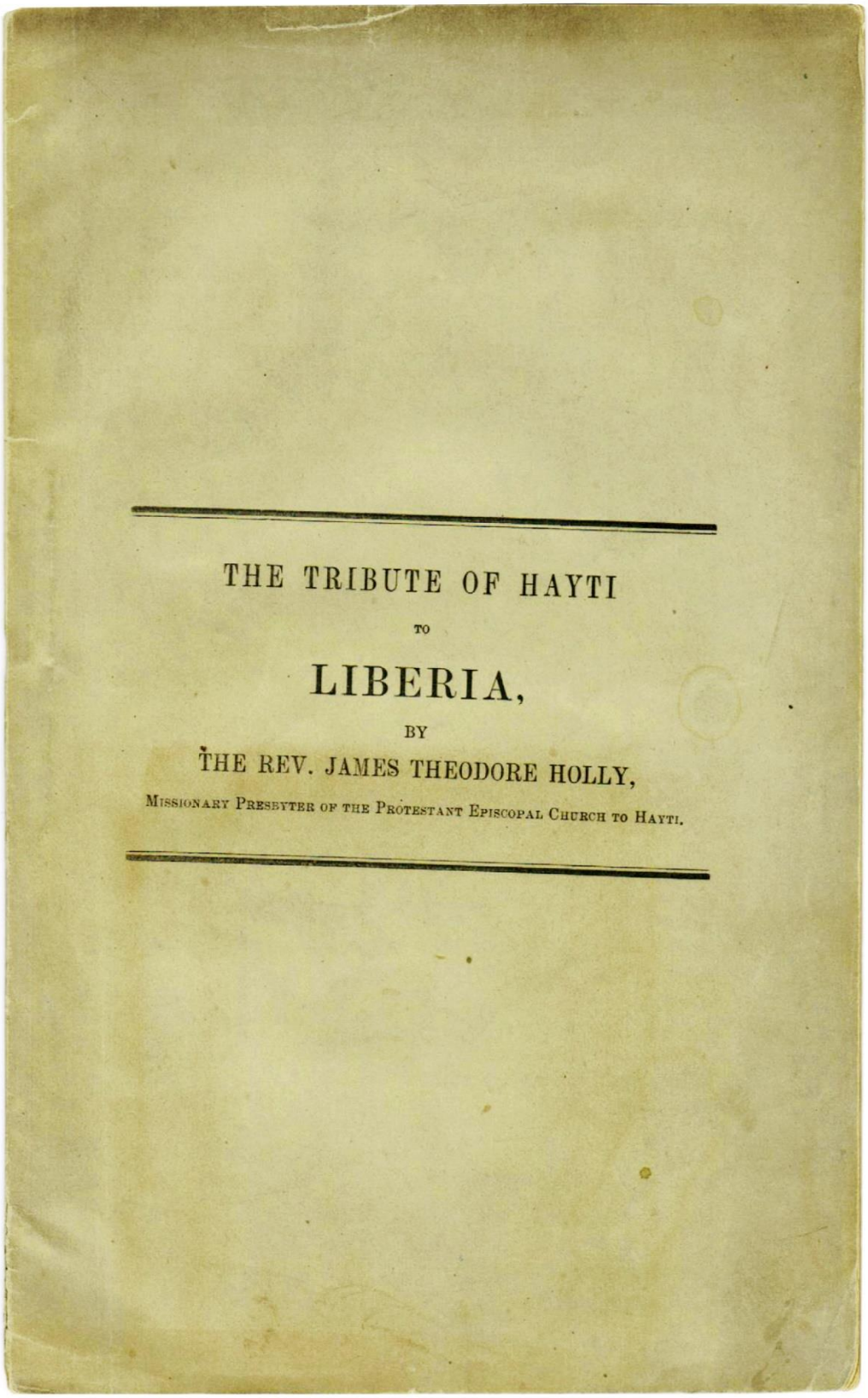
13. SOLD.

James Theodore Holly Eulogizes Francis Burns: The Second Known Copy

Bishops Francis Burns and James Theodore Holly were two of the most renowned African American clergymen of the 19th century. Burns--born into abject poverty in 1809--would become the first Black bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, elected in 1858 for his missionary work in Liberia. Sixteen years later, Holly became just the second African American bishop in a major Protestant Christian denomination, when he was consecrated as such by the Episcopal Church for his own work in Haiti. Following Burns's untimely death in 1863, Holly delivered a eulogy before his congregation in Port au Prince, and Philadelphia printer William F. Geddes published it in this rare pamphlet form shortly after. **One of two known copies, it is the only contemporary source that links these Black pillars of American Protestantism**.

Slavery was still legal in New York state in 1809, when Francis Burns was born to free but extremely poor parents in Albany. About 1813, they indentured him until the age of 21 to Greene County farmer Bennett Atwood, who promised in exchange to feed, clothe, and educate the young child. Atwood and his family were devout Methodists and did as they had promised, seeing to it that Burns received an early education in Windham's otherwise all-white school district. When he turned 15, he gained admission to nearby Lexington Heights Academy--again as the only Black student--where he felt that God had called him to prepare for the ministry. Burns pursued studies at Lexington Heights for just over a year, after which he began to teach in a local white school and was ordained to preach on the Methodist circuit around Windham, all the while remaining bound to Atwood. In 1830, just after he was released from the terms of his indenture, Burns impassioned testimony brought him to the attention of Rev. David Terry, a visiting official with the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Terry encouraged the young man to continue his study of theology and to pursue mission work among "his people" in Liberia, should an opportunity arise (Park 2001:44). Three years later, Terry introduced him to Bishop Elijah Hedding, who agreed that Burns was suitable and appointed him as teaching missionary for the Liberia mission. Burns stepped ashore at Monrovia, the nation's capital, on October 18, 1834.

James Theodore Holly had just turned five years old when Burns arrived in Africa. Born in Washington, D. C., to free Black parents of Roman Catholic faith, he received early education at public and private schools before his family moved to Brooklyn in 1843. There his father trained him for work as a shoemaker, and though Holly established a bootmaking shop with his brother in 1850, he was drawn to the cause of abolition. He left the Roman Catholic Church in 1851 because of its refusal to ordain local Black clergy, and the following year he joined the Protestant Episcopal Church. Holly spent two years with his wife and children in Windsor, Ontario, where he served as an assistant to Henry Bibb, who had escaped from slavery in Kentucky to establish the *Voice of Freedom*, Canada's first Black newspaper. After returning to the States, Holly received his holy orders and served as rector of St. Luke's Church in New Haven. Throughout these years--seeing no future for Blacks in the United States--he had come to believe in Black separatism and focused his attention on Haiti, the first nation ever to have gained independence through slave revolt. Holly resigned his rectorship in 1861 and left Connecticut for Port au Prince, accompanied by 110 Black settlers from the United States and Canada. Over the next year, disease would claim 43 members of his flock, including his mother, his wife, and two of his children. But Holly remained, and with his two surviving sons he organized the Holy Trinity Church on May 25, 1863.



THE TRIBUTE OF HAYTI

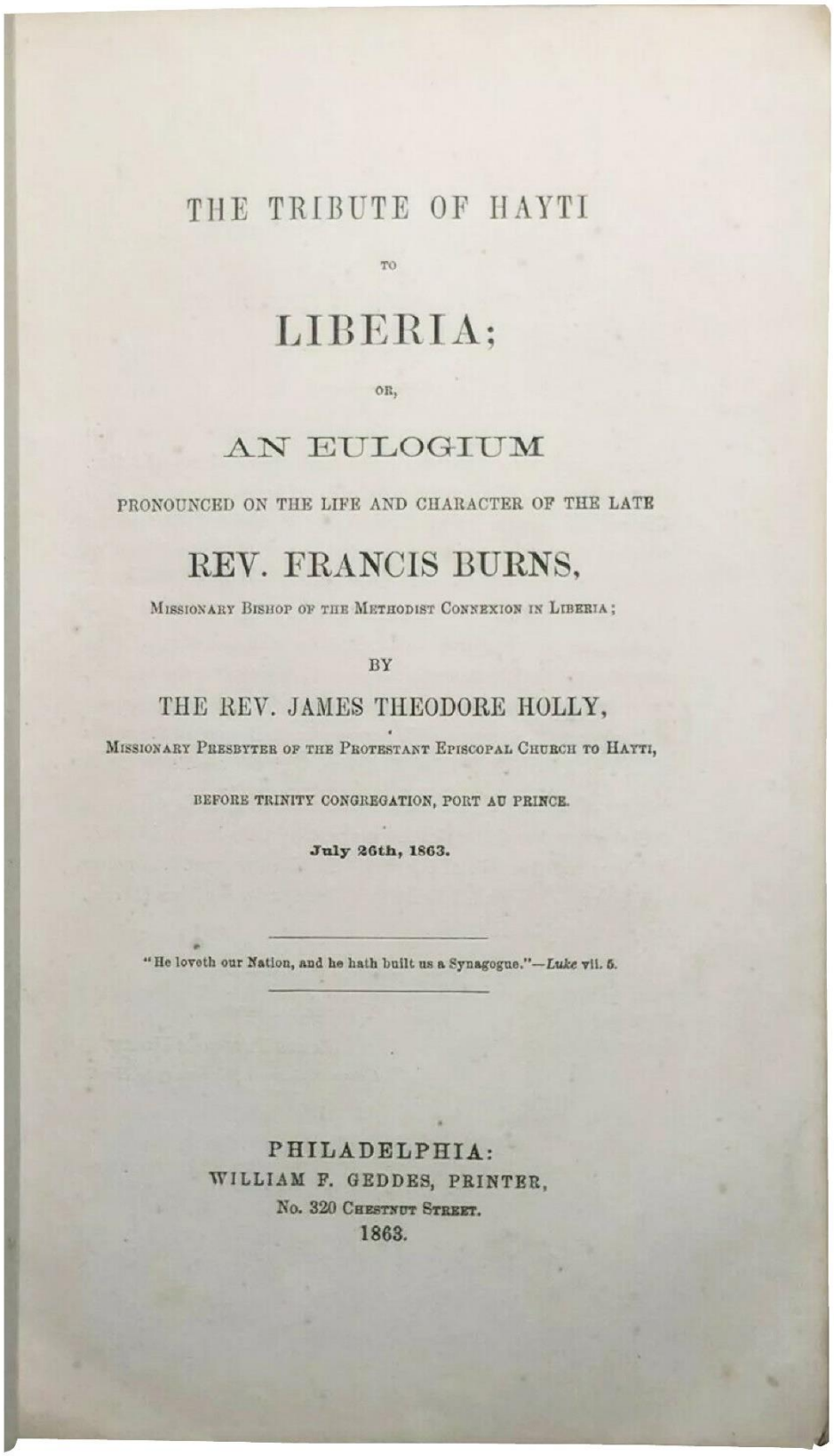
TO

LIBERIA,

BY

THE REV. JAMES THEODORE HOLLY,

MISSIONARY PRESBYTER OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO HAYTI.



THE TRIBUTE OF HAYTI

TO

LIBERIA;

OR,

AN EULOGIUM

PRONOUNCED ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE

REV. FRANCIS BURNS,

MISSIONARY BISHOP OF THE METHODIST CONNEXION IN LIBERIA;

BY

THE REV. JAMES THEODORE HOLLY,

MISSIONARY PRESBYTER OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH TO HAYTI,

BEFORE TRINITY CONGREGATION, PORT AU PRINCE.

July 26th, 1863.

"He loveth our Nation, and he hath built us a Synagogue."—*Luke* vii. 5.

PHILADELPHIA:
WILLIAM F. GEDDES, PRINTER,
No. 320 CHESTNUT STREET.
1863.

An ocean away, Francis Burns had devoted two decades to his mission work in Liberia. In 1844, he had returned to the States for ordination as both a deacon and an elder, and as his official titles within the Methodist Church increased, so did his responsibilities in the field. Twelve years later, in 1856, the ME General Conference voted to allow for the election and consecration of a "missionary bishop" for African work, though such an office holder would have no authority over white clergy. The Liberia ME Annual Conference responded in January 1858 by electing Burns its bishop, making him the first Black bishop of a major Protestant denomination. Yet Burns, from his youth, had never enjoyed good health, and it began to fail just five years into his appointment as bishop. He embarked on a voyage back to the United States in 1863, arriving in Baltimore three months after Emancipation. Despite the change of climate, his health did not recover, and he died there on April 18, 1863. His remains were returned to Liberia, where he had devoted his life, and he was buried at Monrovia's Palm Grove Cemetery.

Holy Trinity was still weeks from gaining official recognition when news of Burns's death reached Port au Prince. Indeed, the eulogy that Holly delivered on July 26 must have been among the first formal sermons that he made before its congregation. In it he extolls the virtues of Bishop Burns, his forerunner in the mission fields of a majority-Black nation, observing that "this great missionary of the Cross, like another Moses, chose rather to suffer affliction with his ancestral race in Africa, than to enjoy the riches and treasures of Anglo-American civilization" (p. 7). **We have traced only one other copy of Holly's eulogy, located at Trinity College, Harford** (OCLC lists a second copy at the Crozier Divinity School, Rochester, but none is located in the library's online catalogue). Holly would follow in Burns's footsteps again on November 8, 1874, when he was ordained as Bishop of the Anglican Orthodox Episcopal Church of Haiti; by then his charge had expanded to fifteen parishes, seven missions, fifteen national clergy, and a church community of more than 2000 people. Bishop Holly died in Port au Prince on March 13, 1911, and is buried at St. Vincent's School for Handicapped Children. **A powerful address linking two stalwarts of African American Christianity in the transatlantic African world**.

Relevant sources:

Dean, David McEwen
1979 *Defender of the Race: James Theodore Holly, Black Nationalist and Bishop*. Lambeth Press, Boston.

Melton, Gordon J.
2007 *A Will to Choose: The Origins of African American Methodism*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD.

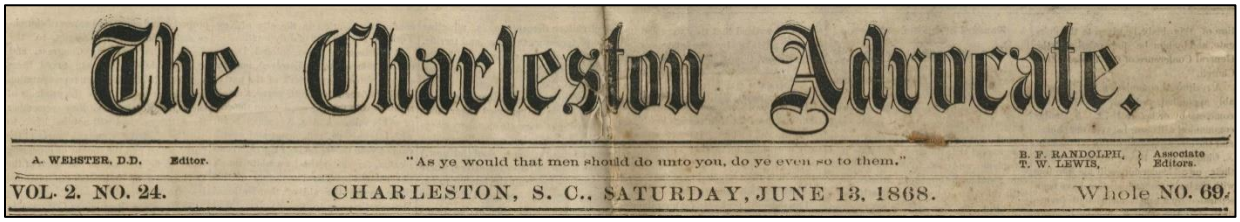
– –

Holly, Rev. James Theodore. THE TRIBUTE OF HAYTI TO LIBERIA; OR, A EULOGIUM PRONOUNCED ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE REV. FRANCIS BURNS, MISSIONARY BISHOP OF THE METHODIST CONNEXION IN LIBERIA. William F. Geddes, Printer, No. 320 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1863. 12 pp. Small 8vo (23 cm). Original printed wraps, light wear to edges and spine. Very good.

14. SOLD

The Charleston Advocate: A Radical Newspaper in the Reconstruction South

From 1865 to 1876, the tumultuous years of Reconstruction, African Americans and their Republican Party advocates established a half-dozen newspapers in South Carolina. These were among the first periodicals from the American South that were intended for an African American audience and that presented news and events from an African American perspective. The first of these were Charleston's *South Carolina Leader* and the *Charleston Journal*, founded in October 1865 and September 1866, respectively. Next came the *Charleston Advocate*, its inaugural number appearing on February 16, 1867. The *Advocate* was founded by Methodist clergymen Timothy Willard Lewis and Alonzo Webster, with financial support from the abolitionist Claflin family of Massachusetts. Webster would serve as editor, with Lewis as associate editor. They also hired a second associate editor, Benjamin Franklin Randolph, an African American graduate of Oberlin College and co-founder of the *Journal*, which had folded the year before. After the *Advocate* were Charleston's *Free Press*, Georgetown's *Planet*, and Orangeburg's *Free Citizen*. Issues of these papers are among the rarest products of southern Black communities during the period of Radical Reconstruction. This issue of the *Advocate*, Vol. 2, No. 24 (June 13, 1868), is a case in point: **no other copy is known to have survived, whether in physical or digital form**.



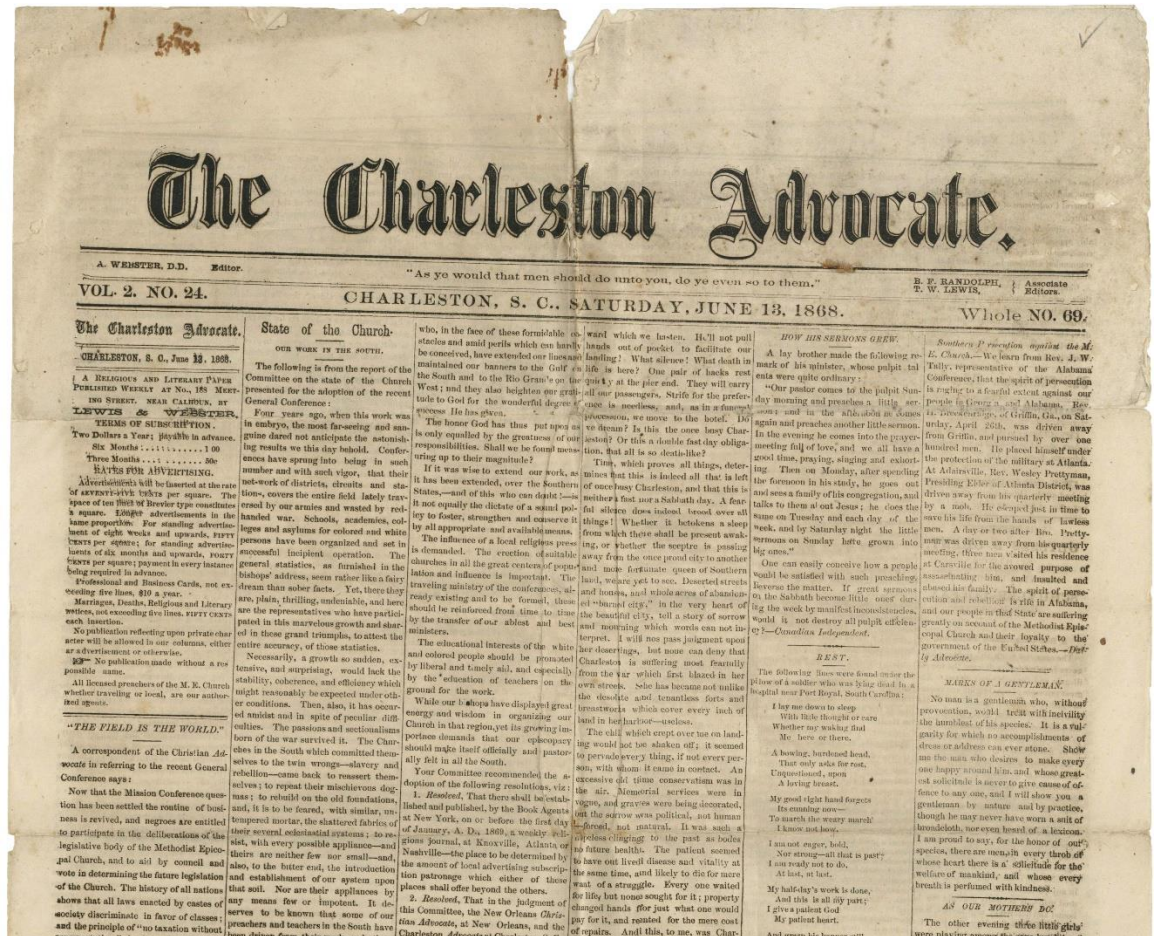
The Charleston Advocate.

A. WEBSTER, D.D. Editor. "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them." B. F. RANDOLPH, T. W. LEWIS, Associate Editors.

VOL. 2. NO. 24. CHARLESTON, S. C., SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1868. Whole NO. 69.

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

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



The Charleston Advocate.

A. WEBSTER, D.D. Editor.

"As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

B. F. RANDOLPH, T. W. LEWIS, } Associate Editors.

VOL. 2. NO. 24. CHARLESTON, S. C., SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1868. Whole NO. 69.

The Charleston Advocate.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 13, 1868.

A RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY PAPER PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT No., 198 MEETING STREET, NEAR CALHOUN, BY

LEWIS & WEBSTER.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Two Dollars a Year; payable in advance.

Six Months.....1 00

Three Months.....50c

RATES FOR ADVERTISING.

Advertisements will be inserted at the rate of SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS per square. The space of ten lines of Brevier type constitutes a square. Longer advertisements in the same proportion. For standing advertisements of eight weeks and upwards, FIFTY CENTS per square; for standing advertisements of six months and upwards, FORTY CENTS per square; payment in every instance being required in advance.

Professional and Business Cards, not exceeding five lines, $10 a year.

Marriages, Deaths, Religious and Literary notices, not exceeding five lines, FIFTY CENTS each insertion.

No publication reflecting upon private character will be allowed in our columns, either as advertisement or otherwise.

☞ No publication made without a responsible name.

All licensed preachers of the M. E. Church whether traveling or local, are our authorized agents.

"THE FIELD IS THE WORLD."

A correspondent of the Christian *Advocate* in referring to the recent General Conference says:

Now that the Mission Conference question has been settled the routine of business is revived, and negroes are entitled to participate in the deliberations of the legislative body of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to aid by council and vote in determining the future legislation of the Church. The history of all nations shows that all laws enacted by castes of society discriminate in favor of classes and the principle of "no taxation without representation," in its extension, involves *no class legislation*. Had there been less *white* men and more *manhood* rights recognized by the authorities of our Church there would have been less ground for the dissensions and severances that have disturbed and retarded the growth of our Zion. We are now, by the necessity of the territory we occupy and cultivate on the face of the earth, required to legislate for nearly all races and nations; and if we would hold the vantage ground secured, much more, if we would be aggressive, it would be wise to respect the lessons taught by the past life of the Church and the world, and listen for the wisdom of every field of labor in the council and vote of the representatives of all races and localities. The negro has been admitted to a full representation in our ecclesiastic Congress; and since it requires a higher and a wider door to afford him ingress, will he not be followed by the ministers of our Church from the jungles and rice plains of India, from the tea-gardens and cane-brakes of China, and from the icy mountains of Greenland, and the spicy isles of the sea? There is no disposition in this body to be exclusive or unfair; and since supreme wisdom resides in the mass, and not in the individual nor in a class however wise, is it not the dictate of a sound policy and statesmanship to take into the embrace of its great council the representatives of *every* clime? A good suggestion may come from a hut on the Ganges or the Niger, and an idea that will electrify the race may be drawn out by friction from a Bushman of Africa, or an Esquimaux of Greenland; and the Church cannot afford to dispense with the mite of the poor any more than with the abundance of the rich. If the M. E. Church becomes catholic in its sweeps as it is in its spirit, it must embody in its legislation the wisdom of all its constituents of every kindred and tribe and tongue and nationality, and there can be little doubt that this will add to its adaptability, its efficiency, and its power.

State of the Church.

OUR WORK IN THE SOUTH.

The following is from the report of the Committee on the state of the Church presented for the adoption of the recent General Conference:

Four years ago, when this work was in embryo, the most far-seeing and sanguine dared not anticipate the astonishing results we this day behold. Conferences have sprung into being in such number and with such vigor, that their net-work of districts, circuits and stations, covers the entire field lately traversed by our armies and wasted by red-handed war. Schools, academies, colleges and asylums for colored and white persons have been organized and set in successful incipient operation. The general statistics, as furnished in the bishops' address, seem rather like a fairy dream than sober facts. Yet, there they are, plain, thrilling, undeniable, and here are the representatives who have participated in this marvelous growth and shared in these grand triumphs, to attest the entire accuracy, of those statistics.

Necessarily, a growth so sudden, extensive, and surprising, would lack the stability, coherence, and efficiency which might reasonably be expected under other conditions. Then, also, it has occurred amidst and in spite of peculiar difficulties. The passions and sectionalisms born of the war survived it. The Churches in the South which committed themselves to the twin wrongs—slavery and rebellion—came back to reassert themselves; to repeat their mischievous dogmas; to rebuild on the old foundations, and, it is to be feared, with similar, untempered mortar, the shattered fabrics of their several ecclesiastial systems; to resist, with every possible appliance—and theirs are neither few nor small—and, also, to the bitter end, the introduction and establishment of our system upon that soil. Nor are their appliances by any means few or impotent. It deserves to be known that some of our preachers and teachers in the South have been driven from their work, and others of them have been brutally murdered, while peacefully pursuing their chosen labor among the people of their care. Prejudice and sectional proscription are formidable weapons in the hands of men rendered earnest and desperate by defeat and disaster.

The new relations resulting from emancipation, involving questions of great delicacy and difficulty, and upon which an extreme sensitiveness prevades the public mind, North and South, but especially South, render comparatively easy the effort to disunite our charges there, and so to distract and paralyze our energies in that field. Great wisdom and sagacity are needed to trace the line of right in the most safe and useful manner.

The existing churches in the South have potent agencies and allies, in their press, secular and religious, which are wielded with vigor and effect, constantly plying the public with reasons why we should be scorned and spurned, why our cause cannot permanently succeed in that region, and why, on the contrary, they are the rightful occupants of that ground.

So far as the M. E. Church in the South is concerned, she has been almost entirely unknown for the last century, except to be misrepresented and misapprehended.

In that section, also, there is an almost total absence of any general system of education, happily so prevalent among us. This lack of educational advantages for the masses prevailed among the poor whites before the war. It still exists. As to the colored people, numbering millions, it is well known that slavery denied them the lowest rudiments of education. Improvement as to both these classes of the people is going forward; yet the work is one of great extent and of slow achievement. Until it is accomplished, our permanent, complete success is not assured. When all these and other kindred facts are considered, they exalt the heroism of our true and tried brethren, who, in the face of these formidable obstacles and amid perils which can hardly be conceived, have extended our lines and maintained our banners to the Gulf on the South and to the Rio Grande on the West; and they also heighten our gratitude to God for the wonderful degree of success He has given.

The honor God has thus put upon us is only equalled by the greatness of our responsibilities. Shall we be found measuring up to their magnitude?

If it was wise to extend our work, as it has been extended, over the Southern States,—and of this who can doubt?—is it not equally the dictate of a sound policy to foster, strengthen and conserve it by all appropriate and available means.

The influence of a local religious press is demanded. The erection of suitable churches in all the great centers of population and influence is important. The traveling ministry of the conferences, already existing and to be formed, those should be reinforced from time to time by the transfer of our ablest and best ministers.

The educational interests of the white and colored people should be promoted by liberal and timely aid, and especially by the education of teachers on the ground for the work.

While our bishops have displayed great energy and wisdom in organizing our Church in that region, yet its growing importance demands that our episcopacy should make itself officially and pastorally felt in all the South.

Your Committee recommended the adoption of the following resolutions, viz:

1. *Resolved*, That there shall be established and published, by the Book Agents at New York, on or before the first day of January, A. D., 1869, a weekly religious journal, at Knoxville, Atlanta or Nashville—the place to be determined by the amount of local advertising subscription patronage which either of these places shall offer beyond the others.

2. *Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Committee, the New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, at New Orleans, and the Charleston *Advocate* at Charleston, S. C., ought to be published as official papers.

3. *Resolved*, That the Missionary and Church extension Societies be requested to render such special aid to church building enterprises in leading Southern cities as the bishops and the said societies shall find practicable.

4. *Resolved*, That a liberal system of transfers of suitable ministers to our work in the South is hereby recommended.

5. *Resolved*, That the maintenance of training and theological schools in the South for the preparation of persons for the work of teaching and preaching in that region, deserves the aid co-operation of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and we therefore, hereby commend said object to the liberality of our people and specifically to the generous aid of our missionary and educational societies.

7. *Resolved*, That the Tract Society of the M. E. Church be recommended to issue a series of Tracts suited to our southern work, for circulation in that part of our connection.

Respectfully,

L. B. BARROWS, *Chairman*.

A Visit to Charleston, S. C.

A Correspondent of the New-York *Sun* has the following not very flattering reference of a visit to this Queen City of the South:

"My riddle is the Charleston steamship Manhattan, Captain Woodhull, wherein I found safe passage, and pleasant withal, to the very nurse ground of secession. Old ocean slept peacefully as I passed along—ruffled not his mane, even, as I looked where fearful Hatteras ought to be, and uttered no growl when ruined Sumter appeared in view. If there be others who wish easy passage to these Southern climes, them do I commend to Woodhull's command.

What welcome to Charleston? Her remnants of walls, once blackened by conflagration, are bleached by the winds and storms of years; remnants they still remain! A solitary "ebony" props up a post on the otherwise deserted pier to-want which we hasten. He'll not pull hands out of pocket to facilitate our landing? What silence! What death in life is here? One pair of hacks rest passengers, we move to the hotel. Do we dream? Is this the once busy Charleston? Or this a double fast day obligation, that all is so death-like?

This, which proves all things, determines that this is indeed all that is left of once busy Charleston, and that this is neither a fast nor a Sabbath day. A fearful silence does indeed brood over all things! Whether it betokens a sleep from which these shall be present awaking, or whether the sceptre is passing away from the once proud city to another and more fortunate queen of Southern land, we are yet to see. Deserted streets and houses, and whole acres of abandoned "burned city," in the very heart of the beautiful city, tell a story of sorrow and mourning which words can not interpret. I will not pass judgment upon her deserings, but none can deny that Charleston is suffering most frantally from the war which first blazed in her own streets. She has became not unlike the desolate and tenantless forts and breastworks which cover every inch of land in her harbor—useless.

The chill which crept over me on landing would not be shaken off; it seemed to pervade every thing, if not every person, with whom it came in contact. An excessive dirt (time conservation was in the air. Memorial services were in vogue, and graves were being decorated, but the sorrow was political, not human or forced, not natural. It was such a reckless clinging to the past as bodes no future health. The patient seemed to have out lived disease and vitality at the same time, and likely to die for mere want of a struggle. Every one waited for life, but none sought for it; property changed hands for just what one would pay for it, and resulted for the mere cost of repairs. And this, to me, was Charleston! I left it without regret—left the one horse dragging a score of people along the streets, and the one ("cullud") man driving off a score of flies at the dinner table.

The Good Work.

The recent elections in the South record the progress of a reconstruction as thorough as it is beneficent. Some remnants of the habits and manners of the past will linger through this generation. Always the common infirmities of humanity will develope themselves. But the Reconstruction of the South, as it is advancing steadily, is the marvel of our times. Under any circumstances, the pacification of half a continent would be difficult. Here are four millions of beings who have just dropped their chains, and been inducted into citizenship. In their anomalous condition, the Southern States take all the steps in reorganization, with the decorum and dignity of the best of their sisters. Casting aside the effete institutions bred of slavery, they adopt the most approved system, developed by theory and experience, and they aim to enter at once into the work of education and progress, and to march abreast of the East and the North in the career of intelligence and prosperity.

This is the fruit of the policy of the Republican party. It has proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the land. It has added four millions to the register of citizens. The Republican party has provided for schools for all, for equal rights to all for that impartial justice which consolidates the people into communities having a single interest, and inspired by a common patriotism. Ten States freed, reorganized, reconstructed, restored to the Union, with the present blessings and future prospects of the Southern people, are coming into the national councils to testify to the work which the Republican party has done and is doing for them.—*Republican.*

HOW HIS SERMONS GREW.

A lay brother made the following remark of his minister, whose pulpit talents were quite ordinary:

"Our pastor comes to the pulpit Sunday morning and preaches a little sermon and in the afternoon some again and preaches another little sermon. In the evening he comes into the prayer-meeting full of love, and we all have a good time, praying, singing and exhorting. Then on Monday, after spending the forenoon in his study, he goes out and sees a family of his congregation, and talks to them about Jesus; he does the same on Tuesday and each day of the week, and by Saturday night the little sermons on Sunday here grown into big ones."

One can easily conceive how a people would be satisfied with such preaching, reverse the matter. If great sermons on the Sabbath become little ones during the week by manifest inconsistencies, would it not destroy all pulpit efficiency?—*Canadian Independent.*

REST.

The following lines were found under the pillow of a soldier who was being cared in a hospital near Port Royal, South Carolina:

I lay me down to sleep
With little thought or care
Whether my waking find
Me here or there.

A bowing, burdened head,
That only asks for rest,
Unquestioned, upon
A loving breast.

My good right hand forgets
Its cunning now—
To march the weary march
I know not how.

I am not eager, bold,
Nor strong—all that is past;
I am ready not to do,
At last, at last.

My half-day's work is done,
And this is all my part;
I give a patient God
My patient heart.

And grasp his banner still,
Though all its blue be dim;
These stripes, no less than stars,
Lead after Him.

THE BIBLE AGAINST IT.

Rev. Dr. Duff, the eloquent Scotch divine, meets the cavil that the Bible does not expressly prohibit the use of alcoholic drinks by showing that they were not known when it was written, and by the put question, "Where in all the Bible is there any express prohibition against the habitual use of arsenic or prussic acid? It is enough that the Bible condemns all murder. Has it not stamped the seal of its reprobation with the most tremendous severity on the habitual use of any substance which, like ardent spirits, involves the most iniquitous abuse of God's mercies, leads to the most atrocious outrages against all law, human and Divine, and more than any thing else multiplies the heaven-foreclosing and hell-opening vice if drunkenness."

"I'M ONLY A NAIL."

Living quite retired from the scenes of public and active life, as I was driving up a nail the other day, I thought to myself, if I were of that nail is to be *still* and *hold on*. I should be much dissatisfied with that nail if, in the wish to be useful, it should leave its place and go bustling over the house, interfering with the comfort and endangering the safety of the household. Then I thought there were some human nails, and I concluded I was one; so here I am, waiting to hold whatever may be hung upon me, that's all.

CHRIST'S LOVE.

O, how different Christ's love to us from ours to Him! We have not to ask Him if he loves us. If any one should ever ask that question of Jesus, He would say, "Behold My hands and My feet!" He bears on His very body the marks of His love to us.—*Nevins.*

Southern Persecution against the M. E. Church.

We learn from Rev. J. W. Tully, representative of the Alabama Conference, that the spirit of persecution is raging to a fearful extent against our people in Georgia and Alabama. Rev. A. Broadstreet, of Griffin, Ga., on Saturday, April 26th, was driven away from Griffin, and pursued by over one hundred men. He placed himself under the protection of the military at Atlanta. At Adairsville, Rev. Wesley Prettyman, Presiding Elder of Atlanta District, was driven away from his quarterly meeting by a mob. He escaped just in time to save his life from the hands of lawless men. A day or two after Bro. Prettyman was driven away from his quarterly meeting, three men visited his residence at Cartsville for the avowed purpose of assassinating him, and insulted and abused his family. The spirit of persecution and rebellion is rife in Alabama, and our people in that State are suffering greatly on account of the Methodist Episcopal Church and their loyalty to the government of the United States.—*Daily Advocate.*

MAKEN OF A GENTLEMAN.

No man is a gentleman who, without provocation, would treat with incivility the humblest of his species. It is a vulgarity for which no accomplishments of dress or address can ever atone. Show me the man who desires to make every one happy around him, and whose greatest solicitude is never to give cause of offence to any one, and I will show you a gentleman by nature and by practice, though he may never have worn a suit of broadcloth, nor even heard of a lexicon. I am proud to say, for the honor of our species, there are men in every throb of whose heart there is a solicitude for the welfare of mankind, and whose every breath is perfumed with kindness.

AS OUR MOTHERS DO.

The other evening three little girls were playing among the sage brush in a back yard. Two of them were "making believe to keep house" a few yards distant from each other—neighbors as it were. One of them says to the third little girl: "There, now, Nelly, you go to Sarah's house and stop a little while and talk, and then you come back and tell me what she says about me, and then I'll talk about her; then you go and tell her all I say, and then we'll get mad and won't speak to each other, just like our mothers do, you know. Oh! that'll be such fun."

The Union of the M. E. Church with the A. M. E. Z. Church reached a happy step towards an assured consummation in the action of the General Conference. The following resolutions were adopted:

The Committee appointed to receive and confer with the delegate of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, report that they had a free conference with the Rev. Singleton T. Jones, who is duly accredited to this body, and beg to present the following resolutions for your adoption, viz:

Resolved, 1. That we, having received the official communication of the African M. E. Zion Church, proposing union with the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States, and also the representations of the Rev. S. T. Jones on the same subject, with great satisfaction, hereby express to them our Christian regards and deep interest in their progress and prosperity as a church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

2. That this Conference entertain favorably the proposal of union between the two bodies aforesaid.

3. That whereas the time of the session of these two Conferences is so far apart that it will be impracticable to have the necessary negotiations and determine the details of the terms of union before their adjournment; that a commission of fifteen be appointed by the board of Bishops, to confer with a commission of the A. M. E. Z. Church, and report to the next General Conference.

4. That a copy of the foregoing se-

It was in the soil of this political landscape that a nascent African American press began to take root in South Carolina and neighboring southern states. Lewis and Webster, founders of the *Charleston Advocate*, were both affiliated with the Methodist Church; Webster had published and edited the *Vermont Christian Messenger* from 1849 to 1861, while Lewis had been appointed to the South Carolina Sea Islands in 1862, where he ministered to federal troops and freedmen before being named "Presiding Elder" of the South Carolina M. E. Conference in 1866. The newspaper's second associate editor, Benjamin Franklin Randolph, was born in Kentucky to free Black parents in 1820. His family moved to Ohio several years later, and he graduated from Oberlin College in 1857, having focused his studies in Classics. After serving as principal at a public school for Black students in Buffalo, New York, he enlisted with the 26th Regiment of the U. S. Colored Infantry at Rikers Island and served as both the unit's chaplain and its only African American officer. The 26th was deployed to Beaufort in 1864, and Randolph decided to remain in South Carolina when the regiment mustered out there the following year. He made his home in Charleston, becoming assistant superintendent of schools for the Freedmen's Bureau. In 1866, he and another African American minister, E. J. Adams, founded a short-lived newspaper, the *Charleston Journal*. When it folded, Randolph obtained provisional appointment as a minister in the M. E. Church, launching his collaboration with Webster and Lewis on the *Advocate*.

After the Reconstruction Acts and subsequent readmission of former Confederate states to the Union, African American voters from across the South elected their first Black legislators to the House of Representatives, while Mississippi sent two Black members to the Senate. Black men likewise gained seats in state houses and were elected to state government offices across the region. In South Carolina, with a larger proportion of African Americans than any other southern state, voters elected a Black majority to the state legislature in 1868. Randolph was among this new class of congressmen, representing Orangeburg in the state senate. His fellow South Carolina Republicans selected him as Chair of the state's Republican Central Committee, he was a delegate to the 1868 Republican National Convention, and he was one of the nation's first African American electors. As state senator, his political agenda included the universal public education of all South Carolina children and the establishment of integrated schools across the state.

Yet Randolph's energy and activism were drawing attention from forces beyond the state's Republican Party, alarming the champions of white supremacy who were just beginning to push back against the ideals of equality in education and opportunity. As a charismatic officer of the state Republican Committee, Randolph traveled across South Carolina campaigning for local and national candidates. On October 15, 1868, he gave a speech at Abbeville during a campaign tour through the upcountry by train. The next day, he left Abbeville for Anderson, changing trains at the depot in Hodges, a village about 30 miles east of his destination. He was about to board the train when three white men approached him on the platform, and in the presence of witnesses, shot him to death in broad daylight, mounted their horses, and rode away. There was no pursuit of the murderers, and although at least two men were later arrested in connection with the crime, no one was ever charged or tried for the assassination of Benjamin Randolph.

Randolph had continued in his work at the *Advocate* even as his political career was on the ascent. Without him, the paper would fold in just a few weeks. The *Advocate*, like all of the early African American newspapers, had faced steep challenges from its inaugural issue. Whites, even those who counted themselves Republicans, were apathetic supporters at best, outright opponents

at worst. Its funding was always limited, and the high rates of illiteracy among its intended African American audience--most of whom had only recently gained their freedom from slavery--kept its circulation low. After Randolph's murder, Lewis and Webster transferred its subscription lists to the *Atlanta Methodist Advocate* and closed the press. Its final issue (Vol. 2, No. 49) appeared on December 5. Lewis and Webster, nonetheless, still had pathbreaking work to accomplish in South Carolina. Less than a year later, again with financial support from their northern benefactors, they established Claflin University in Orangeburg, the first historically Black college or university in the state. Webster would go on to serve as its first president, and Claflin University continues its educational mission today, welcoming all students regardless of race or gender.

The *Charleston Advocate* was published every Saturday for nearly two full years, with a complete file totaling 85 numbers. Until the recent discovery of this issue, however, only 24 of these were known to have survived; 23 issues are held by the NYHS Newspaper Project, two are at the AAS (both duplicates of numbers held by NYHS), and three are at the University of South Carolina's South Caroliniana Library (two of which duplicate numbers held at NYHS). **The issue that we offer here, for June 13, 1868, exists in no other format, whether paper, microfilm, or digital**. **Its discovery is noteworthy and significant**.

Relevant sources:

Abbott, Richard H.
2004 *For Free Press and Equal Rights: Republican Newspapers in the Reconstruction South*. Edited by John W. Quist. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Foner, Eric J.
1993 *Freedom's Lawmakers: A Directory of Black Officeholders During Reconstruction*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Harris, Richard L.
1982 Segregation and Scholarship: The American Council of Learned Societies' Committee on Negro Studies, 1941-1950. *Journal of Black Studies* 12(3):315-331.

Pierce, Virginia A.
2016 Chronicling America Dispatches: "Published for the elevation of our race": Ten Historical African American South Carolina Newspapers in Chronicling America. Web publication at https://www.neh.gov/divisions/preservation/featured-project/published-the-elevation-our-race-ten-historical-african-american-south-carolina

Saville, Julie
1994 *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

– –

[South Carolina--Reconstruction]: THE CHARLESTON ADVOCATE. SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1868. [VOL. 2, NO. 24]. Charleston, South Carolina. Published by Lewis & Webster at No. 188 Meeting Street, near Calhoun. Folio, untrimmed and never bound. Old folds, minor edge wear and short marginal tears, deeper split to vertical fold at top center, not affecting any text. Light tanning, otherwise supple and fresh. Overall very good.

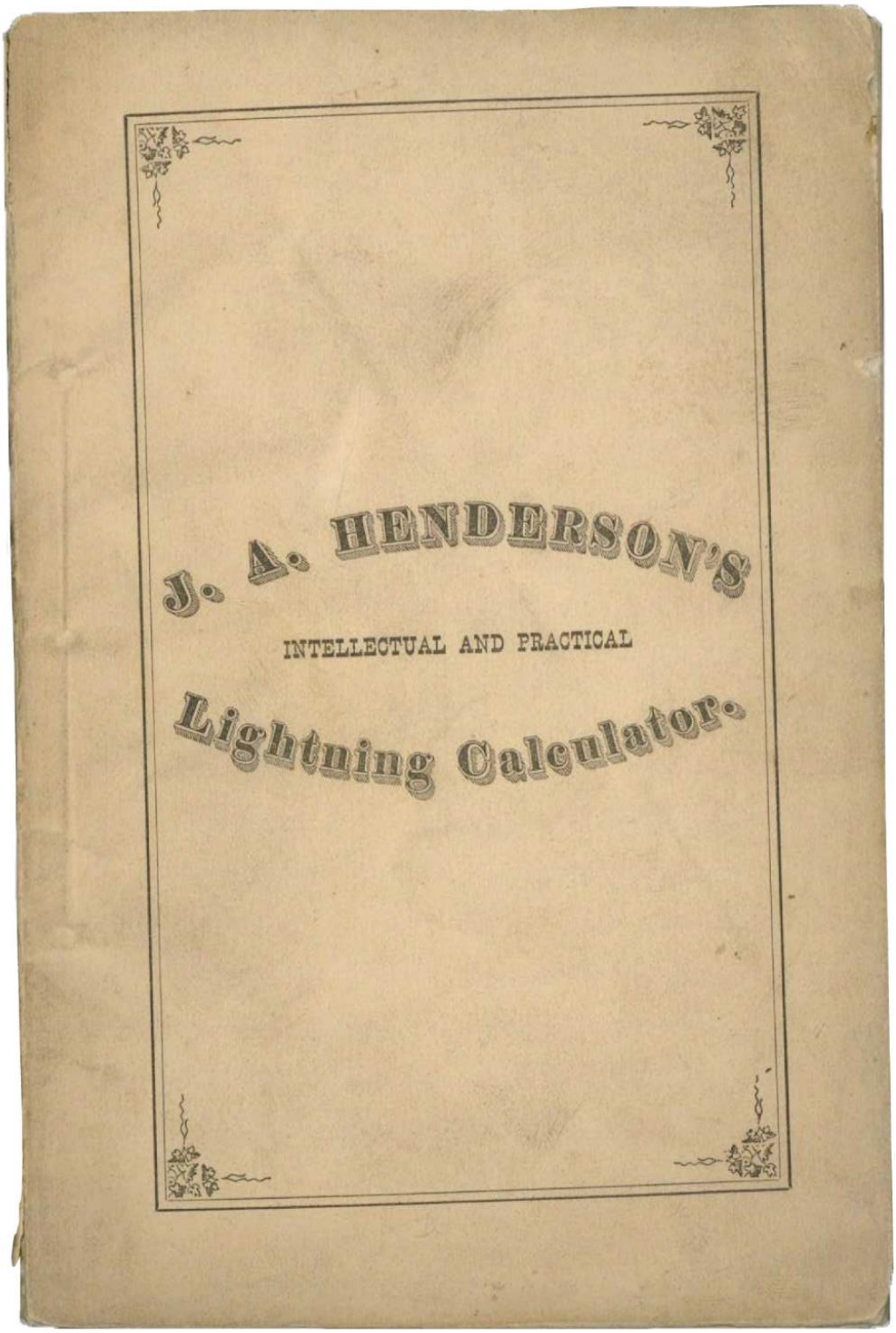
15. SOLD.

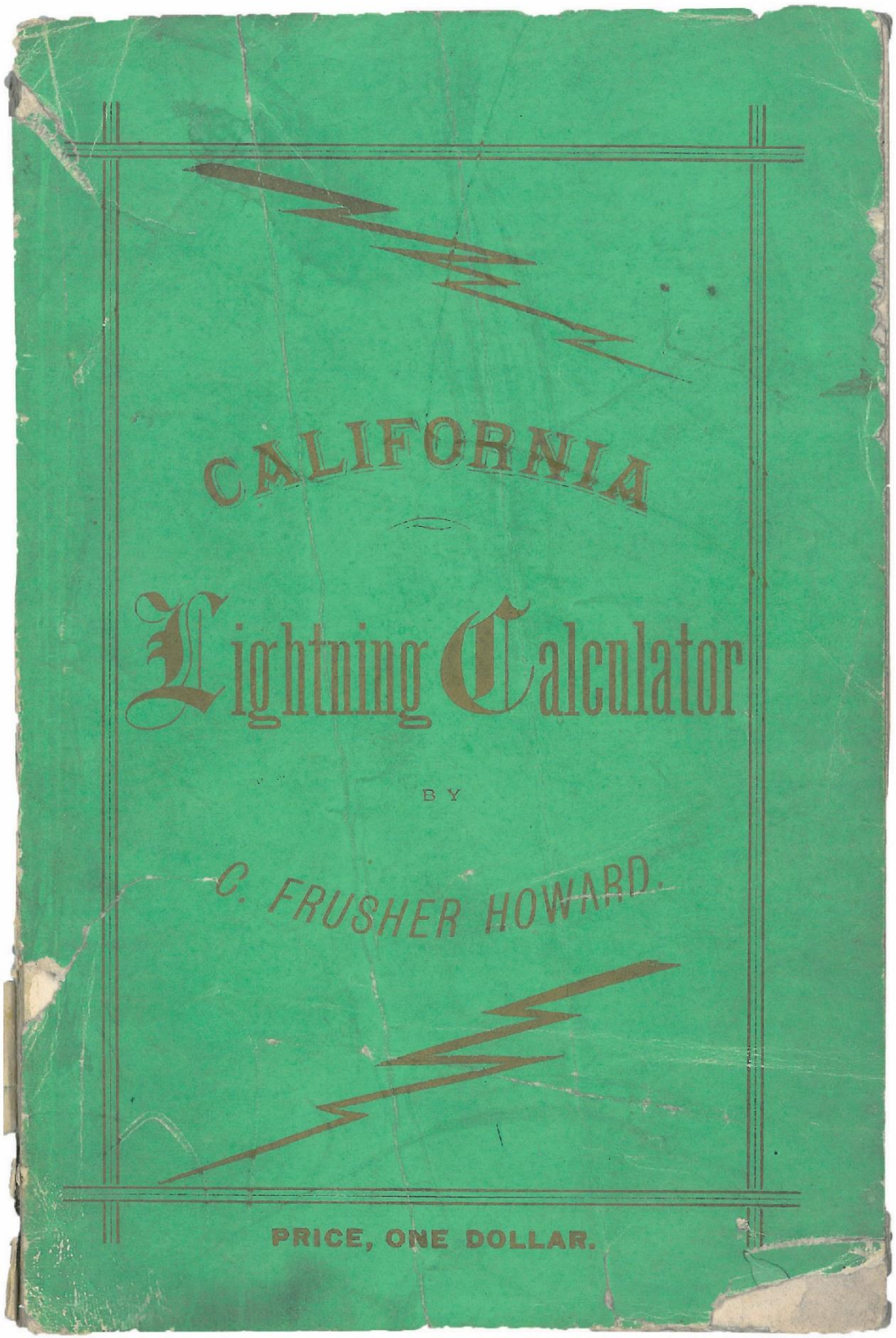
Rival Reckoners: Lightning Calculators in Post-Gold Rush San Francisco

For more than 200 years, until affordable electronic cash registers and calculators became readily available after the mid-20th century, the humble ready reckoner was an indispensable tool for conducting commerce in retail establishments across the Western world, particularly in Great Britain and the United States. Most ready reckoners were pocket-sized, cheaply printed aids for multiplication, division, and other mathematical operations regularly performed by clerks and shop keepers: computing salaries, interest, price per unit, price per pound, etc. Reckoners were filled with tables and formulas for helping even those who lacked commercial accounting skills beyond basic arithmetic to solve such everyday problems. While similar aids date to as early as the 17th century, the term itself was coined by English schoolmaster Daniel Fenning for the title of his 1757 publication, *The Ready Reckoner; or Trader's Most Useful Assistant*. The popularity of the genre exploded with this easily remembered, alliterative name, and nearly a dozen American reckoners were published before century's end. Yet despite continued demand, the first examples from the American West did not appear until the 1870s, when J. A. Henderson's *Intellectual and Practical Lightning Calculator* and C. Frusher Howard's *California Lightning Calculator* were published within months of each other at San Francisco in 1872 and 1873, respectively. Here we offer copies of each rare reckoner--**only one other complete copy of Henderson's is known, while Howard's is altogether unique**--and introduce, if not solve, a minor bibliographic mystery.

John Alexander Henderson was not the first American author to describe his ready reckoner as a lightning calculator--several had appeared back East during the 1860s--but he was the first to register his lightning brand for copyright protection in San Francisco (and thus opening our minor bibliomystery). We have learned little about Henderson beyond the information he presents in testimonials appended to the end of his *Intellectual and Practical* reckoner, where he also offered his services as a "Phrenologist and Phreno-Magnetic Healer." An 1862 reference from his former employer, the principal of Delhi Academy in Delaware County, New York, praises Henderson as "an excellent mathematical teacher" who provided courses in analytical trigonometry, university algebra, intellectual arithmetic, and even English grammar. A classmate from Union College in Schenectady confirms that he and Henderson had graduated together in the class of 1864 (and he is listed as such in the college's *Centennial Catalogue* of 1895). We have found no record of when Henderson went west, but he does appear in the San Francisco voter registries for 1871 (giving his birth year as 1841), and the 1872 *City Directory* lists his occupation as "phrenologist and magnetic physician" with an office and dwelling on O'Farrell Street

As upstanding a citizen as Henderson appears to have been, C. Frusher Howard's career before arriving in San Francisco was a bit more checkered. He was, in fact, a wanted fugitive, and the name he used for publishing his own lightning calculator was an alias. Howard was actually Joseph Ostler, originally from the parish of Walsoken in the English Fens. Ostler had migrated to Victoria, Australia, in 1852, where he later served as the first district secretary of the Moorabbin Roads Board. In 1867, after five years work as secretary, clerk, treasurer, and toll manager for the Board, he had embezzled all of its funds--more than £1000--reportedly enough money to equal his own annual salary fourteen times over. After entering a bigamous marriage in New Orleans and partaking in a few adventures in the gold fields of California, he appears in San Francisco in 1873 as author of a new reckoner, the *California Lightning Calculator*.


J. A. HENDERSON'S
INTELLECTUAL AND PRACTICAL
Lightning Calculator.


CALIFORNIA
Lightning Calculator
BY
C. FRUSHER HOWARD.
PRICE, ONE DOLLAR.

Prior to our identification of this, the true first edition of Howard's reckoner--published in bright green, almost turquoise, coated paper wraps with title and lightning bolts in gilt--the second edition of 1874 was presumed to be the first. That 1874 edition, though, printed in drab tan wraps and plain black titles (the conspicuous binding of the first must have been prohibitively expensive for the asking price) lacks the word 'Lightning' in its title and appeared as *Howard's California Calculator*. Meanwhile, the 1873 second and third editions of Henderson's calculator, published in the same year as Howard's first, retain their 'Lightning' status. Two lightning calculators hitting San Francisco at the same time must have been one too many, and while we find no evidence of a legal challenge, we suspect that Henderson's earlier copyright held sway. Perhaps Howard was compelled to pull his *California Lightning Calculator* from the market (an expensive move, given the likely cost of its binding), explaining why it is bibliographically unknown today. Yet Howard seems to have had the last laugh. His simpler *California Calculator* in its different iterations would remain in print through the 1880s, making him enough money that he was even able to repay the Moorabbin Roads Board for the funds he embezzled in 1867. Henderson, in turn, never published another reckoner in San Francisco. Instead, he moved to St. Louis, where later editions of his own *Lightning Calculator* likewise remained in print into the 1880s.

OCLC records just a single complete copy of Henderson's 1872 reckoner, held by the New York Public Library; another copy is located at the Huntington, but it lacks the frontispiece portrait of Henderson, and a missing page is supplied in photostat facsimile from the Library of Congress copy (which we believe is the example we offer here, with an LOC surplus stamp--none is currently listed in the LOC catalogue). The Bancroft Library holds a different 1872 reckoner by Henderson, titled *Henderson & Hamlin's Lightning Calculator*. We have been unable to learn anything about Hamlin or to establish priority between this and Henderson's other reckoner. **The *California Lightning Calculator*, as noted, is unique and unrecorded**.

Relevant sources:

Cohen, Patricia Cline
1999 *A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America*. Routledge, London.
Williams, Bruce O. B. and Roger G. Johnson
2005 Ready Reckoners. *IEEE Annals of the History Computing* 27(4):64-80.

– –

Henderson, J. A. HENDERSON'S LIGHTNING CALCULATOR. A. L. Bancroft & Company, Printers, San Francisco, 1872. Frontis. portrait, 79 pp. 12mo (16.75 cm). Original printed wraps; light spine wear, Library of Congress surplus stamp on inside of front wrap; very good.

Howard, C. Frusher. HOWARD'S CALIFORNIA LIGHTNING CALCULATOR. Spaulding & Barto, Book and Job Printers, 414 Clay Street, San Francisco, 1873. Frontis. portrait, 93 pp. 12mo (17.75 cm). Original green printed wraps with gilt titles; minor wear to covers; very good.

16. SOLD.

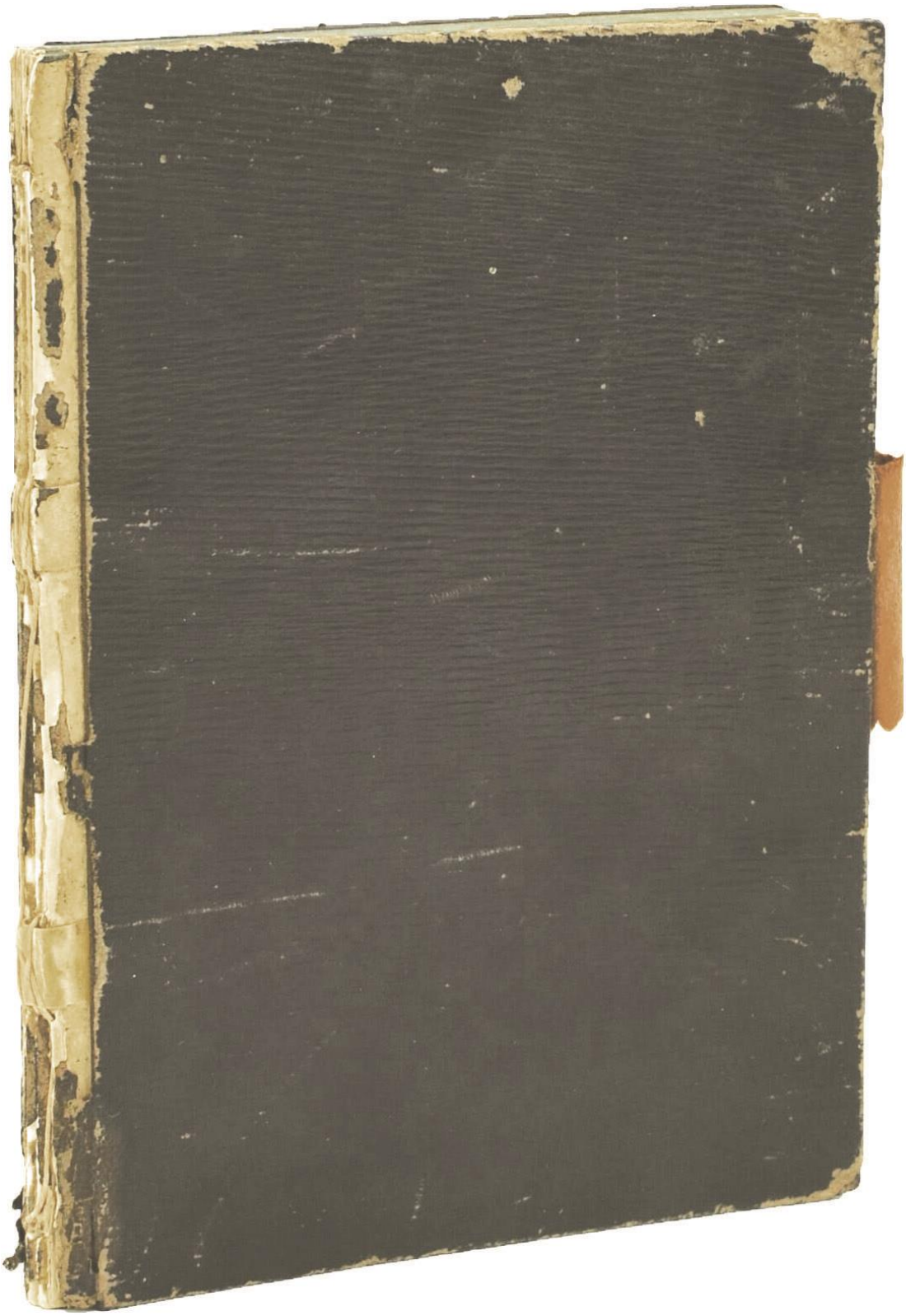
Return to Death Valley: Seeking the Jayhawkers' Lost Gunsight Lode

Few tropes in the sum of our Old West mythos have attained the iconic status of the lost mine, its promise of wealth so tantalizingly close but just out of reach. For many who crossed the Plains and Rockies by wagon or on foot or sailed around the Cape, the lost mine was metaphor as much as mirage, those same false promises mirrored in the West itself. First among the lost mines that strike our imaginations even today, and with little close competition, is the Lost Dutchman of Arizona's aptly named Superstition Mountains. But dozens of other legendary strikes, some more fanciful than others, have earned their place in the canon. Most of these follow the same narrative structure: an extraordinarily rich lode, whether of gold or silver, is discovered in secrecy or under duress, yet its finder either meets with death after sharing only obscure directions to the source or else is unable to make his way back to the site with adequate funding and equipment.

Among the more compelling of such lost mine reports, and among the earliest, is the Lost Gunsight Lode of California's Death Valley. The Gunsight was purportedly discovered in 1850 by members of the Death Valley 49ers, the first known group of white settlers to cross--and who subsequently named--the barren alkali sink. This diary documents an 1873 expedition to find the Gunsight, guided by one of the original survivors and counting among its number a sitting member of the California State Senate (who was elected governor just six years later). **It offers the most detailed surviving record of this poorly documented venture and is likewise one of the earliest contemporary accounts of the search for a lost mine in America's Old West**.

The Death Valley 49ers, as they came to be called, were actually several parties among a larger contingent of emigrants who had all started out along the rugged and poorly watered Spanish Trail in the fall of 1849, having departed Salt Lake City too late in the season to take the northern and more direct route to the mines. At a spot near Meadow Valley Creek in Utah, the Death Valley group--about two dozen wagons driven by the Jayhawkers from Illinois, the Bug Smashers from Georgia, the family of the Reverend James Brier, and a handful of smaller groups from Mississippi and Wisconsin--split from the larger body at the head of a supposed cutoff, believing that it offered a short-cut to the gold country. Stubbornly, and quite unknowingly, they were forging an untrod path straight into those salt flats on which they would later confer the name of Death, the driest and lowest location anywhere in the United States.

They switched from the Spanish Trail to the false cutoff on November 3: eighty men, four women, eleven children, more than two dozen wagons, and over a hundred oxen. Soon they began to break into smaller parties, each of which would trudge for weeks through the most brutal and unyielding landscape that any of them had likely ever imagined. By early December, most of the Jayhawkers and Bug Smashers were breaking up their cumbersome wagons, using the pieces to make more agile, two-wheeled carts that they and their oxen could more easily pull across the rugged landscape. Even these, though, were too much for the splintered parties by Christmas, after which time nearly all would reduce their loads to what they could carry. On New Years' Eve, at a thirst-quenching snow patch near the head of what is now called Jayhawker Canyon, along the slopes of Tucki Mountain, a group of the young men from Illinois (even the original parties had split up by this point) found a small group of Bug Smashers led by Jim Martin already camped and melting snow in expectation of their arrival. Sitting around the fire, one of the Georgians showed



John Colton "a chunk of black rock he held in his hands, and told me it was half silver, and that nearly all the rock we were walking over was very rich in silver" (Lingenfelter 1988:43). Another sample was supposedly pure enough that Martin was able to shape it with his knife. Later, after escaping the valley's clutches, he had it fastened into a gunsight to replace one lost in the course of his desert wanderings. Thus was born the Lost Gunsight Lode.

Ironically, perhaps, given the name they gave the place, nearly all of the Death Valley 49ers survived their weeks-long ordeal and reached the safety of the Santa Clarita Valley. Within just a few weeks of their arrival, at least two different exploring parties formed to locate the camp where the Jayhawkers and Bug Smashers had survived on melted snow, and thus to pin down the general location of the silver lode. Surprisingly, each of these hopeful parties was guided by a 49er ready to march back into the hellish landscape he had barely survived. These first forays would not be the last. As Richard Lingenfelter puts it, "The little piece of silver-lead ore that Jim Martin brought out of Death Valley in January 1850 and made into a gunsight had an impact on the history of the valley out of all proportion to its value. It became the lodestone for the early exploration of Death Valley" (1988:59). Over the next two decades, no fewer than a half-dozen of the original survivors returned to the place of their sufferings, seeking the source of Martin's silver. Yet none found the lode, which had grown to almost mythical proportions as the years rolled on.

Among those who could never quite escape Death Valley's pull was the Rev. James Welch Brier, who had survived the trek of '49 with his wife, Juliet (Julia to friends and family), and their three young sons. Brier was born in Stillwater, Ohio, in 1814, and had become a Methodist circuit rider by the late 1830s. He and Julia met in Michigan, where her family had moved from Vermont some years before, and they married in 1839. They traveled frequently over the next ten years, as he rode the circuit and she managed their home and three sons. Then in 1849, Brier felt himself called to spread the gospel among the gold fields of California. Living in Iowa at the time, they joined the so-called San Francisco Company and began making their way across the Plains toward the Great Salt Lake. Here they broke with their party and joined a group headed out along the Old Spanish Trail, the first in a series of decisions that put them on the path to Death Valley. During the meeting at Meadow Valley Creek just a couple of weeks later. Rev. Brier was among the most vocal advocates for taking the purported cutoff, a fact that few of his fellow survivors were ever willing to forget. He was also diabetic, and as his health deteriorated during their trek through the valley, the burden of his own family's survival fell almost entirely to Julia, whom her fellow 49ers referred to in the years to come as "the best man of the party" (Gray 1976:45).

Ever the wandering circuit rider, Brier's ministry carried his family first to the town of Los Angeles, where he and Julia briefly ran a boarding house while recovering their health. Afterward he preached for a few years in Marysville before settling down at Santa Cruz. While it is possible that Brier returned to Death Valley in or about 1865 (Weight 1961:16), we can be certain that he served as guide for a small party in 1873 that included George C. Perkins--then a California State Senator representing Butte County--and the author of this diary, Ford H. Rogers. Rogers was born in Detroit in 1840 but had worked for several years in San Francisco and the Sierra Nevadas prior to the start of the Civil War. At war's outbreak he immediately volunteered with the First Michigan Cavalry, where he rose from the rank of 2nd lieutenant to captain before mustering out of the Army in 1862. He then returned to California and joined the Pacific Bank of San Francisco, which he left a decade later to establish offices of his own for mining and stock brokering.

I walked about 5 miles - after
croking the desert we entered a
cannon and followed it up about
2 1/2 miles and camped without
water - Our march to day was about
30 Miles - The animals have had no water
since Six oclock this morning - The
desert is Sandy and salaie - covered
with Sage brush and grease wood -

Wednesday, March 19-73 -

Up at 4 - marched at 6 - Continued
up the Canon a mile or two and branched
off into another Canon to the S.E. and from
this into to another to the East - near the
Summit Steanie found some ore that I
think is tin - From the Summit the Canon
was very rocky and rough with some very
rough places to get down - the animals had
to clamber - Perkins lost his pistol -
We made coffee at last nights camp which
used up nearly all the water leaving but a
few swallows which was soon gone and
we found no water on that mountain,
the canon opened out into a valley containing
a dry lake incrusted with salt and various

Rogers's diary--filling 30 manuscript pages and containing approximately 5000 words--is devoted entirely to his experience with the Lost Gunsight search; on its front flyleaf, he has given it the title, "Journal of Prospecting Trip in Search of the Celebrated 'Gun Sight' Load [sic]--Inyo County, March 1873." He opens his account with a brief explanation of how he came to be among the members of the exploring party, which we will also recount here. In October 1872, the General Association of the Congregational Church of California (which Brier, an ardent abolitionist, had joined in opposition to his Methodist Church's stance on slavery) met in San Francisco, with Brier representing Butte County's Congregational Church of Cherokee as pastor. Rogers and his family entertained Rev. Brier at their home, and he regailed them with his stories of Death Valley and the Lost Gunsight Lode. The following February, on a trip to Oroville in Butte County, Rogers found a small party preparing to launch a new search for the Gunsight, consisting of Brier, Perkins, and Wallace H. Chappell, the county's recorder and auditor. Rogers was invited to join, and they later added Dr. A. K. Stearns to the group, as well. Rogers returned to San Francisco and began to plan his departure, scheduled for early March.

Travelling by boat, train, and stage, Rogers arrived at Visalia early in the morning of March 11, where he found the rest of the party preparing to move and having already "secured a fine large black horse" for him to ride. All of the animals--horses, mules, and pack mules--were provided by Thomas Fowler, Perkins's friend and fellow representative in the California State Senate. They left Visalia later that morning, but not without mishap. A pack mule ran away, and in the repacking they tied their coffee pot to Rogers's saddle (he was leading his horse by rope while riding in a buggy with Fowler as far as the edge of town). The coffee pot spooked the horse, which ran ahead and broadsided the buggy's team, pulling Rogers over the dashboard with his rifle. Fowler finally brought his team to a halt, but not without injuring his shoulder. In the afternoon, the mule carrying Chappell bucked and threw him, then ran over the plains with his pack mule following. It took Chappell, Rogers, Perkins, and a young Indian boy two hours to catch the animals, but they still managed to make nearly 30 miles on the day, camping at Porterville.

The next day the party rested for two hours at Fountain Springs, learning there that "Indians had just killed a man at Fish Lake north of Owens Lake not far from our destination." In all they covered 25 miles and camped at White River. On Thursday they passed through Glennville before stopping for the night at "Dock Elliott's" house in the Greenhorn Mountains. After marching over a steep section of the Greenhorns, with "3 miles of snow--2 feet deep in places," they reached Kernville and camped along the Kern River. The following day, March 15, Rogers writes that the landscape around the South Fork of the Kern was a "flat desert country--heavy gravelly sand--sage brush and cactus--alkali--rough bare rocky mountains--very bleak and desolate on each side of the valley." The party crossed Walter Pass on the 17th, stopping in Indian Wells at the home of Peter Brown; the next part of their easterly route would include an 18-mile stretch through desert without water, giving all but Brier their first taste what was to come in Death Valley itself.

Rogers and his companions passed most of the next two days with no fresh water, picking their way through several canyons in the vicinity of Searles Valley on the western edge of the Mojave Desert. They finally found a spring late on the 19th, at the head of a ravine where several other prospectors--supposedly borax hunters--were already camping; Rogers writes that, "This has been our hardest day and I never appreciated water so much." Here they met Bob Stewart, one of the other campers, who informed them that he had already claimed the spring for mining. Known

as "Providential Spring" (Providence Spring or today's Indian Joe Spring), Rogers notes that "This is the same spring discovered by Deacon Richards in 1849 as Mr. Brier's party were famishing for water at the point of rocks below--Mr. Brier got the half of an ox shoe from a place below where he camped in 1849 and slaughtered an ox." Three years later, Brier would write about his return to Providence Spring and finding this same shoe in a letter to Charles Meacum, composed on the occasion of the Jayhawker's fourth annual reunion (Johnson and Johnson 1987:177).

Despite Rogers's observation that Stewart and his party were "very friendly," it is doubtful they were camped in the rugged Panamint Mountains, on the edge of Death Valley, searching for deposits of borax. In fact, "Bob Stewart" was almost certainly Robert L. Stewart, who along with his companions William L. Kennedy and Richard C. Jacobs had prospected in the Panamints for gold and silver since the early 1860s. The previous December, they had located an uncommonly rich vein of silver in Surprise Canyon, about 40 miles north of Providence Spring, but the arrival of winter snows forced them back to Kernville, where Kennedy owned a store. In Jaunary, they had returned to the Panamints with enough supplies to last for several months, so that they could hurry back to claim their stakes in Surprise Valley as soon as the weather allowed. After passing Owens Lake, though, they had found themselves trailed by a band of desperados; unbeknownst to the three prospectors, these men were wanted for the robbery of a Wells Fargo stage some months before. Regardless, Stewart and his companions were taking no chances and had wintered well to the south of Surprise Canyon to keep their followers away from the strike. In April, just days after Rogers's party had made their safe return to Visalia, Stewart and his companions would make their own return to Surprise Canyon--still shadowed by the band of ruffians. Yet rather than coming to violence, all realized that there was enough to go around, and each man claimed his stake on what would soon be called the Panamint strike, launching Death Valley's silver boom.

Rogers and his company, of course, knew nothing of this. They left Stewart at Providence Spring on March 20, and in the course of the day's march took in their first view of the Panamint Valley; they camped at "Mesquit Springs" after making about 23 miles ("One of the most beautiful evenings I ever saw = had phrenological examinations by Mr. Brier"). After passing through an enormous wash the following day, its extent "far greater than the whole City and County of San Francisco," they camped at another spring where they found

> a notice posted here by Bob Stewart claiming a mill site and the waters of this canyon for mining purposes for himself and three others one of whom, Jas. Palache of San Francisco, I know. They call this spring Flowering Spring and the district Panamint District--their notice bears date January 1st 1873 = they have mining claims located somewhere in the vicinity.

Breaking camp early on the 22nd, Brier and Stearns rode ahead "to the north to spy out the country towards the 'Gun Sight'= the resr of us...moved up the canyon hoping to find better water and feed within a few miles." A few miles up they passed "an Indian woman and boy with a horse packed with something, probably pine nuts, going down to the valley." Later that morning,

> As we got high up in the valley and canyon above we got a view of some grand scenery by looking back out of the mouth of the canyon across Panamint Valley, Coso Mountains and the Owens River Valley to the

> Sierra Nevada Mts. At their highest points = they looked grandly in their robe of sunrise, it was the pleasantest view of the Sierras that I ever beheld.

Realizing their difficulties finding water ("in this country you may go very near water snd not know"), Brier and Perkins went to the "Indian campooda" on the morning of the 23rd to seek a guide for the next part of their route. Although the maps they carried did indicate the locations of various springs, Rogers notes that "Our trip has shown that all maps of this country are defective and entirely unreliable." About noon the next day, with the assistance of their Indian guide, they reached "Hitchings Spring" (Hitchens Spring or today's Jayhawker Spring), following a path near modern CA State Route 190. Coming down an immense wash after resting at the spring, they had their first views of Death Valley itself: "Looking down a few miles we looked down upon the north end of Death Valley, it appeared sandy but not particularly remarkable..." On the 25th they began prospecting the area more carefully for "water feed and the Gun Sight Ledge we having reached the vicinity where that celebrated ledgeis supposed to be." Here disaster nearly struck, as all of their animals--left unattended to graze near the spring because they seemed too weak to stray--had all wandered away. Rogers's concern is quite palpable: "they are gone and we have a discouraging prospect ahead - We have scoured the mounatains, ravine and canon for some distance around and can do no more tonight but go to bed or to blankets with very serious thoughts."

Rogers and Perkins rose early the next morning and began a trek on foot back to "Flowering Springs," where they had earlier seen the postings by Stewart. They arrived about noon, having covered more than 20 miles ("the hardest walk that I ever took"). Fortunately, as they recuperated from the long march, Chappell rode up with both of their animals ("I never was more glad to see a man in my life"), which he had discovered a few miles from their camp near the wash with Brier and Stearns. The entire party rejoined on the 27th. The next day, Brier led them to one of "his old 49 camps where he had found an old butcher knife left by one of his party" (Brier also notes this discovery in his letter to Meacum of January 17, 1876).

On March 29, Rogers writes that they were turning back near Towne Pass. After caching their pick and shovel behind a large quartz rock, the party was "homeward bound, being short of provisions, without water, disgusted with the country and glad to go." Heading nearly due west from Towne Pass, again along near modern Route 190, the reached Darwin Canyon after "a very hot and tedious" day, "we being short of water and the animals not having had any since yesterday morning at six o'clock and it being very uncertain when we would get more." At Darwin Canyon they discovered, to thei great relief, "a grove of large willows about 20 feet high...[and] a beautiful little stream of clear cold water [that] ran along the back of one wall--There was plenty of grass water, fuel, shade and leaves and soft sand to sleep on, making the most perfect camp we have had on the trip." After the brutal trail from Towne Pass to the canyon, they decided to spend the entire day follwing, a Sunday, resting in its shelter. That evening, Rogers writes that

> I saw the most beautiful twlight scene I ever saw – looking up & out of the canon at a clear blue sky with the new moon and Venus shining brightly, in the foreground the top of a tall willow hung gracefully. The jagged outline of the wall of granite was clearly relieved against the sky and an eagle was soaring high above – all below the summit of the walls was in deep shade – And the picture was lovely in the extreme.

From Darwin Canyon they took the Coso Trail and reached the old mining town of Coso on March 31; 'this is," Rogers notes, " a miserable hamlet of Mexicans who are now working the Coso mines abandoned by San Francisco companies" (Dr. E. Darwin French had discovered gold and silver at Coso in 1860 while looking for the Lost Gunsight, and the mining district that sprang up nearly overnight there was bankrolled by San Francisco money for nearly a decade). Outside Coso, they came upon its now renowned hot mud springs:

> On the march we came to some boiling springs – probably 100 of them and probably as many different shades of red purple and slate colors. For miles of the route was spotted with pieces of something resembling black glass [obsidian], a material from which the Indians used to make arrow heads, some of which we found.

They arrived at Little Lake on April 1, just south of modern Coso on U. S. 395, where they once again bumped into Bob Stewart and his two partners, "Scobie and Kennedy" [Scobie was perhaps a nickname for Jacobs]. The prospectors, surely relieved to see Rogers and his tired companions making their way back home, repeated their tip about borax deposits in the vicinity of Providence Spring. Although borax was, to be sure, a valuable mineral when produced and processed in large quanitites, it was hardly the stuff of legend, and there is nothing to suggest that the men of either party ever followed up on the tip. It was, however, April Fools Day, and in little more than a week Stewart and his partners would lay claim to the silver-rich walls of Surprise Canyon.

Over the next two days, the band began to break up. At Little Lake, Stearns took the stage to Kernville, while Brier "started across the mountains with a young man going that way." The rest continued on to Indian Wells, completing their loop through the Mojave, then made their return to Visalia at "2 1/2 oclock" on April 5. It is here that Rogers's journal ends. Seven years later, in December 1880, he disposed of some mining interests and returned to his native Detroit, where he purchased the Detroit White Lead Works. Although founded 15 years before, the company had never been profitable, yet under Rogers's management it was thriving in just a matter of years. By 1900, William Livingstone, in his *History of the Republican Party*, reported that "the plant today is the finest paint and varnish plant in the world," with Rogers as Stockholder, Director, President and General Manager of the business (1900, V.2:327-329). His days as a bank clerk in California led him to build one of the finest collections of so-called wildcat bank notes in private hands. He died in Detroit in 1914, at the age of 74, and was buried in Elmwood Cemetery.

Ford Roger's diary offers an important and previously unknown primary source for early travels in Death Valley and across the Mojave Desert. It links the region's past--the story of the Lost Gunsight and the route of the Jayhawkers and their 49er companions--with its future--the rich silver discoveries in Surprise Canyon that would spur the great Panamint rush later that year. It is particularly significant for its detailed, daily account of Brier's 1873 return to Death Valley, an excursion that heretofore was known only through Brier's Jayhawker reunion letters, composed years after the actual events. Manuscript material pertaining to Death Valley and the Mojave is exceedingly scarce. The Jayhawker Party Collection at the Huntington Library contains the largest gathering of materials related to the Death Valley 49ers, while a few diaries and letters are scattered across a handful of other institutions. **We can trace no comparable material in the history of the trade, whether in bookseller catalogues or in auction records**.

Relevant sources:

Clark, Howard D.
1946 *Lost Mines of the Old West*. Ghost Town Press, Los Angeles.
Johnson, Jean
2018 *Grit and Gold: The Death Valley Jayhawkers of 1849*. University of Nevada Press, Reno.
Johnson, Leroy, and Jean Johnson
1987 *Escape from Death Valley: as told by William Lewis Manly and other '49ers*. Researched, edited, and annotated by Leroy and Jean Johnson. University of Nevada Press, Reno.
Lingenfelter, Richard E.
1986 *Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
Livingstone, William, publisher
1900 *Livingstone's History of the Republican Party*. William Livingstone, Publisher, Detroit.
Palmer, Theodore S.
1952 *Chronology of the Death Valley Region in California, 1849-1949: An Index of the Events, Persons, and Publications Connected with its History*. Byron S. Adams, Washington, D.C.
Southworth, John
1992 The Brothers Brier in Gold Rush California. *The Branding Iron*, No. 189:1, 3-8.
Unrau, Harlan D.
1997 *A History of the Lands Added to Death Valley National Monument by the California Desert Protection Act of 1994*. United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service.
Weight, Harold O.
1961 *Lost Mines of Death Valley*. Calico Press, Twentynine Palms, CA.

– –

[California--Death Valley, Prospecting]: Ford H. Rogers: [MANUSCRIPT JOURNAL OF FORD H. ROGERS, DOCUMENTING HIS 1873 JOURNEY INTO DEATH VALLEY WITH 49ER JAMES BRIER, IN SEARCH OF THE LOST GUNSIGHT LODE]. [Various places, mostly Inyo, Tulare, and Kern counties, California, March-April, 1873]. Small 8vo (16.5 cm). 30 ms. pp. filled with text in Rogers's hand (about 5,000 words), written in pencil and quite legible; 30 pp. (15 ll.) unused. Original patterned black leather boards, spine covering largely perished but holding, with boards slightly bowed. Overall very good.

17. SOLD.

A *Message* from Montana Territory, Presented to Future President Garfield

In August of 1872, Montana Territory was on the brink of war. The year before, Montana's first Republican congressional delegate, William Claggett, had obtained an executive order from President Grant to remove the Salish Indians from the Bitterroot Valley, their ancestral homelands along the far western border of the territory. By June 1872, Claggett had pushed through Congress an act to make the order law, authorizing Grant to move the Salish to Jocko Reservation, specifying how white settlers could obtain title to the vacated lands, and providing Salish Indians the option to remain on their own lands with title in exchange for giving up tribal membership. White settlers formed armed militias bent on removing the Salish by force, an incitement supported by Territorial Governor Benjamin F. Potts, who offered to supply guns, ammunition, and equipment. As matters threatened to unravel, the U. S. Secretary of the Interior sent Representative James A. Garfield of Ohio on a mission to negotiate removal with the Salish. Garfield and Potts were old friends, both hailing from Ohio and having attained the rank of general in the Union Army. What resulted was the Garfield Agreement of 1872, in which two-thirds of the Salish accepted the government's offer and removed to Jocko, avoiding bloodshed between their people and the whites.

Just over a year later, Potts delivered this message to the Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly, in which he reports on W. A. Jones's survey of a road from Point of Rocks to Fort Ellis and on the Crow Indians' surrender the previous year. More important, he warns, "The greatest detriment to the growth of our Territory, to-day, is the fact that "Sitting Bull" and his hostile band occupy the natural highway from Montana to the East, by the Yellowstone and Powder River route to Bismarck" (p. 19). **This is one of the earliest printed notices of Sitting Bull**, **the great Sioux leader**. The value and scarcity of Potts's address has long been recognized. Only two copies have been offered in the trade, the last of these by Eberstadt in 1965 and priced at $250; likewise, OCLC lists only three copies, two in Montana, and we locate a fourth at Yale. **The copy that we offer here is particularly desirable, though, as it is Potts's presentation copy to Garfield, with an engraved presentation leaf inserted before the title page**. It is not unreasonable to think that Potts hoped his old friend might achieve the same effect here as he had with the Salish. If so, he was badly mistaken, as the nation would learn at Little Big Horn just two years later.

Relevant sources:

Bigart, Robert J.
2012 *Getting Good Crops Economic and Diplomatic Survival Strategies of the Montana Bitterroot Salish Indians, 1870–1891*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

– –

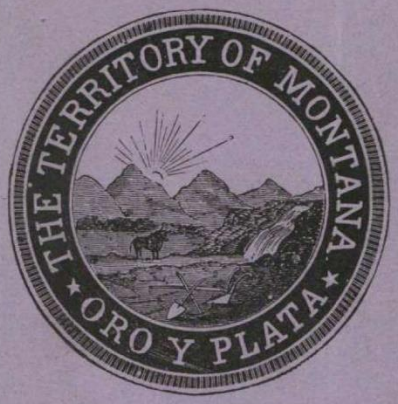
Potts, Benjamin Franklin. MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR OF MONTANA TERRITORY, TO THE EIGHTH SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, COMMENCING JANUARY 5, 1874. "Montanian" Steam Power Print, Virginia City, 1874. 21 pp., 3 blanks at rear. 8vo (23 cm). Printed wraps, two vertical folds, light wear to spine. Very good. McMurtrie 85.

18. SOLD.

MESSACE

OF THE

Governor of Montana Territory,



TO THE

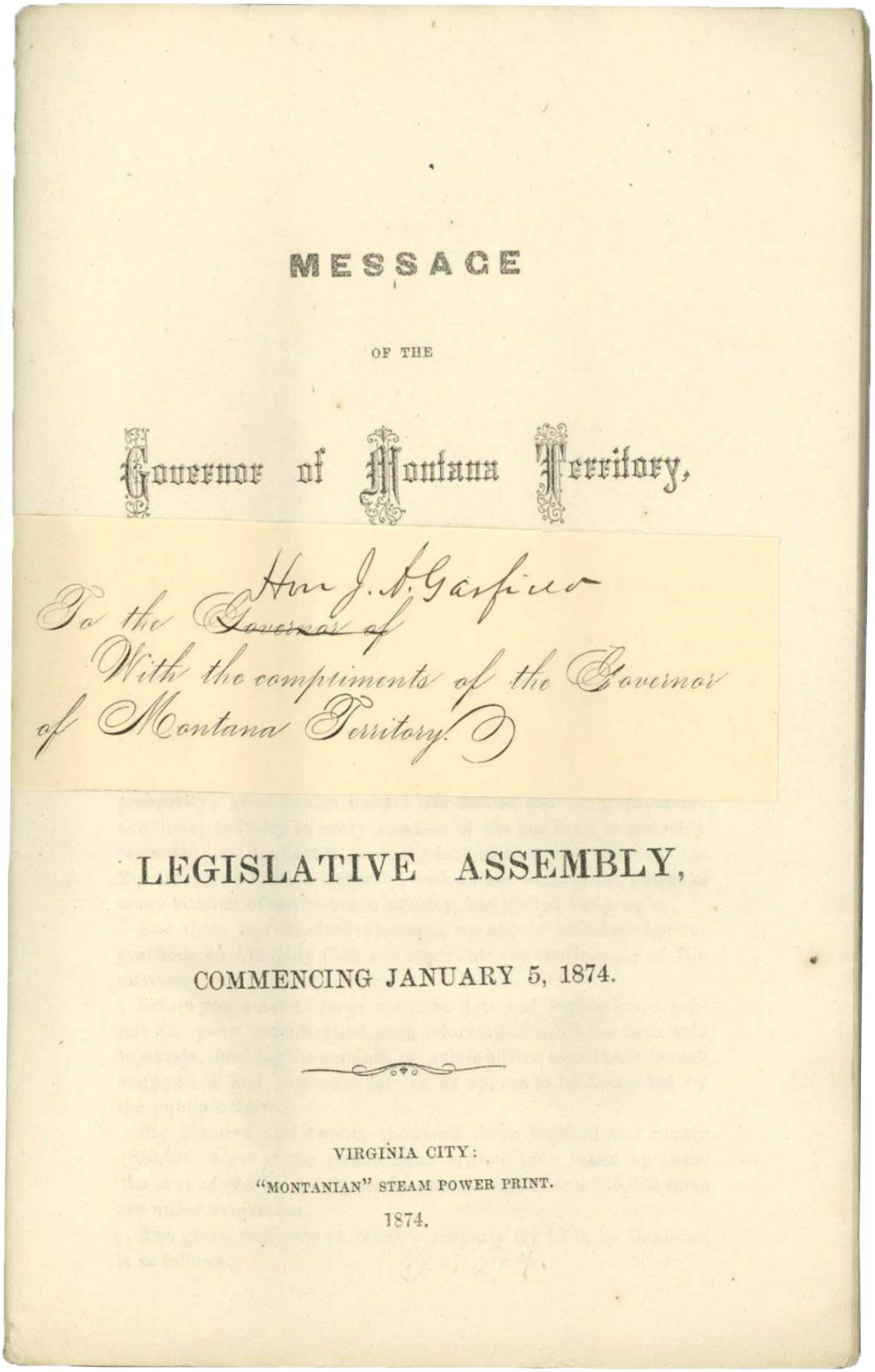
EIGHTH SESSION

OF THE

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

COMMENCING JANUARY 5, 1874.

VIRGINIA CITY:
"MONTANIAN" STEAM POWER PRINT.
1874.



MESSAGE

OF THE

Governor of Montana Territory,

To the Hon J. A. Garfield
~~Governor of~~
With the compliments of the Governor
of Montana Territory.

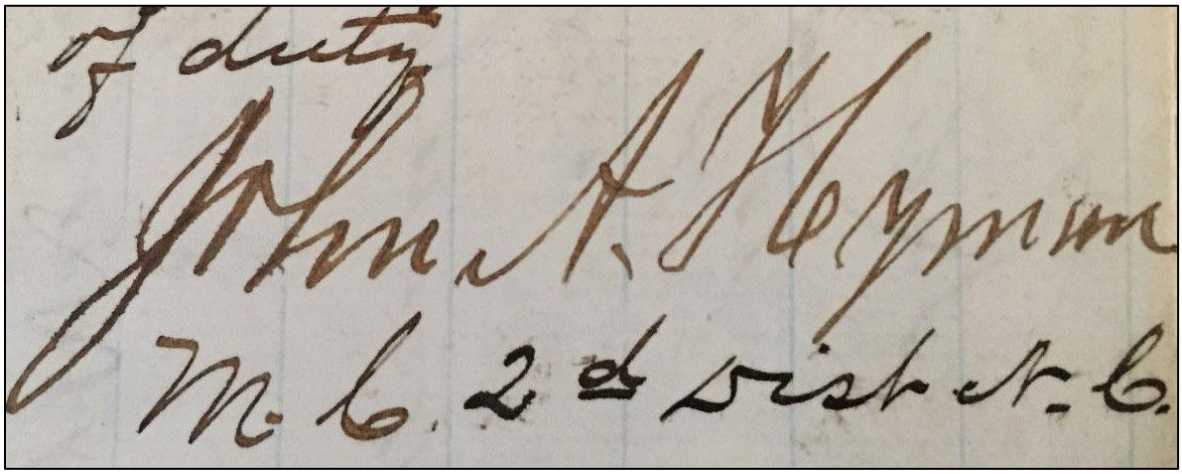
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

COMMENCING JANUARY 5, 1874.

VIRGINIA CITY:
"MONTANIAN" STEAM POWER PRINT.
1874.

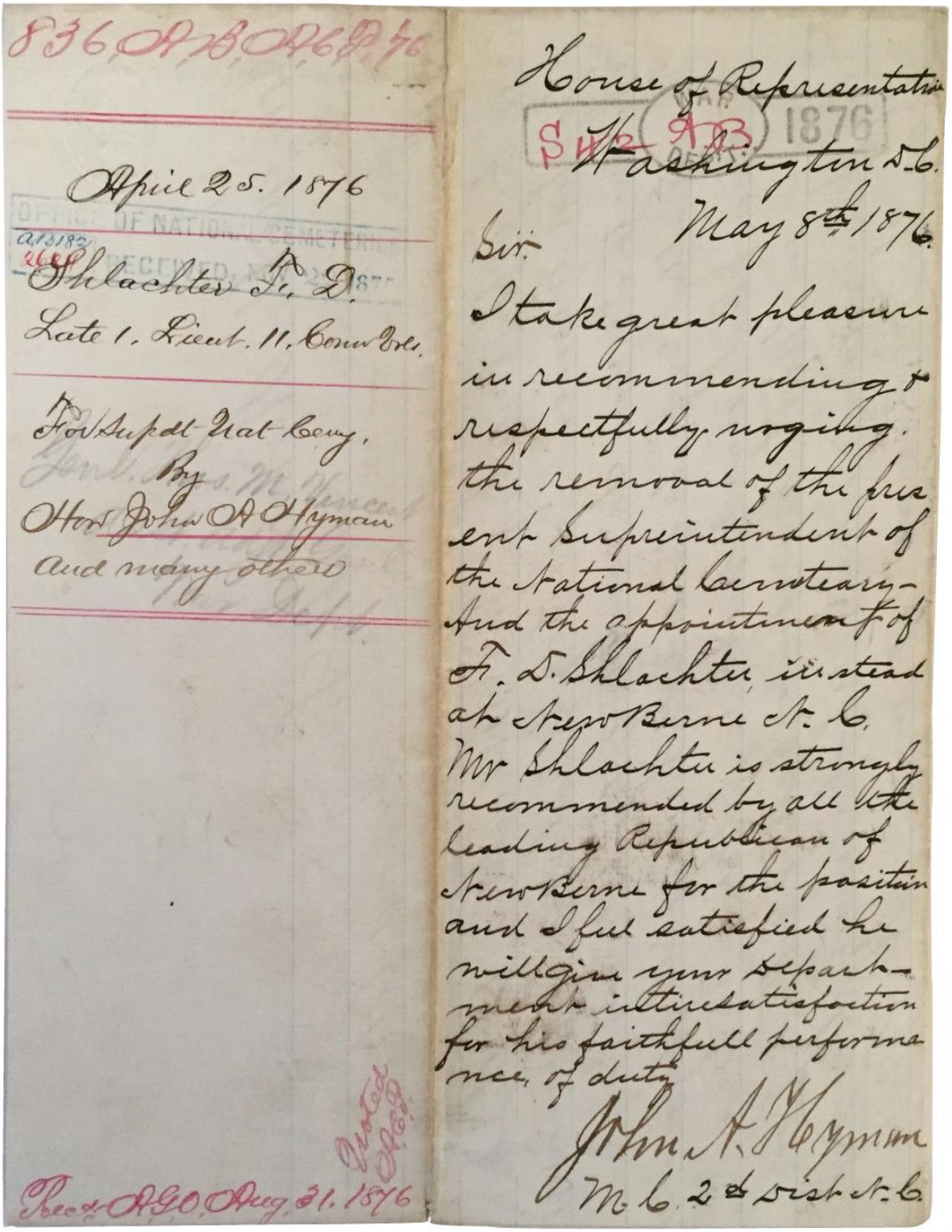
John Adams Hyman, Signing as North Carolina's First Black Congressman

On March 14, 1862, Union troops under the command of Brig. Gen. Ambrose Burnside captured the port city of New Bern--North Carolina's second oldest town--from a poorly trained force of Confederate defenders. It would remain under Federal control for the remainder of the war. From across the region, thousands of enslaved peoples escaped from coastal plantations and made their way to New Bern, seeking protection behind Union lines. They arrived in even greater numbers after Emancipation in 1863. Although the town had long been home to one of the largest free Black communities in the state, made up predominantly of urban artisans, New Bern became a center of Black cultural and political fluorescence during the era of federal Reconstruction, and by the early 1870s the majority of its citizens were people of color.



In 1872, North Carolina Democrats, seeking to neutralize the voting power of Black voters and their Republican allies in the eastern part of the state, gerrymandered a new, majority-Black congressional district with New Bern as its largest town. Over the next quarter-century, from 1874 to 1898, the 2nd District--widely referred to as the Black Second--elected four African American congressmen to seven terms in the U. S. House of Representatives. The first of these, and as such the first African American to represent North Carolina in the federal government, was John Adams Hyman, born into slavery on a farm near Warrenton in 1840. **Hyman served only a single term in Washington, and this autograph signed petition is one of the few examples of his signature known to have survived; making it even more significant, Hyman composed it in his official capacity as a congressman during the final year of his term**.

As a young man, Hyman had worked for a jeweler in Warrenton who encouraged his desire to read and write. White neighbors, though, reacted violently when he was found with a spelling book. They accused the jeweler of corrupting his slaves and drove him out of town. The jeweler sold Hyman to a planter in Alabama, where he insisted that he would continue to pursue his quest for literacy. Soon he was sold again, the Alabama planter fearing that his attitude would influence the other slaves. Hyman later recalled that he was sold at least eight times for his persistence. He returned to Warren County in early 1865, a free man, where he rejoined his family and enrolled in school, obtaining the equivalent of a grade school education. Over the next few years, he became



836 A.B.A.G.P. 76

April 25. 1876

A13182
Schlachter F. D.
Late 1. Lieut. 11. Conn Vols.

For Supt Nat Cem.
By
Hon John A Hyman
And many others

Rec'd A.G.O. Aug. 31. 1876

House of Representatives
Washington D.C.
May 8th 1876.

Sir.

I take great pleasure in recommending & respectfully urging the removal of the present Superintendent of the National Cemetery - And the appointment of F. D. Schlachter in stead at New Berne N. C.

Mr Schlachter is strongly recommended by all the leading Republican of New Berne for the position and I feel satisfied he will give your Department intire satisfaction for his faithfull performance of duty

John A. Hyman
M. C. 2d Dist N. C.

a farmer and opened a small general store. He also developing as a leader in the African American community, gaining appointment as a trustee of the county's first segregated school and taking an active role in efforts to protect the freedoms of North Carolina's Black citizens.

Hyman's political career began in 1865, just after his return, when he was elected to serve on two committees at the North Carolina Freedmen's Convention, including a seat on the important committee for invitations, which was tasked with encouraging influential politicians to attend the proceedings. He also served as a delegate to the 1867 Republican State Convention and earned an appointment as registrar for northern Warren County, recruiting emancipated Blacks to exercise their voting rights. Later that year, he was elected a member of the Warren County delegation to the North Carolina Constitutional Convention, which met in Raleigh in January 1868. Hyman was one of 15 Black delegates in the 133-member body. The Convention drafted a constitution that established free public education and universal male suffrage and ended property requirements for voting. Despite intimidation from newly organized terror groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the constitution was approved by voters--mostly Republicans and Black men. In the first election that followed, Hyman was elected to the state senate, a position he held for six years.

During his years in the North Carolina Senate, Hyman became a strong voice for civil rights legislation at both the state and federal levels, writing to U. S. Senator and renowned abolitionist Charles Sumner of Massachusetts in 1872 that "If [an African American] is a man, he is entitled to *all* the rights and privileges of any other man. There can be no grades of citizenship under the American flag" (Wasniewski 2008:128). He opposed President Johnson's leniency toward former Confederates and supported measures that required states to ratify the 14th Amendment--granting equal civil and legal rights to African Americans--before being readmitted to the Union. He was also caught up in the corruption scandals that plagued the North Carolina Senate, with his political enemies accusing him of accepting bribes from railroad lobbyists and land speculators. Hyman denied involvement, and indeed, he was never formally charged with wrongdoing.

In 1872, Hyman challenged white Republican and pre-war Whig Charles R. Thomas for the party's congressional nomination from the 2nd District. Thomas would prevail, even in the gerrymandered Black Second, where every county in the district was at least 45% Black; in three of the ten--including Warren County, Hyman's home and political base--African Americans made up nearly 2/3 of the population. Nevertheless, the handwriting was on the wall, and when Thomas faced seven challengers two years later, Hyman received the nomination on the 29th ballot. In the general election, he defeated George W. Blount, the candidate offered by white supremacist state Democrats, with 62% of the vote. **With this he became the first African American to represent North Carolina in the federal government**.

Arriving in Washington, Hyman found few opportunities to have a significant legislative voice in the 44th Congress. For the first time since before the war years, House Republicans were in the minority, and his appointment to the Committee on Manufacturers offered little for his rural and primarily agricultural district. He sponsored or submitted private bills and petitions, but had an otherwise quiet congressional term. Meanwhile, in North Carolina, racial divisions within the Republican Party were growing, and a white challenger rose to oppose Hyman for its nomination in 1876. Curtis H. Brogden had been elected Lt. Governor in 1872 and had ascended to the state's governorship in 1874, when Gov. Tod Caldwell died in office. Early in 1876, Brogden had begun

building support for a congressional campaign, and at the 1877 district convention he defeated Hyman on the ninth and final ballot. Rather than launch a third party candidacy, as many North Carolina Republicans feared, Hyman threw his support to Brogden, who won easily in the general election. Hyman ran for Congress again in 1878, but lost the nomination to James O'Hara, a rival Black politician from the district. He never held another elective office.

At the end of his single term in Congress, Hyman returned to farming and operating his grocery and liquor store in Warren County. He was a steward at the Warrenton Colored Methodist Church and served as its Sunday school superintendent. But the years to come would not prove easy. His church accused him of embezzling from the Sunday school, and in the temperance wave that swept across North Carolina in the late 1870s,, it expelled him for selling alcohol to members of the congregation. He moved to Washington, D. C., with his wife and four children, then later to Richmond, Virginia. After a brief return to Warrenton in 1887, he moved back to Washington and obtained a position in the Department of Agriculture's seed dispensary. He died at home of a stroke at the age of 51 on September 14, 1891. The document that we offer here, signed and dated by Hyman in the House of Representatives on May 8, 1876, is a petition forwarding the request of several Craven County Republicans to have a county commissioner, F. D. Schlachter, appointed superintendent of the National Cemetery at New Bern. Although the petition itself is routine, we trace no comparable item ever offered at auction or in the trade. **A rare document from the brief period when Hyman served as North Carolina's first Black congressman**.

Relevant sources:

Anderson, Eric
1981 *Race and Politics in North Carolina, 1872–1901: The Black Second*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Middleton, Stephen, editor
2002 *Black Congressmen During Reconstruction: A Documentary Sourcebook*. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.

Wasniewski, Matthew, editor
2008 *Black Americans in Congress, 1870-2007*. Office of History and Preservation, Office of the Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

– –

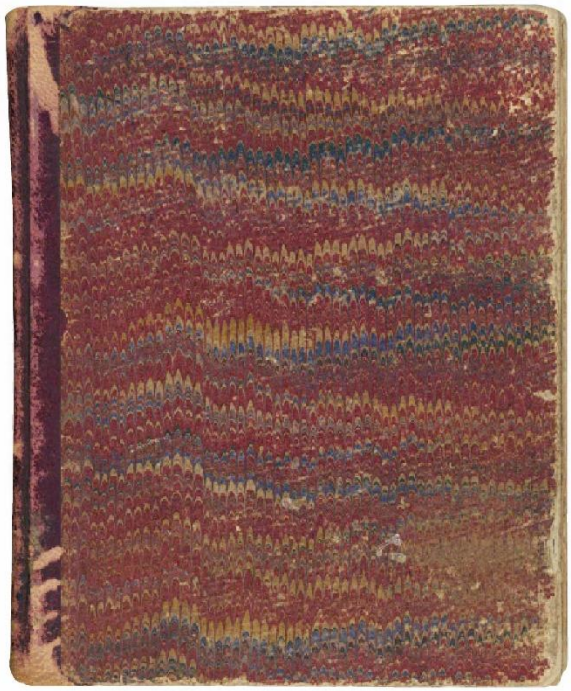
[African American--Reconstruction Congress]: John Adams Hyman: [AUTOGRAPH PETITION SIGNED BY JOHN ADAMS HYMAN, NORTH CAROLINA'S FIRST AFRICAN AMERICAN CONGRESSMAN, SUBMITTED WHILE SERVING IN OFFICE]. [Washington, D. C., House of Representatives, May 8, 1876]. Petition requesting a political appointment, signed by several prominent Republicans from Craven County, North Carolina, forwarded with accompanying letter of support from Rep. John Adams Hyman. 4 pp. on folio sheet of lined paper, folded vertically to 8 x 12 1/2 in. (20 x 32 cm). Folded horizontally into four panels with signed supporting statement from Hyman on second panel. Old War Department rubber stamps, light browning at folds, minor separation at center fold. Very good.

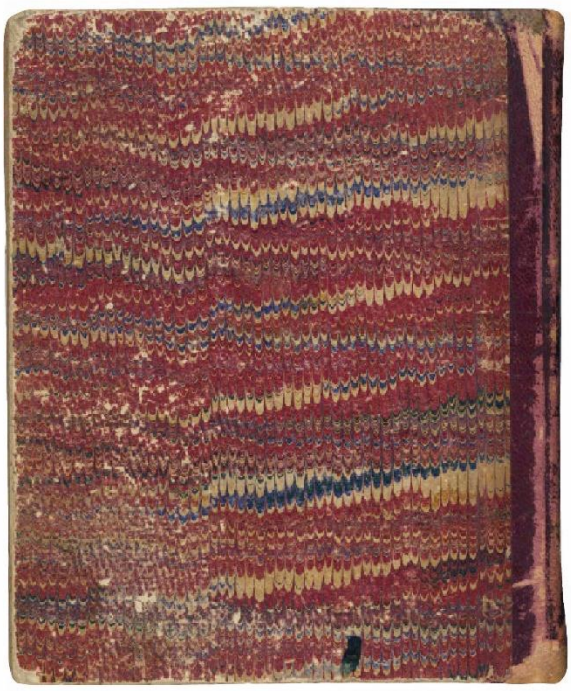
19. SOLD.

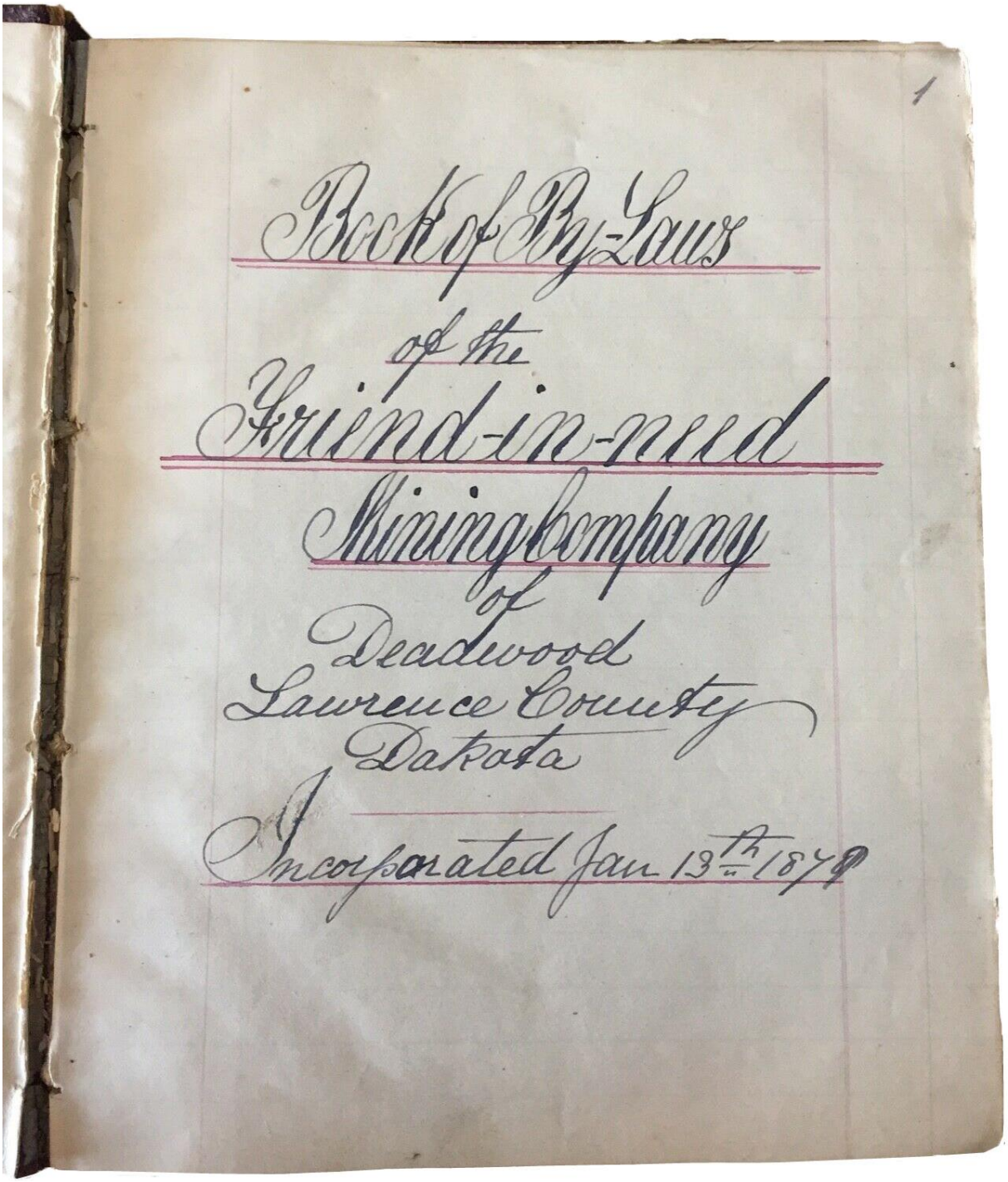
Edwin Curley's Friend-In-Need Mining Company: A Deadwood Manuscript

Few early proponents of the central and northern Great Plains were ever more enthusiastic than Edwin Augustus Curley. A journalist by training, he produced not one but two major guides for would-be immigrants, miners, and tourists to the region. The first of these, which appeared in 1875, was *Nebraska: Its Advantages, Resources, and Drawbacks*. The second, appearing the next year, was *Glittering Gold: The True Story of the Black Hills*. Yet Curley did more than advocate that others move there; he did so himself. Our research indicates that after issuing a second, revised and enlarged edition of his guide to western Dakota Territory in 1877, retitled *Edwin A. Curley's Guide to the Black Hills*, he moved to Deadwood with his English wife and three children. There he worked for some years as a miner, and in 1879, along with some of the town's most prominent citizens, he established the Friend-In-Need Mining Company. This manuscript--filling 59 pages of a journal or memorandum book and containing the company's by-laws, certificate of corporate existence, articles of incorporation, and corporate minutes--is both the only surviving record of this early mining venture and the only known manuscript in Curley's hand. **Moreover, it is one of the only surviving manuscripts from Deadwood's early years, before the great inferno that destroyed most of the town and its records in September 1879**.

Because of his work as staff writer and foreign correspondent for a London weekly, *The Field, the Farm, the Garden: The Country Gentleman's Newspaper*, Plains historians have always assumed that Curley was an Englishman himself (see e.g., Edwards 2006; McLairn and Turchen 1973). The registry of his marriage to Julia Spencer--dated October 5, 1870, in Brixton, a district of South London--tells us nothing of his background, but it does note his occupation as "wholesale perfumer" (McLairn and Turchen 1973:viii). Our research, however, indicates that he was born in Wilton, Connecticut, in 1834, and the 1850 U. S. Census records him as 16 years old and living







1

Book of By-Laws

of the

Grind-in-need

Mining Company

of

Deadwood

Lawrence County

Dakota

Incorporated Jan 13th 1879

with his mother and four siblings. He was at the same address in 1860 but had moved to London by 1870, when he married Julia; the 1871 England Census identifies him as a U. S. citizen, living in Brixton as a boarder with his new wife. We do not know what qualifications prepared him for work as a newspaper reporter, but in 1872 he returned to the States as "Special Commissioner from *The Field* to the Emigrant Fields of North America." His articles, which began in October 1872 and ran through the spring of 1875, provided information to British farmers and farm laborers who might be considering a migration to North America. In these reports he extolled the virtues of the Great Plains above all other places, a passion that continued through the writing and publication of his subsequent guides to Nebraska and the Black Hills.

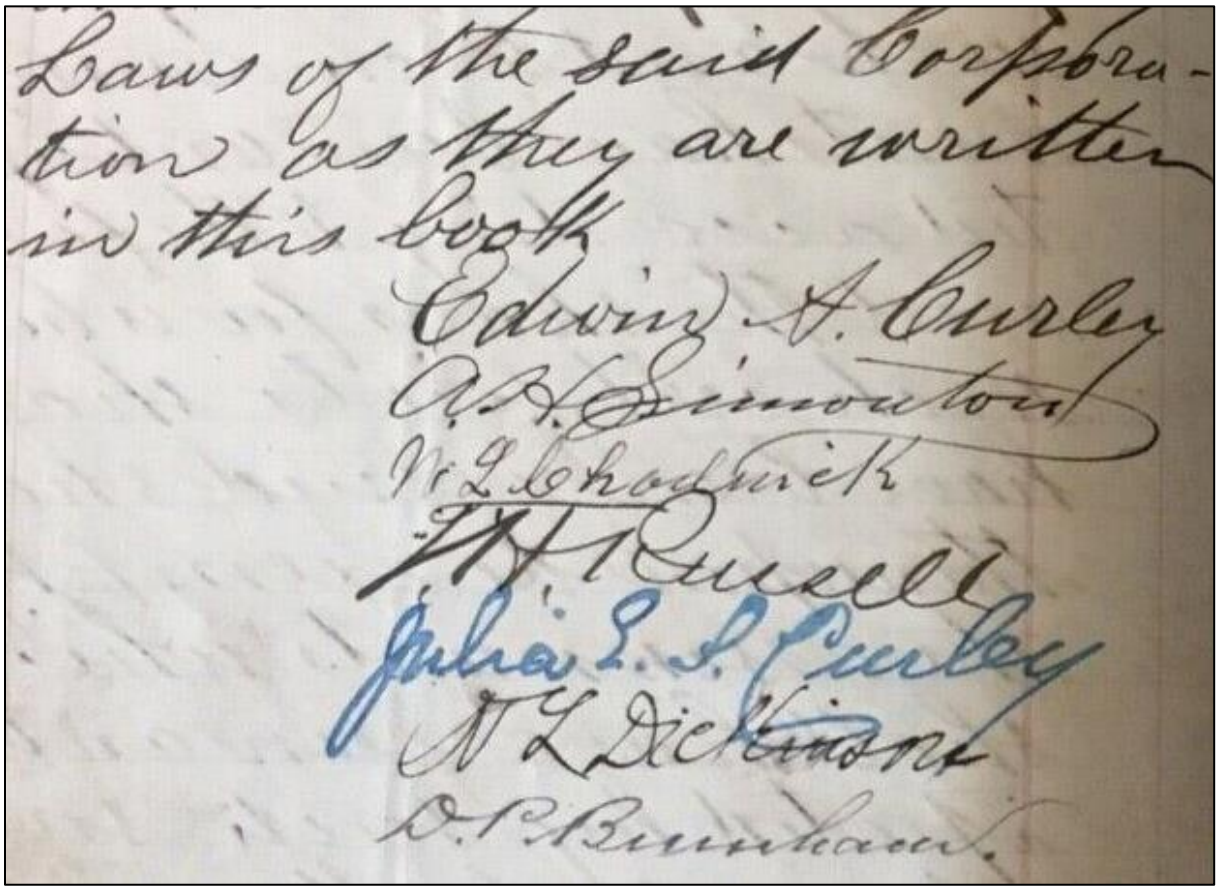
Curley's Nebraska guide was published in 1875, just as his article series for *The Field* was drawing to a close. While writing for the newsweekly during this period, he had managed to visit Nebraska, Wyoming, Kansas, Indian Territory, and Missouri. In an introduction to the University of Nebraska's recent reprint of the guide, Richard Edwards (2006) provides a carefully researched treatment of Curley's travels, as well as a generally favorable assessment of his work. We need not retread that ground here. Yet as Curley was completing *Nebraska* in London, events unfolding on the Plains would draw him back to America and set the stage for a new project.

In 1874, a U. S. Army expedition to the Black Hills under command of George Armstrong Custer discovered gold in French Creek, a tributary of the Cheyenne River. On August 15, Custer sent a dispatch to General Sheridan at Fort Laramie with news that "gold has been found in several places, and it is the belief of those who are giving their attention to this subject that it will be found in paying quantities" (Jackson 1966:87). Despite Federal recognition of the entire region as Sioux Indian territory--making any encroachment or trespassing by white settlers illegal--the publication of Custer's dispatch reverberated throughout the country. In a matter of months, the Black Hills gold rush was on, and thousands of miners began streaming into the territory to stake a claim. In September 1875, a group of prospectors exploring the northern hills stumbled into a canyon they named Deadwood Gulch for all of the dead trees that littered its sides. There and in the surrounding hills they discovered rich deposits of placer gold, and by the following April that narrow gulch had given its name to a town, one soon to become the most notorious in the West.

As soon as Curley had seen *Nebraska* to its London publishers, he must have headed back to the States immediately, for on May 5, 1876, he was departing Chicago for Omaha on the Union Pacific (as he reported in *Glittering Gold*). From Omaha he continued to Cheyenne, from there to Fort Laramie, and thence to Deadwood, which he reached by the end of May, hardly a month after its streets were formally laid out. After spending just a few days in Deadwood and nearby mining camps such as Whitewood, Centennial City, and Crook City, Curley must have obtained all of the material he needed for his planned guide and began the return to Omaha, where Julia and his three young children awaited. He spent the rest of the summer in Chicago writing, and in September he published *Glittering Gold*, one of the first printed guidebooks to the Black Hills region and its gold fields. Despite its apparent success (the revised edition appeared just one year later), the book is exceptionally scarce today. OCLC records but 7 copies, and there is only a single auction record in RBH; Michael Heaston offered a copy in his 2017 Catalogue 50 for $9500.

Curley returned to Deadwood in May 1877, gathering additional information for a new and revised edition of his Dakota guide. *Edwin A. Curley's Guide to the Black Hills* appeared in June

and included an entirely new appendix devoted to Deadwood and the best stage routes there. The Deadwood appendix contained sections on population (5500 with surrounding camps), hotel and restaurant prices, agriculture, currency ("Gold dust is the money of the Black Hills"), wages, and its potential for families. The second edition of Curley's guide is even scarcer than the first; OCLC reports only two institutional copies, and RBH lists no auction or bookseller records. Curley must have believed his account of the town and its possibilities, for he moved there with his own family soon after publishing the revised guide of 1877. He seems to have become a leading citizen quite rapidly, for Charles Collins's *History and Directory of the Black Hills* (1878)--itself known in only two examples; the Streeter copy now at the Newberry Library brought $1200 in 1968--identifies him as town clerk. It was during these months, after establishing himself in the community, that Curley joined with several other prominent figures to stake his own claim on Deadwood's mineral wealth. **This manuscript is the only surviving record of their partnership**.



The title page of this Book of By-Laws records that the Friend-In-Need Mining Company of Deadwood, Lawrence County, Dakota, was incorporated on January 13, 1879; company officers and stockholders, all of whom have signed the Bylaws on p. 51 and the additions on p. 56 (pictured here), included Edwin A. (President) and Julia S. Curley, A. S. Stewart (Director), A. H. Simonton (Director), W. L. Chadwick (Secretary), T. H. Russell, H. L. Dickinson, and D. P. Burnham. Each of these men merits brief notice. Stewart was Register of the Land Office at Deadwood, having been appointed by President Hayes in 1877. An Indiana native, he took his medical degree from the Cincinnati Medical College in 1864, served in the Second Nebraska Cavalry through the Civil

War and in the Missouri River country afterwards, then served in Nebraska's state legislature and constitutional convention of 1871 before moving to Dakota. Simonton was an attorney who had acted as justice of the peace in Chicago before coming to Deadwood. In July 1876, he had written an appeal to Dakota's Territorial Governor John Pennington requesting that federal authorities take steps to organize county governments in the Black Hills; the appeal was denied by Secretary of the Interior Charles Gorham, as the entire region was still legally Native land. Chadwick was also an attorney practicing in Deadwood. Dickinson was a Deadwood freight agent, while Burnham was proprietor of Deadwood's first book and stationery store, located at the Post Office on Main Street. All of these men are referenced in Collins's 1878 directory.

Shareholder Thomas H. Russell deserves special comment. He and his partner, directory publisher Charles Collins, had been advocates for Black Hills exploration since early 1872, when they formed the Black Hills Mining and Exploring Association of Sioux City. General Sheridan at Fort Laramie quashed the corporation almost immediately, so Russell and Collins put aside their plans and waited. Two years later, when Custer issued his report, they sprang to action and began plans to launch an exploring party. On October 6, 1874, the Collins-Russell Expedition left from Sioux City with 28 people, including Collins. They reached the Black Hills (near modern Tilford) on December 9, where they picked up Custer's trail to French Creek. Arriving before the end of the month, they found gold in every pan they dipped in the stream. The party hurriedly built a log stockade and formed a formal mining district in February, electing Russell as its secretary. But in early April, a detachment of U. S. Cavalry arrived to escort Collins and his companions out of the Black Hills. After being detained at Fort Laramie for a few days, most returned by train to Sioux City, where a thousand people gathered at the station to welcome them home. There would be no turning back the tide of fortune seekers. In 1879, when he purchased shares in the Friend-In-Need Mining Company, Russell was Deadwood agent for the United Pacific Railroad. He would later play an important role in the development of Rapid City as co-owner of both the American House and the Harney Hotel, the latter of which operated into the 1950s.

The Friend-In-Need Mining Company's Book of By-Laws opens with an eight page, nine point Articles of Incorporation dated December 31, 1878. According to Article 8, the company's capital stock "shall be one million dollars [$1,000,000] divided into ten thousand [10,000] shares of one hundred dollars [$100] each." Following the Articles is a manuscript copy of the Certificate of Corporate Existence, issued in Yankton by the Secretary of Dakota, George H. Haud, on January 13, 1879. Next are the By-Laws--22 altogether, approved by the stockholders and dated February 8, 1879--which fill 31 manuscript pages. A week later, on February 14, seven of the stockholders (minus Stewart) signed an amendment to their 11th by-law and included a 23rd. The manuscript concludes with two pages of minutes from a meeting held on April 15; these last two sections were written by Chadwick, while the rest of the manuscript is in Curley's hand.

Remarkably, at 51 manuscript pages, this is one of the most extensive and substantive documents--whether in print or manuscript form--to have survived from before the inferno that devastated most of Deadwood on September 26, 1879. Despite the fact that the boomtown held perhaps 25,000 people in its peak years from 1876 to 1879, the volume of surviving, primary source material from this period is exceedingly thin. Our in-depth search of OCLC, RBH, and bibliographic sources (e.g., Allen's *Dakota Imprints*) yields only three non-newspaper, Deadwood imprints from these years: *Laws of the Whitewood Quartz District* (1878; 2 l., one known example

at Yale); *Laws of the Lost Mining District* (1878; broadside, only known copy also at Yale); and *The Resources of the Black Hills* (1878; 8 pp., one copy at the Library of Congress). Manuscript material is hardly less scarce. We trace but five sources: the diary of Jere Bryan, documenting a trip from Cordova, Illinois, into the Black Hills and back in 1876 (Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library); the diary of an unidentified man travelling by wagon from Deadwood to Montana's Bear Paw Mountains in 1878 (Montana Historical Society); a small archive of nine items pertaining to Deadwood's purchase of a fire engine in 1879 (Yale); a collection of 13 letters written by George Hearst at Deadwood and Lead City from 1877 to 1879 (UC Berkeley); and the larger collection of papers by and pertaining to Seth Bullock, Deadwood's famed lawman (Yale; purchased both from Michael Heaston and Cowans Auctions, including an 1876 Deadwood theater handbill). **We trace no other surviving materials produced in Deadwood during its boom years**.

Edwin Curley's occupation is listed as miner in the 1880 U. S. Census, likely a reflection of his status as President of the Friend-In-Need Mining Company. Of the company itself, nothing has survived beyond this Book of By-Laws. Yet even less remains for the great majority of early Deadwood operations, all official City and County records having been destroyed in the great blaze of 1879. After 1880, we lose track of Curley for more than a dozen years. Then in 1893, writing from Brooklyn, he corresponded with the U. S. Secretary of Labor, J. Sterling Morton, seeking an appointment as Commissioner of Labor. The New York Index to Death Certificates indicates that at the time of his death from empyema and exhaustion on January 1, 1899, he was a widower and employed as an author, though we locate no works published by Curley after the second edition of his Black Hills guide. Despite the obscurity of his final years, his early advocacy for the American West merits further attention. Moreover, this manuscript offers new evidence of his forgotten role as a pioneer in one of America's most iconic frontier towns.

Relevant sources:

Edwards, Richard
2006 Introduction. In *Nebraska 1875: Its Advantages, Resources, and Drawbacks*, by Edwin A. Curley, pp. vii-xxv. Reprinted by the University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Jackson, Donald
1966 *Custer's Gold: The United States Cavalry Expedition of 1874*. Yale University Press, New Haven.

McLaird, James D. and Lesta V. Turchin
1973 Introduction. In *Edwin A. Curley's Guide to the Black Hills*, by Edwin A. Curley, pp. ii-xi. Reprinted by Dakota Wesleyan University Press, Mitchell, SD.

– –

[Deadwood--Black Hills Gold Rush]: Edwin A. Curley: [BY-LAWS OF THE FRIEND-IN-NEED MINING COMPANY, AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT FROM DEADWOOD]. [Deadwood, Dakota Territory, January-April, 1879]. Small 8vo (18.5 cm). 59 [51] numbered ms. pp. in ink, on lined paper; 28 pp. (14 ll.) unused. Original marbled boards and roan spine; one manuscript leaf loose but present; complete. Light edge wear to boards and spine. Very good.

20. SOLD.

From Slavery to Socialism: George W. Woodbey Finds His Calling

George Washington Woodbey was not the first prominent African American socialist; that distinction belongs to educator Peter Clark of Ohio, who ran for Congress in 1878 as a candidate of the Socialist Labor Party of America. Woodbey was, however, the first to articulate his devotion to the socialist cause in writing, and even more importantly for his African American audience, to advocate for a socialist philosophy that would buttress rather than undermine Protestant Christian theology. This so-called Christian Socialism (e.g., Foner 1983) found its most coherent expression in the series of pamphlets that Woodbey produced from about 1903 to 1910, after his move to San Diego, California, in 1902. Not coincidentally, these remain the best-documented years of his life and career. Yet before establishing his voice in California, Woodbey--born into slavery in Johnson County, Tennessee, on October 5, 1854--had discovered his calling as an activist in Kansas and Nebraska, where he had moved following the Civil War. **The items that we offer here, a cabinet card photograph from Omaha and a broadside for one of his lectures in Lincoln, seem to be the only surviving materials from his formative years in the Central Plains**.

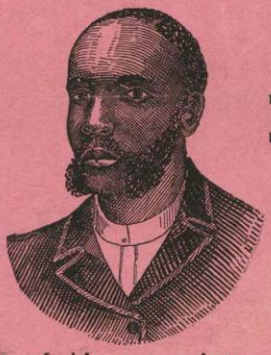
Little is known of Woodbey's early years in Tennessee. His parents, Charles and Rachael Woodby (no 'e') are listed in the 1870 U. S. Census as residents of the Cave Spring community in Carter County, near Johnson City in the northeastern corner of the state. His father's occupation was 'farmer,' his mother's 'keeping house.' George W. Woodbey may have learned to read shortly after Emancipation and was self-educated save for two terms in a public school. He later recalled that his youth was one of "hard work and hard study carried on together" (Foner 1983:6). At some point just after the 1870 Census he relocated to Emporia, Kansas, with his mother and his younger sister; the cause of his father's absence is not recorded. In 1873 he married Annie R. Goodin, with whom he would have three children. The next year, Woodbey was ordained as a minister in the Baptist Church, a calling that Annie would likewise follow two decades later.

The Woodbey and Goodin families were among the first generation of Black immigrants to the Great Plains after the Civil War, before the better known Exodusters of 1879. Kansas and Nebraska offered African Americans a range of opportunities they were denied in the American South, particularly the economic independence that was possible through land ownership and the political participation that came with relative safety from racial violence. Woodbey worked in mines and factories around Emporia for several years until about 1882, when he and Annie moved 200 miles due north to Omaha in neighboring Nebraska. Woodbey posed for this important cabinet card photograph soon after their arrival; the mount is backmarked with an advertisement for the Bee Hive Photograph Studio, located at 213 N. 6th Street, Omaha. The Bee Hive was established about 1878 by photographer D. H. Mitchell--already known for his stereoviews of the Black Hills and his Native American portraits from the Red Cloud Agency--and partner May J. Cannell, whom he later married. Mitchell sold the studio to Howard E. Gray about 1884, and Gray soon changed its name to H. E. Gray. Dressed in his clergyman's jacket and white collar, his left arm resting on the back of a chair, Woodbey likely stood for Mitchell or Cannell between 1882 and 1884. **This is the earliest known photograph of George W. Woodbey; moreover, we see the beginnings of his career as an activist in the autograph inscription he added beneath the image: "Yours for God and the Race**." While the inscription is unsigned, a comparison of the image with that from the accompanying broadside leaves no doubt as to the sitter's identity.


Yours for God and the Race

G. W. WOODBEY

NEBRASKA'S FAMOUS



Negro Orator

will deliver one of his most interesting lectures:

"THE NEGRO IN ★ ★ ANCIENT HISTORY"

FRIDAY EVE., Sept. 7,

IN

First Christian Church,

12th and M Sts., 8.30 P. M.

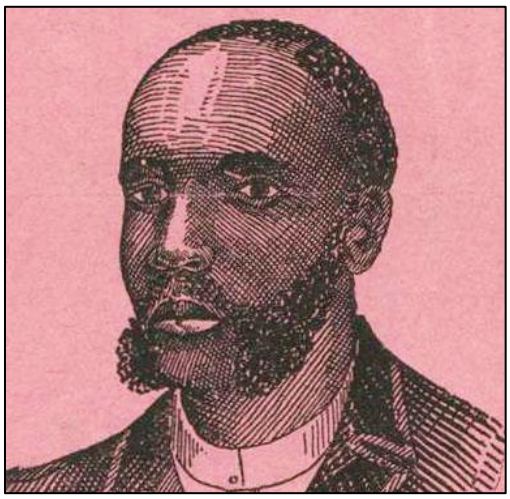
under the auspices of 9th Street Christian Church, Wm. H. Vanderzee, Pastor.

This instructive lecture contains facts worth knowing and may help us in dealing with the present race problem.

A letter from Pleasant Hill, Nebraska, to the "New Republic" says: "His discourse on "The Negro in Ancient History" surpasses any historical discourse ever rendered in this county, and any village or citty would by highly honored to have him visit them."

"The Negro in Ancient History" proved the speaker to be a thorough student of Ancient History."—(Letter to "New Republic" from Talmage, Nebr.)

ADMISSION, 15 CENTS.



Woodbey would soon develop a reputation as a skilled public speaker. As early as August 1883, the *Omaha Daily Bee* informed readers that "Rev. G. G. [sic] Woodbey (colored) will give a public lecture in the First Baptist Church on Tuesday evening, August 7th. Subject—"The Origin and History of the Negro Race. Admission Free." Beneath this is another notice, reading "A short time since a colored Baptist church was organized in this city, with Rev. Geo. W. Woodbey as pastor. Temporary quarters were secured in Lytle's block, where congregation and membership have increased rapidly" (Aug. 7, 1993: p. 8).

This broadside, printed on very thin, salmon-colored paper, advertises a later presentation of Woodbey's talk, titled "The Negro in Ancient History," with Woodbey himself identified as "Nebraska's Famous Negro Orator" and now capable of charging 15 cents for admission. While neither the town nor the year are specified, several clues in the text suggest that Woodbey delivered this talk in Lincoln in 1900. The talk was sponsored by the 9th Street Christian Church, William H. Vanderzee, pastor. Vanderzee, an African American minister like Woodbey, had moved from Omaha to Lincoln by 1897 to found a new church "on C Street near 9th" (Baldwin 1940:40). The broadside places Woodbey's talk in the "First Christian Church, 12th & M Sts.," and Lincoln's First Christian Church is known to have "met for some time in a store building at the corner of 12th and N streets" (Baldwin 1940:37). The "New Republic," which the broadside notes in two testimonials extolling Woodbey's lecture, operated from 1897 to 1901 as the voice of Nebraska's Prohibition Party. Finally, 1900 is the only year that coincides with these internal clues and the date of "Friday Eve., September 7." **Together, this broadside and the cabinet card photograph seem to be the only Woodbey items to have survived from his years in Nebraska, where he developed both his spirit of activism and his renown as a public speaker**. OCLC records no Woodbey materials of any kind from this period--only his surviving published works from several years later--and we find no evidence that any comparable materials have ever appeared at auction or in the trade. RBH reports a single auction record for Woodbey, a copy of his pamphlet *What to Do and How to Do it: Socialism vs. Capitalism* (Girard, KS, 1903, 7 copies in OCLC) that brought $2500 at a Swann Galleries African Americana sale in 2016.

In the 1890s, Woodbey had taken a prominent role in Nebraska's Prohibition Party, running as its candidate for lieutenant governor in 1890 and for Congress in 1896. That year, he discovered

socialism in a utopian science fiction novel, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888). Gary Dorrien observes that Bellamy's book at once "enthralled Woodbey with its vision of a Socialist America, circa 2000, in which all means of production were nationally owned, social goods were distributed equally to all citizens, everyone could eat at public kitchens, and all people retired at age forty-five with full benefits" (2015:459). Soon after he left both his church and the Prohibition Party, devoting himself to the cause. Annie, herself a force in Nebraska politics, died in 1901. A year later Woodbey relocated to San Diego, where his mother had moved a decade earlier. There he found a home as pastor of the Mount Zion Baptist Church and took his socialist message to the streets, regularly arrested and sometimes beaten by city police in San Diego and Los Angeles. His fiery speeches drew large crowds to Mount Zion, he won election to the state executive board of the Socialist Party, and he began to question other Black leaders he saw as accommodationists; of Booker T. Washington, he quipped in 1903 that ""He has all the ability necessary to make a good servant of capitalism by educating other servants for capitalism" (Dorrien 2015:460).

George Washington Woodbey died on October 27, 1937, in Los Angeles. Today he is best known for the series of provocative pamphlets he wrote after his turn to socialism: besides *What to Do and How to Do It*, his works include *The Bible and Socialism: A Conversation Between Two Preachers* (1904); *The Distribution of Wealth* (1910); and *Why the Negro Should Vote the Socialist Ticket* (n.d., but 1910s). **Two unique records of an influential Black activist, politician, and writer, documenting his foundational years in eastern Nebraska.**

Relevant sources:

Baldwin, W. A.
1940 *History: Churches of Christ in Nebraska*. Nebraska Christian Missionary Society, Lincoln.
Dorrien, Gary J.
2015 *The New Abolition : W. E. B. Du Bois and the Black Social Gospel*. Yale University Pres, New Haven.
Foner, Philip, S., editor
1983 *Black Socialist Preacher: The Teachings of Reverend George Washington Woodbey of California and Reverend George W. Slater of Illinois*. Synthesis, San Francisco.

– –

[Nebraska--African American]: [CABINET CARD PORTRAIT OF GEORGE WASHINGTON WOODBEY]. Bee Hive Photograph Studio, 213 N. 6th Street, Omaha. [1882-1884]. Albumen card-mounted photograph, image 5 1/4 x 4 in. (13.5 x 10 cm). Inscribed in ink, "Yours for God and the Race." Light wear to corners. Fine.

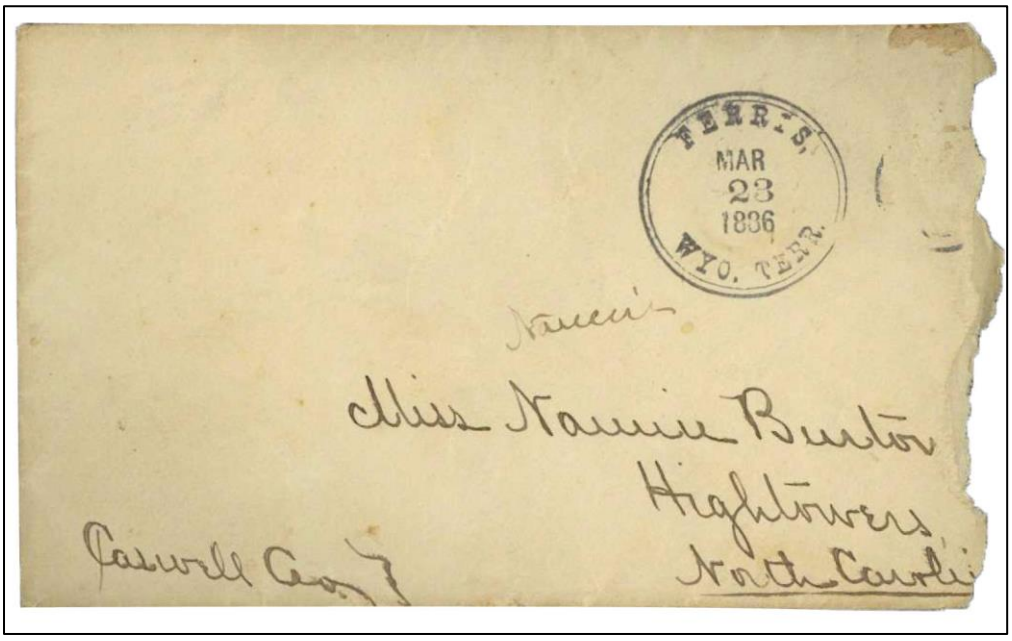
[Nebraska--African American]: G. W. WOODBEY / NEBRASKA'S FAMOUS / NEGRO ORATOR / WILL DELIVER ONE OF HIS MOST INTERESTING LECTURES: / "THE NEGRO IN / ANCIENT HISTORY" / FRIDAY EVE., SEPT. 7, / IN / FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH [caption title]. N.p., but Lincoln, Nebraska, 1900. Broadside. 9 x 12 in. (23 x 30.5 cm). Thin salmon-colored paper, old fold, light edge wear and chipping. Very good.

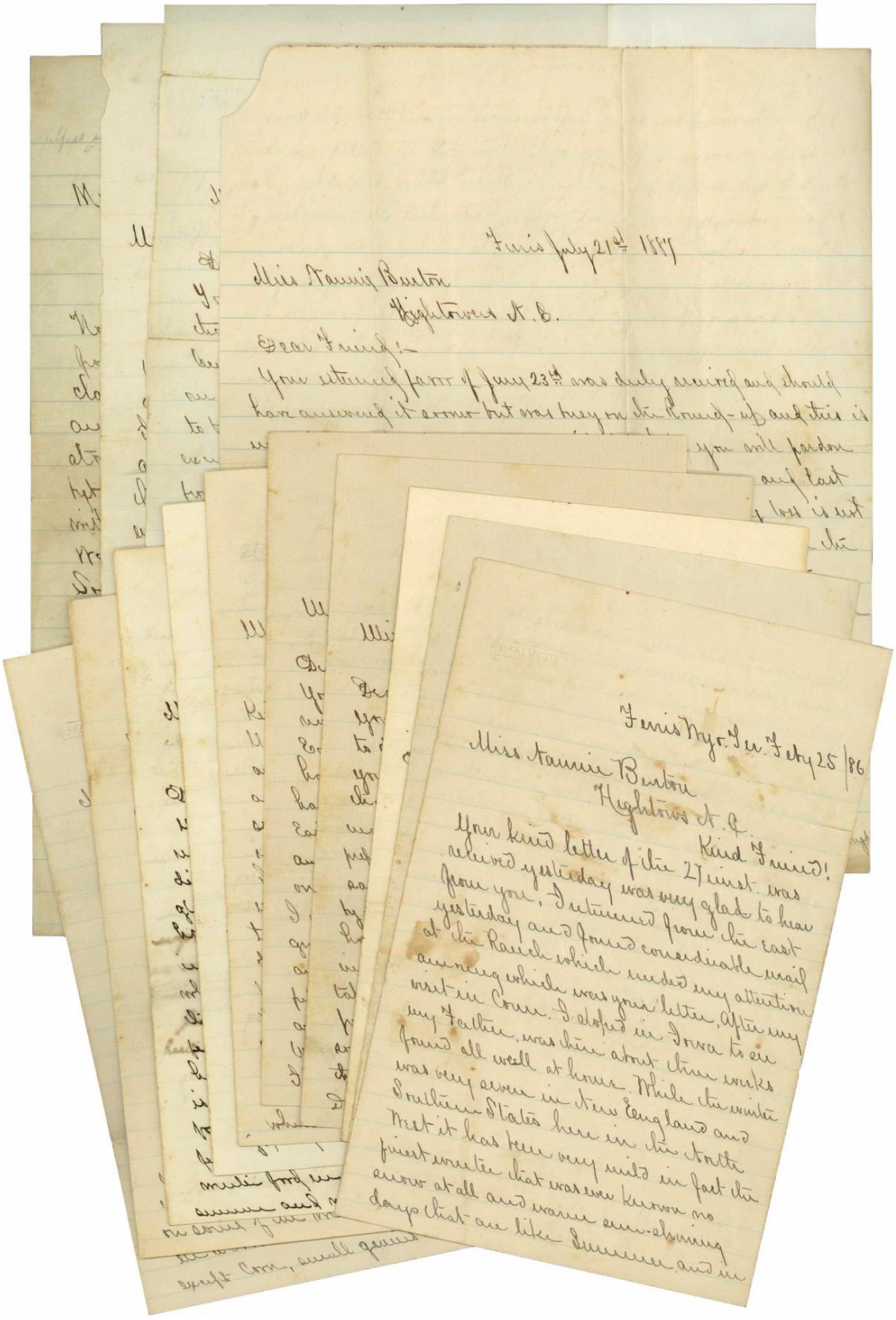
21. SOLD.

Lonely in Wyoming: Cowboy William Johnson Courts Miss Nannie Burton

When he and his wife, Ellen, sat for an interview with Alice Shields from the *Annals of Wyoming* in 1937, William G. "Billy" Johnson had lived in the Cowboy State since its territorial days, having arrived as a range rider for Tom Sun's ranch in 1882. In the half-century since, he had served as mayor of Lander, sheriff of Fremont County, and state legislator in Cheyenne. Much of the interview focused on his time as a cowhand, herding cattle for Sun and other ranchers, as well as for himself. For all of the joys he recalled of life as a cow-puncher, he also remembered the drawbacks--not least of which was loneliness. As he observed, "there were no women within a hundred miles of us--if a ranchman happened to have a wife, she lived in town--the cowpunchers [sic] cabins had signs posted 'No women or barbed-wire allowed'" (1941:206). Yet before he met and married Ellen Heenan of Lander, Johnson had courted Nannie Burton, a young woman from North Carolina whom he had never met (and, so far as we can determine, never did). This archive of 15 manuscript letters, beginning in December 1885 and running through June 1888, documents Johnson's extended, 2 1/2 year exchange with Miss Burton. **As a collection, his correspondence offers a rare, first-hand account of life on the range, written by an actual cowboy during the final years of the Wyoming cattle boom**.

Billy Johnson was born William Gale Johnson in Uncasville, Connecticut, in 1861. His father and grandfather were both seafarers. Grandfather William regularly sailed his ship to South America for woods that he processed in his dye mill in Uncasville. Nicholas, his father, obtained a ship of his own, working the African ivory and guano trade. When William's mother died a few years after his birth, Nicholas left William and his sister with relatives and moved to Iowa. William joined him later, but then in 1879, at the age of 18, he left the farm near Des Moines and made his way farther west. He stayed in Cheyenne briefly but ended up in Colorado, where he found work as a ranch hand and learned to ride the range. Two years later, in the spring of 1881, he returned to Wyoming and went to Carbon County, hiring on at the ranch of Tom Sun.





Ferris July 21st 1887

Miss Nannie Bunton
Hightstown N. J.

Dear Friend:—
Your welcome favor of June 23rd was duly received and should have answered it sooner but was busy on the round-up and this is you will pardon and last but is not the

Ferris Wyo. Ter. Feby 25/86

Miss Nannie Bunton
Hightstown N. J.

Kind Friend!
Your kind letter of the 27 inst. was received yesterday was very glad to hear from you. I returned from the east yesterday and found considerable mail at the Ranch which needed my attention among which was your letter. After my visit in Conn. I stopped in Iowa to see my Father, was there about three weeks found all well at home. While the winter was very severe in New England and Southern States here in the South West it has been very mild in fact the finest winter that was ever known no snow at all and warm sun-shiny days that are like Summer and in

Wyoming boasted larger cattle ranches than Sun's, but few were more storied. Indeed, as *The Cheyenne Daily Leader* put it in December 1882, "the eastern person of inquiring turn of mind who writes to his friends out west to ask what a ranch is like would find his answer in a description of Tom Sun's." A French-Canadian, Sun had likely come to Wyoming at about the same time as the Union Pacific in the 1860s, working as a trapper in the mountains near Sweetwater Creek. In 1872 he built a cabin there--now a National Historic Landmark on the Oregon Trail, near Devil's Gate and Independence Rock--and shifted his focus to ranching. By the early 1880s, when Johnson arrived as a range rider, Sun's operation was among the territory's most successful, with 14 square miles of well-watered land that sustained about 6000 head of cattle.

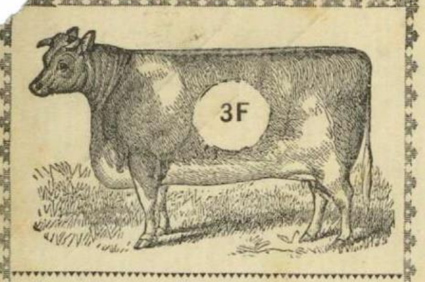
Johnson began writing Nannie Burton on December 30, 1885, about five years into his work on Sun Ranch, while visiting with his family in Uncasville during the Christmas holiday. He learned of Nannie from his uncle, C. J. Johnson, with whom he writes that he had been "discussing Western and Southern people." Uncle C. J. "claimed that Southern People were very superior to the New England people and he was very complimentary especially to the Southern Ladies among whom he regards you as in all respects the most attractive representative he ever had his pleasure to meet in his southern travels." Having great confidence in his uncle's judgement, Johnson took the bold opportunity to send Miss Burton a note. She must have replied to his letter quickly, and with some enthusiasm for a correspondence with this westerner, for Johnson wrote back on January 18, 1886. Burton's letter had reached him just in time, as he planned to return west the following day. Her future letters, he noted should be mailed to "Wm G Johnson Ferris Carbon Co. Wyoming Territory. He anticipated a continued exchange, despite the distance: "so you see we will be miles apart as you say—I hope our correspondence will be instructive and interesting and beneficial to us both[.] in a few days I will be miles from here in a wild country long ways from civilization and letters are very welcome to me[.] my correspondence is very limited."

Johnson wrote again on February 25, just after arriving in Wyoming: "I returned from the east yesterday and found considerable mail at the Ranch which needed my attention among which was your letter." After visiting with family in Connecticut, he had stopped for three weeks in Iowa to see his father. Burton must have inquired about the western landscape, because Johnson offers a rich description of its appearance near the end of winter:

> The scenery is very pretty now in the valleys there is no snow while the mountains are covered and at a distance they look like great white clouds[.] the country is very mountainous and broken and it is more beautiful in winter than summer[.] the valleys look brown and sober while the mountains are white and the whiteness is releaved [sic] by large bodys of Pine timber which is always green…

The description continues in his subsequent letter of March 22: "in Wyoming we have the finest weather imaginable but as it is always blowing it makes it very disagreeable[.] at all times night or day we have a strong steady wind." He also began to share some details about his work on the ranch and the seasonal nature of life on the range:

> Stock raising is the principle business here but mining is carried on to a great extent and also farming to an extent[.] everything that is raised in a



CHOICE THOROUGHBRED HEREFORD BULLS FOR SALE.

WM. G. JOHNSON,

STOCK RAISER.

RANGE ON MUSKRAT AND POISON CREEKS,

FREMONT COUNTY.

Rongis, Wyo., June 12th 1884

Miss Nannie Burton
Hightowers N.C.

Dear Friend:-

Your kind and welcome letter of May 25th was duly received and I should have answered sooner but was away on a Round-up. What secret you wrote you would tell me if I was a good boy has been worrying me ever since. All of my guessing powers have been in vain unless you are engaged to be married if so that would not surprise me as all of my best girls get married and leave me in the lurch but what ever you do, do not marry a preacher. Religion is like every thing else you can have to much and take an overdose. and if you have any respect for me do not consign a shipment of them to Wyoming the supply is fully equal to the demand. Was pleased to learn that your character reader gave so flattering a description of Wyoming Cow-boys you are correct as regards me. I must be a little Wild. Hoping you will tell me your secret in your next. and with kind regards I remain your friend Wm G Johnson

> Northern Country is raised here except corn, small grains are raised in abundance but it is all done by irrigation....work will soon commence on the range as soon as cattle are stout enough to handle. Cattle are at large here the year round the same as deer and elk and in the summertime we brand our calves and geather [sic] beef for the Chicago market. We do not feed our stock any thing at all[.] summer or winter the grasses on the plains and mountains are growing and the feed is very nourishing and strengthening[.]
>
> We commence work about the middle of May and work until the first of Nov. and in the winter season our labor is very light and at times it is very dull and there are no citys to speak of of any size and the dullness is only enlightened by an occasional trip east or south where a person can mingle in society and attend Balls Parties &tc....the quiet everyday life of the west makes me a little homesick but as my business and occupation of life is here, here I must stay, and my long sojourn in the west has unfitted me for the east and eastern ways.

By April 22, when Johnson next wrote, he and his fellow cow-punchers were preparing for summer: "We commence rounding up cattle now in a few days and when we commence we work hard all summer camping out without tents or houses the only house the sky above[.] we do our own washing and cooking. It is very disagreeable sometimes especially when it rains." Although he notes again that ranching and mining were the country's chief industries, he could foresee the rise of agriculture: "Ranches here in this country generally raise a small garden but out side of that their farming is a failure but settlers are coming in very fast and in a few years this will [be] quite a farming state[.] I think the population of Wyoming will double in the next three years." There is a gap of three months before Johnson's next letter of July 15, during which he was away "on the Round-up." The weather was unusually hot, Johnson reports, a condition he knew could portend real trouble for the winter months to come:

> We are now having the meanest weather I ever knew in Wyoming[.] the temp. indicates 108 deg. which is very warm for Wyoming but the nights are cool[.] that is one redeamable [sic] feature in this country we always have cool nights. The dry hot weather is ruining our winter feed for cattle for I presume you are aware we do not feed in the winter[.] the cattle get their winter food in winter the same as in summer and we do not feed a pound of hay[.]

Johnson was right: the hot dry summer of 1886 was dramatically reducing both the quality and quantity of feed available for grazing on the range, and the herds grew thin and weak. More than three months passed before he wrote again, with the snows upon them early. He could not yet know it, but this winter of 1886-87 would be the harshest in memory and prove the death knell for Wyoming's cattle boom. His letter of November 2 contains one of the earliest accounts we have found describing winter's unexpected arrival: "The Round-up is finished, finished yesterday with 8 in. of snow on the ground and to day the wind is blowing hard and the snow is flying in all directions and in a few days [we] will go into winter quarters to stay until spring with nothing to do except read..." There follows another three-month gap in Johnson's letters. Then, on February 3, he wrote that the worst was unfolding: "Stock men are losing a great many cattle this winter and

if the hard winter continues I am afraid the losses will be very large[.] it is the harshest winter I have ever seen in the western country[.] I suppose I will be bankrupt in the spring but I am young and tough and can commence over."

The next month, on March 28, Johnson returned to Wyoming after a very short business trip back east and found a letter waiting from Miss Burton. He responded that the hardest months appeared to be behind them: "the snow is all gone and grass starting...stock-growers are greatly encouraged[d] looking at the future, the past winter has been so hard and losses so great that the present time weather greatly encourages them." **Altogether, Johnson's letters from July 1886 to March 1887 constitute one of the only contemporary, first hand accounts of the disastrous period known as the Big Die-Up, which all but ended Wyoming's cattle boom**.

When Johnson next wrote May 6, he was optimistic about the likelihood of a quick rebound for the cattle industry: "The busy season has commenced and the Cow Boys are busily at work and ride [?] until winter sets in again[.] the losses are not near so large as cattlemen thought they were going to be and prospects are very bright for this season." He also offered a remarkably forthright statement of the bond between a cowboy and his horse:

> **by the way I willed you my favorite horse and a Cow Boys horse is his all in this world[.] take his horse and you take his life**[.] in most settled countrys people have all manners of favorites some one thing and some another[.] the young ladys have their favorite dog and cats and the young men their best girl if they are lucky but in this country the young ladys are very scarce or more properly speaking there are none at all so the cow boy takes to his horse so you see the gift...was considerable.

Johnson's participation in the Round-Up of 1887 delayed each of his next three letters (of June 13, July 21, and October 18), and while these courtship letters contain few specific details of his work, he does note in the July letter that "The general Round-Ups are now over and last winters losses can be estimated very closely and my loss is not so heavy as I at first thought and I am well pleased with the result." It was around this time that Johnson struck off from Tom Sun and bought his own small spread (in the *Annals of Wyoming* interview he recalled that he worked on the Sun Ranch for "five years or so" (1937:208). The correspondence between Johnson and Burton slowed at this point, as Johnson did not send another letter until February 4, 1888. Here he seems far more involved in the business of ranching, particularly in discussing one of Burton's acquaintances who may have lived in the territory: "I do not think they are in the cattle business[.] if they were I should probably heard of them as through a system of protection and association we have knowledge of all the cattle men and their brands that are in the territory." Johnson is probably referencing the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, established in 1872 as the first such organization founded in the territory and only the second in the nation. He also offers Burton a wonderfully detailed description of a Wyoming ranch, perhaps his own:

> I will try and describe a Wyoming Cow-Ranch for you. Ranchmen in general being isolated from Railroads from 50 to 150 miles naturally derive their comforts &tc. from the natural resources of the country and their Ranch buildings are built of logs and stone generally logs[.] they are but one story

> high and often the dwelling houses contain 6 or 7 rooms built one after the other mostly in L shape[.] it is very unusual to see one finished inside with lathe and plaster but occasionally they are sealed inside with lumber (that is the walls are boarded up and the ceiling is of boards) but as a general thing the walls inside are hewed and then whitewashed. The ranchmen that are married reside in town that is some town along the railroad where they can get the comforts and most of the luxuries of life their wife and family spending the summer on the ranch[.]

Despite what we suspect were Johnson's best efforts both to describe his situation honestly and to share his enthusiasm for its possibilities, there is only one more letter in the archive. This one is written on his own letterhead, identifying him as "Wm. G. Johnson, / Stock Raiser, / Range on Muskrat and Poison Creeks. / Fremont County" and including a small inset engraved illustration of a Hereford bull. In the letter, dated June 12, 1888, Johnson refers to a secret that Burton alluded to in her previous note of May 25: "all of my guessing powers have been in vain unless you are engaged to be married[.] if so that would not surprise me as all of my girls get married and leave me in the lurch[.] but what ever you do, do not marry a preacher[.] Religion is like everything else you can have to [sic] much and take an overdose." Indeed, Nannie Burton married W. J. Trollinger in September, and the correspondence appears to have ceased. Johnson did not mourn her loss for very long, though, as he met Ellen Heenan of Lander, Wyoming, just a few months later. As Ellen recalled much later in their 1937 interview, "I saw him riding into town on 'Black Smith' in a great cloud of dust and waving a gun in each hand. That was when he took my eye. 'Black Smith,' the great brown horse later became my very dear pet" (1937:213). William and Ellen Johnson would remain husband and wife until his death in Lander on March 27, 1950. And for the rest of her own life, the former Miss Nannie Burton would save these letters from her cowboy suitor.

Relevant sources:

Bowen, A. W. & Co., editors
1901 *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming*. A. W. Bowen & Company, Chicago.

Knowlton, Christopher
2017 *Cattle Kingdom: The Hidden History of the Cowboy West*. Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, New York.

Shields, Alice M.
1941 The Life Story of a Fremont County Pioneer Couple. *Annals of Wyoming* 13(3):203-216.

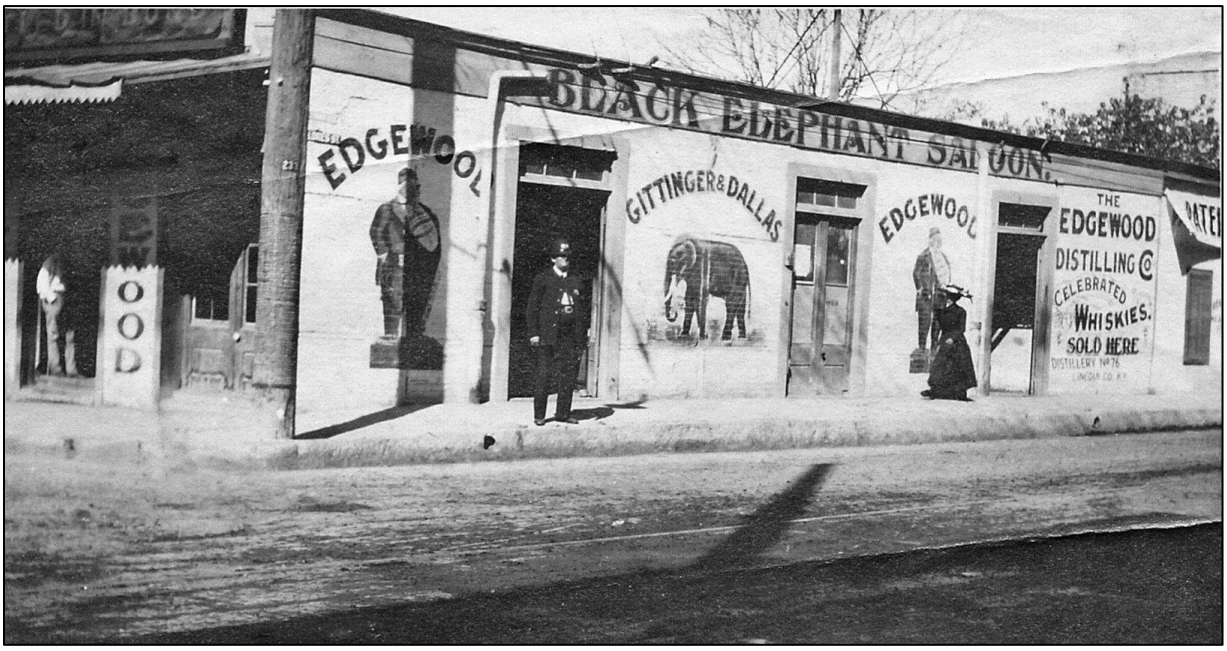
– –

[Wyoming Territory--Cattle Ranching]: William G. Johnson: [ARCHIVE OF 15 MANUSCRIPT COURTSHIP LETTERS SIGNED FROM WYOMING PIONEER AND COWBOY WILLIAM JOHNSON TO MISS NANNIE BURTON OF HIGHTOWERS, NORTH CAROLINA]. [Ferris and Rongis, Wyoming Territory, 1885-1888]. 15 manuscript letters, each 1 to 4 pp. in length, 43 pp. total. Light wear and soiling; with four accompanying postal covers; very good.

22. SOLD.

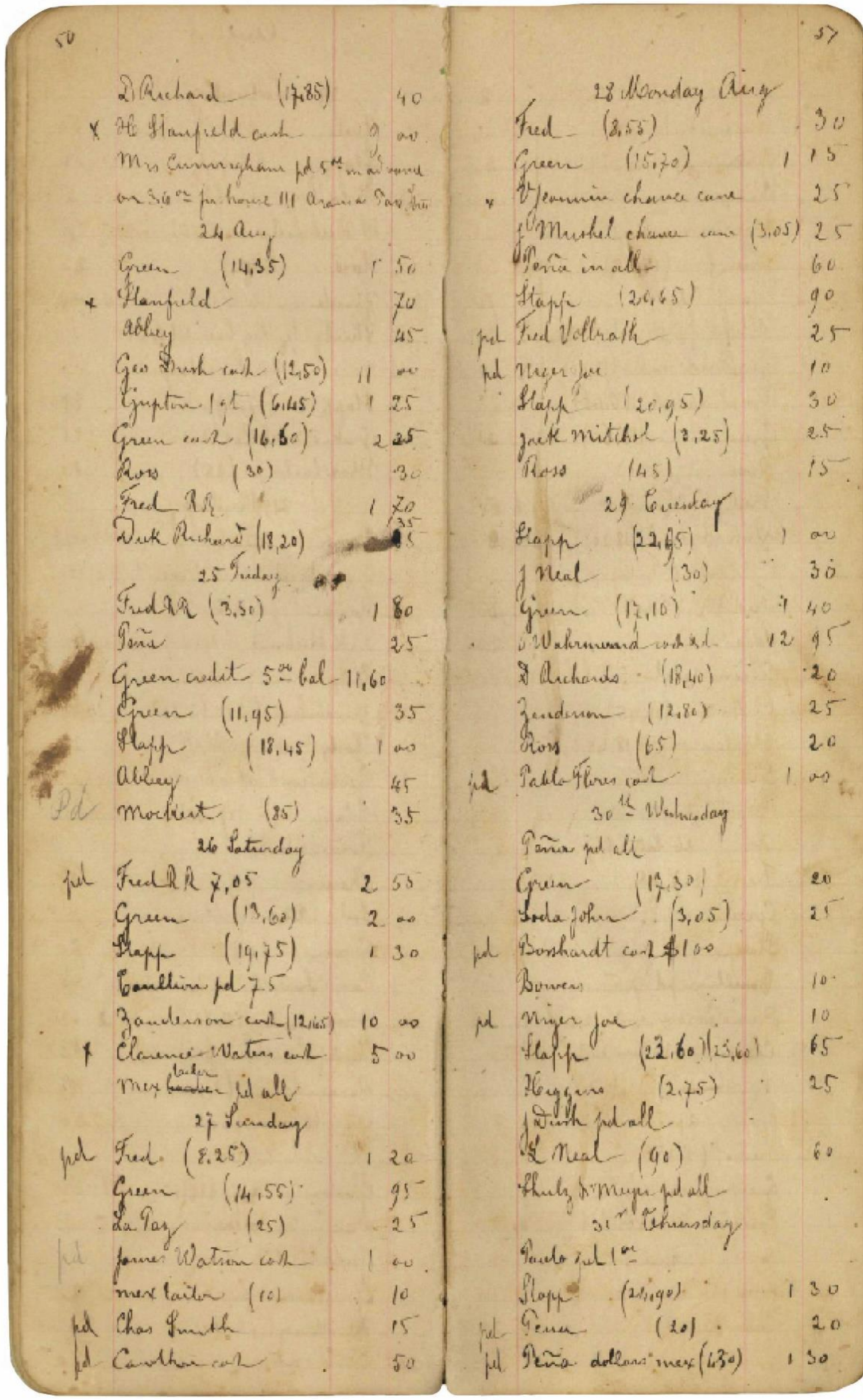
Jim Crow and Vice at San Antonio's Black Elephant Saloon

By the late 19th century, most larger American cities had zones where vice was allowed to flourish, if only by tacit agreement. New Orleans had its Storyville, New York and San Francisco had their Tenderloins, Chicago had its Levee District. For number and notoriety, though, no place in America could compete with the red light zones of Texas. There was Hell's Half Acre in Fort Worth, Utah Street in El Paso, Guy Town in Austin, Happy Hollow in Houston, Frogtown in Dallas, the Bowery in Amarillo, and the Flats in Galveston. Largest of all, and by some accounts the third largest in the United States, was San Antonio's Sporting District. Yet as much a role as such zones played in the development of urban life and city planning, particularly in the frontier towns and cities of the American West, surviving documentation from the districts themselves is practically nonexistent. This is not surprising, given the kinds of illicit activities that took place there, but the absence of primary sources creates profound difficulties for modern scholars aiming to situate red light businesses and their clientele in urban communities. This ledger, kept by the owner of San Antonio's Black Elephant Saloon for the years 1893 and 1894, is thus an exceptional (and exceptionally rare) resource. **What makes it even more so is the fact that the patrons of the Black Elephant--residents of the deeply segregated, Jim Crow South--included African Americans, Hispanics, and working class immigrants**.



The District in San Antonio was never formally established by city ordinance. Instead, it developed organically to the west of San Antonio Creek, just close enough for customers coming from downtown, but not too close. In 1888, Sanborn Fire Insurance maps indicate a single female boarding house (a euphemism for brothel) within this area; the infamous *Blue Book* guide to the District, published by city police offer William Keilman in 1912, listed more than 140. Alongside the brothels were rows of gambling parlors, dance halls, and saloons, perhaps the most elegant of which was the White Elephant, located on the main plaza near city hall. The White Elephant was one of nearly a dozen so-named saloons spread across Texas, and although the origins of the name


1893 x 94

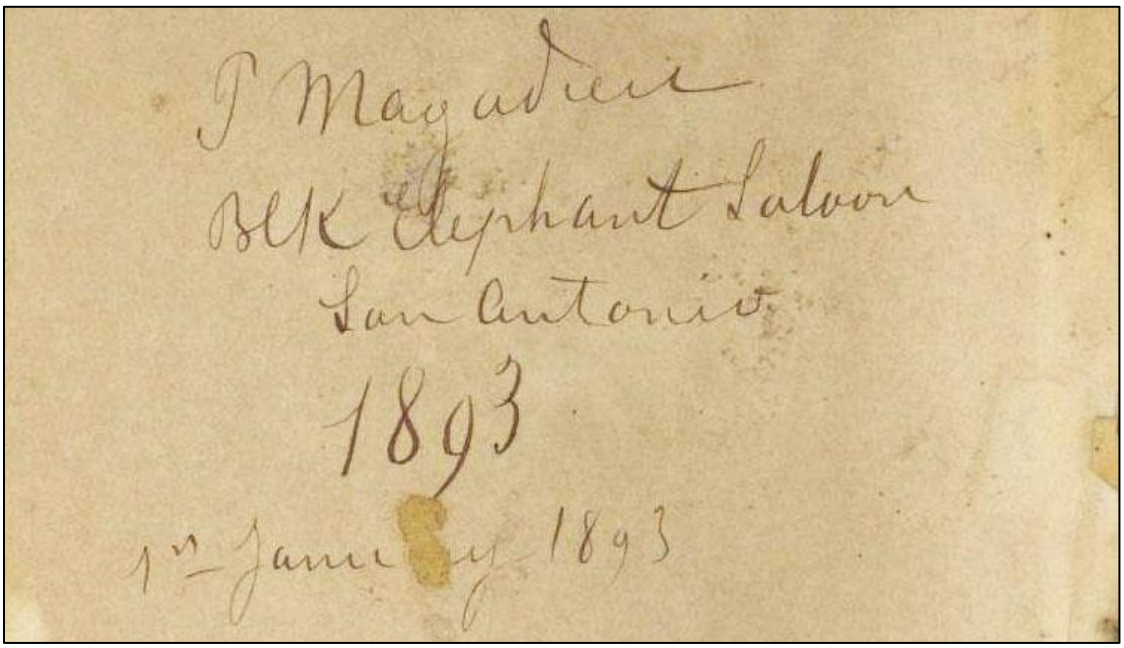


56

D Richard (17.85) 40
x H Stanfield cash 9 00
Mrs Cunningham pd 5th in advance on 36.00 for house 111 Arana San [illegible]
24 Aug
Green (14.35) 1 50
x Stanfield 70
Abbey 45
Geo Dush cash (12.50) 11 00
Gupton 1 qt (6.45) 1 25
Green cash (16.60) 2 25
Ross (30) 30
Fred RR 1 70
Dick Richard (18.20) 35
25 Friday
Fred RR (3.50) 1 80
Peña 25
Green credit 5th bal 11.60
Green (11.95) 35
Stapp (18.45) 1 00
Abbey 45
Pd Mockert (85) 35
26 Saturday
pd Fred RR 7.05 2 55
Green (13.60) 2 00
Stapp (19.75) 1 30
Coulter pd 75
Zanderson cash (12.65) 10 00
x Clarence Waters cash 5 00
Mex barber pd all
27 Sunday
pd Fred (8.25) 1 20
Green (14.55) 95
La Paz (25) 25
pd James Watson cash 1 00
mex tailor (10) 10
pd Chas Smith 15
pd Carother cash 50

57

28 Monday Aug
Fred (2.55) 30
Green (15.70) 1 15
x Jeannie chance cane 25
Michel chance cane (3.05) 25
Peña in all 60
Stapp (20.65) 90
pd Fred Vollrath 25
pd Meyer Joe 10
Stapp (20.95) 30
Jack Mitchel (2.25) 25
Ross (45) 15
29 Tuesday
Stapp (22.05) 1 00
J Neal (30) 30
Green (17.10) 1 40
Wahrmund cash 12 95
D Richards (18.40) 20
Zanderson (12.80) 25
Ross (65) 20
pd Pablo Flores cash 1 00
30th Wednesday
Peña pd all
Green (17.30) 20
Soda John (3.05) 25
pd Borkhardt cash $100
Bowers 10
pd Meyer Joe 10
Stapp (22.60) (23.60) 65
Higgins (2.75) 25
Dick pd all
L Neal (90) 60
Shultz & Meyer pd all
31st Thursday
Pablo pd 1.00
Stapp (24.90) 1 30
pd Pena (20) 20
pd Peña dollars mex (430) 1 30

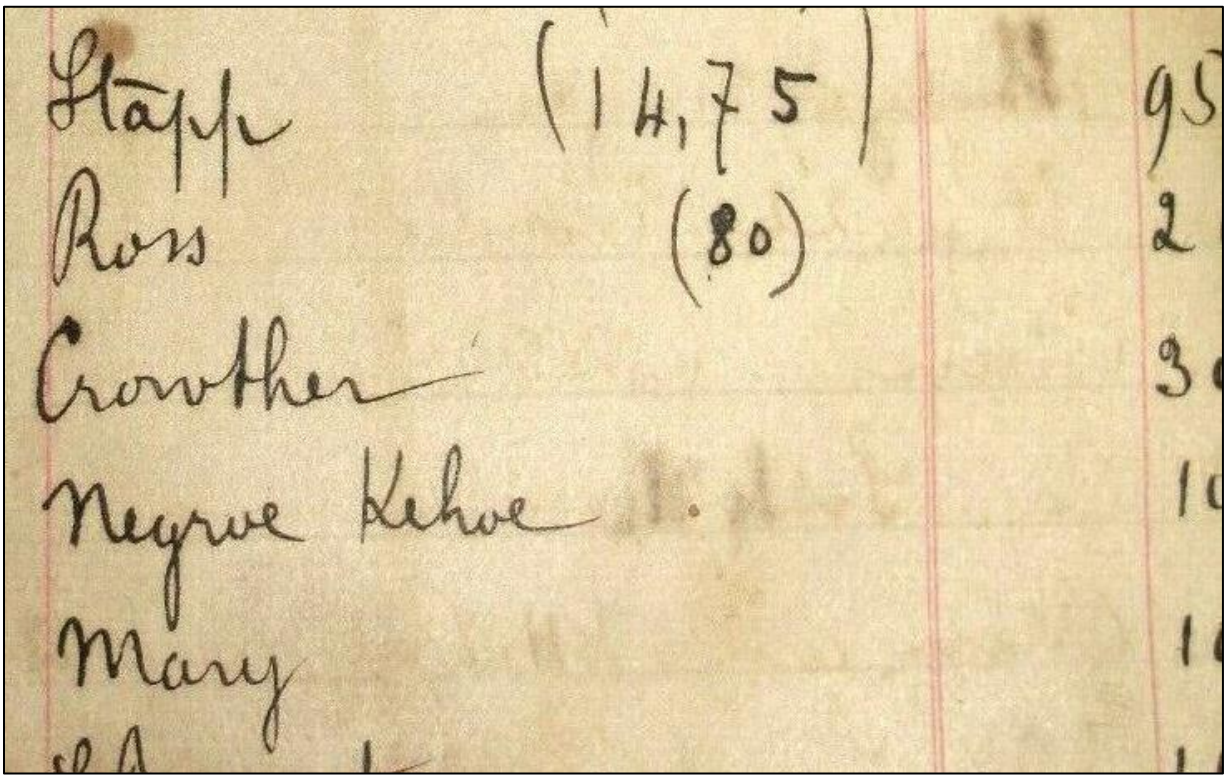


and the reasons for its popularity are lost to time, most were considered to rank among the premier drinking establishments of their respective towns. Not so for the Black Elephant, with at least six saloons so-named in San Antonio, Austin, Fort Worth, El Paso, Houston, and Brenham. For if the racial connotations of White Elephant were rather vague, those of Black Elephant were anything but, and all known cases--if not Black-owned--catered primarily to African Americans and other peoples of color. Racism undoubtedly shaped white perceptions of such venues. The *Fort Worth Record*, for example, declared of its own such venue in 1910, "For foul filth, nothing in the Acre can compare with the Black Elephant" (in Selcer 2004:281, n. 13).

San Antonio's Black Elephant Saloon was located at the far eastern edge of the Sporting District, on the corner of South Flores and West Nueva. The circa 1900 street image illustrating p. 118 of this catalogue entry (not included, held by the library of the San Antonio Conservation Society), shows the rather dilapidated state of the building, its façade covered by advertisements for the Edgewood Distilling Company and its famed Fat Man mascot. Indeed, the portly gentleman standing in an open doorway to the saloon appears to be mimicking the Fat Man in both his posture and dress. A woman stands near another open doorway, an unusual place for a lady of San Antonio during the period; a second man stands in the shadows of the third open door. The Black Elephant was owned and operated by Paul Leon Magadieu (1852-1896), who had immigrated to Texas about 1880 from the Alsace-Lorraine, now a part of France but at the time an imperial territory annexed by the German Empire. We do not know when he opened the Black Elephant, but he is listed as a saloon owner in the *San Antonio City Directory for 1889* and specifically as proprietor of the Black Elephant in the city directories of 1891, 1893, and 1894.

This business ledger, which Magadieu both has signed twice and twice inscribed with the name of the saloon ("Black Elephant" and "Blk Elephant'), begins January 1, 1893, and extends through June 13, 1894. He seems to have used it as a running bar tab for his regulars, since many of the same individuals are listed repeatedly throughout the 120 pp. of entries (the recto of the final

text leaf contains an index of these customers). One of the most noteworthy features of the ledger is the ethnic diversity of Magadieu's clientele. There are African Americans, some of whom are identified by racial epithets; nearly a dozen regular Hispanic customers are identified by first and last name; and there are French and German surnames that likely represent recent immigrants from Europe. Magadieu recorded the names of only three women--Virginnie, Mary, and Hannah--each of whom is identified by first name only. Given the nature of the establishment, its location in the city's Sporting District, and social sanctions that prohibited 'reputable' women from frequenting such venues, much less keeping tabs in their own names, it is likely that all three women worked as prostitutes. Moreover, since white prostitutes in Texas were unlikely to seek out customers in a Black Elephant Saloon, they were probably women of color.



As with any good general store account book, Magadieu's ledger records the kinds of goods he offered his customers: whiskey, beer, sherry, gin, cognac, absinthe, wine, curacao, seltzer, Key West cigars, and cigarettes, along with lottery or raffle tickets. And like a general store's account book, it provides its own insights about the economic patterns of its time and place. But scholars have also recognized, in a more profound and meaningful way, the extent to which general store accounts record the social networks that constitute communities, and in this Magadieu's ledger is no different, particularly given how often many of his patrons came by. What does distinguish the Black Elephant ledger, though, is that the social networks its entries record were otherwise furtive and undisclosed, largely invisible even then--in the context of Jim Crow Texas--but all the more so now. These customers of the Black Elephant Saloon were blurring the lines between public and private communities. Magadieu's ledger, the only record of their network, sheds a different light on segregation and complicates our understanding of where and how its strictures pertained. Sam Johnson, a Black patron of The District, recalled: "You'd see bankers and politicians alongside us

working men. The colored could go into any house they wanted. Nobody paid no nevermind to nothing like that. If you had the money, they had the time" (McComb 2012:13). And unlike the communities we reconstruct from most general store accounts, many of the people who constituted the Black Elephant community were marginalized in their own time, leaving no trace of their lives in the kinds of documents we usually draw upon for writing histories today.

Comparable primary source documentation of red light businesses and their patrons is of the utmost rarity. And as scarce as any such material is, records from establishments that catered primarily to people of color is even more so. Indeed, our extensive research suggests that it is practically non-existent. This ledger, recording 18 months of business at San Antonio's Black Elephant Saloon, is thus a unique survival, worthy of continued study and analysis.

Relevant sources:

Cain, Jennifer
n.d. "For Those Seeking a Good Time while in San Antonio, Texas:" The Restrictions and Permissions of Bawdy Houses from 1889-1941. *Journal of Life and Culture in San Antonio*. University of the Incarnate Word. https://www.uiw.edu/sanantonio/prostitution.html

Humphrey, David C.
1995 Prostitution in Texas: From the 1830s to the 1960s. *East Texas Historical Journal* 33(1):27-43.

McComb, David G.
2008 *Spare Time in Texas: Recreation and History in the Lone Star State*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Selcer, Richard F., editor
2004 *Legendary Watering Holes: The Saloons that Made Texas Famous*. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

Shah, Courtney Q.
2010 Against Their Own Weakness": Policing Sexuality and Women in San Antonio, Texas, during World War I. *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 1993):458-482.

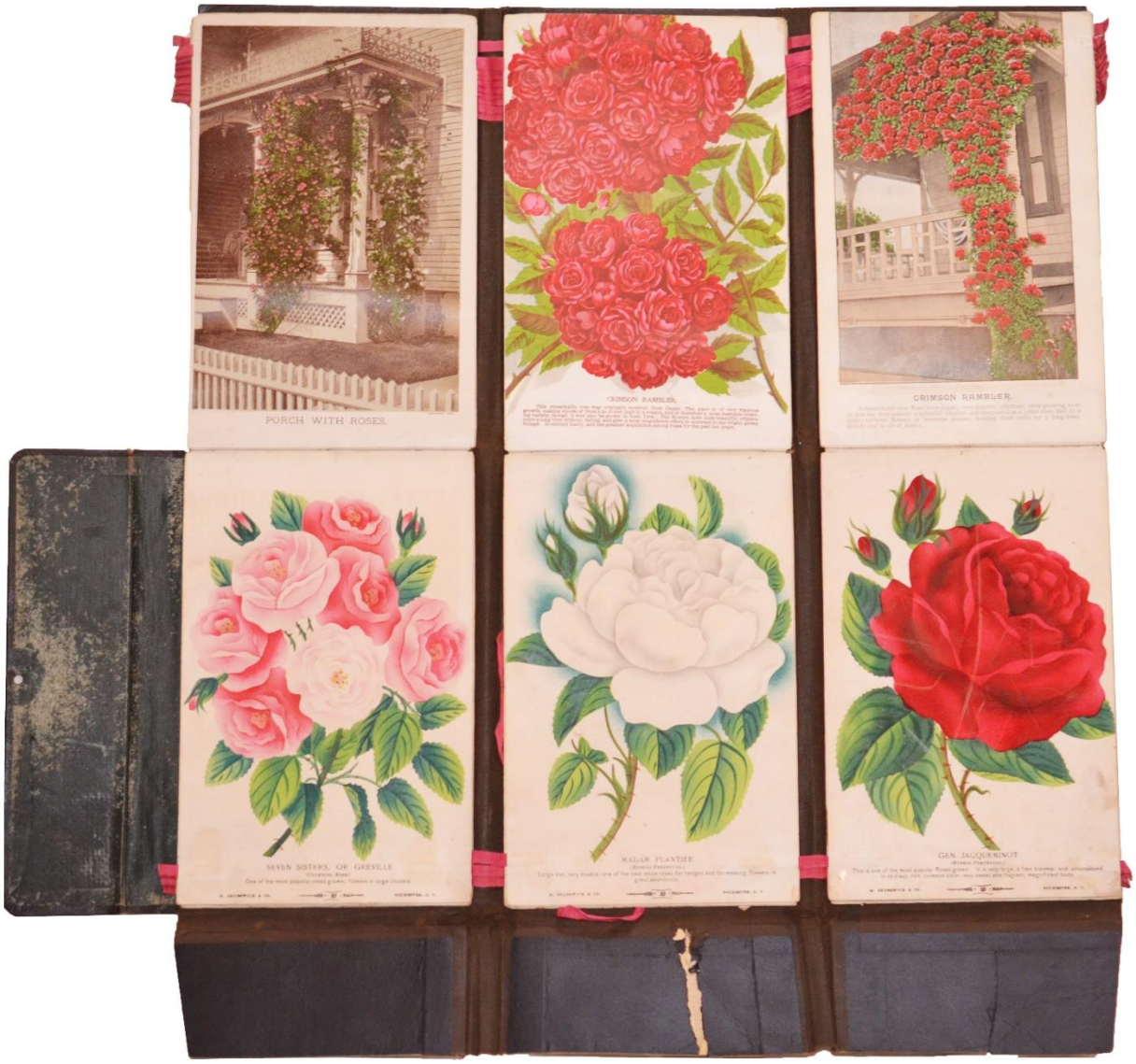
– –

[Texas--Segregation and Vice]: Paul L. Magadieu: [MANUSCRIPT LEDGER OF THE BLACK ELEPHANT SALOON, DOCUMENTING THE LIMITS OF RACIAL SEGREGATION IN SAN ANTONIO'S SPORTING DISTRICT]. [San Antonio, Texas, January 1, 1893-June 13, 1894]. 4 x 13 in. (10 x 33 cm). 120 pp. of entries, recto of rear endpaper used as index. Original marbled boards and green cloth spine, small paper label on front board inscribed "1893 x 94." Edge wear and boards, boards with some scuffing and staining. Hinges tinder but holding. Text pages with some tanning and foxing but clean and entirely legible. Very good.

23. SOLD.

George H. Coulson's Cherokee Nurseries: A Rare Oklahoma Specimen Book

As America's nursery industry burgeoned through the last quarter of the 19th century, the specimen book emerged as a salesman's best tool for exhibiting his stock of flowers, shrubs, and ornamental trees to potential customers. A specimen book is a bound assortment or catalogue of brightly colored plates, usually produced by chromolithography or pochoir techniques, carefully selected and organized to showcase the offerings of a particular nursery. Since nurserymen chose the specific plates they wanted, depending on what was available in stock at any given time, each surviving specimen book is unique to its place and period, offering vibrant testimony to local tastes and preferences in gardening, husbandry, and orchard keeping. Most plates for these catalogues were produced in Rochester, New York. Likewise, most extant specimen books document New York and New England nurseries, with those from regions farther away seen much less often. **This book--the second known example from Oklahoma--is thus a rare survival**.



George H. Coulson was born in Columbian County, Ohio, in 1836 and gradually made his way west, working as a schoolteacher and superintendent in both his home state and Illinois before settling in Kansas after the Civil War. He was twice elected as Representative from Harper County in the Kansas State Legislature, but he saw opportunity to the south. He moved to Oklahoma with his wife and family on opening day of the 1889 land rush and began his nursery soon after. He also continued his political career in Oklahoma, where he served two terms in the Upper House of the Legislature and one term as Clerk of Woods County. Coulson died in Cherokee in 1912. The plates in Coulson's specimen book date to the years from 1895-1910; the book itself is signed and dated by one of his salesmen, "J. A. Kincade, Arnett, March 16, 1904." Most of the plates in this example were produced by M. Brunswick & Co. of Rochester, New York. Of more than a dozen Rochester firms producing chromolithographic plates during the period from 1870 to 1910, only one--M. Brunswick--was owned by a woman. Mina (or Minnie) Brunswick produced such plates from 1888 to 1920, making hers one of the longest operating firms in the business.

We trace only one other example of a nursery specimen book from Oklahoma--whether as territory or state--a contemporary album from the Arkansas Valley Nurseries of Dixie, located in Pawnee County, held in the Unidel History of Horticulture and Landscape Architecture Collection at the University of Delaware. Given the amount of use these plate books received, particularly in the wallet-style format, as here, the condition of this example is unusually strong. Fortunately, the nurseryman who used and carried it did so carefully, as a workman would his tools.

Relevant sources:

Kabelac, Karl Sanford
1982 Nineteenth-Century Rochester Fruit and Flower Plates. *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 93-113.

Obituary
1912 George H. Coulson. *The Central Friend* [Wichita, KS] III(7):10.

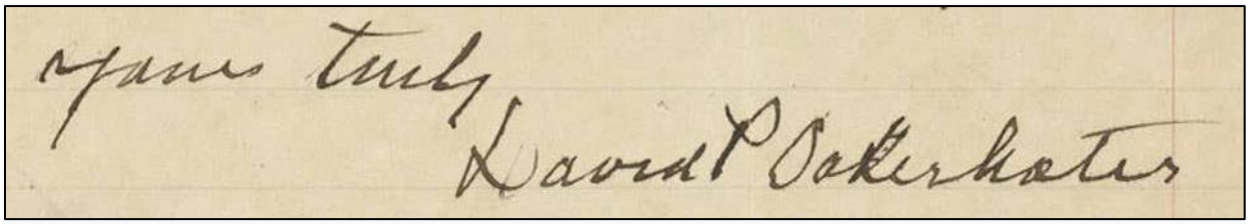
– –

[Oklahoma--Nursery Specimen Book]: [George H. Coulson, Proprietor]: NURSERY SPECIMEN BOOK FROM CHEROKEE, OKLAHOMA, WITH CHROMOLITHOGRAPHIC PLATES OF FRUITS AND FLOWERS]. [n.d., but compiled ca. 1895-1910]. 66 plates illustrating a range of fruits and flowers offered by Cherokee Nurseries of Cherokee, Oklahoma. 9 x 6 in. (23 x 15 cm). Original leather wallet-style binding, metal clasp; leaves in tri-fold sections, joined by pink linen straps. Light wear to binding, some scuffing to final plates, overall very good.

24. SOLD.

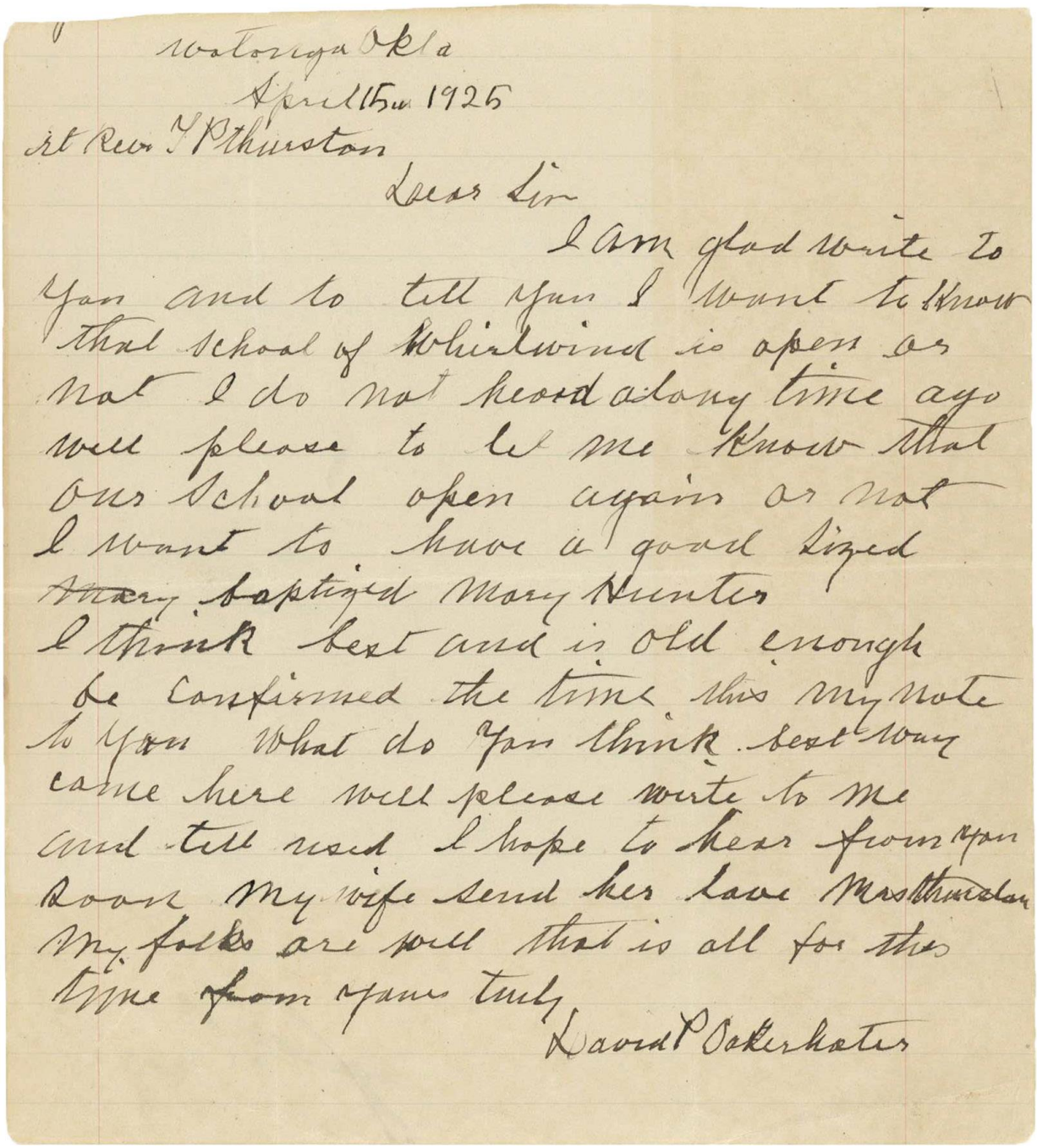
A Letter from David Oakerhater: Native America's First Canonized Saint

In the aftermath of the Red River War of 1874-1875, as he and 72 of his fellow Cheyenne warriors were marched as prisoners into Fort Marion, Florida, David Oakerhater--then known to his people as *Okuh hatuh* (Sun Dancer)--was perhaps as unlikely a candidate for sainthood as any ever considered for canonization. Some thought him to have been the youngest man to complete the excruciating Sun Dance, a feat that earned him his name. He joined his first war party, a raid against the Otoe and Missouri, at the age of 14, and soon after was initiated by the Bowstring Men (*Héma'tanóohese*), one of five Cheyenne military societies. As a prisoner in Florida, though, he learned to read and write in English and became a skilled practitioner of ledger art. By 1877, he had converted to Christianity and come to the attention of an Episcopal deaconess, Mary Douglass Burnham, who helped him to secure sponsorship from the family of Senator George H. Pendleton upon his release from Fort Marion in April 1878. Oakerhater and three of the other ex-prisoners traveled north to St. Paul's Church in Paris Hill, New York, where their western education was to continue. He was baptized in October and took the Christian name David Pendleton. Three years later, on June 7, 1881, he was ordained a deacon in the Episcopal Church and immediately began his return to Indian Territory, where he was tasked with recruiting students to a new school--one specifically intended for Indian youth--at Carlisle, Pennsylvania.



Assigned to Darlington Indian Agency, located on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in modern Canadian County, Oklahoma, Oakerhater soon became one of the most prominent and trusted Native missionaries in Indian Territory, sometimes managing operations at Darlington for months at a time. Yet the Board of Missions could offer little support or additional clergy to help him carry the load, and for much of the next two decades he labored alone. In 1893, the Episcopal General Convention created the Missionary District of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, sending Francis Key Brooke to serve as the new district's first bishop. Brooke assigned Oakerhater and a new clergyman, David A. Sanford, to establish a mission station among the Cheyenne living near Bridgeport in modern Caddo County. Four years later, about 30 miles to the north along the South Canadian River, the federal government created a day school for Cheyenne youth. The Whirlwind School, which took its name from the chief on whose land it was built, closed just a few years after opening, but when the property was transferred to the Episcopal Church in 1904, Bishop Brooke sent Oakerhater and Sanford to serve as its resident teachers and clergy.

The two deacons soon fell afoul of Lt. Col. George H. W. Stouch, the superintendent at the Darlington Agency, who meant to enforce the federal policies of allotment--which scattered Native communities across dispersed homesteads and explicitly hindered aggregation--and the separation of children from families through government-run boarding schools. The missionaries, to Stouch's abject disapproval, were telling Cheyenne and Arapaho families that they could send their children



Watonga Okla
April 15th 1925
Rt Rev F P Thurston
Dear Sir
I am glad write To
You and to tell you I want to know
that school of Whirlwind is open or
not I do not heard a long time ago
well please to let me know that
our school open again or not
I want to have a good sized
~~Mary~~ baptized Mary Hunter
I think best and is old enough
be confirmed the time this my note
to you What do you think best way
came here well please write to me
and tell me I hope to hear from you
soon my wife send her love Mrs Thunder
My folks are well that is all for this
time from your truly
David P Oakerhater

to any school they liked; at the same time, the mission itself became the focal point around which Native families were illegally gathering in encampment. Whirlwind thus became a direct threat to the federal government's authority in Indian Territory, and Brooke was ultimately compelled under protest to dismiss Sanford from his post in 1907. Through it all, Oakerhater continued to serve as deacon at the mission, a source of stability for the school and its students. In 1910 he was joined by another Cheyenne convert, Sherman Coolidge, who arrived as Priest-in-Charge. For a time the mission prospered, but Coolidge and his family detested life in Oklahoma and obtained a transfer to Minnesota two years later. The beginning of the end came in 1916, when the new superintendent at Darlington, W. W. Scott, again objected to Whirlwind's violation of federal policies, particularly its role as the focal point for a village community; indeed, Scott wrote at the time that "There is no right kind of an Indian camp" (in Meredith 1974:303). Brooke, hospitalized in New York, was unable to mount a challenge as he had in 1907, and the school closed for good in 1917. Oakerhater remained at the mission for just a bit longer, but in 1918--at the age of about 71--he retired to the town of Watonga, located about 20 miles east of Whirlwind.

Even so, he never stopped thinking about the mission, as evidenced by this letter he sent to the Right Reverend Theodore P. Thurston, Episcopal Bishop of Eastern Oklahoma, eight years after retiring from his post. Oakerhater writes:

> I am glad write to you and to tell you I want to know that school of Whirlwind is open or not[.] I do not heard along time ago[.] well please to let me know that our school open again or not[.] I want to have a good sized ~~Mary~~ baptized[.] Mary Hunter I think best and is old enough be confirmed[...] well please write to me and tell us[.] I hope to hear from you soon[.] My wife send her love Mrs. Thurston[.] my folks are well[.] that is all for this time[.] from yours truly,
>
> David P. Oakerhater

David Pendleton Oakerhater died on August 31, 1931. More than a half-century later, in 1985, the Episcopal Church designated him a saint, based on his decades of service for the Cheyenne and Arapaho peoples, and on September 1, 1986, the first feast was held in his honor at Washington National Cathedral. **St. Oakerhater was thus the first Native American ever canonized by a Christian church, whether Protestant or Catholic**. No other manuscripts in his hand appear to have ever been offered at auction or in the trade. An archive of 37 letters from St. Oakerhater to Mary Burnham was discovered among her belongings by her great-granddaughter in 2004; these are now held by St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral in Oklahoma City. Six of his diaries, discovered by a great-great granddaughter in 2015, now reside at the Oklahoma History Center. **A rare letter written by a Native American saint, discussing the mission school he served**.

Relevant sources:

Botkin, Samuel Lee
1957 The Protestant Episcopal Church in Oklahoma, 1835-1941. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

Glancy, Diane
2014 *Fort Marion Prisoners and the Trauma of Native Education*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Kueteman, K. B.
2006 He Goes First: The Story of Episcopal Saint David Pendleton Oakerhater. Oklahoma State University. Library. Digital Resources and Discovery Services. Digital copy available at: https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/oaker/id/271.
Meredith, Howard
1974 Whirlwind: A Study of Church-State Relationships. *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 43(4):297-304.
Prichard, Robert W.
1999 *History of the Episcopal Church. Revised Edition*. Morehouse Publishing, Harrisburg, PA.
Turner, Alvin O.
1992 Journey to Sainthood: David Pendleton Oakerhater's Better Way. *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 70(2):118-143.
Weaver, Jace
2014 *The Red Atlantic American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

– –

[Oklahoma--Whirlwind Indian School]: David Pendleton Oakerhater: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED BY CHEYENNE EPISCOPAL SAINT DAVID PENDLETON OAKERHATER, THE FIRST NATIVE AMERICAN EVER CANONIZED BY A CHRISTIAN CHURCH]. Watonga, Oklahoma, April 15, 1925. [1] pp. on a single lined sheet. Old folds, light edge wear, paper lightly tanned. Overall very good.

25. SOLD.