PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 6

Fall 2022

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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On the covers: 1. Samuel Coolidge journal (detail).

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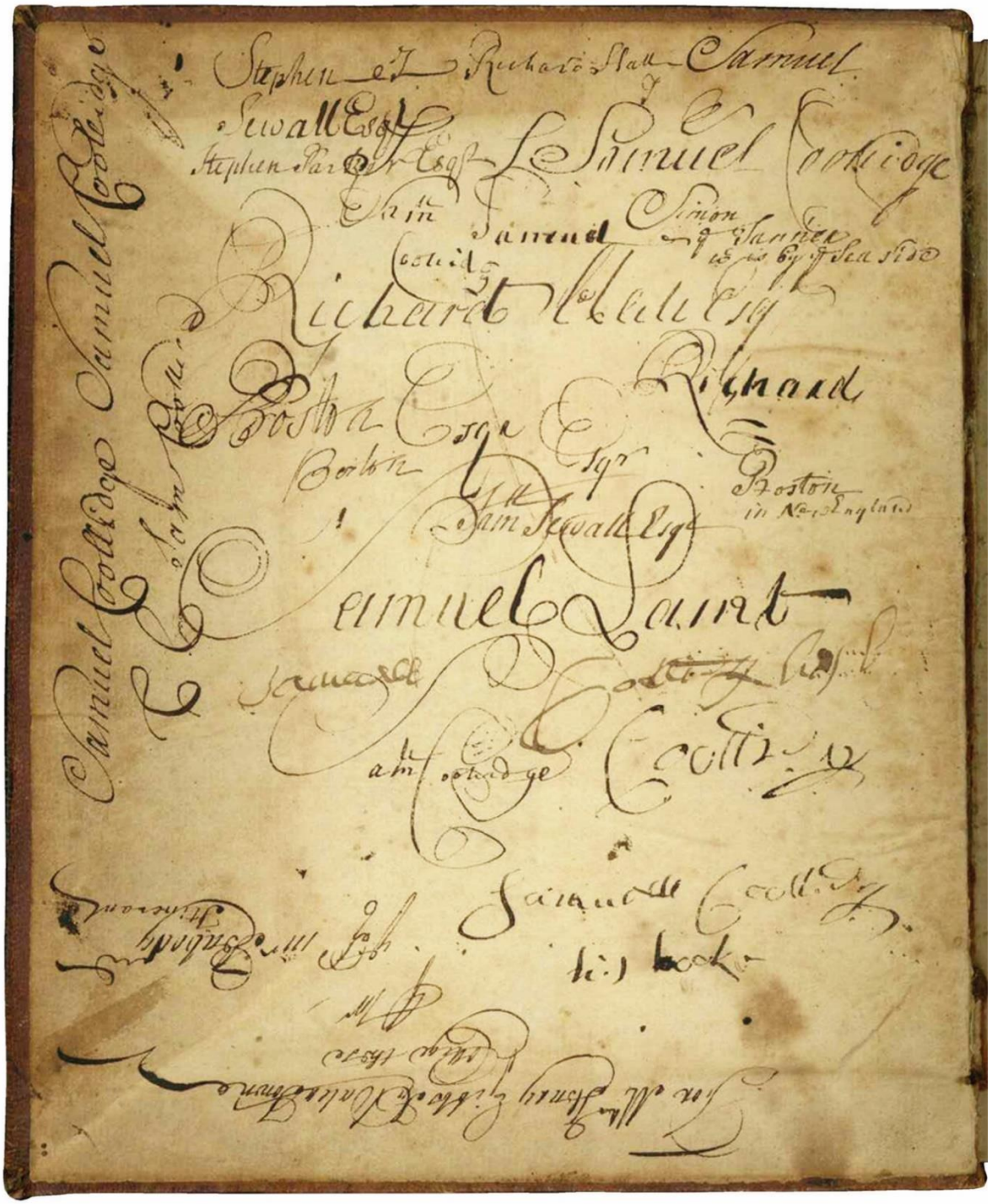
Contents

Madness in Colonial New England: The Journal of Samuel Coolidge

Despite what must have been high expectations when he graduated from Harvard College in 1724, it was not the fate of Samuel Coolidge--born in Watertown, Massachusetts, in 1703--to lead the comfortable life of a New England minister, nor that of a respectable scholar, judge, or merchant. Instead, Coolidge went home to Watertown as village schoolmaster, then after earning his A. M. in 1727 spent several years as an itinerant preacher. Failing to find a congregation, he returned to Harvard in 1734 as keeper of the college library, a position he managed to hold for less than a year. Coolidge then drifted in and out of Cambridge until 1742/3, when college authorities finally took action, exiling him as a "Vagabond" who "carried himself in an insolent & Outrageous manner, indulging himself in Cursing & Swearing profanely..." (Shipton 1963:217). These same charges had followed him since at least the time of his aborted librarianship, when he was known as a preacher "who would curse and swear" (Shipton 1963:217). His increasingly erratic behavior led contemporaries to regard him as "a thoroughly insane man" (Jimenez 1987:31).

Today we might more charitably recognize Coolidge as the victim of a debilitating mental illness, perhaps bipolar disorder or even coprolalia, the involuntary and repetitive use of obscene language often associated with Tourette's Syndrome. Coolidge kept this journal or commonplace book during the years just after his graduation from Harvard College, probably while obtaining his A. M. His story is well known among historians of mental disorder as one of the earliest recorded cases of madness in colonial North America. **This remarkable volume of nearly 75,000 words is more than the only surviving writing in Coolidge's hand; it is one of the very few original documents from the colonial era produced by someone known to have suffered from mental illness, composed near the time when his symptoms first became manifest**.

Little is remembered of Coolidge besides his illness. Yet the circumstances of his life-long condition tell us much about how communities in New England responded to such afflictions. We do not know how early Coolidge began displaying signs of insanity, but they were clearly apparent by 1734 when he returned to Harvard as librarian. In their history of Harvard's librarians, Potter and Bolton record that even before showing the symptoms of madness, "He is said to have been a man of brilliant parts, but very eccentric. One of his many peculiarities was his habit of talking in Latin" (1897:21). Duane Hurd likewise notes that, later in life, "The demented man when walking along the way was continually muttering and talking to himself in Latin" (1890:374). Coolidge's verbal tic of talking to himself in Latin may have been related to his inappropriate cursing. Hurd records an anecdote that--while offered as an amusement--suggests that Coolidge was all too aware



of his condition and deeply resented being subjected to mockery by his fellow townspeople, even reacting to such affronts with unexpected violence:

> once passing an apothecary shop, drenched by a pouring rain, [Coolidge] was addressed by someone from within by these words: "Domine Coolidge! Pluit tantum nescio quantum. seisne tu"? (Master Coolidge, it has rained very hard, I don't know how hard, do you?) Quick as a flash the angry man seized a stone, sent it crashing through the window, breaking glass and show bottles, and said: "Fregi tot nescio quot, seisne tu"? (I have broken a great many things, I don't know how many, do you?) [1890:374].

Such incidents, however, seem to have been infrequent. Far more often, and particularly after his exile from Cambridge, Coolidge's birthplace of Watertown assumed responsibility for his needs, taking up a collection at Thanksgiving in 1743 for purchasing warm clothing to carry him through the winter. A schoolmaster's position was found for him in nearby Westborough, but he abandoned the school in September 1744, "being far gone in Despair, sordidness and viciousness (viz Idleness and sloth, Smoaking & Drinking"), in the depths of a depression that left him "utterly without Hope" (Shipton 1963:218). The people of Westborough fed and cared for Coolidge, but he soon wandered away. Ignoring his banishment, he appeared at Harvard's commencement in 1745, filled with "Distractions and Delirium," and was disdainfully "plucked out of the presidents Chair in the Meeting House & draggd out on the Ground by a Negro like a Dead Dogg in presence of all the Assembly" (Shipton 1963:218). Watertown again took him in, as it would over the years when its selectmen were sent to retrieve him from neighboring towns where he had wandered in a state of madness: Roxbury, Charlestown, Dorchester, Cambridge, and Boston. During his periods of lucidity, Watertown residents demanded that he serve without pay as schoolmaster, sometimes locking him in the school at night to ensure his presence the following morning to teach. Coolidge boarded in various homes at the town's expense, until in 1763 his condition worsened and he grew more violent. When townspeople refused to house him, selectmen convinced one resident to keep him in a locked room, where he lived for another year until his death in 1764.

It is unfortunate that this sketch contains much of what we know of Samuel Coolidge; we can hardly see the man beyond the illness. Yet Coolidge was one of the most well-educated men in colonial New England, with not one but two degrees from its oldest and most prestigious school of higher learning. Of his pursuit of the A. M., Shipton observes that:

> It was a simple matter for him to ride over to Cambridge [from Watertown] to qualify for the M. A. by commonplacing in the college hall from the text, "The wisdom of God is a mystery." According to the *Quaestio* sheet he stood ready at Commencement, 1727, to defend the negative of the question "An Gratia in Renatis, sit suâ Natura interminabilis?" ["is grace in the reborn, by its very Nature, endless?"] [1963:216].

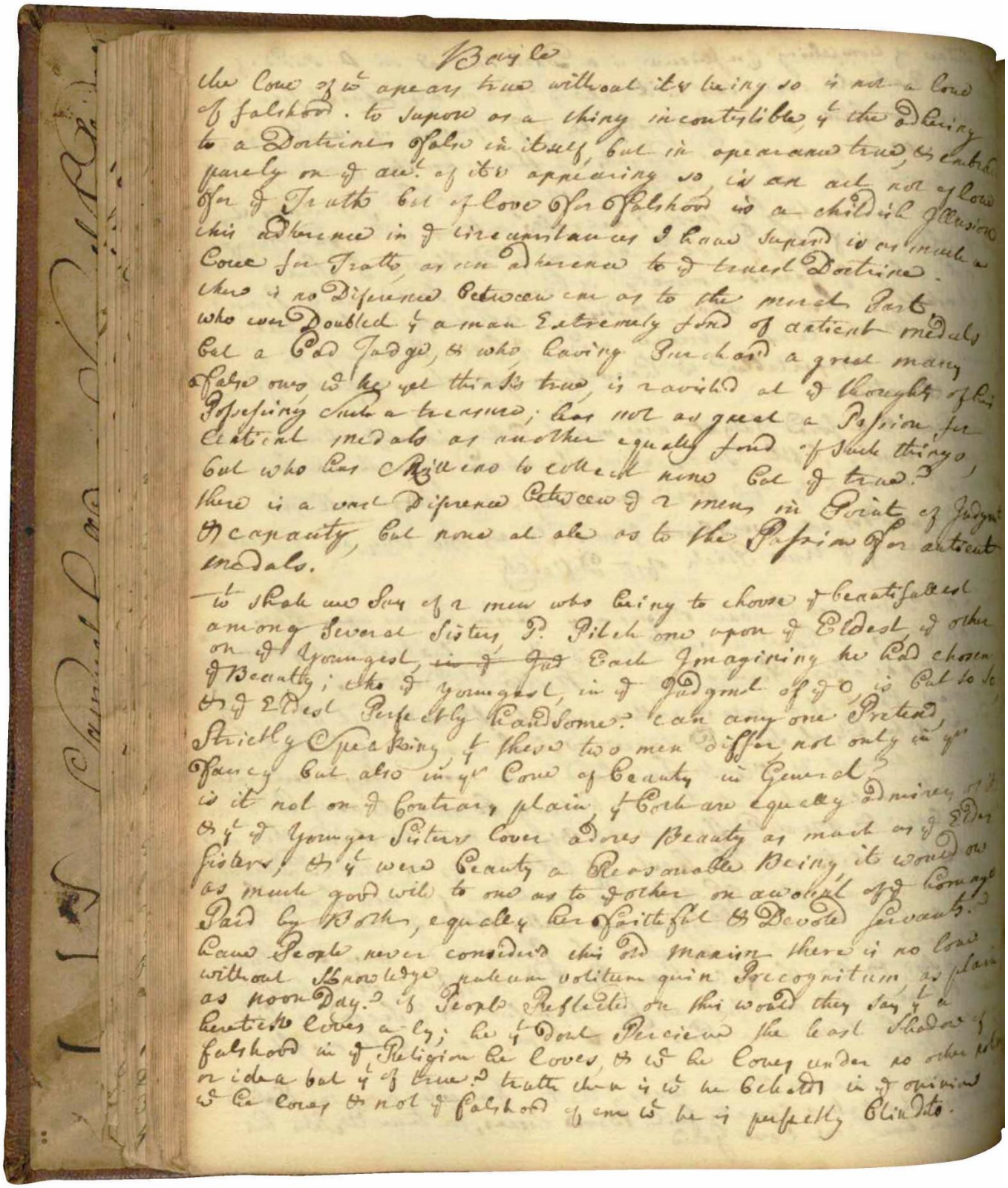
This extensive journal--more than 90 leaves filled with tight, meticulous script--is almost certainly one of the volumes that Coolidge used while commonplacing for his A. M. at Harvard. A notation on the first page, nearly buried beneath a palimpsest of manuscript text, reads "Saml Coolidge's / book / Anno / Domini / 1728 / Began to note down in it / August 8 1724." Coolidge obtained his

A. B. in 1724 and likely started work on his A. M. shortly after. Although there are dates in the journal as late as 1733, it appears that most of the text was compiled before 1728, and as discussed below, much of this manuscript material seems to pertain to his A. M. query.

The volume itself, a small 4to blank book, is a rare and attractive example of a rustic New England binding in original, unsophisticated condition. The front and back boards are decorated in the so-called 'Cambridge style,' popular at the time on both sides of the Atlantic. The pattern used here consists of three panels formed by double blind fillet lines, the inner and middle panels joined at the four corners by double fillets. The inner and outer panels are both stained or sprinkled dark, leaving the middle panel plain. The middle panel is bordered by a floral roll and embellished with fleurons on the outer corners; the inner panel has smaller fleurons at each of its corners. The spine is plain save for a horizontal double fillet at its head and tail and four raised bands. As might be expected of a simple blank book, the end papers and paste downs are all of the same plain paper stock as the pages that constitute the text block. The binding is a rare survival.

Coolidge used much of this volume as his commonplace book, and we suspect--given the contents--that it is the work that qualified him for the A. M at Harvard, addressing the phrase, "The wisdom of God is a mystery." Included are the works of a rather striking number and range of theologians and philosophers, including: Stephen Charnock (1628-1680), Puritan clergyman who wrote on the existence and knowledge of God; portions of John Edwards's (1637-1716) *Veritas Redux*; William Wall (1647-1728) on infant baptism; Robert Jenkin (1656-1727) on the certainty of the Christian religion; Pierre Bayle's (1647-1706) *Philosophical Commentary* on the subject of religious tolerance; Edward Calamy (1671-1732), non-conformist theologian and historian; Daniel Waterland (1683-1740) and Arthur Ashley Sykes (1684-1756), Anglican controversialists; Samuel Clarke (1675-1729) on freedom of action; Thomas Morgan (d. 1743) deist philosopher; portions of the *Physico-Theological Considerations* of Sir Robert Boyle (1627-1691), natural philosopher and chemist; the *Discourses and Sermons* of philosopher Joseph Glanville (1636-1680); Richard Lucas's (1648-1715) *Enquiry after Happiness*; William Chillingworth (1602-1644) on the right of individual conscience to interpret the Bible; Daniel Williams (1643-1716), Presbyterian dissenter; Jean de la Bruyere (1645-1696), French moralist; and Thomas Burnet (1635-1715) cosmogonist and theologian. There are also two historically-themed sections titled "Strictures upon the Trial of King Charles" and "the Prince of Wales, alias Pretender."

Throughout the text are scattered, unattributed entries that we suspect are Coolidge's own writings, most of which are related to the themes of the works he was reading or else are devotional in nature. There are more such entries in the last quarter of the manuscript, which may postdate the time he was commonplacing for his A. M. These are generally devotional writings, but appear to be comparatively hurried or disjointed. Other entries, however, are quite different, including a doggerel "Epitaph" ("Here lies John's wife / Plague of his life / She spent his wealth / She wrongd his Health / and left him Drnckred / as bad as She") and notes on the days he housed his horse with Watertown's town clerk Josiah Livermore. Coolidge also used this commonplace book as a kind of autograph album, collecting the signatures of many fellow Harvard graduates, including Henry Gibbs, John Sparhawk, Edward Stillingfleet, Colonel [Benjamin] Marston, Stephen Sewall (later Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court), the rather enigmatic "Father Mather" (Samuel Mather, son of Cotton, graduated a year ahead of Coolidge in 1723), Cambridge minister Nathaniel Appleton, Samuel Shipps, Robert Ward, Col. Benjamin Woodbridge, and others.



Boyle

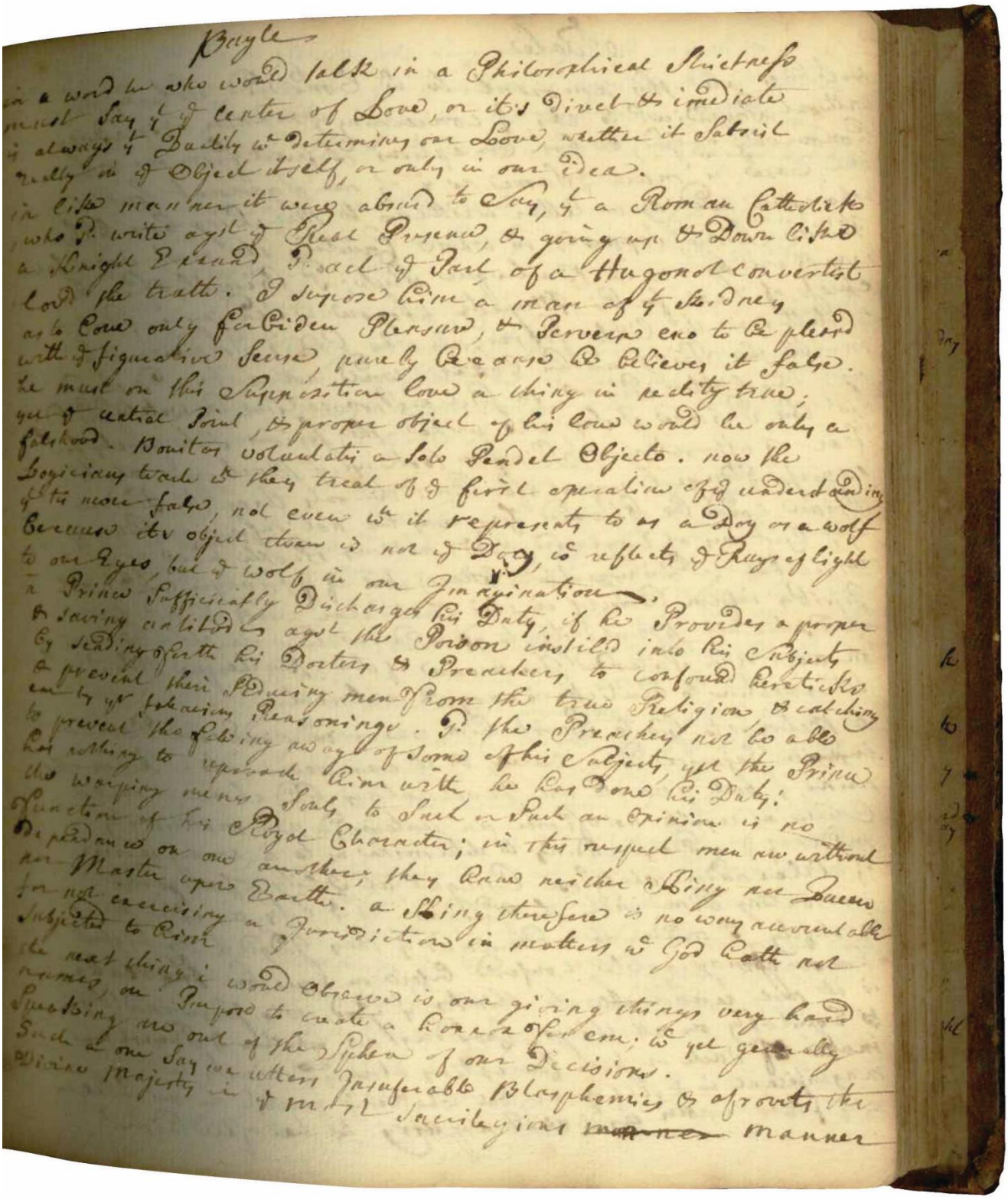
the Love of w^ch apears true without it's being so is not a Love of falshood. to Supose or a thing incontestible, & the Believing to a Doctrines falso in itself, but in apearance true, & embrac purely on y^e acc^t of it's appearing so, is an act not of Love for y^e Truth but of Love for falshood in a childish Illusion this Adherence in y^e circumstances I know Superst is or much a Love for Truth, as an Adherence to y^e truest Doctrine.

there is no Difference Between one as to the most part who was Doubled & a man Extremely fond of antient medals but a Bad Judge, & who having Purchas'd a great many false ones w^ch he yet thinks true, is ravish'd at y^e thought of his Possessing such a treasure; has not as great a Passion for Antient medals as another equally fond of such things but who has Skill and is Curious to collect none but y^e true? there is a vast Difference Between y^e 2 men in Point of Judgm^t & capacity, but none at all as to the Passion for antient medals.

to Shake me See of a man who being to choose y^e beautifullest among Several Sisters, P. Pitch one upon y^e Eldest & other on y^e Youngest, ~~in y^e~~ but Each Imagining he had chosen y^e Beauty; the y^e youngest, in y^e Judgm^t of y^e o, is but to be & y^e Eldest Perfectly Handsome? can any one Pretend, Strictly Speaking, y^t these two men differ not only in y^e Fancy but also in y^e Love of Beauty in General?

is it not on y^e Contrary plain y^t Both are equally admirers of y^e & y^t y^e Younger Sisters Lover adores Beauty as much as y^e Elder Sisters, & y^t were Beauty a Reasonable Being it would owe as much good will to one as to y^e other on account of y^e Homage Paid by Both, equally Faithfull & Devote Servants?

Some People never considered this old Maxim there is no Love without Knowledge Nullum volitum quin Precognitum, as plain as noon Day? if People Reflected on this would they say y^t a Heretick Loves a Ly; he y^t Does Perceive the least Shadow of falshood in y^e Religion he Loves, & w^t he Loves under no other Idea or idea but y^t of true? tis w^t he believes in y^e opinion w^ch he Loves & not y^e falshood of one w^ch he is perfectly Ignorant.



Bayle

in a word he who would talk in a Philosophical Strictness
must say y^t center of Love, or it's Direct & immediate
is always y^t Duality w^ch determines our Love, wether it Actual
really in y^e Object itself, or only in our Idea.
in like manner it were absurd to say, y^t a Roman Catholick
who sincerely writes agst y^e Real Presence, & going up & Down cries
a Knight Errant, Friend of Zeal of Part of a Hugonot converted
Lord the truth. I suppose him a man of y^t Stedyness
as to Love only forbidden Pleasure, & Servery eno to be pleased
with y^e figurative Sense, purely because he believes it false.
he must on this Supposition Love a thing in reality true;
yet y^e actual Soul, & proper object of his Love would be only a
falshood. Bonitas voluntati a Solo Pendet Objecto. now the
Logicians teach & they treat of y^e first operation of y^e understanding
y^t is more false, not even w^n it represents to us a Dog or a wolf
because its object there is not y^e Dog, & reflects y^e Rays of light
to our Eyes, but y^e Wolf in our Imagination.
a Prince sufficiently Discharges his Duty, if he Provides a proper
& saving antidote agst the Poison instilled into his Subjects
by Seading out his Doctors & Preachers to confound Heretics &
& prevent their Seduced men from the true Religion & catching
em by y^e Sophistick Reasonings. If the Preachers not be able
to prevent the Seducing away of some of his Subjects, yet the Prince
has nothing to reproach Him with he has done his Duty:
the warping mens Souls to Such or Such an Opinion is no
Function of his Royal Character; in this respect men are without
Dependence on one another; they have neither King nor Queen
nor Master upon Earth. a King therefore is no way answerable
for not exercising a Jurisdiction in matters w^ch God hath not
Subjected to Him
the next thing I would observe is our giving things very hard
names, on Purpose to make a Controversie; w^n yet generally
Speaking are out of the Sphera of our Decision.
Such a one Say we utter Insufferable Blasphemies & affronts the
Divine Majesty in y^e most Sacrilegious ~~manner~~ manner

Every commonplace book is inherently unique, a singular window into the preoccupations and predispositions of the mind that produced it. Until now, our only record of Samuel Coolidge was that shaped by his contemporaries and later writers through the prism of mental illness. With the recent discovery of his commonplace book, compiled before the disorder stripped him of his independence, we can finally see a young scholar deeply immersed in some of the most challenging theological and philosophical questions of his time. Although pre-1750 commonplace books from Great Britain and Continental Europe are occasionally offered at auction or in the trade, American examples from the colonial period are extraordinarily rare, most having long ago been accessioned by institutional collections. We have located no comparable volumes ever offered at auction, nor have we traced any offered in the trade. This is an especially important example, given the state of its original colonial binding, its extensive length, and the notoriety of its compiler.

An exceptional and significant American manuscript.

Relevant sources:

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1890 *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*. Vol. 3. J. W. Lewis & Co., Philadelphia.
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1963 *New England Life in the Eighteenth Century: Representative Biographies from Sibley's Harvard Graduates*. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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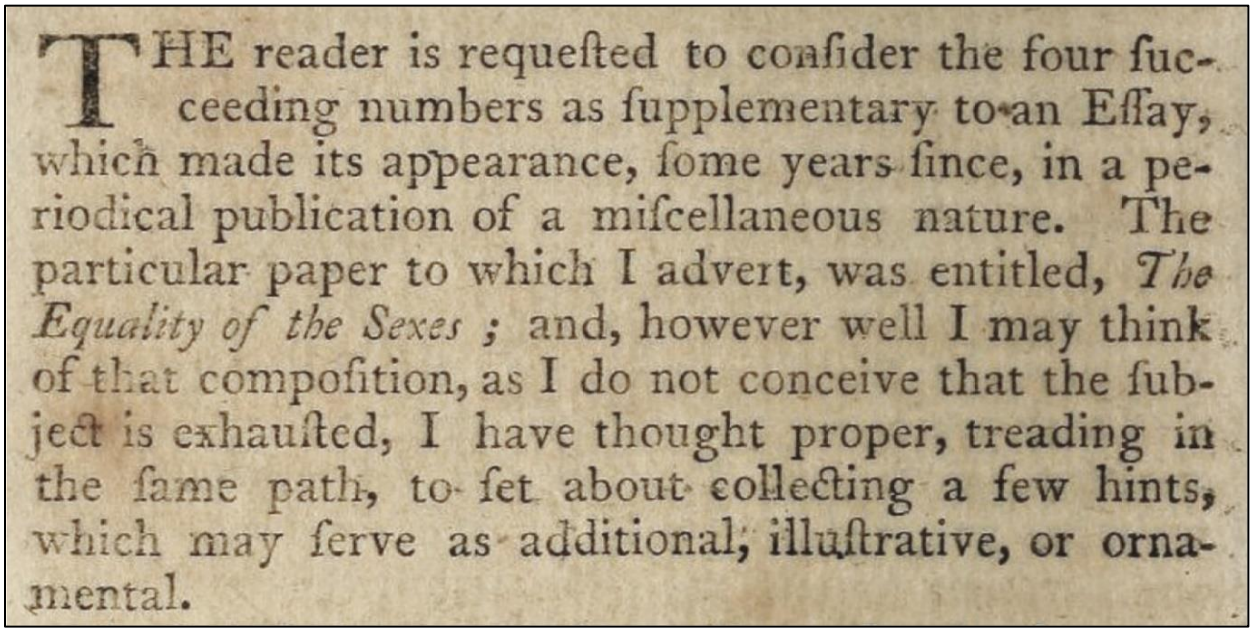
[Colonial New England--Mental Illness]: Samuel Coolidge: [MANUSCRIPT COMMONPLACE BOOK OF HARVARD COLLEGE GRADUATE SAMUEL COOLIDGE, COMPILED WHILE PURSUING HIS A. M. DEGREE]. Cambridge and Watertown, Massachusetts, ca. 1724-1733. 6 1/8 x 7 3/8 in. (15.5 x 19 cm). 91 leaves (six removed at an early date), containing about 75,000 words in a generally legible hand. Original ‘Cambridge-style’ paneled binding, sprinkled calf, spine slightly rolled; front and rear boards decorated with double blind fillet lines and embellished by floral rolls and fleurons. Interior pages very lightly tanned. Very good.

1. SOLD.

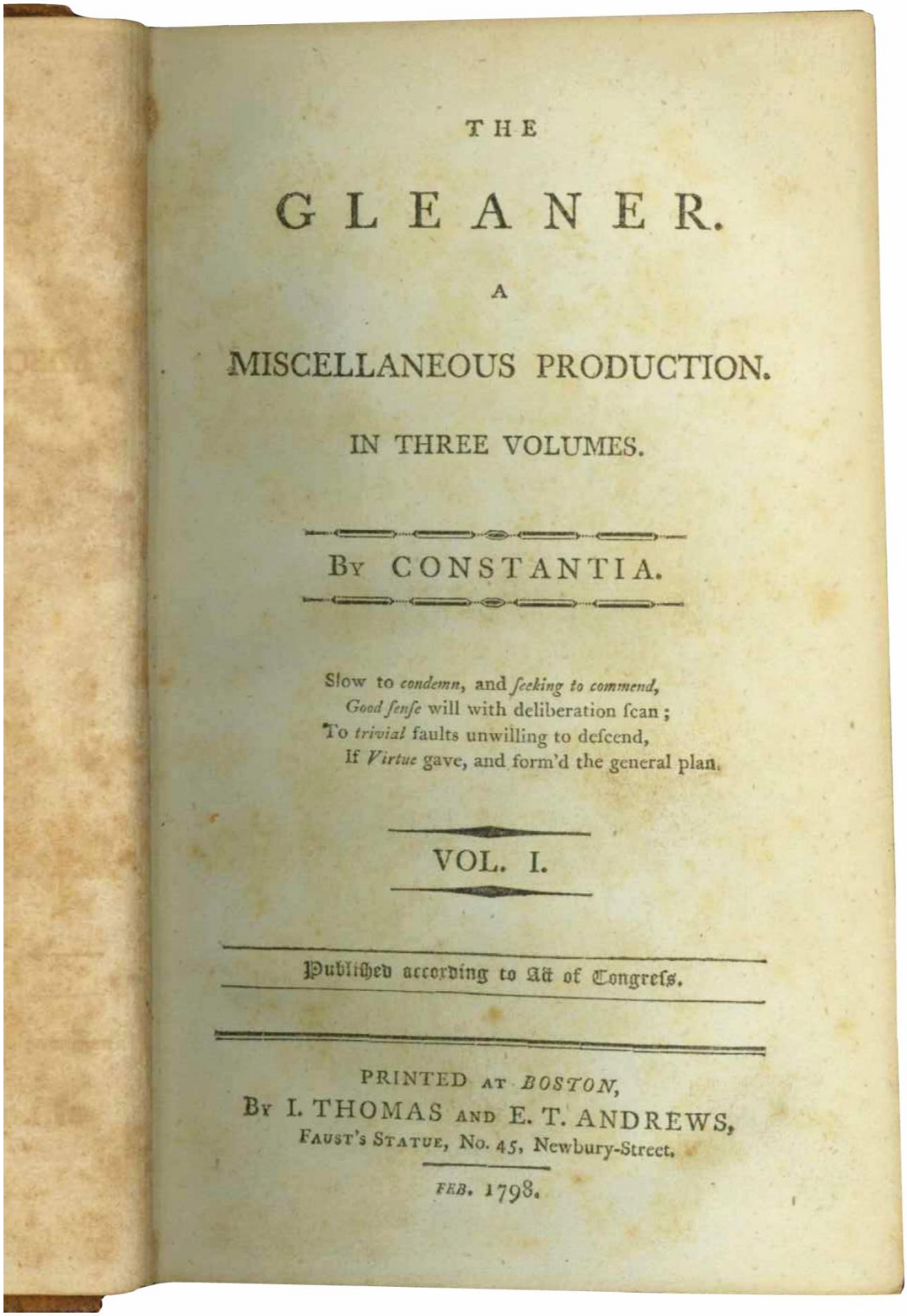
The Gleaner: Judith Sargent Murray's Voice in the Early Republic

Of the few American women who published their own writings during the first two decades of the Early Republic, none was more ambitious than Judith Sargent Murray. Using a number of different aliases--Honoria, Constantia, Martesia, Mr. Vigillius (the Gleaner)--she published dozens of essays in periodicals such as the *Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine* and Isaiah Thomas's *Massachusetts Magazine*. Her seminal essay, "On the Equality of the Sexes," appearing in the latter in 1790, is renowned today as the first work by any American author to advocate for spiritual and intellectual equality between women and men. She wrote at least three plays, the first of which was the first play by any American author performed in Boston. And in 1798, she became the first American woman to self-publish a book, *The Gleaner*, a three-volume compilation of her essays and other writings. *The Gleaner* is best known for the four-part essay, "Observations on Female Abilities," a continuation of the arguments in "Equality." **Despite its significance, and despite Murray's rediscovery by feminist scholars in recent years, we have traced no other complete set of *The Gleaner* at auction or in the trade during this century**.



THE reader is requeſted to conſider the four ſucceeding numbers as ſupplementary to an Eſſay, which made its appearance, ſome years ſince, in a periodical publication of a miſcellaneous nature. The particular paper to which I advert, was entitled, *The Equality of the Sexes*; and, however well I may think of that compoſition, as I do not conceive that the ſubject is exhauſted, I have thought proper, treading in the ſame path, to ſet about collecting a few hints, which may ſerve as additional, illuſtrative, or ornamental.

Judith Sargent Murray was born into the Sargent family of Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1751; she was the older sister of Winthrop Sargent, governor of Mississippi Territory. Their father was a wealthy, well-established merchant with the means to provide his children with exceptional educations. Yet as Winthrop worked with a private tutor in preparing for Harvard College, Judith had only a preceptress from whom she received rudimentary teaching in reading and writing. So she determined to teach herself. Immersed in the family's sizable library, she developed personal interests in history, philosophy, geography, and literature. She would never forget, though, the opportunities she was denied because of her sex. At the age of 18, Judith married a ship's captain and merchant named John Stevens. She supported the American Revolution, but the war proved a disaster for her husband's business. Facing debtors' prison in 1786, he fled the new United States for the West Indies and died shortly after, leaving Judith a widow at 35.



THE

GLEANER.

A

MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY CONSTANTIA.

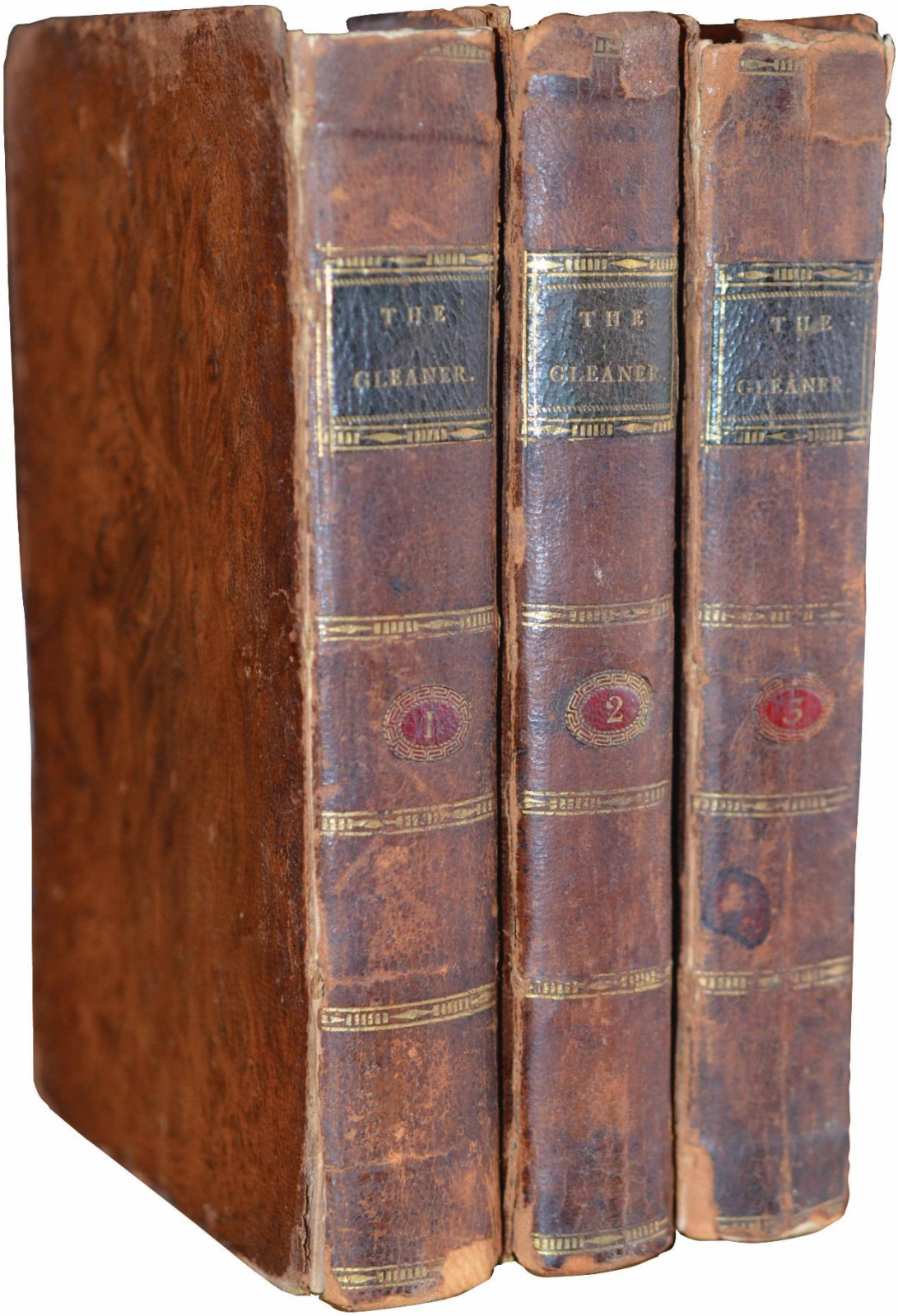
Slow to *condemn*, and *seeking to commend*,
Good sense will with deliberation scan;
To *trivial* faults unwilling to descend,
If *Virtue* gave, and form'd the general plan.

VOL. I.

Published according to Act of Congress.

PRINTED AT *BOSTON*,
BY I. THOMAS AND E. T. ANDREWS,
FAUST'S STATUE, No. 45, Newbury-Street.

FEB. 1798.


THE
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Murray had begun to publish her writing several years before, as a means of earning income to alleviate her husband's debt. Her very first essay--titled "Desultory Thoughts upon the Utility of Encouraging a Degree of Self-Complacency, Especially in Female Bosoms" and setting forth her first statement on the equal rationality of women--had appeared in the *Gentlemen and Ladies Town and Country Magazine* in 1784. Two years after Stevens's death she married again, wedding Universalist minister John Murray. He encouraged her to pursue her writing, and Isaiah Thomas's founding of the *Massachusetts Magazine* in 1789 offered the opportunity. Under the *nom de plume* Contantia, with which she had signed her early essays in the defunct *Town and Country*, Murray published her first poem in January 1790. Just a few weeks later, in the March and April issues of the *Massachusetts Magazine*, she published "On the Equality of the Sexes," the pathbreaking essay that made her reputation and cemented her place in the canon of feminist literature. Published two years before Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Murray declared to the men who would govern their brash young republic: "Yes, ye lordly, ye haughty sex, our souls are by nature *equal* to yours, the same breath God animates, enlivens, and invigorates us; and that we are not fallen lower than yourselves, let those witness who have greatly towered above the various discouragements by which they have been so heavily oppressed" (p. 134).

In February 1792, Murray adopted a masculine narrative persona, Mr. Vigillius, and began publishing a series of essays in the *Massachusetts Magazine* called "The Gleaner," which would run through December 1794. In all, she wrote 31 Gleaner columns for the magazine, including a serialized novella titled "The Story of Margaretta." After the Gleaner had earned her a large and loyal audience, she turned to writing plays: *The Medium, or Virtue Triumphant* (performed in 1795, it was the very first play by an American author staged in Boston or by an American woman staged anywhere); "The Traveler Returned," performed the following year; and another titled "The African," alluded to in her letters but now lost. But despite her prolific literary work, she had yet to find the recognition she sought as a writer, and her family's financial situation seemed dire. Her husband's income from his Unitarian ministry barely covered their expenses, and--at ten years her senior--his health was waning. So Murray launched into an ambitious project of much larger scale that she hoped would offer a solution to both problems.

After nearly two years of revising older writings and producing new material--including 69 new essays--Murray's opus appeared in February 1798. Taking the name of her popular column from the *Massachusetts Magazine*, and under the Constantia *nom de plume* widely known among New England's literati as her own, *The Gleaner. A Miscellaneous Production*, filled three 12mo volumes and totaled just under a thousand pages. Few American authors, man or woman, had put before the public such a revealing and personal set of compositions. Included along with the 100 Gleaner essays were both of her staged plays and her novella. Although it carried the imprint of Isaiah Thomas and E. T. Andrews, *The Gleaner* was self-published, as Judith and John Murray recruited 759 subscribers prior to publication; the list of these subscribers' names is appended at the end of the third volume and included George Washington, President John Adams (to whom the work was dedicated), John Hancock, and fellow writers Susanna Rowson and Sarah Wentworth Morton. **In exhibiting the confidence to solicit subscribers for *The Gleaner*, Murray became the first American woman to publish her own book**.

As biographer Sheila L. Skemp has observed, Murray would no longer mask the feminine identity of the Gleaner with the voice of a male alter ego: "she disrupted the narrative voice of *The*

Gleaner, blurring gender differences, proving that women could write with authority even when they commented on 'male' topics....[R]eaders know that Constantia is the 'real' intellectual force shaping the book's arguments. The Gleaner is merely a puppet; Constantia is in charge" (Skemp 2009:283). Even the structure of the work itself is aimed at casting off Federalist-era chauvinism about the capabilities of women: "Like the most cunning seducer, she does not assault prejudice head on, but leads her readers slowly, deliberately, toward her ultimate goal--the recognition that in virtually every aspect of human endeavor women are men's equals" (Skemp 2009:286). There was, at the time, nothing quite like *The Gleaner* in American literature.

Murray largely retreated into private life after publication of *The Gleaner*. Although the profits from its sale were enough for her to pay off the mortgage on her family's Boston home, the death of Mary Wollstonecraft in the same year as the *The Gleaner* appeared marked the beginning of a reversal in broad support for women's rights. Murray sold most of the thousand copies that Thomas and Andrews had printed, but there would be no second edition. Today *The Gleaner* is rarely encountered in the trade. Only three other sets have appeared for sale or at auction during the past half-century--a rebound and ex-library set offered by M&S Books in 1999; a set auctioned at Swann Galleries 1994; and another rebound set offered by M&S Books in 1972--all of which were sold before Murray's rediscovery and reevaluation by modern scholars. The set that we offer here is in contemporary tree calf bindings with gilt spines and morocco labels, all in very good condition. A scarce work, and a unique voice in the Early Republic.

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2000 *Women of the Republic Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Murphy, Gretchen
2021 *New England Women Writers, Secularity, and the Federalist Politics of Church and State*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Skemp, Sheila L.
2009 *First Lady of Letters: Judith Sargent Murray and the Struggle for Female Independence*. Viking Press, New York.

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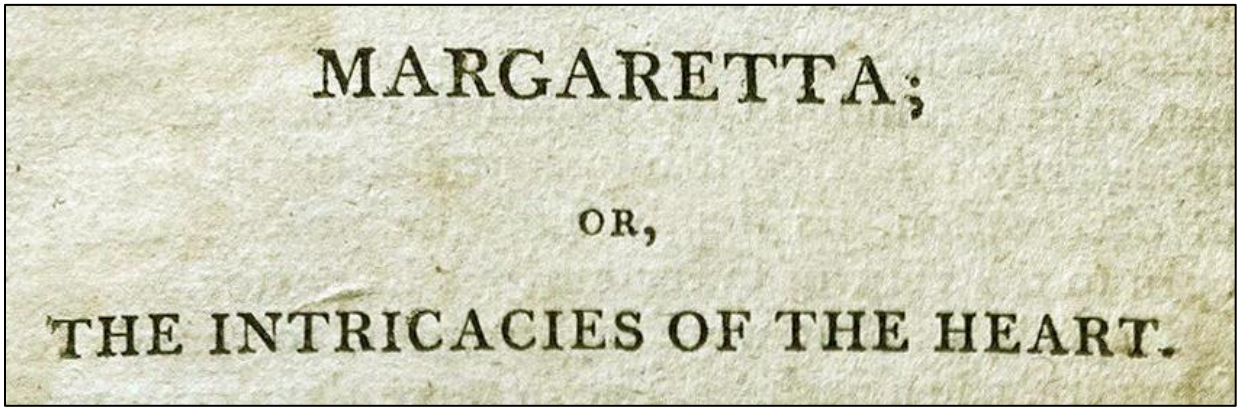
[Feminism--Early Republic]. Judith Sargent Murray. THE GLEANER. A MISCELLANEOUS PRODUCTION. I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, Faust's Statue, No. 45, Newberry-Street, Boston. Feb. 1798. 12mo (18 cm). Three Volumes. v. 1: xii, [1], 14-348 pp.; v. 2: iv, [1], 6-321, [3] pp.; v. 3: iv, [1], 6-328 pp. Contemporary tree calf with spines decorated in gilt, black and red morocco labels, marbled end papers; minor splitting along outer hinges, light chipping at heads and tails of spines, light edge wear on boards; text with occasional toning. Overall very good.

2. SOLD.

Martha Meredith Read's *Margaretta; or The Intricacies of the Heart*

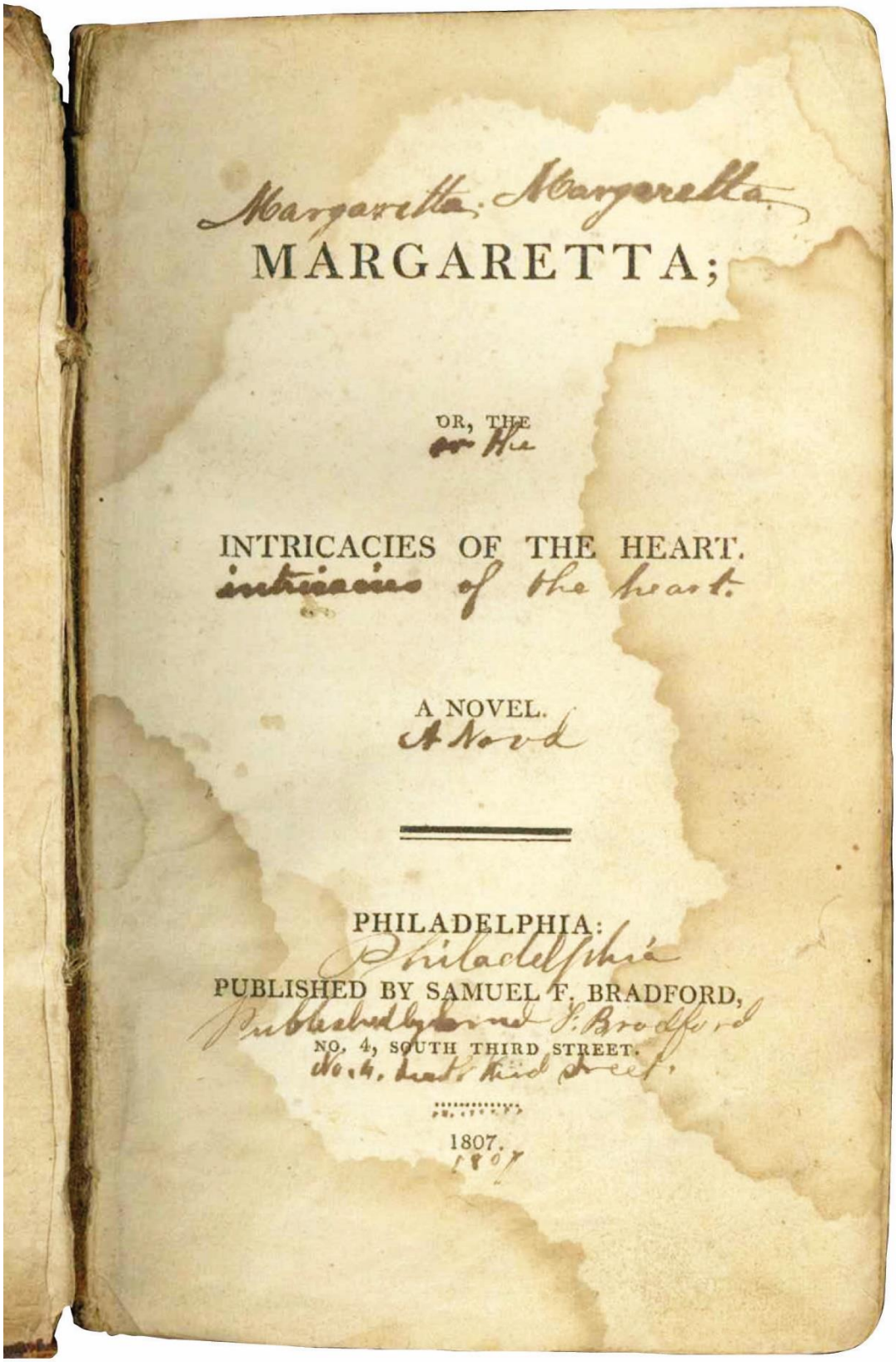
America's literary canon, for better or worse, has long centered on the development of the novel. And for much of the 20th century, historians of the early American novel shared a view of post-Revolutionary fiction: after a radical burst of creativity by writers of the new, Federalist-era republic, American literary productions entered a period of steep decline that only ended with the rise of the historical novel as introduced by canonical authors such as Washington Irving and James Fennimore Cooper. In a series of critical reassessments, literary historian Duncan Faherty refers to this period of supposed decline, dating from about 1800 to 1820, as the "canonical interregnum" (e.g., 2020:481). Rather than view the works of this interregnum through a lens of decline, he and other scholars suggest that its authors' themes and concerns resist easy slotting into a progressive narrative from Federalist radicalism to Populist nostalgia. Instead, literature from the turn of the 19th century was marked by a sense of foreboding and anxiety brought on by dramatic events both foreign and domestic. Few novels of the period capture this sensibility better than Martha Meredith Read's 1807 *Margaretta; or Intricacies of the Heart*. In exposing her heroine to a litany of perils including murder, robbery, rape, adultery, and incest, Read aims not "to reductively underscore what a Jeffersonian ascendancy had wrought, but rather to insure a new stable social order despite that shift in political culture" (Faherty 2017:104). **We locate only nine institutional holdings of this important work, with no examples appearing at auction since 1968**.


MARGARETTA;

OR,

THE INTRICACIES OF THE HEART.

The beginning of the 19th century had unleashed a wave of anxiety, if not paranoia, among America's Federalist intelligentsia. First, Thomas Jefferson's narrow victory over incumbent John Adams in the presidential election of 1800 had dealt an existential blow to New England's urban elites, whose political philosophy had successfully steered the young nation from Revolution to Nationhood. In its place, Jefferson promised a rampant Republicanism that would cast hard-won federal powers back to the states and their rural masses. Three years later, Jefferson had doubled the size of the country and practically guaranteed the westward march of slavery with the purchase of nearly 850,000 square miles from Napoleon's France, an act that many Federalists believed to be in flagrant violation of the Constitution. Then, within months of the Louisiana Purchase having been ratified by the U. S. Senate, Aaron Burr--Jefferson's own former vice president--had set out to establish an independent empire in portions of Louisiana and the greater Southwest. And if all of this was not enough to instill a heightened sense of dread in even the most rational New England Federalist, the bloody, decade-long slave revolt and civil war in French Saint-Domingue had ended



MARGARETTA;

OR, THE

INTRICACIES OF THE HEART.

A NOVEL.

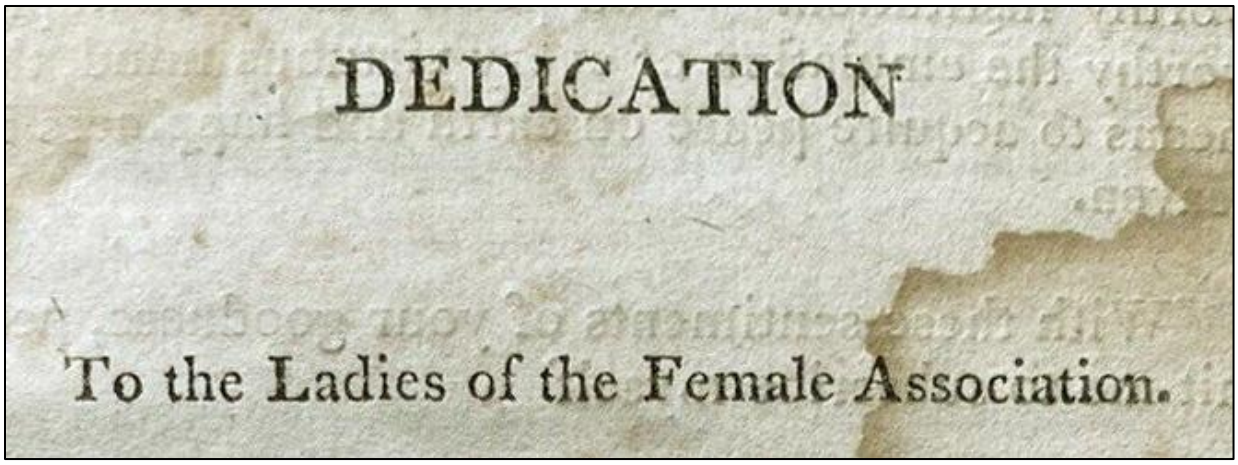
PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY SAMUEL F. BRADFORD,

NO. 4, SOUTH THIRD STREET.

1807.

in 1804 with a new Black-ruled nation, Haiti, and the mass slaughter of all the remaining whites in Haitian territory. It was no small step to connect the corruptions of Caribbean plantation culture and its ultimate consequences with the southern slave economy and the Republican president who had himself enslaved hundreds.


DEDICATION

To the Ladies of the Female Association.

Such was the mood of many Americans in 1807 when Martha Meredith Read produced her second novel, *Margaretta; or the Intricacies of the Heart*. Her first novel, *Monima, or the Beggar Girl*, had appeared in 1802. Read was born in Philadelphia in 1773, the eldest child of Margaret Cadwalader and Samuel Meredith. Her father was a wealthy merchant--their mansion was located across from Independence Hall--who had served as a brigadier general in the Pennsylvania Militia during the Revolutionary War; he was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Continental Congress from 1786 to 1788, then was the first United States Treasurer appointed under the Constitution by George Washington. Martha married John Read in 1796, with whom she had three children who survived infancy. Read himself came from a distinguished family. His father, George, signed the Declaration of Independence and was president of Delaware's Constitutional Convention. John was an attorney and had an equally prominent career. Appointed by John Adams as Agent General of the United States in the settlement of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, he was later president of the Philadelphia Bank. Unfortunately, we know much less about the life of Martha Meredith Read than of the powerful men in her life. Apart from the two novels, several essays in the short-lived *Ladies Monitor* magazine, and occasional letters in the papers of her father and husband, she left little for would-be biographers to work with. She died at Harrisburg in 1817.

Given the extent of her Federalist sensibility, it is little wonder that her fictions represent its tenets as a source of social stability in a moment of political upheaval. An epistolary novel that turns the genre on its head by using as many as eight distinct correspondents, *Margaretta* opens in the rural village of Elkton, Maryland, where we find its titular heroine (orphaned, innocent, and beautiful) being raised by impoverished cottagers who despise notions of social respectability and rank. Margaretta is soon whisked away by a well-meaning Philadelphia socialite, since her youth and beauty merit introduction to urban society. Yet the perils of the city, including sexual pursuit by a pair of rakes, drives her to seek shelter in a pre-revolt Saint-Domingue (temporality is a fluid construct in *Margaretta*). Here she observes the horrors of chattel slavery and the degeneracy of island planter culture, contrasting it--and by extension southern planter culture and its Republican practitioners--with that of the noble, northern yeoman farmer. She is held captive and nearly raped

by an old, decrepit plantation owner, but is rescued by a mature English gentleman who pledges his devotion. After arriving in England to wed, the happy couple learn at the last possible moment that they are father and daughter, separated by shipwreck in Margaretta's infancy. Having moved from American village to city, from Caribbean plantation to London's rigid class scene, she weds instead one of the original rakes (now reformed) who has followed her to England. They return to the United States with her rightful social status (and wealth), where as newlyweds they settle down to a loving and comfortably Federalist domestic life in rural Pennsylvania.

Margaretta was published in two 1807 editions, one in Philadelphia by Samuel F. Bradford and one in Charleston, South Carolina, by Edmund Morford; there is no established priority. Each of Martha Meredith Read's published novels is extremely rare. No copies of *Monima* have been seen at auction since 1932, and none of *Margaretta* since 1968, when the Clements Library bought a copy of the Philadelphia edition at Parke Bernet for $500 despite its broken binding. *Monima* is slightly better represented in institutional holdings, though, with 15 known copies to *Margaretta's* 11 (two of the Charleston edition, nine of the Philadelphia). We locate copies of the Philadelphia edition at the Clements Library, Penn State, Pennsylvania State Library, Princeton, the New York Society Library, Yale, Library Company of Philadelphia, American Antiquarian Society, and the Huntington Library (imperfect); it is worth noting that when the AAS, Clements, and LCP acquired their copies of *Margaretta*--in 1967, 1968, and 2015, respectively--the acquisition was of sufficient interest to merit notice in each of their annual reports. **A rare, early, and significant American novel by one of our first female novelists**.

Relevant sources:

Faherty, Duncan.
2017 "Murder, Robbery, Rape, Adultery, and Incest:" Martha Meredith Read's Margaretta and the Function of Federalist Fiction. In *Warring for America: Cultural Contests in the Era of 1812*, edited by Nicole Eustace and Fredrika J. Teute, pp. 95-126. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
2020 Remapping the Canonical Interregnum: Periodization, Canonization, and the American Novel, 1800-1820. In *A Companion to American Literature, Volume 1: Origins to 1820*, edited by Susan Belasco, Theresa Gaul, Linck Johnson, and Michael Soto, pp. 478-494. Wiley-Blackwell, New York.
Fichtelberg, Joseph
1998 Heart-felt Verities: The Feminism of Martha Meredith Read. *Legacy* 15(2):125-138.

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[Fiction--Early Republic]. Martha Meredith Read. MARGARETTA; OR THE INTRICACIES OF THE HEART. Published by Samuel F. Bradford, No. 4, South Third Street, Philadelphia, 1807. 12mo (18 cm). iv, 419, [1]. Contemporary paper over boards with leather spine; spine with loss at head and tail, loss to paper covering boards. Lacks front end paper, persistent dampstain heaviest to first and last few leaves. Previous owner's name on verso of final text leaf, manuscript additions to title page repeating printed text. Complete. Good. [Wright no. 1807].

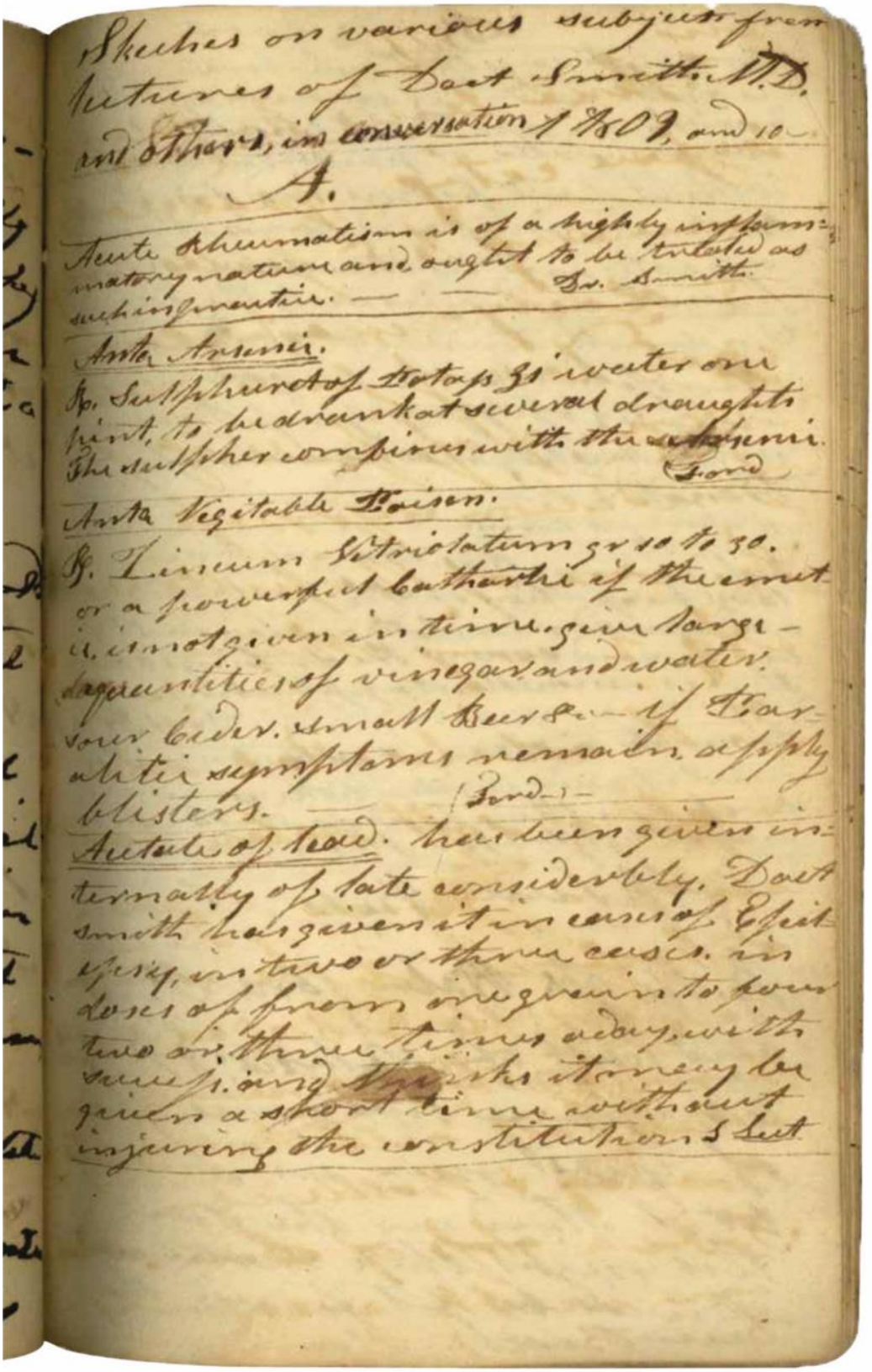
3. SOLD.

Dr. Reuben Champion, Jr., Records His Cures: A Physician's Notebook

Dr. Reuben Champion, Jr., was born in 1784 in the Connecticut Valley community of West Springfield, Massachusetts. He was, according to local histories, the first physician born in the town. He was not, however, the first Reuben Champion who made medicine his life's work. His grandfather, the first Dr. Reuben Champion, had moved his family to Springfield in 1772, on the eve of the American Revolution. He had joined the Continental Army under General Washington when the war began, serving as a surgeon until he contracted a fever and died at Ticonderoga in 1777. Both of his sons, Reuben and Medes, served in the war themselves, though neither was yet twenty years old. The third Reuben Champion would become the family's second physician. He received his early education at Westfield Academy in Westfield, Massachusetts, after which he entered the medical office of Dr. Joshua Sumner at Springfield. Sometime later he traveled north to Dartmouth, where he trained as a private pupil of Dr. Nathan Smith, founder of medical schools at Dartmouth, Yale, the University of Vermont, and Bowdoin. Champion began this notebook of cures and treatments before 1809, when he returned to West Springfield and established his own medical practice--one that he would operate for half a century until his death in 1865. **Containing nearly fifty pages of text, its entries offer both a window into Champion's training with Smith and a broader perspective on medical practice in the Early Republic**.

During the first two decades after American independence, medical education and practice in the former colonies began to professionalize. Among the most important developments in this process was the creation of new medical schools, the growth of which enabled physicians to define themselves as a professional class distinct from (and superior to) traditional practitioners such as healers and midwives who lacked formal training. The first medical schools in America had been established at the University of Pennsylvania and Kings College (Columbia University) in 1765 and 1767, respectively, and were both modeled on the renowned medical school at the University of Edinburgh, which was then the leading such institution in the English-speaking world. Harvard Medical School was founded in 1782 as America's first post-colonial school of medicine, but still was modeled on Edinburgh. Another 15 years would pass before the founding of America's next medical school--and the first that we might describe as distinctly American--driven almost entirely by the energies of just one man, Dr. Nathan Smith.

Nathan Smith was apparently serving as a young schoolteacher in Vermont when he was called on to assist Dr. Josiah Goodhue of Putney in the amputation of a leg. Smith immediately asked Goodhue to take him on as an apprentice. He remained with Goodhue for three years, after which he practiced briefly in Cornish, New Hampshire. In 1789, at the age of 27, he began medical studies at Harvard and earned his Bachelor of Medicine degree a year later--just the third graduate



Sketches on various subjects from
lectures of Dr. Smith M.D.
and others, in conversation 1809, and 10

A.

Acute rheumatism is of a highly inflammatory nature and ought to be treated as such in general. — Dr. Smith

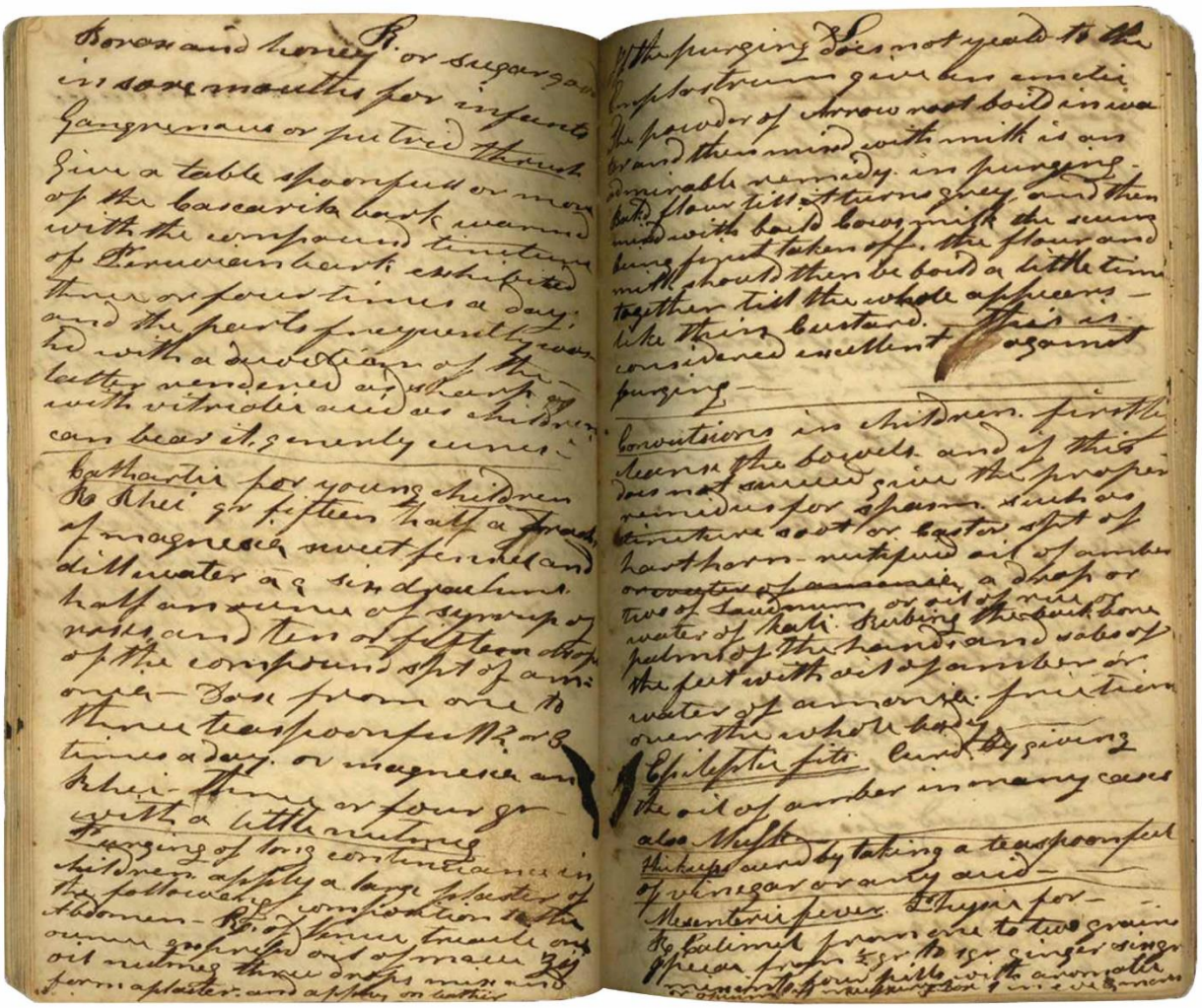
Anti. Arsenic.

℞. Sulphuret of potash 3i water one pint, to be drank at several draughts the sulpher combines with the arsenic. Ford

Anti. Vegitable Poison.

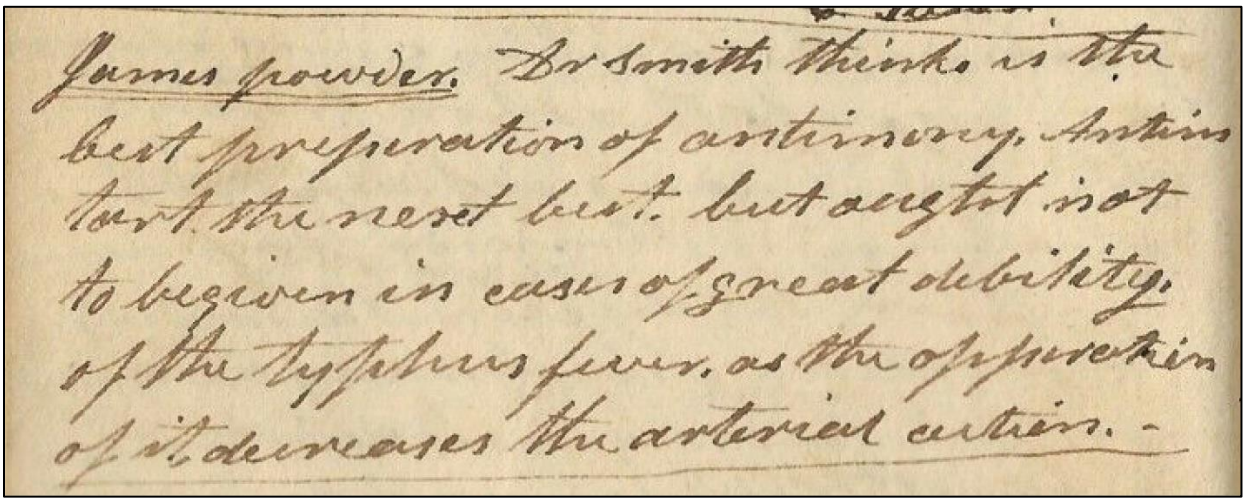
℞. Linum Catharticum gr xx to xxx. or a powerful cathartic if the emetic cannot given in time. give large quantities of vinegar and water. sour cider. small beer &c — if diarrhetic symptoms remain apply blisters. Ford

Acetate of lead. has been given internally of late considerably. Dr. Smith has given it in cases of Epilepsy, in two or three cases. in doses of from one grain to four two or three times a day, with some success. and thinks it may be given a short time without injuring the constitution. Set



of the program. Returning to New Hampshire, Smith recognized the necessity of formal medical training there and petitioned the trustees of Dartmouth College to establish a professorship in the theory and practice of medicine. He began lecturing in November 1797, and the following August the trustees formally appointed him Professor of Medicine. As the only medical faculty, he offered courses in surgery, anatomy, midwifery, materia medica, and practice; he also served as dean and treasurer of the school. Smith emphasized practical experience over theory in his new program of medical education, and likewise dismissed the use of bleeding and purging--as was taught in other early programs--focusing instead on the body's own defenses. In all of this, Smith created what was in many ways the first distinctly American program of medicine, founded far from the streets of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston in the new nation's rural hinterland.

Reuben Champion's notebook reflects all of these developments--the professionalizing of American medicine, the expansion of medical education into the heart of rural New England, and the profound influence of Nathan Smith. The notebook consists of two parts, each an alphabetical list of treatments, cures, and concoctions. The first such list probably dates to his time as Sumner's apprentice at Springfield, the second to his time as Smith's pupil at Dartmouth. There are dozens


James powder. Dr Smith thinks is the best preparation of antimony. Antim tart. the next best. but aught not to be given in cases of great debility of the typhus fever. as the operation of it decreases the arterial action. -

of entries for maladies ranging from rattlesnake bite ("make a tea of rattlesnake vilot [sic, violet] & give freely also apply to the wound, also the beads of the ash tree") to hydrophobia ("Vinegar in large quantities is said to cure Hydrophobia") to the measles ("Dr. Smith was called to a young child that had been sick with the measles three or four days. the pustules were very thick and a diarhia [sic] with hemorrhage, and a sour mouth. M.M. Japan earth, crocus and sub borate of soda [i.e., borax]"). The notebook, titled "Chemical Skeches [sic]," consists of 48 pages of text on 27 stitched leaves, signed by Champion on the first leaf; the first section contains 23 pages, the second contains 25 pages. Many of the papers of the Champion family--including six day books for the practice of Dr. Reuben Champion, Jr. from 1809-1865--are held at the W. E. B. Du Bois Library at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. His notebook, however, is a self-contained document that offers superb insights into early American medical practice and education.

Relevant sources:

Hayward, Oliver S., and Constance E. Putnam
2000 *Improve, Perfect, & Perpetuate: Dr. Nathan Smith and Early American Medical Education*. University Press of New England, Hanover, NH.

Toledo-Pereyra, Luis S.
2004 America's First English-Speaking Medical Schools. *Journal of Investigative Surgery* 17(1):3-7.

Sylvester, Nathaniel B.
1879 *The History of the Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts*. Louis H. Everts, Philadelphia.

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[New England--Early Medicine]. Dr. Reuben Champion, Jr. [MANUSCRIPT NOTEBOOK OF "CHEMICAL SKECHES [SIC]" IN THE HAND OF DR. REUBEN CHAMPION, JR., OF WEST SPRINGFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS]. [Massachusetts and possibly New Hampshire, circa 1805 to 1810]. 12mo (15 cm). 48 pp. of text on 27 ll., stitched; light edge wear. Very good.

4. SOLD.

McAffee's Confession: The First Printing of an Iconic American Ballad

The folk ballad is among the earliest Anglo-American musical traditions, having deep roots in the oral, vernacular cultures of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. With the advent of cheap paper in the early 16th century, balladry was expanded by the profusion of published broadsides and broadsheets, which opened a new mode of communication in literary, printed contexts. Yet each format--the spoken and the printed word--would later develop in tandem, as many traditional folk ballads found their way into print and some broadside ballads took root in folk tradition. Like most of the genre, this rare broadside ballad, "A Serious Warning to Young Men, or The Life and Confession of John M'Affee," is based on an actual event, in this case the execution of the titular character at Dayton, Ohio, in 1825 for the murder of his wife. Less commonly, though, the ballad of John McAffee, under the title "McAfee's Confession" or "Murdered Wife," would become one of the most widespread spoken word ballads of the 19th century, with versions of its lyrics recorded by folklorists from Virginia to Iowa and Missouri. Printed at Dayton on the occasion of the actual McAffee's hanging, this striking broadside not only contains the original composition, but is the only printed version of the ballad to appear until the early 20th century. **Known in only two other copies, it is the earliest broadside ballad printed in the trans-Allegheny West**.


The Life and Confession
of John M'Affee;

"The Life and Confession of John M'Affee" was published by 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 nearby villages massed at what was then the edge of town, near the rain-swollen Miami River, to witness 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.

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

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 lov'd 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 here.
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.

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.

The body of McAffee's wife was discovered soon after, but despite weeks of searches, the murderer himself was not to be found. After several months passed, 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 was 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 of the McAffee pamphlet and two examples of the broadside were known to have survived prior to the discovery of this broadside**; one of each are held in the James V. Medler Crime Collection at the Clements Library, while a second copy of the broadside is included in the William F. Wade folklore collection in the Indiana State Library.

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 for the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1916, recorded an almost line-by-line

rendition of the ballad first printed here, 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 variation of the ballad is listed as No. 68, "Young McFee," in Louise Pound's classic anthology *American Ballads and Songs* (1922:153-154). In the massive *Ballads and Songs Collected by the Missouri Folk-Lore Society* (1940:317), Henry Belden 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. Yet despite such extensive scholarly interest in the song and its social history, not a single early folklorist linked its origins to Skinner's Dayton broadside--so few copies exist, it was simply unknown. **An important Midwestern imprint, introducing one of the most iconic and widespread ballads in 19th-century American vernacular culture**.

Relevant sources:

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Cox, John Harrington, editor
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Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

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1930 The Day They Hung John McAfee. *Daily Dayton News* for Nov. 23.

Leach, MacEdward and Horace P. Beck
1950 Songs from Rappahannock County, Virginia. *The Journal of American Folklore* 63(249):257-284.

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.

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.

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[Ohio--Broadside Ballad]: A SERIOUS WARNING TO / YOUNG MEN, OR / THE LIFE AND CONFESSION / OF JOHN M'AFFEE [caption title]. 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, edge wear, lightly tanned. Overall very good. Morgan 8431, not in McMurtrie or McDade.

5. SOLD.

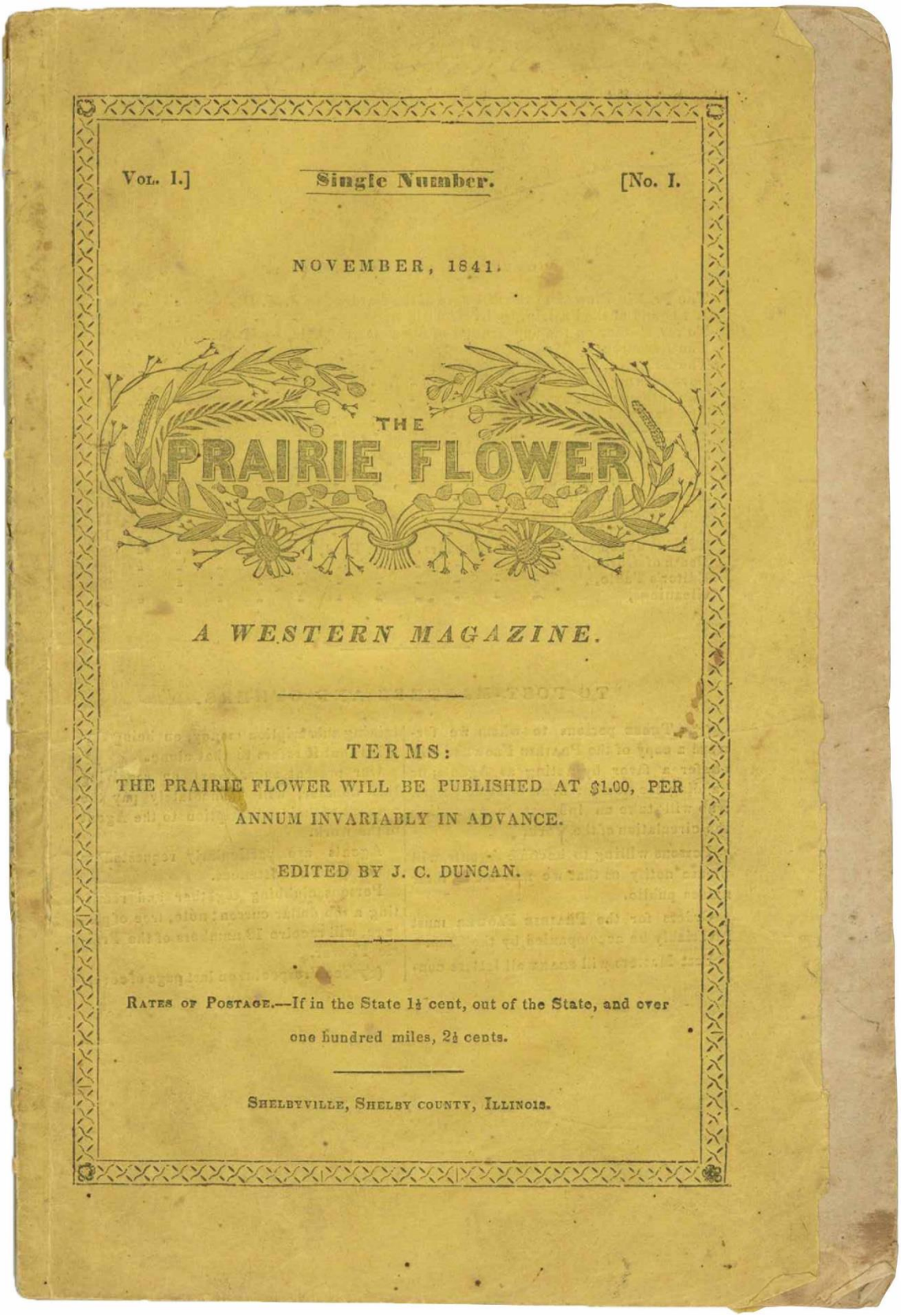
Unique in Original Wraps: *The Prairie Flower, A Western Magazine*

Until his death in a shipwreck off the coast of Cornwall, England, in 1898, Joseph Charles Duncan sought to leave his mark--and to make his fortune--through writing, banking, mining, real estate, fine art, and auctioneering. Instead, and through a lifetime of making and losing multiple fortunes, he swindled and bamboozled his way across the continent and abroad, from Philadelphia to Illinois, New Orleans, San Francisco, Paris, and London. Today he is remembered, if at all, as the father of acclaimed dancer Isadore Duncan. Ironically, his first undertaking of record, while unsuccessful, was perhaps his most honest. As a 22-year-old, born to a distinguished Philadelphia family with Revolutionary roots, Duncan moved to what was then the frontier state of Illinois and launched a literary project, *The Prairie Flower: A Western Magazine*. Its first issue, published in November 1841, was just the second such periodical issued in the state. There is no record of how long *The Prairie Flower* lasted, nor of how many issues Duncan produced. **Prior to the discovery of these first two numbers, notably fresh and untrimmed in their original wraps, only a single disbound copy of the first number, lacking any specific information on the place and date of publication, was known to bibliographers**.

Born in Philadelphia in 1819, James Duncan would spend the early years of his childhood in Chestertown, Maryland, where his father served as a professor of belles-lettres at Washington College. When he was eight years old, a disastrous fire burned the college to the ground, taking with it nearly all of the family's possessions. The Duncans, left essentially destitute, moved north to Manhattan, but bad fortune followed close behind--another fire, an outbreak of cholera, and the financial panic of 1837. James must have seen enough, and with his younger brother and business partner, William Lorenzo, set out for Indiana and Illinois, where they bought produce, hogs, and horses that they shipped out to St. Louis and the developing center of Chicago. At some point in these itinerant travels, James found himself in the town of Shelbyville, located along the Kaskaskia River in central Illinois, and it was here--following his father's literary leanings in the aesthetics of fine writing and belle-lettres--that he began *The Prairie Flower*.

These two issues--Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2--are the only known copies in their original yellow wraps, and the second issue is altogether unique. The outer rear wrap of each number contains the Prospectus, which announces that:

> We present to the public the first number of a monthly periodical, to be published in Shelbyville, Shelby County, Ill., and entitled the "Prairie Flower." This work will be issued in numbers, commencing on the 15th of November, printed on fine white paper, neatly done up in a fancy cover, and forwarded to country subscribers in strong wrappers, on the first of every month. Each number will contain twenty-four pages of closely printed matter; and as often as possible be embellished with a handsome Engraving, making at the end of the year a work of two hundred and eighty-eight pages, containing
>
> ORIGINAL TALES, ESSAYS, POETRY, SKETCHES OF THE WEST, ILLUSTRATIONS OF HISTORY, LETTERS FROM THE EAST, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, ANECDOTES, AND LITERATURE IN GENERAL



Vol. I.] Single Number. [No. I.

NOVEMBER, 1841.

THE PRAIRIE FLOWER

A WESTERN MAGAZINE.

TERMS:

THE PRAIRIE FLOWER WILL BE PUBLISHED AT $1.00, PER ANNUM INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE.

EDITED BY J. C. DUNCAN.

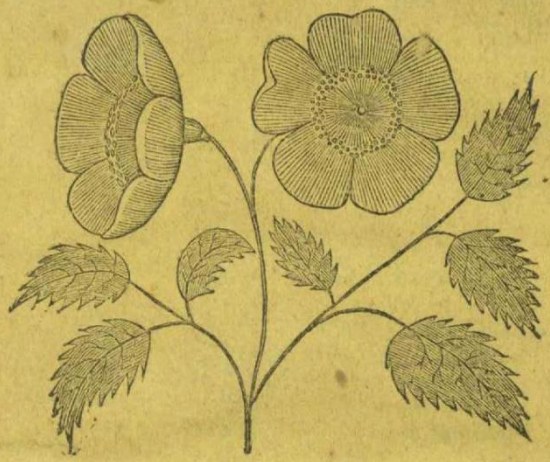
Rates of Postage.—If in the State 1½ cent, out of the State, and over one hundred miles, 2½ cents.

Shelbyville, Shelby county, Illinois.

VOL. 1.] MARCH, 1842. [No. 2.

THE

PRAIRIE FLOWER,



A WESTERN MAGAZINE.

TERMS:

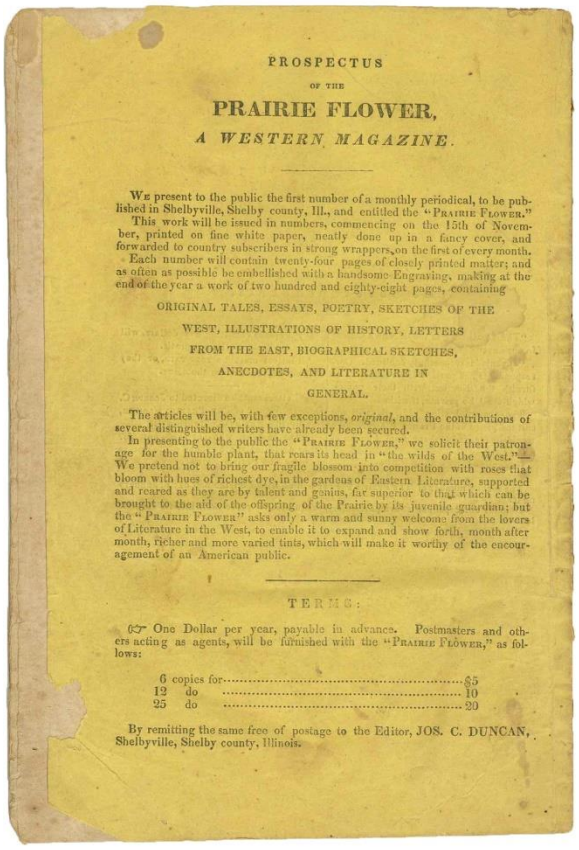
$1,00, PER ANNUM, INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE.

EDITED BY J. C. DUNCAN.

SHELBYVILLE, SHELBY COUNTY, ILLINOIS.

The magazine, it concludes, "asks only a warm and sunny welcome from the lovers of Literature in the West, to enable it to expand and show forth...richer and more varied tints, which will make it worthy of the encouragement of an American public." Both numbers contain an eclectic mix of essays, fiction, and poetry, with several pieces composed by Duncan himself.

Perhaps the most interesting contribution to either issue is the opening sketch in the second number, titled "Ca-Tho-Ga," purportedly by a "late captain of the dragoons" who marched as part of the so-called Second Dragoon Expedition over the Central Plains to the Rockies under command of Col. Henry Dodge in 1835-36. The essay outlines the story of a warrior of the Grand Pawnee Indians named Ca-tho-ga, or No-Legs, brother of chief Long Hair (Tarecawawaho). According to the story, as related to the writer by a Missouri chief along a tributary of the South Platte, Cathoga was left for dead after a battle with the Eutaws. He survived, but his wounds cost him both legs below the knee. On returning after many months to the village of the Grand Pawnees, where he was presumed dead, he found that all of his wives had been married to other men. Rage drove him from his people, upon whom he made clandestine attacks for more than a year. Finally, Cathoga's own brother, Long Hair, led the party that hunted him down and put him to death for these acts of vengeance. Fact or fiction, we find no evidence of the story's publication in any other source; we have observed, though, that its tribal and topographic details appear accurate. And as noted, no other copy of this issue is known to survive. Both issues that we offer here have minor edge wear and interior foxing, but are otherwise in very good condition. **Particularly noteworthy are the fragile wraps, extraordinary survivals for such a frontier publication**.



PROSPECTUS

OF THE

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The articles will be, with few exceptions, *original*, and the contributions of several distinguished writers have already been secured.

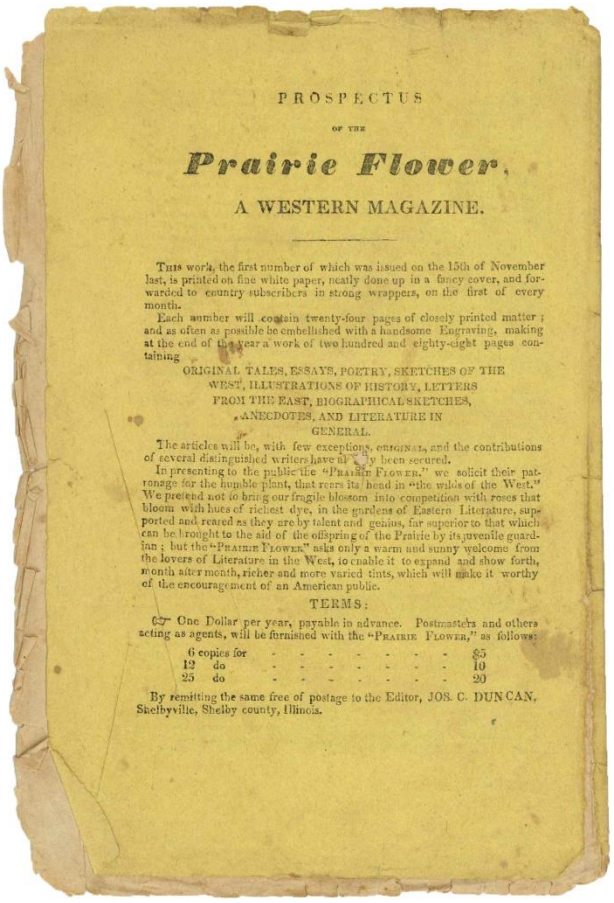
In presenting to the public the "Prairie Flower," we solicit their patronage for the humble plant, that rears its head in "the wilds of the West."—We pretend not to bring our fragile blossom into competition with roses that bloom with hues of richest dye, in the gardens of Eastern Literature, supported and reared as they are by talent and genius, far superior to that which can be brought to the aid of the offspring of the Prairie by its juvenile guardian; but the "Prairie Flower" asks only a warm and sunny welcome from the lovers of Literature in the West, to enable it to expand and show forth, month after month, richer and more varied tints, which will make it worthy of the encouragement of an American public.

TERMS:

☞ One Dollar per year, payable in advance. Postmasters and others acting as agents, will be furnished with the "Prairie Flower," as follows:

6 copies for	.....	$5
12 do	.....	10
25 do	.....	20

By remitting the same free of postage to the Editor, JOS. C. DUNCAN, Shelbyville, Shelby county, Illinois.



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Although a note on the inner rear wrap of Vol. I, No. 1 informs subscribers that the second issue would appear in January 1842, with subsequent numbers to appear monthly, the second issue was not actually published until March. There is no evidence that any others appeared at all. It is clear that *The Prairie Flower* failed sometime in 1842. By this time, Duncan was married and the father of four young children. He left Illinois for New Orleans sometime after 1846 (it is unclear whether he was accompanied by his wife and children), owing nearly $40,000 to his creditors in Springfield. He worked as a journalist for a short time, then joined the exodus to California. There he became partner in a thriving auctioneering firm, the profits from which enabled him to clear his Illinois debts. He promptly started a lottery, which lost more than $200,000, then traveled to Paris and purchased 400 paintings for resale in San Francisco. Most went unsold. In 1871 he married Mary Dora Gray, thirty years his junior; they had four children from 1871 to 1877, the youngest of whom was a daughter named Isadora, who would go on to become one of the most influential and innovative dancers of the 20th century.

Two years before Isadora's birth, Duncan had opened the Pioneer Bank, promising much better interest rates than his competitors. When it failed in 1877, it failed spectacularly--more than 1.2 million dollars in debt--and thousands of Californians lost their life savings. Duncan went into hiding; his wife left him. Captured and tried by jury four times, he was acquitted by the last. He remarried in Los Angeles several years later, then made and lost another fortune in real estate. He was sailing from London to New York with his third wife and young daughter in October 1898 when the ship ran aground on Manacle Rocks near Cornwall. Dozens of passengers died in the ensuing wreck, including Duncan and his family. He was 78. Isadora, performing in England at the time, was called on to identify his body. The Illinois State Historical Society Library (now the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library) acquired the only other known copy of *The Prairie Flower* (Vol. I, No. 1, lacking wraps) in 1910. As the date and place of publication were only indicated on the wraps, these details could not be confirmed until now. **A unique discovery**.

Relevant sources:

Drexler, Paul
2017 Joseph Duncan, the Bank Wrecker. *The San Francisco Examiner*, April 19, 2017.
Kurth, Peter
2001 *Isadora: A Sensational Life*. Little, Brown and Company, Boston.
Weber, Jessie Palmer, J. F. Snyder and Avery N. Beebe
1910 Editorial Notes: The Prairie Flower. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 3(2):99.

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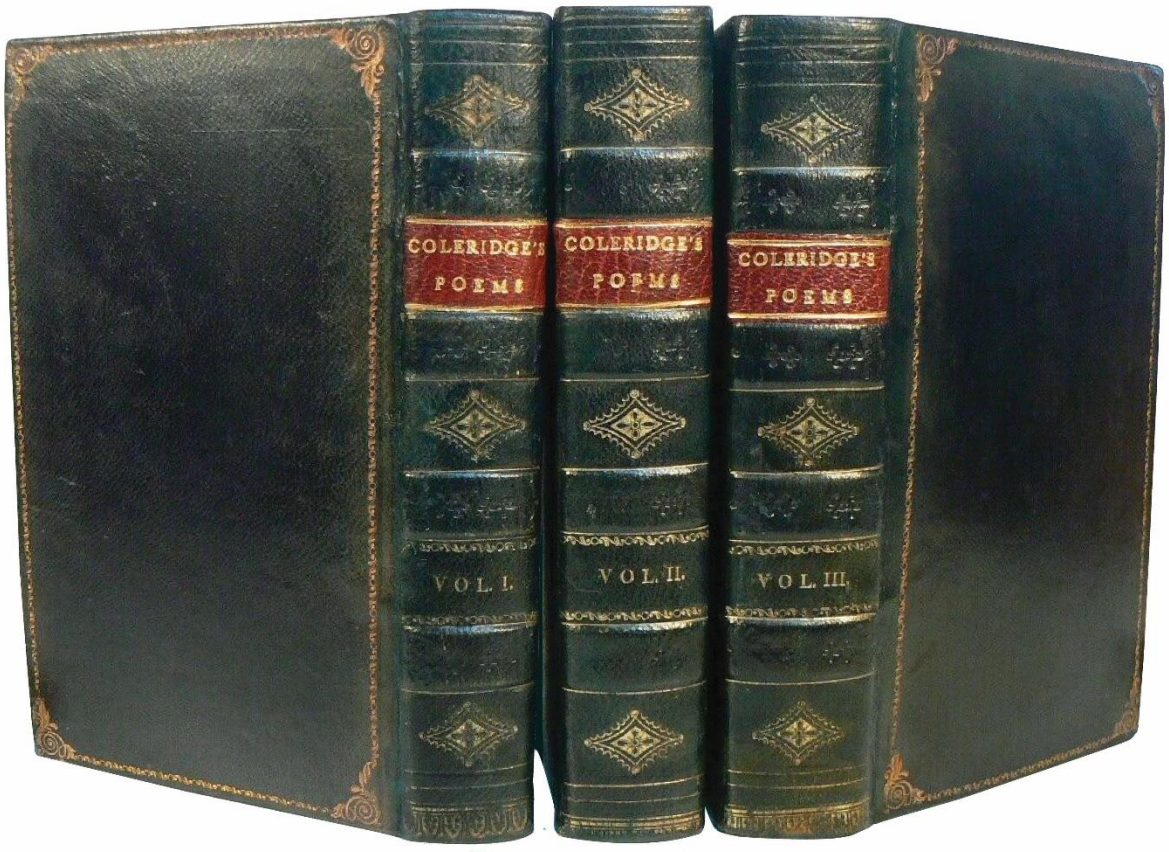
[Illinois--Literary Magazines]: THE PRAIRIE FLOWER: A WESTERN MAGAZINE, VOL. I, NO. 1 AND VOL. I, NO. 2., NOVEMBER 1841 AND MARCH 1842. Edited by J. C. Duncan, Shelbyville, Shelby County, Illinois. Tall 8vo. [1-24] and [25-40] pp. Original decorated yellow wraps, untrimmed. Minor edge wear and chipping, interior foxing. Very good.

6. SOLD.

An Early Ticketed Binding By John Rosser of Lafayette, Indiana

The craft of bookbinding actually predates the printed book in colonial North America: the first known binder, John Sanders, set up his shop in Boston in 1637--presumably for repairing or rebinding bibles and hymnals--a full year before the first printing press arrived at Cambridge. No known specimen of Sanders's work survives, but there is little chance that he would have signed his bindings, given Puritan disapproval of such prideful displays. The first signed bindings from North American shops appeared in the printing centers of Boston and Philadelphia in the mid-18th century. One of the earliest known examples, dating from 1747 to 1756, was for the establishment of Nathaniel Holland, located on Market Street in Philadelphia. Holland's ticket, now held in the extensive collection of bookbinders' labels at Bryn Mawr College, was discovered under the front pastedown of a blank book made in the shop of William Bradford. The use of such tickets spread rapidly after 1800 and would continue into the first quarter of the 20th century. The great majority of ticketed bindings that survive today, which uniquely document the work of a particular binder in a particular time and place, are from east coast states and cities where most American publishing occurred, especially Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Pre-1850 examples from west of the Alleghenies, with the exception of Cincinnati, are quite scarce in comparison. Each of the volumes in this set of Coleridge's *Poetical Works* (1829) bears the ticket of Lafayette, Indiana, bookbinder and printer John Rosser, who worked under his own name from 1845 to 1847 (and later as Rosser & Brother). **It is one of the few surviving examples of an early fine binding from the American Midwest that retains the link between a binder and his work**.




JOHN ROSSER,
BOOK BINDER.
Books of all kinds bound to pattern.
Lafayette, Ia.


COLERIDGE'S
POEMS

John Rosser, born in Wales on October 25, 1818, was an infant when his family migrated to America in 1819, settling in Springfield, Ohio. He was educated in the public schools, and at a young age he was apprenticed to a local bookbinder to learn the craft. After years spent mastering his trade, he ran away to New Orleans, but finding the humid climate and business conditions not to his liking, he returned to Springfield. About 1845 he moved west to Lafayette, Indiana, located northwest of Indianapolis along the Wabash River. Rosser would remain in Lafayette for the rest of his life. He immediately established a bookbinding and printing business, which soon prospered and made him one of the community's most prominent citizens. In 1847 he added his brother to the business, changing its name from 'John Rosser' to 'Rosser & Brother,' and married Lafayette native Alice Casad a year later; together they would have 11 children. Developing an interest in politics, he served as Republican representative of Tippecanoe County in the Indiana Legislature from 1866 to 1868. Rosser died on his farm outside Lafayette on March 24, 1903.

We have located no other record of a ticketed binding by John Rosser. Nor have we found any earlier such bindings from the state of Indiana, given that Rosser must have bound this set of Coleridge's *Poetical Works* at the start of his career in Lafayette, from 1845 to 1847. **Indeed, we can trace no earlier example of a ticketed fine binding from any state west of Ohio**. While it is certainly possible that such works exist and have not yet been identified, it is worth noting that none are reported in the extensive American bookbinding collections at Bryn Mawr College or at the American Antiquarian Society. This set is uniformly bound in small grain, polished, dark blue morocco with red morocco labels. The spines are all richly decorated in gilt with three rhomboidal elements at top, center, and base of spine. The front and back boards are decorated with a gilt roll along the edges and a floral scroll in each corner. The Spanish moiré endpapers are of a style that was commonly used in the mid-19th century. Altogether, a rare, early, and attractive example of the bookbinder's craft from the heart of the American Midwest.

Relevant sources:

DeHart, Richard Patten, editor
1909 *Past and Present of Tippecanoe County, Indiana, Volume 2*. B. F. Bowen & Company, Indianapolis, IN.

McCorison, Marcus A.
1972 Book Trade Labels at the American Antiquarian Society. *Proceedings of the AAS* 82:33-44.

Spawn, Willman, and Thomas P. Kinsella
2007 *American Signed Bindings through 1876*. Oak Knoll Press, New Castle, DE, and Bryn Mawr College Library, Bryn Mawr, PA.

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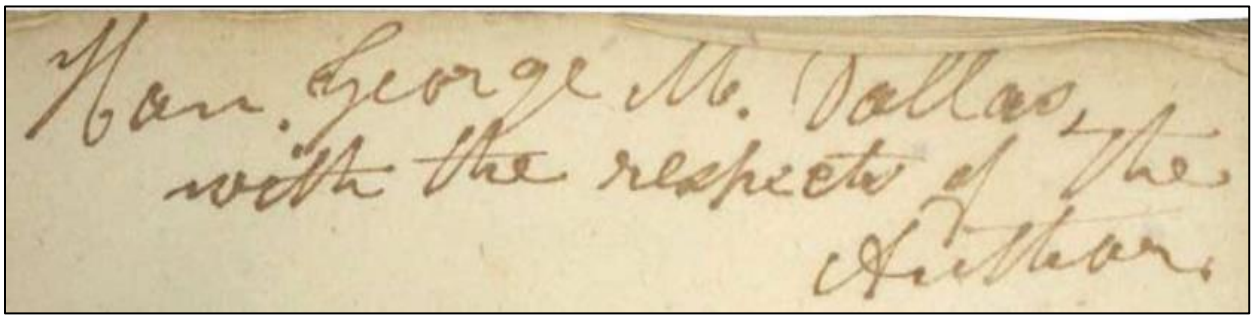
[Indiana--Bookbinding]: THE POETICAL WORKS OF S. T. COLERIDGE, INCLUDING THE DRAMAS OF WALLENSTEIN, REMORSE, AND ZAPOLYA. IN THREE VOLUMES. 2nd Edition. William Pickering, London, 1829. 8vo (20 cm). Fine binding by bookbinder John Rosser of Lafayette, Indiana, circa 1845-1847. Dark blue morocco with red spine labels, richly decorated gilt spine with gilt roll on boards; marbled end papers. Fine.

7. SOLD.

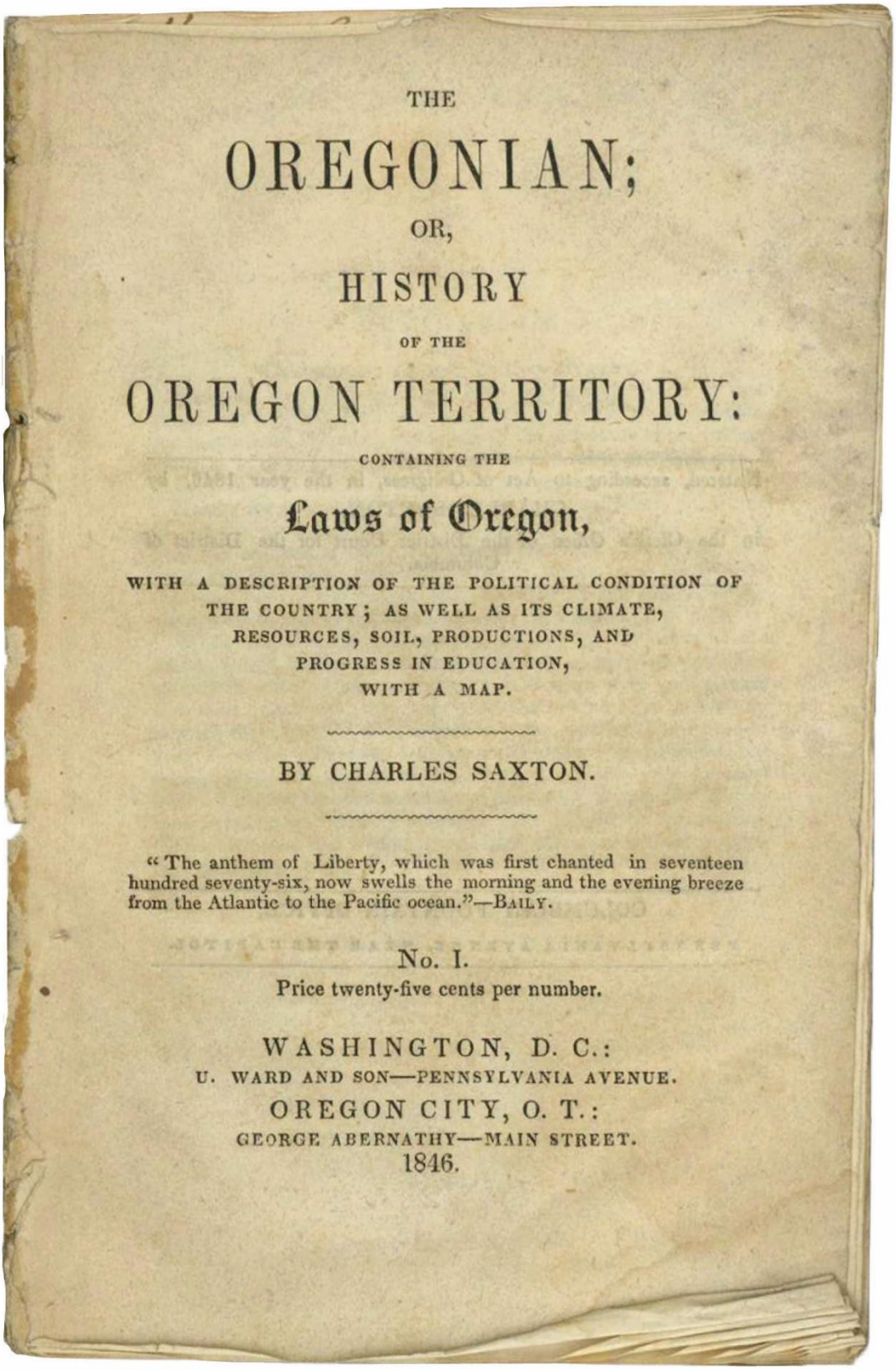
The Only Known Presentation Copy of Charles Saxton's *The Oregonian*

As 1846 began, the United States faced the very real prospect of war on each of its western frontiers. To the southwest, a bitter dispute with Mexico over the boundary of the recently annexed Texas--which had entered the Union just before the close of the previous year--seemed unlikely to be resolved through diplomatic adjustments. And to the northwest, a long-festering dispute with Great Britain over the boundary between the United States and British North America--focused on the region referred to as the Oregon Country--threatened to erupt in formal declarations of war. In both cases, American expansionists led by President James K. Polk fueled the flames of Manifest Destiny, pushing the nation to the brink of war on two fronts. Supporting Polk's expansionist aims was his own vice president, George M. Dallas, who drew an especially hard line on the subject of Oregon. Indeed, Polk and Dallas narrowly defeated Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen on the slogan of "All Oregon," a maximalist stance that would have incorporated all of the Northwest Coast to the border of Russian Alaska.

In this pamphlet, *The Oregonian; or History of the Oregon Territory*, early Oregon printer Charles Saxton makes an urgent appeal not only for the United States to take control of the Oregon Country, but of California, too. One of the rarest of all works pertaining to the Northwest boundary dispute, rated a 'c' by Howes, no copy has appeared at auction since 1985. **The example that we are pleased to offer here is more than the only known presentation copy; it is inscribed by Saxton to none other than the American vice president, George M. Dallas**.


Hon. George M. Dallas,
with the respects of the
Author.

The Northwest Coast had long been shared among Spanish, Russian, British, and American territorial interests. Russia and Spain both relinquished their claims to the region during the early 1820s, leaving the Americans and the British to negotiate control of the disputed zone. Referred to by Americans as the Oregon Country and by the British as the Columbia District of the Hudson Bay Company, this zone was largely focused on those regions drained by the Columbia River and its tributaries, including parts of present-day Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, and British Columbia. In 1818, diplomats from the two nations met in London to resolve outstanding issues related to the Treaties of Paris and Ghent--which ended the American Revolution and the War of 1812, respectively--and to the Pacific Northwest. The British negotiators advocated for a southern boundary that would retain access to the Columbia River; the Americans, in turn, sought a boundary farther north along the 49th parallel that marked the border between the United States and British North America in the east. No firm resolution was achieved, but the Anglo-American Convention of 1818, also known simply as the Treaty of 1818, did stipulate a joint American and British occupation of the contested zone for ten years.



THE

OREGONIAN;

OR,

HISTORY

OF THE

OREGON TERRITORY:

CONTAINING THE

Laws of Oregon,

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY; AS WELL AS ITS CLIMATE, RESOURCES, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, AND PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, WITH A MAP.

BY CHARLES SAXTON.

"The anthem of Liberty, which was first chanted in seventeen hundred seventy-six, now swells the morning and the evening breeze from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean."—BAILY.

No. I.

Price twenty-five cents per number.

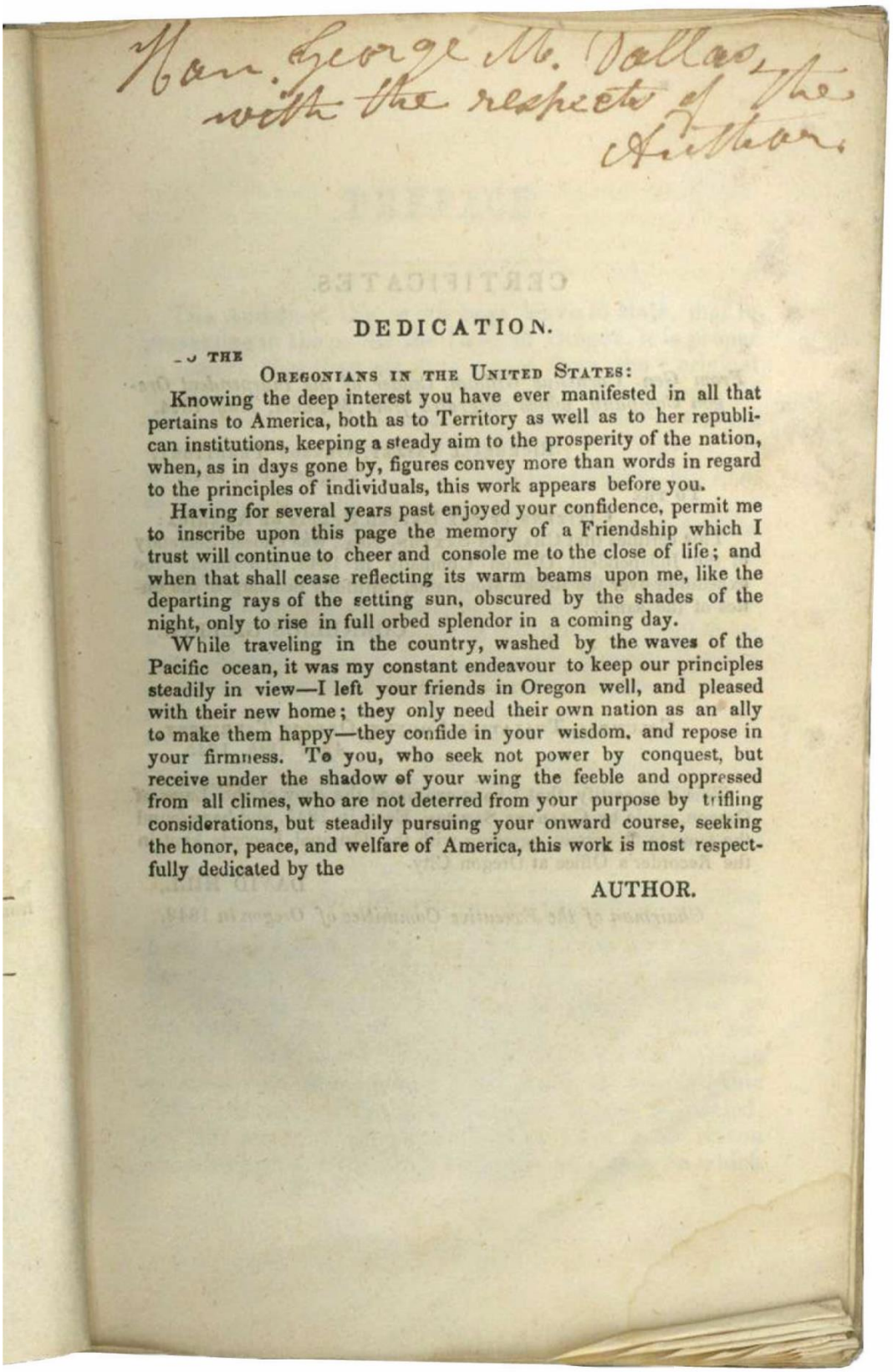
WASHINGTON, D. C.:
U. WARD AND SON—PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.
OREGON CITY, O. T.:
GEORGE ABERNATHY—MAIN STREET.
1846.

Throughout the 1820s, American and British diplomats tried to draw a mutually agreeable border between their respective territorial claims, but meeting with little success agreed instead in 1828 to renew the previous Treaty of 1818. But American interests in the Oregon Country were changing. Prior to 1830 the few Americans living and working in the disputed zone were hunters and trappers collectively known as mountain men. The first Protestant missionaries, though, began to arrive in the 1830s, establishing both the Methodist Mission among the Kalapuya and nearby tribes in the Willamette Valley and the Whitman Mission among the Cayuse near modern Walla Walla, Washington. Then came early settlers such as Ewing Young, who by 1837 had established grist and saw mills in the Willamette Valley and begun a cattle company. There was still no formal agreement between the United States and Great Britain when the Great Migration of 1843 brought nearly a thousand American settlers into the Pacific Northwest by way of the Oregon Trail. Having no legal system or means of ensuring common defense, these settlers passed the Organic Laws of Oregon on July 5, 1843, and elected a Provisional Government.

Among the next year's emigrants was Vermonter Charles Saxton, who arrived in 1844 as secretary of the enormous wagon train that Cornelius Gilliam led out of St. Joseph, Missouri, on May 9; Gilliam's train eventually included 84 wagons and more than 350 people. Saxton, a printer by trade, may have been one of those who stayed behind that winter at the Lapwai mission--located near modern Lewiston, Idaho--as he is reported to have worked in the printing office there. After about a year in the Oregon Country, Saxton returned to the east in 1845 as an escort of Methodist missionary turned Indian agent Dr. Elijah White, having accompanied the doctor earlier that year in a failed attempt to discover a suitable pass through the Cascade Mountains. The men arrived in Washington, D. C., at a pivotal moment in American history, and each would use that moment to publish works recording his own observations about Oregon.

The presidential election of 1844 had reshaped the Oregon question in Washington. Polk and Dallas were elected on a platform that advocated both the annexation of Texas, all but certain to bring a military response from Mexico, and the annexation of all the disputed lands in the Pacific Northwest, a position that Great Britain would never accept. As president, though, Polk sought to compromise with Britain and renewed the earlier offer of a boundary along the 49th parallel. When Britain rejected the offer, American expansionists--already incensed by Polk's offer--popularized slogans such as "54-40 or Fight!," a demand to set Oregon's northern boundary at 54° 40' N, which would have reached the edge of Russian Alaska. Polk was willing to risk simultaneous wars with Mexico and Britain to obtain what he felt was a satisfactory settlement. In his annual message to Congress in December 1845, he requested permission to give Britain a one-year notice (as required by the Treaty of 1818) and then to terminate joint occupancy of the disputed zone.

The following May, Charles Saxton produced *The Oregonian; or, History of the Oregon Territory: Containing the Laws of Oregon, with a Description of the Political Condition of the Country, as well as its Climate, Resources, Soil, Productions, and Progress in Education, with a Map* (the map was never issued). In it he published key documents pertaining to Oregon's early history not previously gathered in any printed source: the 1840 and 1843 petitions of Americans in Oregon "praying the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States over that Territory;" John McLaughlin's land notice, deed, and bond executed by Lansford W. Hastings at Fort Vancouver and Oregon City; the "Champoig Public Records of 1843; the Organic Laws adopted at Willamette in 1843; and a lengthy commentary asserting the legitimacy and even sanctity of America's claim



Hon. George M. Dallas,
with the respects of the
Author.

DEDICATION.

TO THE

OREGONIANS IN THE UNITED STATES:

Knowing the deep interest you have ever manifested in all that pertains to America, both as to Territory as well as to her republican institutions, keeping a steady aim to the prosperity of the nation, when, as in days gone by, figures convey more than words in regard to the principles of individuals, this work appears before you.

Having for several years past enjoyed your confidence, permit me to inscribe upon this page the memory of a Friendship which I trust will continue to cheer and console me to the close of life; and when that shall cease reflecting its warm beams upon me, like the departing rays of the setting sun, obscured by the shades of the night, only to rise in full orbed splendor in a coming day.

While traveling in the country, washed by the waves of the Pacific ocean, it was my constant endeavour to keep our principles steadily in view—I left your friends in Oregon well, and pleased with their new home; they only need their own nation as an ally to make them happy—they confide in your wisdom, and repose in your firmness. To you, who seek not power by conquest, but receive under the shadow of your wing the feeble and oppressed from all climes, who are not deterred from your purpose by trifling considerations, but steadily pursuing your onward course, seeking the honor, peace, and welfare of America, this work is most respectfully dedicated by the

AUTHOR.

to all the disputed zone, even extending it to Northern California. In these comments, he considers the avarice of Great Britain--without which a settlement "between England and America might be adjusted upon principles *honorable* to the two nations" (p. 44)--makes a case for annexing Texas and California, and calls on the United States to establish jurisdiction over Oregon. This last point he places squarely in the hands of the Polk administration: "The American people are looking with the most intense interest to the Executive, believing he does possess the *firmness*, and something of the wisdom of Solomon, to convince the world who is the legitimate and proper *guardian* of the infant child cradled on the waves of the Pacific" (p. 42).

Thus the provenance of this copy, inscribed by Saxton to Polk's vice president, is all the more important. Dallas was initially a firm advocate of "All Oregon," known to have "more extreme positions on territorial questions than did Polk" (Byrnes 2001:50). Nevertheless, by April he was counseling diplomacy. Belohlavek notes: "Although his private position had not changed on the justice of claiming the boundary as far north as 54° 40', he realized that negotiation must be allowed to take its course before more extreme measures could be adopted" (2010:115). Britain blinked in the end, proposing in early June a boundary along the 49th parallel that would deviate only around Vancouver Island, all of which would remain under British control. Polk agreed, and on June 15 the U. S. Senate ratified the Oregon Treaty.

Charles Saxton seems to have vanished from the historical record soon after the publication of his pamphlet; we have yet to find any evidence of his subsequent activities. The entry for *The Oregonian* in the fourth edition of Wagner-Camp (Becker 1982:278) records that one of Saxton's letters was published in *Niles Register*, December 20, 1845, by which date he must have returned from Oregon; an account of his lecture in New York on March 8, 1846, was published in the *New York Weekly Tribune* a week later on March 14. There appears to be little else. As for the pamphlet itself, it is among the rarest of works on Oregon colonization, rated a 'c' by Howes. Belknap, in an addendum to his *Oregon Imprints, 1834-1870*, devoted more than two full pages of text to its complicated imprint, ultimately concluding that the work was published in Washington, D. C., by U. Ward and Son. Originally intended for easterners considering emigration to Oregon, Belknap surmises that Saxton added the George Abernethy, Oregon City imprint to its title page (misspelled 'Abernathy' by the Washington printer) in an attempt to expand its readership--and sales--to settled Oregonians. The Holliday copy made $675 in 1954, Eberstadt asked a robust $2750 in 1964, and Streeter's copy brought $950 in 1969. No copy has appeared at auction since 1985 (an imperfect example with supplied leaves), nor can we trace any copies offered by the trade in the intervening years. **An extraordinary association copy of an excessively rare work**.

Relevant sources:

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2001 *James K. Polk: A Biographical Companion*. ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA.
Hietela, Thomas R.
1985 *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism and Empire*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
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1997 *Prologue to Manifest Destiny: Anglo-American Relations in the 1840s*. Scholarly Resources Books, Wilmington, DE.
Joy, Mark S.
2003 *American Expansionism, 1783-1860: A Manifest Destiny?* Taylor & Francis, London.
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1977 Creating a Provisional Government in Oregon: A Revision. *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 68(1):13-24.
Stephanson, Anders.
1996 *Manifest Destiny: American Expansion and the Empire of Right*. Hill and Wang, New York.
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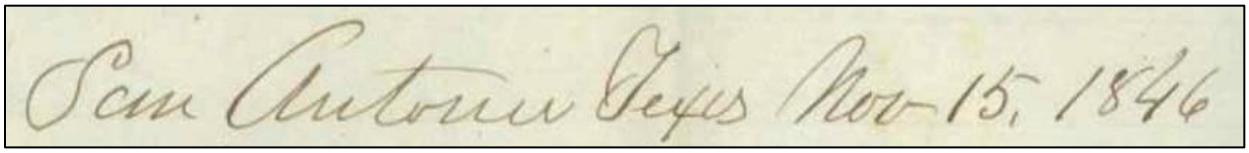
[Oregon--Boundary Dispute, American Expansion]. Charles Saxton. THE OREGONIAN; OR, HISTORY OF THE OREGON TERRITORY: CONTAINING THE LAWS OF OREGON, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY, AS WELL AS ITS CLIMATE, RESOURCES, SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, AND PROGRESS IN EDUCATION, WITH A MAP. U. Ward and Son, Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.; George Abernathy [sic], Main Street, Oregon City, O. T., 1846. 12mo (17 cm). 48 pp. Disbound, mild dog-earring along top and bottom edges of first several leaves; presentation inscription on dedication leaf; interior pages clean; map called for in title never issued; in a folding cloth case, labeled in white ink on spine. About very good. [Howes S134, Streeter VL3362, Wagner-Camp-Becker 123a].

8. SOLD.

Apaches Strike the San Antonio Express Mail Service in 1846

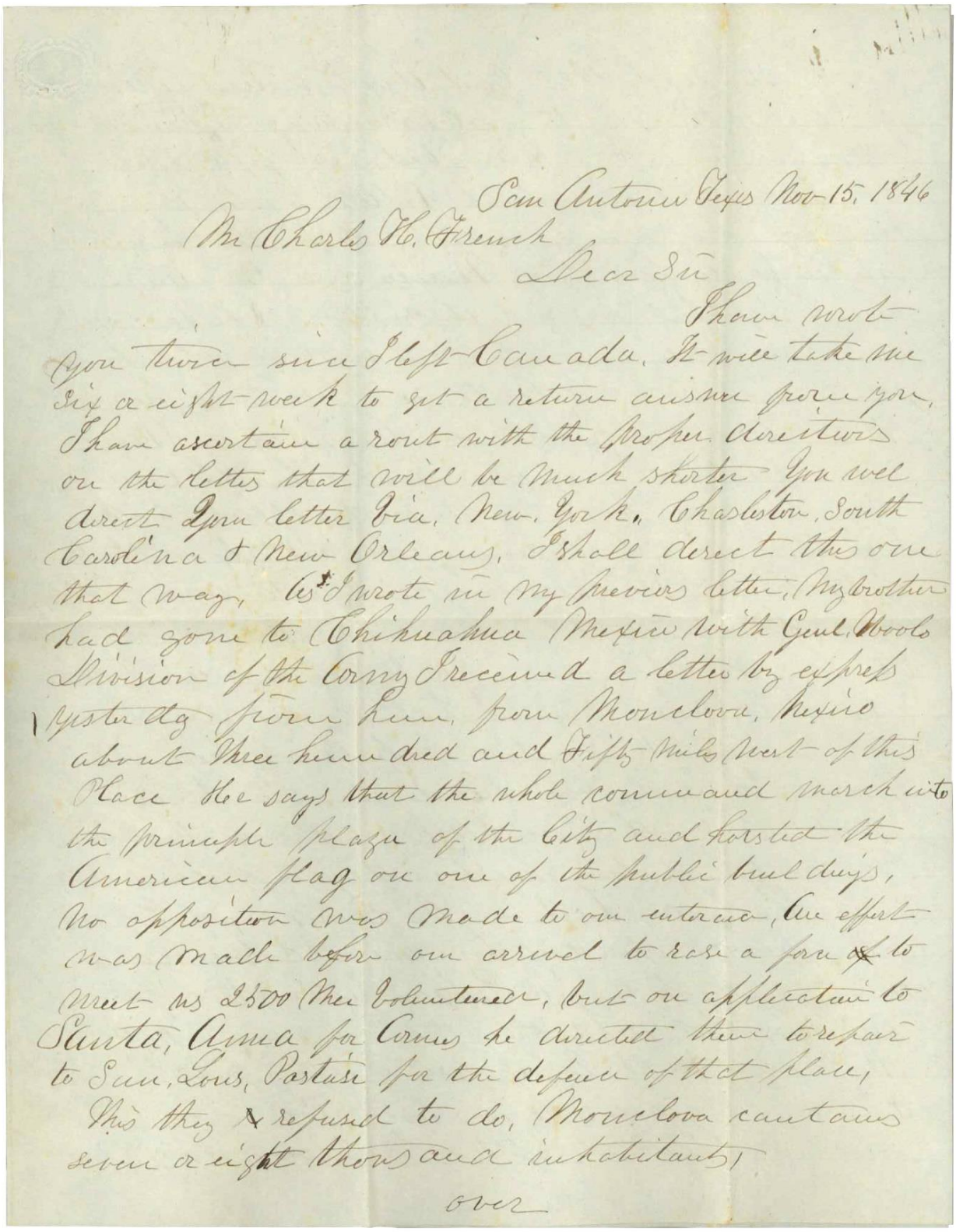
As the United States began to annex the newly established and ill-defined state of Texas in 1846, San Antonio was already more than a century old. Founded in 1718 as Mission San Antonio de Valero--known today as the Alamo--the town grew slowly around a cluster of springs that give rise to the San Antonio River, a stopping point on the trail between the missions of East Texas and those of the Rio Grande. San Fernando de Béxar, as it was named during the period of its Spanish rule, became the capitol city of Texas, and with a population of more than two thousand people it stood as a center of Spanish power in the American Southwest. Yet by the time that Texas became the 28th state, decades of warfare, revolution, and Indian raids had reduced the once-thriving city to a rubble-filled town of only about eight hundred beleaguered residents. 1846 brought its own troubles, as the United States and Mexico launched into a war that local Native Americans took as an opportunity to expand their raiding**. This letter, sent from San Antonio by the brother of a U. S. Army officer, captures significant details of this tumultuous time, including news of a previously unrecorded attack on the Texas mails by a party of Lipan Apaches**.



Thomas F. Chapman, the letter's author, was the brother of U. S. Army Captain William Chapman, who had arrived at San Antonio as part of the 3500-man force assembled by General John Ellis Wool to support Zachary Taylor's invasion of Mexico. Although Thomas would later claim to have served alongside his brother as an officer in the Mexican War, there is certainly no evidence of that here; Wool had led his division across the Rio Grande a full month before Thomas composed this letter, taking William with him as a trusted logistician. Thomas's letter is addressed to Charles H. French of St. Catharine (crossed out), Canada West. This is likely the same Charles H. French listed as a contractor for construction of Ontario's Great Western Railroad in 1849, his home listed as Allenburgh--only 15 km from St. Catharine. It is possible that Chapman and French were exploring opportunities for railroad expansion in the new state of Texas.

Despite its recent turmoil, Chapman was not displeased with San Antonio. It was "a vary rich & health[y] country--every house is a fort, the walls 2 & 3 feet thick one story with four walls running four feet above the eav[e]s of the house." Chapman had received an express letter from his brother, William, the day before, offering news of the army's advance into Mexico. William wrote from Monclava that "The whole command march[ed] into the principle plaza of the city and hoisted the American flag on one of the public buildings, no opposition was made..." Monclava's residents had initially attempted to raise a volunteer force to meet the Americans, but had refused Santa Anna's order to join the defense of San Luis, Potosi.

The most interesting notice in Chapman's letter to French is his account of a Lipan Indian attack on the express mails from San Antonio. Prior to annexation, the Texas Republic had opened more than three hundred post offices and more than thirty postal routes. Most correspondence between Texas and the United States passed through New Orleans, and the U. S. Army maintained



San Antonio Texas Nov 15. 1846

Mr Charles H. French

Dear Sir

I have wrote you twice since I left Canada. It will take me six or eight week to get a return answer from you. I have ascertain a route with the Proper directions on the letter that will be much shorter You will direct your letter via. New York, Charleston, South Carolina & New Orleans. I shall direct this one that way. As I wrote in my previous letter, My brother had gone to Chihuahua Mexico with Genl. Wools Division of the Army I received a letter by express yesterday from him, from Monclova, Mexico about three hundred and fifty miles west of this Place He says that the whole command march into the principle plaza of the City and hoisted the American flag on one of the public buildings, No opposition was made to our entrance, An effort was made before our arrival to raise a force to meet us 2500 Men Volunteered, but on application to Santa Anna for Arms he directed them to repair to San Louis Postasi for the defence of that place, This they refused to do, Monclova contains seven or eight thousand inhabitants,

over

these routes after its deployment to the southwestern frontier. Mail service was usually contracted to overland express riders who risked life and limb for relatively little compensation. One of the greatest and most persistent threats to these mail riders was ambush or capture by Native American warriors, and in Central Texas none were more feared by Spanish and Anglo settlers alike than the Comanches and the Apaches. Although Apache bands such as the Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Jicarilla are more well known today, the Lipan Apaches once claimed territories that included parts of Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, and northern Mexico. In 1846 they were nominally participants in the Treaty of Council Springs, but assaults against colonial settlements and rancheros continued well into the 1850s. Chapman reports that such an attack had unexpectedly befallen a small party of San Antonio express riders several days earlier:

> We send express mails from this office to General Wools Head Quarters twice a week. We send mounted horse man. The mail that should of been here four days ago was cut off by the Lappan [Lipan] Indians. This company of express men was comprised of four mounted horseman, these was attacked by 15 Lappan Indians, two of the express men was shot dead, the other two escaped & came in this morning, the express lost every thing but their saddles We have sent out a detachment of troops in search of the Indians.

We locate no other reference to this event in sources pertaining to Texas Indian conflicts and postal history. **A rare account from the Texas frontier in the year of annexation**.

Relevant sources:

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2008 *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U. S.-Mexican War*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

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Smith, Thomas T.
1999 *The U.S. Army and the Texas Frontier Economy, 1845-1900*. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

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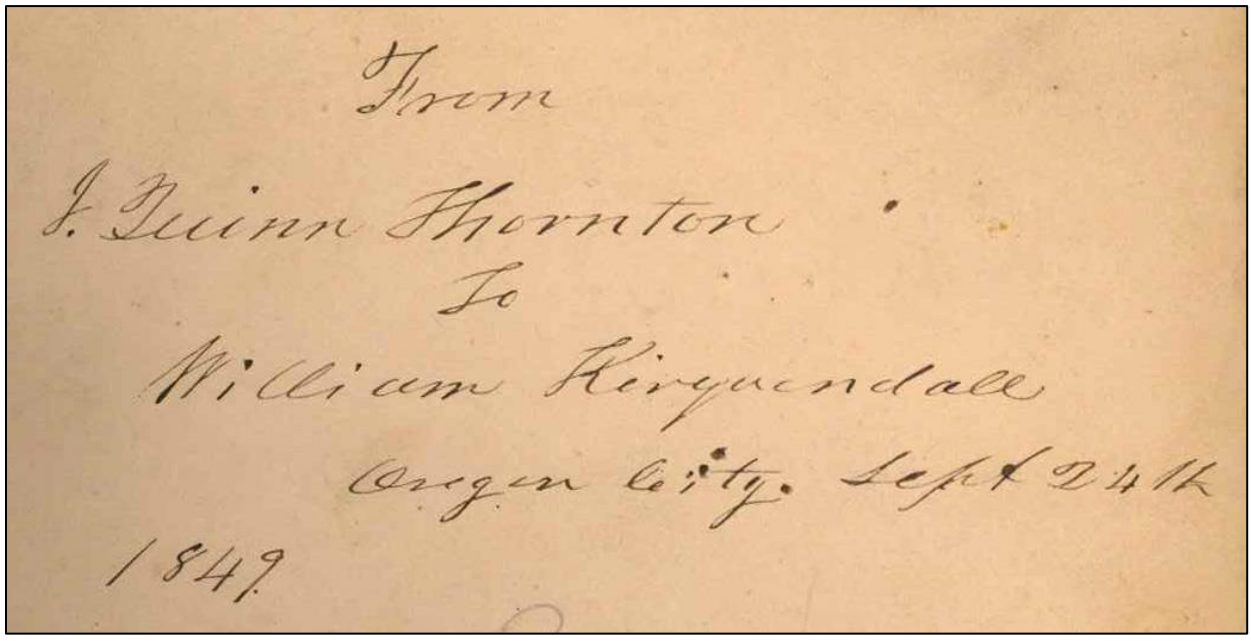
[Texas--Mexican and Indian Wars]: Thomas F. Chapman: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED BY THOMAS F. CHAPMAN FROM SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, DISCUSSING THE INVASION OF MEXICO AND AN ATTACK BY LIPAN APACHE INDIANS ON OVERLAND EXPRESS MAILS]. San Antonio, Texas, November 14, 1846. [2 1/2] pp. (about 500 words), on two folded sheets, foolscap size. Old folds, light edge wear, paper otherwise fine. With folded cover to Canada West, browned but with legible postal markings

9. SOLD.

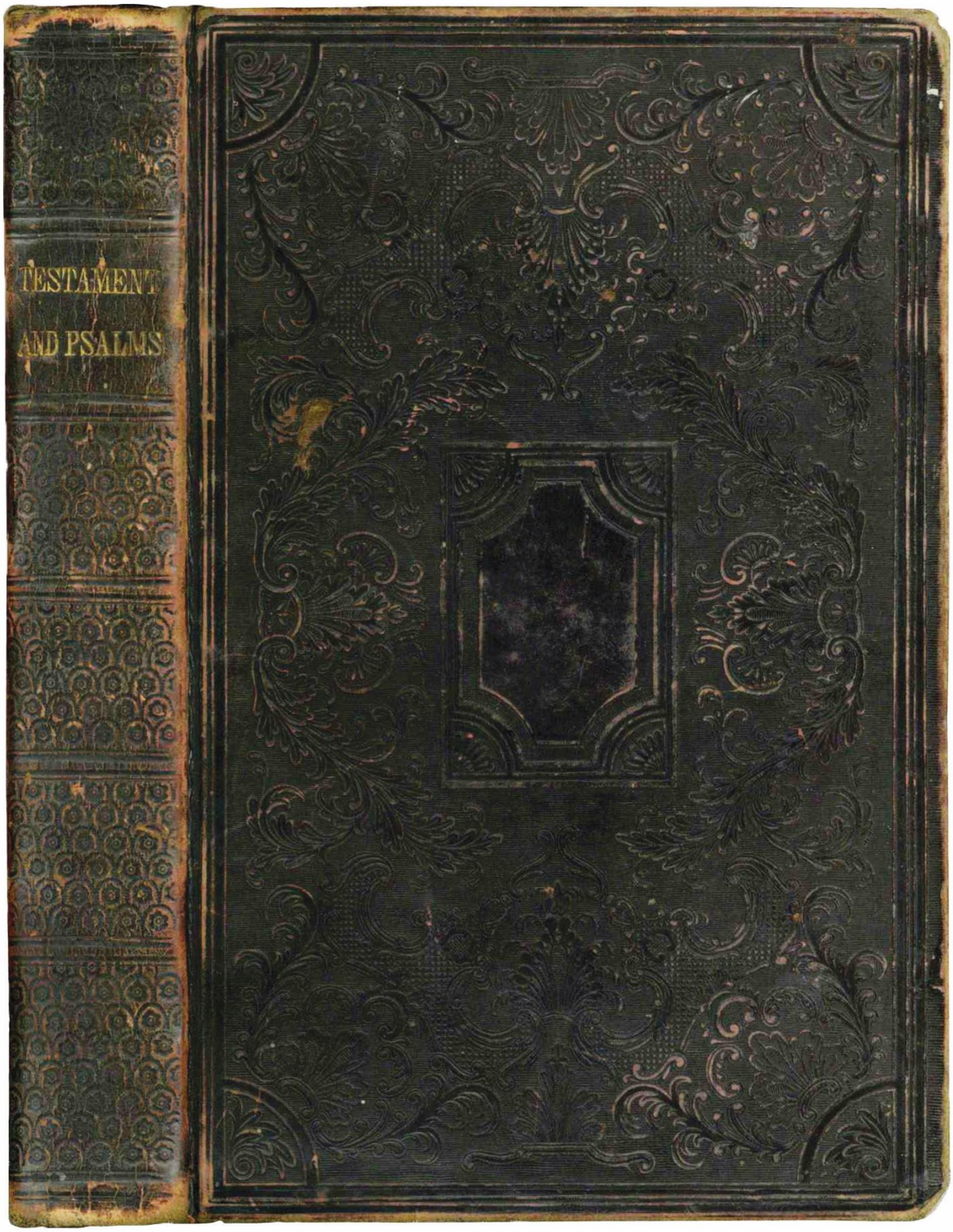
Jesse Quinn Thornton Thanks His Rescuer on the Oregon Trail

Fort Hall, built in 1834 on the Snake River in what is now southern Idaho, was located at the end of a 500-mile stretch that both the California and Oregon trails shared on their westward routes across the continent. Just past the fort the two roads split, the California Trail turning south toward the Humboldt River and the Oregon Trail turning north toward the Willamette. On August 8, 1846, a train of Oregon emigrants reached Fort Hall at about the same time as Oregon pioneer Jesse Applegate, himself an emigrant of '43. Applegate carried news: he and a team of hardy men had discovered a new route to the Willamette Valley, one that was 200 miles shorter and bypassed the treacherous waters of the Columbia River, where Applegate's son and nephew had drowned three years earlier. Most of the emigrants elected to attempt the unproven route, and with nominal leader William Kirquendall they went with Applegate onto the trail that would eventually bear his name. None, though, were prepared for the extreme privations that followed.



Among the party was Jesse Quinn Thornton, who would himself emerge in the months to come as one of the most prominent of Oregon's early pioneers. Three years later, after Thornton returned from a trip back East--during which he formally submitted Oregon's request for territorial status to the United States Congress--he gifted this elaborately tooled New Testament and Psalms to Kirquendall, who had come to his rescue time and again at different points along the route. **It poignantly captures the personal relationships forged in the life and death rigors of western migration, on the most famous of all emigrant trails**.

An estimated 300,000 people migrated west along overland trails from 1800 to 1860, about two-thirds of whom set out for California and one-fifth each for Utah and Oregon. As Thornton himself observed in *Oregon and California in 1848*--the classic two-volume account based on his own overland diary, published in New York in 1849--all of these emigrants "agreed on one general object--that of bettering their condition; but the particular means by which each proposed to attain


TESTAMENT
AND PSALMS

this end, were as various as can well be imagined" (p. 26). As for Thornton, he noted that he and his wife, Nancy, had begun their western journey in the hope that Oregon's "pure and invigorating climate" would restore their ill health (p. 13). Thornton was born in Virginia to a non-slave holding family in 1810. As a young man he traveled to London where he studied law for three years, then completed his legal education at the University of Virginia after returning to America in the early 1830s. In 1835 he moved to Palmyra, Missouri, practicing law, editing a newspaper, and marrying Nancy Logue, a teacher. Thornton owned at least one slave in Palmyra and established himself as a staunch anti-abolitionist, a position he began to change after Elijah Lovejoy's murder at the hands of an Alton, Illinois, mob in 1837. Soon Thornton was producing editorials that condemned the murdered abolitionist's attackers, a stance that led to threats against his own life. As his opposition to slavery became more intense, he and Nancy left Missouri for Quincy, Illinois, in 1841, then five years later decided to make new lives for themselves in the Far West.

They joined a wagon train that left Independence, Missouri, on May 12, 1846. Among this company--and with whom the Thorntons often traveled--were members of the California-bound Donner Party, who after splitting from the Thorntons at Hastings Cut-Off would become textbook exemplars of all that could go wrong along the overland trails. Before leaving Missouri, Thornton had partnered with James B. Goode to fit out a team, neither apparently able to do so alone. Less than a month into the trip their partnership came to an acrimonious end that divided the original company in two, the California-bound wagons siding with Thornton and those bound for Oregon with Goode. As resentments grew untenable, the California group agreed to wait while the Oregon party put a day's travel between them. Not surprisingly, Thornton changed his Oregon plans and stayed behind with the California train.

By the time they reached Fort Hall in early August, Thornton had changed his mind again and caught up with the Oregon wagons (his contentious personality having perhaps worn thin with his new, California-bound friends). Several days earlier, the Thorntons had fallen in with a small company of wagons led by William Henry Kirquendall (also Kirkendall, Kuykendall, and several other variant spellings). Kirquendall was born about 1815 and--like Thornton--was a Virginian by birth. He may have traveled the Oregon Trail two years earlier, as Bancroft includes him on the list of 1845 pioneers. Eckert observes that he was "a huge, bluff man with an easy grin, noted for his mother protective nature for all who traveled under his leadership" (2009:191). Kirquendall's nature, combined with a shared Virginia heritage, may explain the extent to which this company 'captain' took special care of the Thorntons during the grueling weeks to come. As Thornton notes in *Oregon and California*, his own published recollections of the journey: "To this gentleman I also feel greatly obliged. Now that I am writing, the many instances in which he assisted me, to drive my team, when I was really almost dead with asthma, comes up before me, with a vividness that fills my heart with gratitude (p. 148).

It was here that Kirquendall's group met Jesse Applegate, one of Oregon's most prominent early pioneers, who had journeyed west with two of his brothers and their families as part of the Great Migration of 1843. Determined to find a better route to the Oregon country, one that avoided the hazards of the Columbia River, the Applegate brothers and a dozen other settlers struck out on horseback from the Willamette Valley in mid-June to survey a southern road. Just less than two months later Jesse Applegate walked into Fort Hall, the rest of his road-hunting party spread out and clearing paths along the final hundred miles of the 500-mile trail. Applegate's description of

this new southern route turned 90 to 100 wagons--or as many as 500 people--off the main course of the Oregon Trail, including Kirquendall's company. Less than a week in, Thornton reports that Applegate pulled Kirquendall and another member of the group to work on marking and opening the road. The rest of the wagon train struggled behind over the unbroken ground.

Much of new route passed through parched and desolate sagebrush country. The land was steep and rugged, and the emigrants faced periodic harassment from Paiute and Modoc Indians protecting their own territories. Lacking strong leadership in Kirquendall's absence, the straggling company soon lost all semblance of order. As Bernard Devoto writes:

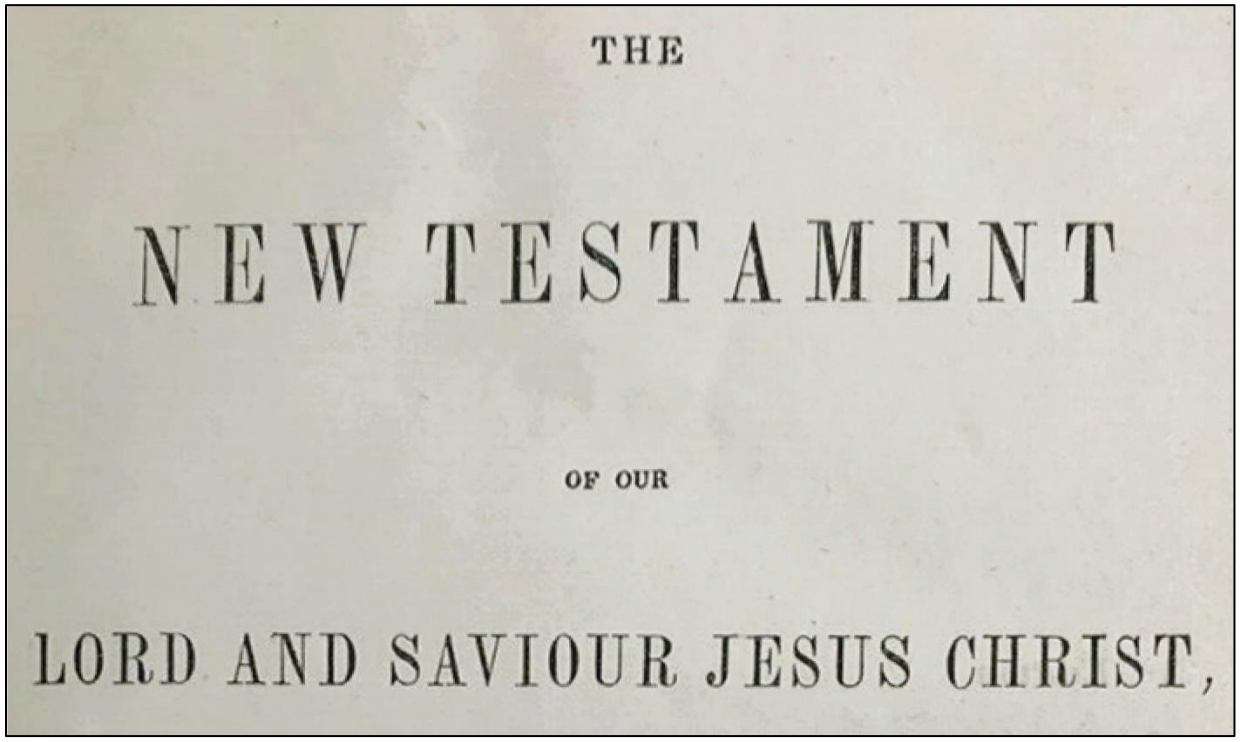
> The reserves of morale had been exhausted. No organization was left, and little trail discipline. The trains had been fragmented...There were only knots of wagons traveling more or less together...mostly because similar stages of exhaustion had long since yielded to doggedness. They were querulous and quarrelsome, they were near the end of their strength [1943:377].

Few were more quarrelsome, and few would remain as such for so long, as J. Quinn Thornton. He and his fellow emigrants watched helplessly as companions died, as teams of oxen gave out, as families were forced--so near their destination--to jettison possessions they had trundled over 1800 miles and continue on foot, bearing only what they could carry themselves. Thornton would never forget, and he never forgave Jesse Applegate for what he believed was a false representation of the southern cut-off and its suitability as a wagon road. The wagons began to reach Klamath Lake in late September, then crossed the Siskiyous and forded the Rogue River by mid-October. But the company had been delayed too long getting over the mountains, had rested afterward for too many days along the Rogue. The winter of 1846-47 was a year of record snowfall, and the snows came early. The same storms that sealed the Donner Party's fate began to lash the Thorntons and their fellow Oregon-bound travelers, and after late October it would rain or snow for most of the way to the Willamette. The emigrants, mired in mud and snow and seemingly abandoned by their road team, most of whom had reached the settlements weeks before, faced the worst.

On November 13, a day after the Thorntons had finished the last of their crackers and were walking along a creek bank searching for anything to eat, they were stunned by the sight of none other than their old friend William Kirquendall at the head of a relief party bringing "flour and fat beeves" (p. 234). Most of the cattle came from Applegate's own herds, though Thornton--who obtained 18 pounds of flour, 20 pounds of beef, and one pound of tallow--complained fairly or not that Applegate charged the starving emigrants exorbitant prices for this relief: "He first reduced us to the verge of starvation, that he might thus be enabled to gather up the last dollar that remained to us" (p. 234). In any event, these supplies were enough to sustain the company, and just six days later the Thorntons and their overland companions finally arrived in the Willamette Valley, seven full months after their departure from Missouri. Like most of the others, Thornton "was stripped clean," arriving with practically nothing:

> He had a rifle, a knife, some odds and ends of spare clothing, and a greyhound. Wagon, oxen, household goods, law library botanizing notebooks, all the habitual possessions that make the envelope of a man's life were gone, and naked he entered his new world [Devoto 1943:379].

But whatever his shortcomings as an overlander, Thornton was a talented attorney and soon found that opportunities for a man of his skills were plentiful. As Joseph Gaston notes, he "was the most thoroughly book educated man in Oregon at that time having had all the advantages that colleges, foreign travel and study, and law office experience could afford" (1912:642). In February 1847, George Abernethy, Provisional Governor of the Oregon Country, appointed Thornton to the position of Supreme Judge of the Provisional Government. Thornton resigned in November when Abernethy requested that he return to Washington, D. C., as a Provisional Delegate charged with making Oregon's case for territorial status. The petition was successful, and Congress organized Oregon Territory on August 14, 1848; Thornton is credited with barring the extension of slavery across its borders. While in the East, he completed work on his two-volume memoir/history of the Oregon and California migrations and saw it through to publication in New York. Although not without its biases and exaggerations, *Oregon and California in 1848* is a valuable account today and is widely considered among the best sources on the subject.


THE

NEW TESTAMENT

OF OUR

LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,

Thornton did not return to his home in Oregon City until May 1849, whereupon he resumed his lucrative legal practice. On September 24, he presented this elaborately bound New Testament and Psalms, published by the American Bible Society in New York the previous year, to his former wagon train leader William Kirquendall. Such a gift was no small favor. Books were remarkably scarce in the territory, and Thornton likely procured this one in New York and carried it around Cape Horn on his return voyage. And like the Thorntons, any books that Kirquendall had carried west may have been lost or abandoned along the way. Thus the mundane or commonplace gift of scripture becomes a poignant piece of the Oregon Trail, linking one of Oregon's most influential pioneers with the otherwise unheralded 'captain' who returned to bring his company in. We have learned little of Kirquendall's subsequent life in Oregon. As for Thornton, in 1854 the Territorial Legislature adopted his personal motto, *Alis volat propriis*, "She flies with her own wings." It was

retained as the motto when Oregon achieved statehood in 1859, and then was readopted following a 30-year hiatus in 1987. Thornton served as a Republican in the Oregon House of Representatives in 1864 and 1865, and died at the age of 77 in February 1888. An obituary appearing in the Salem *Statesman Journal* observed that "He possessed great individuality of character, and consequently held strong convictions, which he was not backward in expressing, and which he was always ready to maintain and defend with tongue, pen, or pistol."

Relevant sources:

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Gaston, Joseph
1912 *The Centennial History of Oregon 1811-1912*. Volume 1. S. J. Clark Publishing Co., Chicago.
McLynn, Frank
2002 *Wagons West: The Epic Story of America's Overland Trails*. Grove Press, New York.
Morgan, Dale Lowell
1993 *Overland in 1846: Diaries and Letters of the California-Oregon Trail*. Volume 2. University of Nebraska, Lincoln.
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2011 *Jesse Applegate: A Dialogue with Destiny*. Tate Publishing, Mustang, OK.
Smith Ross, A.
2004 The Southern Route Revisited. *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 105(2):292-307.

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[Oregon Trail--Association Copy]: THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK, AND WITH THE FORMER TRANSLATIONS DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED. American Bible Society, New York. 1848. 8vo (23 cm). 432, 112 pp. Publisher's full brown morocco, embossed boards and spine, spine titles in gilt. Light edge wear and scuffing, corners bumped; front inner hinge splitting; binding tight. Ink gift inscription on front free end paper. Very good.

10. **$1500**.

New-York and Savannah Steam Navigation Company: A Broadside Map

By 1800, the United States was producing about 100,000 bales of cotton, half of which was destined for mills in Great Britain. Fifty years later, that number had exploded to nearly 2,500,000 bales, each weighing about 400 pounds. Four-fifths of all the cotton produced in the United States was exported, while the rest was used domestically for manufacturing cloth in New England textile mills. Little remained where it was grown, in the heart of America's South, where practically all of the available cloth--made of southern cotton--was imported from the North. The key to all of this domestic and foreign export economy was getting the cotton from its source to the centers of textile manufacture. And given both the nascent and localized nature of American rail, this meant transportation by sea and coastal routes. Cotton was shipped by steamer north from the relatively shallow southern ports to the deep-water ports of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, then by river or land to local mills or across the Atlantic to Europe.

Charleston was the early beneficiary among southern ports, but the city's elites declined to extend its railroads through the town, requiring an expensive transfer of freight from rail to wagon to ship. Rival Savannah did not make the same mistake, and by the 1840s the Central of Georgia Railroad could move cotton from deep in the interior to waiting steamships without delay. Samuel L. Mitchell started the New-York and Savannah Steam Navigation Company in 1848, running his steamers *Cherokee* and *Tennessee* between the two ports. Service ended for several months when he sold these ships for the California route, but began again in September 1850 with the addition of the *Florida*, joined soon after by the *Alabama* in January 1851. This small advertising broadside for Mitchell's line includes an interesting map of the Deep South. It depicts Georgia outlined in yellow handcoloring with its rail and stage lines indicated, while both the *Florida* and the *Alabama* ply its coast. The broadside was issued in 1851 before Mitchell added the *Augusta* to his line. **We trace only one comparable item from the Mitchell line, a printed circular--likewise from 1851 but apparently without illustration--held by the Ohio History Connection**.

Relevant sources:

Coker, P.C. III.
1987 *Charleston's Maritime Heritage, 1670-1865*. CokerCraft Press, Charleston, SC.
Morrison, John H.
1903 *History of American Steam Navigation*. W. F. Sametz & Co., New York.
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1917 Savannah in the 40s. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1(3):43-252.

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[Georgia--Steamships]: NEW-YORK AND SAVANNAH STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY [caption title]. Nesbitt & Co., Printers and Stationers, New-York. N.d., but probably 1851. Small broadside with inset map, yellow handcoloring. 8 x 11 in. (20 x 28 cm). Very light foxing, old vertical horizontal folds, paper lightly tanned. Very good.

11. SOLD.

NEW-YORK AND SAVANNAH STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

NEW-YORK AND SAVANNAH REGULAR LINE OF OCEAN STEAMSHIPS.

(Carrying the U. S. Mails.) **FLORIDA**, (new,) 1500 tons, Captain THOMAS LYON. **ALABAMA**, (new,) 1500 tons, Captain C. D. LUDLOW. One Ship will leave each place on Saturday of every week, from New York, at 4 o'clock, P. M., from Pier 4, N. R. CABIN PASSAGE, $25; STEERAGE, $9; payable in advance. **For STRENGTH and SPEED** these Ships have no superior on our coast. In accommodations and fare, no equal. Travellers and Shippers will find the route via Savannah, to all points beyond South Carolina, preferable to any other for comfort, safety and dispatch.

Agents, { **PADELFORD, FAY & CO., Savannah.**
SAMUEL L. MITCHILL, 194 Front Street, New-York.

Routes between Savannah and other Points in Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama and Tennessee.

From SAVANNAH to FLORIDA. Excellent Steamers leave three times a week for Darien, Brunswick, St. Mary's, Jacksonville, Picolata, St. Augustine, Palatka, &c. Fine Steamers also run on the Savannah River to Augusta and intermediate stopping places. The Steamer Wm. Seabrook, runs inland to Beaufort and Charleston once a week. The Gordon and Calhoun leave Savannah for Charleston daily.

TIME AND DISTANCE BY RAILROAD ROUTES.

Between SAVANNAH and MACON	190 miles	10 hours.	Between SAVANNAH and OGLETHORPE	241 miles	14 hours.
" SAVANNAH and MONTGOMERY, via COLUMBUS	43	"	" SAVANNAH and ATLANTA	290	" 16 "
" SAVANNAH and MONTGOMERY, via ATLANTA	59	"	" SAVANNAH and CHATTANOOGA	428	" 28 "
" SAVANNAH and COLUMBUS	26	"			

FREIGHT SHIPPED TO SAVANNAH, consigned to the Agent of the **Central Railroad**, will be forwarded to all parts of the Southern and South-Western interior. The connections in all directions being perfect, greater dispatch may be relied upon by this route than by any other

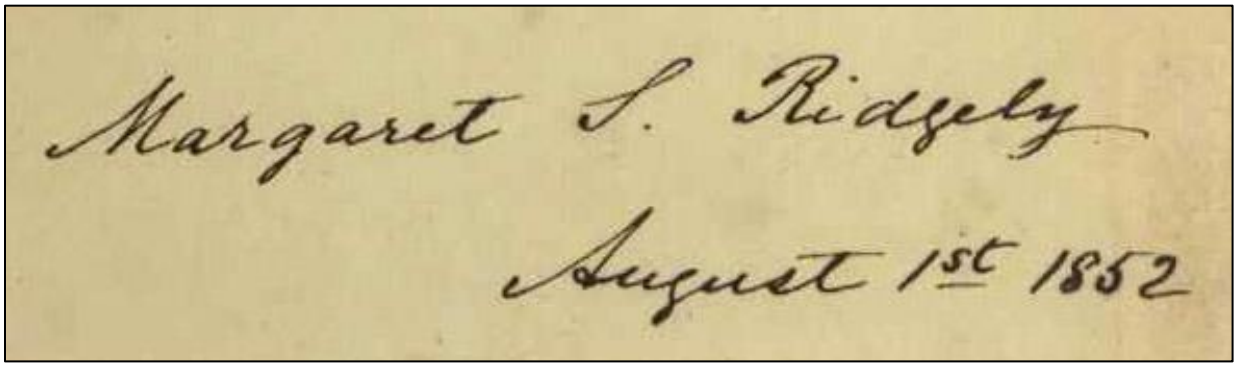
Freight for Montgomery and Mobile, via Savannah, will meet with dispatch.

Nesbitt & Co., Printers and Stationers, New-York.

J. A. S. TUTTLE, Passenger and Freight Agent, 194 Front Street, New-York.

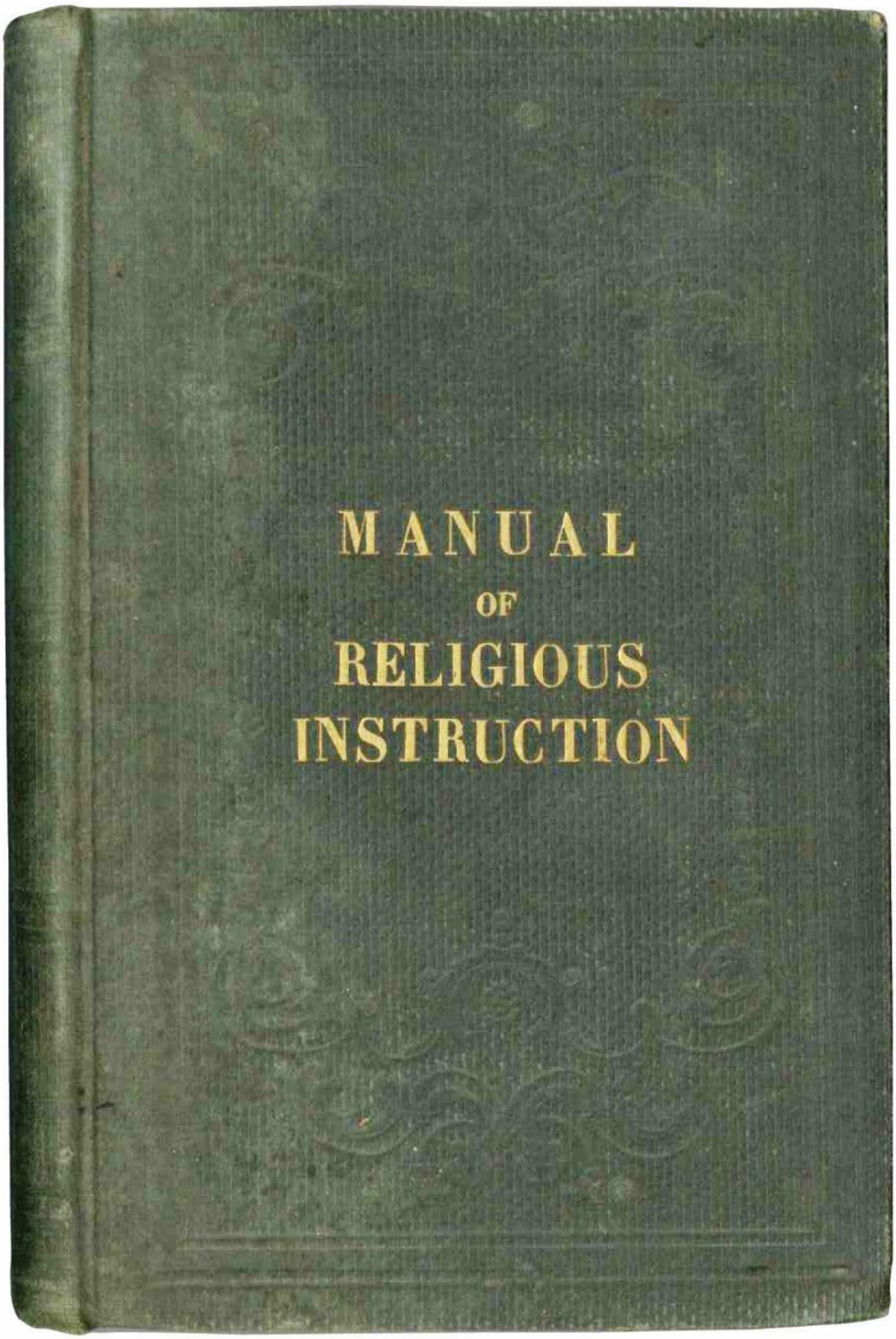
For the Oral Teaching of Colored Persons: A Slaveholder's Catechism

Slavery was a contradictory institution, one that thrived in daily and abject defiance of most ideals Americans claimed to value. Among the most egregious of its incongruities was the concern that many slaveholders professed for the souls of their slaves, even while continuing to reap profit from the violation of those same slaves' bodies. A small but significant genre of texts on religious instruction for enslaved peoples, sometimes referred to as slave catechisms, served both to alleviate whatever responsibility slaveholders claimed for the spiritual wellbeing of their slaves and--no less importantly--to indoctrinate slaves in those tenets of Christianity that upheld and even extolled the bond between servant and master. This rare volume, *A Manual of Religious Instruction, Specially Intended for the Oral Teaching of Colored Persons*, was compiled by the Reverend John F. Hoff of Millwood, Virginia, in 1852; a second edition appeared in 1857. Only five other copies of the first edition are recorded in institutional holdings. **This example is particularly noteworthy, as it was owned by Margaretta (Margaret) Sophia Howard Ridgely, mistress of Hampton, one of the largest slaveholding plantations in Maryland**.



Across the Antebellum South, most all of the major Protestant denominations--including Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians--produced works specifically intended for the religious education of slaves. Prior to Nat Turner's revolt in 1831, however, such works were quite rare. Indeed, the earliest slave catechism identified by Tammy K. Byron in her dissertation on the subject is Benjamin Morgan Palmer's *A Plain and Easy Catechism, Designed Chiefly for the Benefit of Coloured Persons*, published at Charleston in 1828. Turner's insurrection convinced white southerners that a correct religious education was essential to prevent slaves from following such "false prophets" (Raboteau 1978:164). As Byron cogently observes: "To ensure that slaves received a proper religious education--that is, one that imparted Christian principles and stressed slave subordination and obedience--white Southerners began to write and employ catechisms, a traditional mode of transmitting religion to the unlearned" (2008:19). For the years between Nat Turner and Appomattox, Byron locates nearly a dozen extent slave catechisms and finds notice of several more that seem not to exist in any surviving copies.

Many white southerners blamed Nat Turner's insurrection on its leader's well-documented literacy, and in its aftermath most southern states enacted laws against teaching enslaved peoples to read and write. As a result, many slave catechisms, including John Hoff's *Manual of Religious Instruction*, specifically state their intended use "for oral instruction" or "for the use of those who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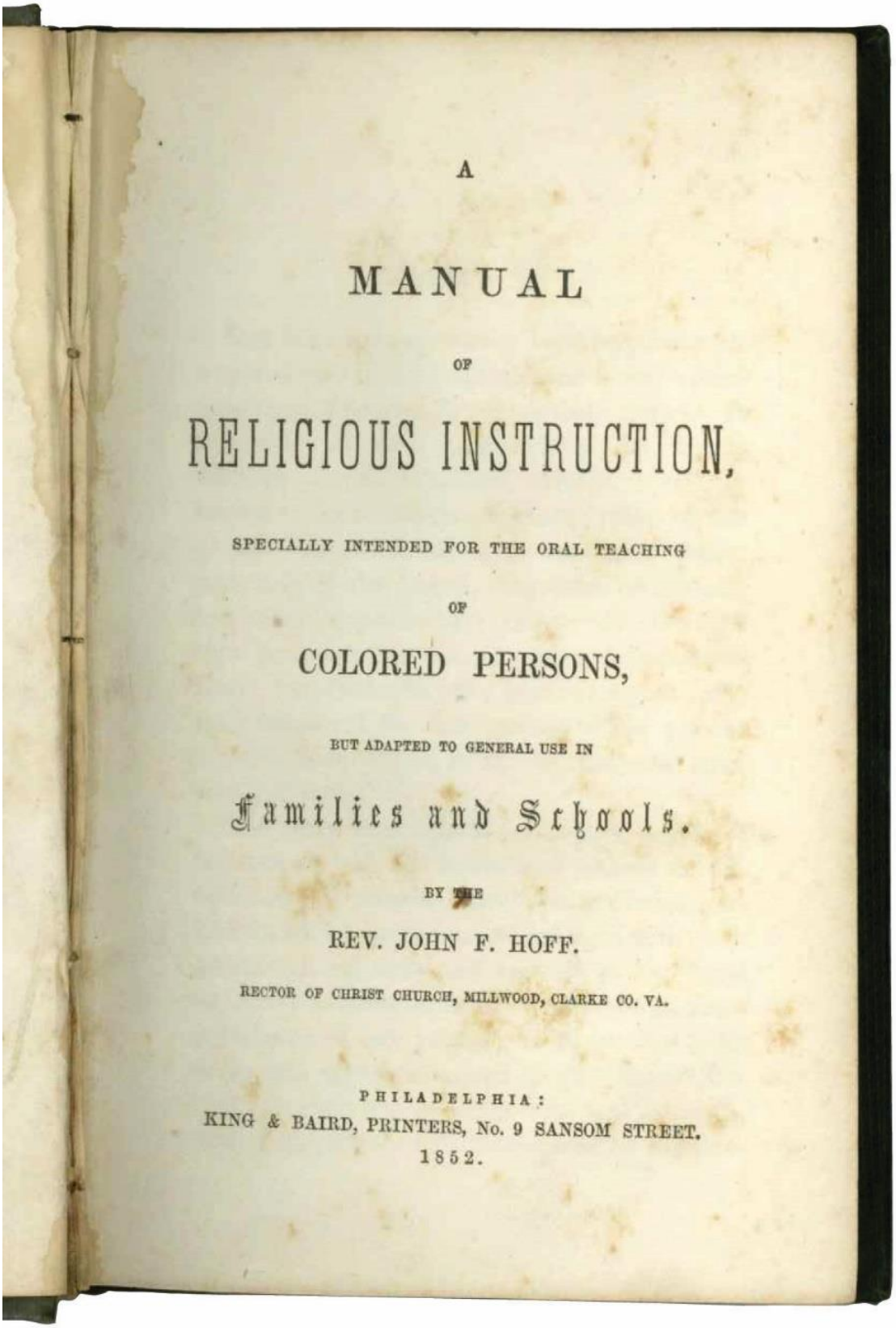

A

MANUAL

OF

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION,

SPECIALLY INTENDED FOR THE ORAL TEACHING

OF

COLORED PERSONS,

BUT ADAPTED TO GENERAL USE IN

Families and Schools.

BY THE

REV. JOHN F. HOFF.

RECTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, MILLWOOD, CLARKE CO. VA.

PHILADELPHIA:
KING & BAIRD, PRINTERS, No. 9 SANSOM STREET.
1852.

cannot read." Hoff's work is one of three known Episcopalian examples, and he writes in his brief introduction that he hoped it would make an improvement upon existing catechisms for enslaved learners. At the time of its publication, Hoff was the rector of Christ Church in Millwood, Clarke County, Virginia. Just a few years later, though, beginning in 1858, he served as minister at Trinity Church in Towson, Maryland, where in 1860 a new chapel was constructed of limestone donated by John Ridgley of nearby Hampton Plantation. Ridgely was the third master of Hampton, though his son, Charles had assumed management of the estate in 1851 after completing his education at Harvard University. That same year, he had married his first cousin, Margaretta (Margaret) Sophia Howard, who signed and dated this copy of Hoff's *Manual* on August 1, 1852.

Hampstead's wealth derived both from agriculture--the estate included more than 25,000 acres by 1781--and one of the most profitable iron works in the early republic. Captain Charles Ridgely oversaw construction of Hampton Mansion from 1783 to 1790, commissioning what was then the largest private home in the United States; at 24,000 square feet, it could hold Monticello and Mount Vernon and still have room to spare. When the childless Ridgley died suddenly just months after its completion, the estate passed to his nephew Charles Ridgely Carnan, who switched his last and middle names as a condition of receiving his inheritance. Carnan Ridgley would serve as Maryland's governor from 1815 to 1818, and at the time of his death in 1829 he held nearly 350 enslaved peoples, the second highest total of any plantation in the state. His will, though, stipulated the release of all enslaved men between the ages of 28 and 45 and all enslaved women between the ages of 25 and 45. His heir, John Carnan Ridgely, thus inherited an iron works and farm with no enslaved labor, but he quickly purchased several dozen slaves, renewing his commitment to slavery and resuming the plantation life to which he and his wife, Eliza, were accustomed. He was sixty when his eldest son, Charles, took over agricultural operations in 1851.

As Charles Ridgely managed much of Hampton's enslaved labor, so was Margaret likely involved in the religious instruction of its slaves. Margaret Sophia Ridgely, granddaughter of two Maryland governors (including Charles Carnan Ridgely, also grandfather of her husband and first cousin, Charles), grew up next door to Hampton on Cowpens Plantation, itself a large slaveholding estate. Across the Antebellum South, white aristocratic women frequently took responsibility for teaching scripture to the enslaved, often in the context of Sunday schools. As McCord notes, the Sunday school movement spread through southern states "as slaveholding women were convinced of their obligation to evangelize slaves" (2015:1227). Indeed, the Ridgelys promoted Christianity in similar ways at Hampton. Eliza Eichelberger Ridgely, John's wife, provided church services for Hampton's enslaved community in the carriage house attic, supervised by a white minister; her daughter (and Margaret's sister-in-law), Eliza, known as "Didy," recorded in her 1853 journal that she taught Sunday school classes to enslaved children, which included learning the Lord's Prayer and memorizing Bible verses. Margaret--a close friend of Didy's since childhood--signed her copy of Hoff's *Manual* just one year earlier, and it seems reasonable to suggest that this very catechism was put to use in Sunday school services taught by the women of Hampton.

All slave catechisms are scarce today, especially on the rare book market. Many--such as this first edition of Hoff's *Manual*--are known in but a handful of copies, most in institutions. **We locate five institutional holdings: at Yale, the Newberry, the University of Texas, Duke (listed as lost or missing), and the Wesley Theological Seminary**. A sixth example, possibly the same one that we offer here, was sold at Swann Galleries in 2009 for $2280; although a previous owner's

signature was noted on the front free end paper, the provenance was not further specified. This is the only slave catechism currently available on the market, and we trace just two examples of any such catechism offered at auction during the past decade (per RBH).

On November 1, 1864--nearly a full year after the Emancipation Proclamation freed all persons held as slaves in states that seceded from the Union--Maryland finally declared all of its own citizens free. Charles and Margaret Ridgely did not inherit Hampton until John's death in 1867, and so were the first Ridgelys to assume ownership of the estate without slaves and without slavery. They left Maryland with their seven children and traveled in Europe, managing Hampton through correspondence. When Charles died without warning of typhoid fever in 1872, Margaret returned with the children and took over the estate, establishing the Ridgelys' prize-winning Jersey cattle herd and controlling family finances until her own death at the age of 80 in 1904. In 1948 Hampton became the first site selected on the basis of its architectural significance as a National Historic Site by the U. S. National Park Service.

Relevant sources:

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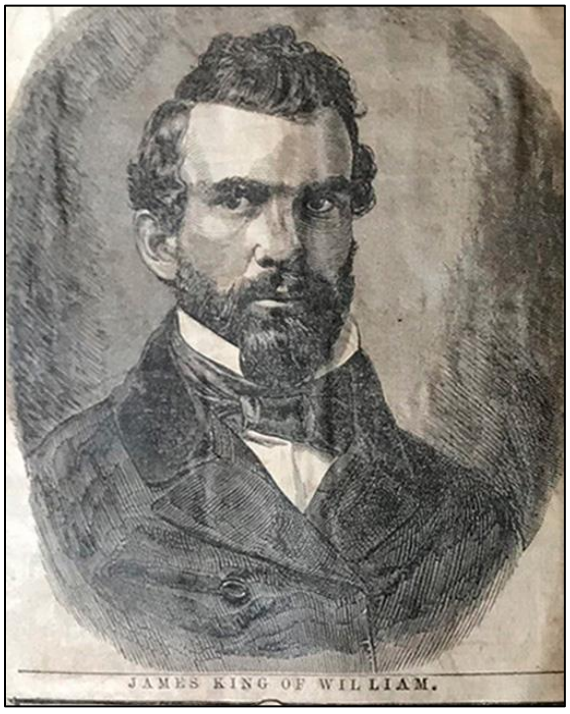
[Slavery--Religion]. John F. Hoff. A MANUAL OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, SPECIALLY INTENDED FOR THE ORAL TEACHING OF COLORED PERSONS, BUT ADAPTED TO GENERAL USE IN FAMILIES AND SCHOOLS. King & Baird, Printers, No. 9 Sansom Street, Philadelphia. 1852. 12mo (15 cm). 144 pp. Original green cloth, stamped in gilt and blind, old dampstaining to front cover and gutter of preliminaries, light foxing. About very good.

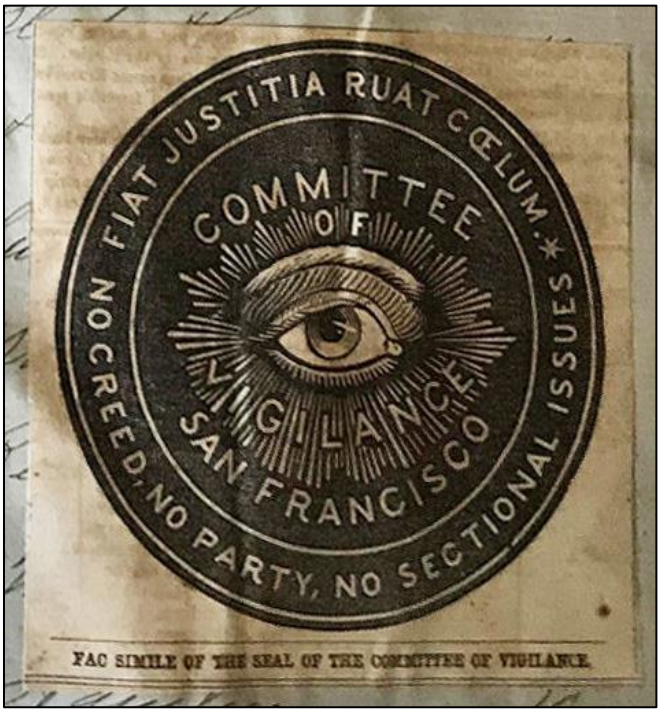
12. SOLD.

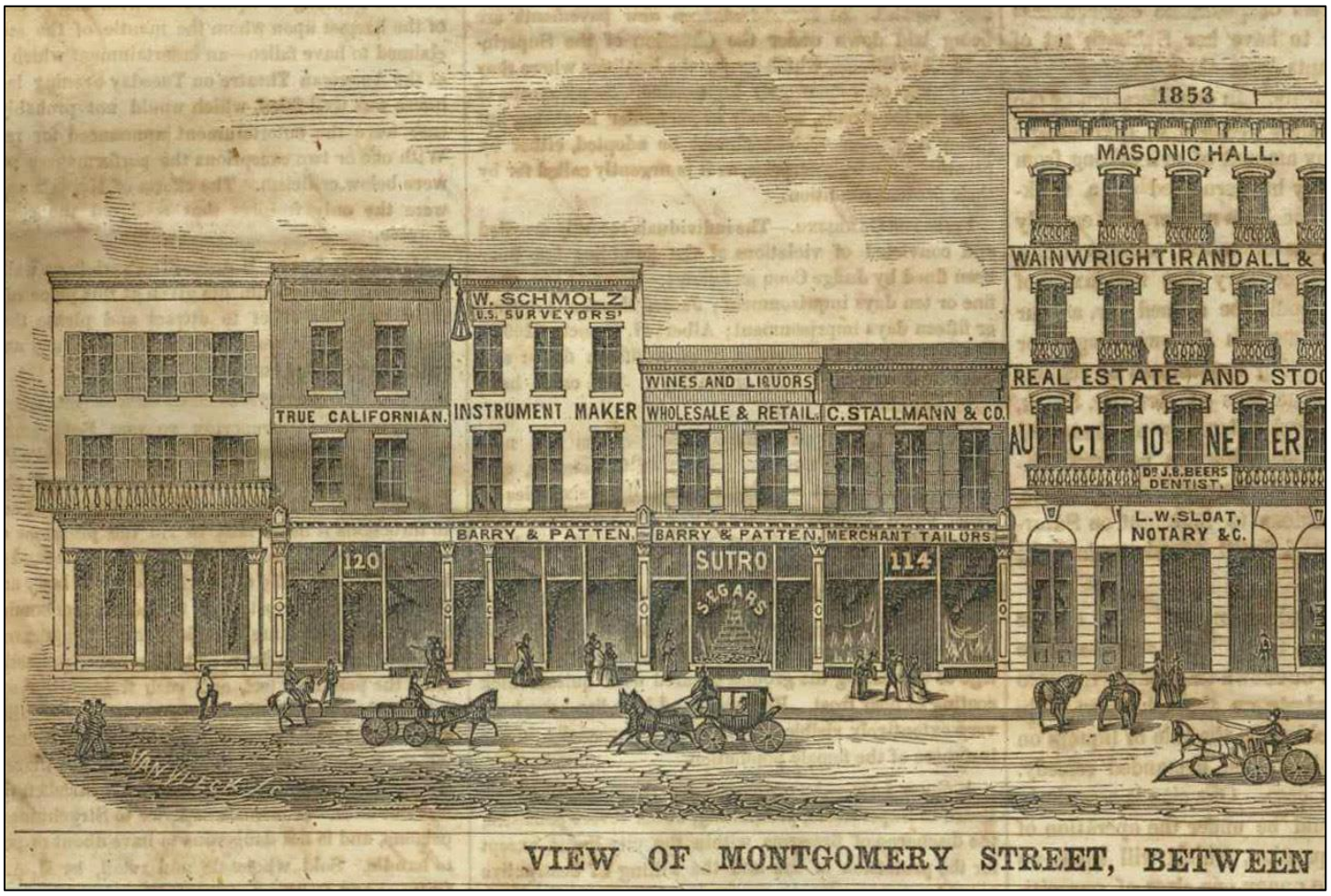
A Scrapbook of Illustrated Clippings from Early San Francisco Newspapers

That the California Gold Rush came to embody the possibilities and pitfalls of an American Dream, and that it continues to fire our collective imaginations even today, is due in no small part to the explosion of visual culture that followed John Marshall's discovery at Sutter's Mill. Perhaps no other time and place had experienced such a dramatic and essentially instantaneous outpouring of visual imagery as San Francisco in the early 1850s. As its population went from fewer than 500 people in 1847 to more than 50,000 just a decade later, the city attracted an extraordinary range of artisans in fields such as photography, lithography, printing, engraving, woodcutting, painting, and other graphic arts. Some of this imagery was intended for small, private audiences--the relatively novel daguerreotype portrait in its latching case, for example--while other forms were created to reach as wide a viewership as possible. Among the latter are the elaborate woodcut images that filled the pages of San Francisco's early newspapers, and ironically, these images made to reach the masses are now among the most ephemeral records of the Gold Rush. This scrapbook, made from a repurposed 1850s San Francisco ledger, holds approximately 150 carefully extracted and mounted images, most of which seem to have been clipped from issues of the *Wide West*, a San Francisco newspaper known for its illustrations that was published from 1854 to 1858. **It offers a unique visual record of these tumultuous years that transformed San Francisco from the original Wild West boom town to the City by the Bay**.

The *Wide West*, issued weekly, was established by Louis Bonestell and Henry Williston in 1854, its first number appearing on March 19. Bonestell was a 49er who would later establish the first wholesale paper house along the Pacific Coast. Williston, who handled most of the paper's editorial duties, brought its run to an end in 1858, leaving San Francisco for British Columbia after gold was discovered in the Fraser Valley. There he co-founded the territory's first newspaper (and



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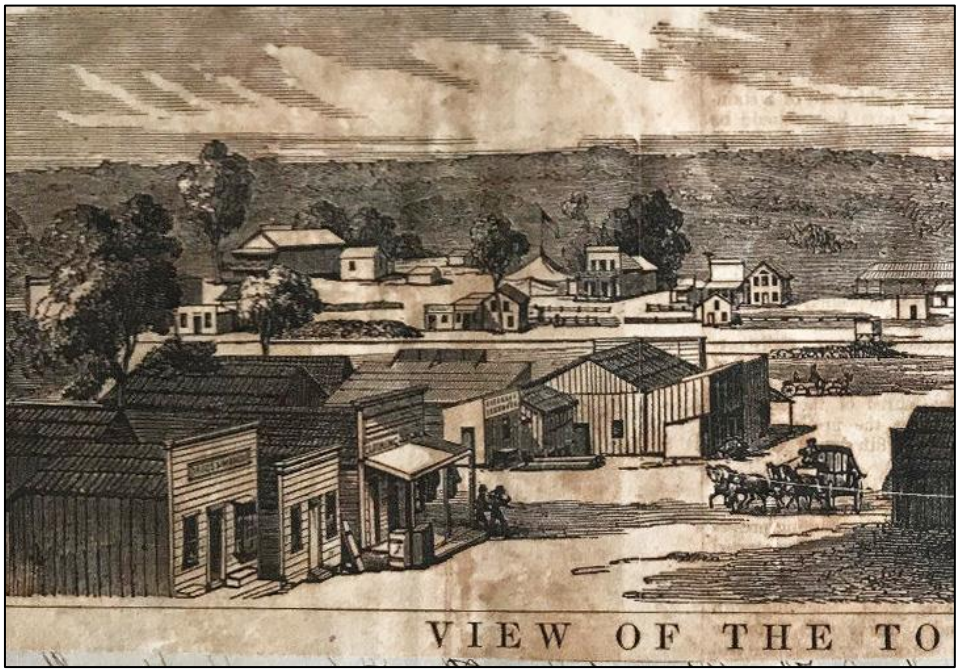
W. SCHMOLZ U.S. SURVEYORS'
TRUE CALIFORNIAN.
INSTRUMENT MAKER
WINES AND LIQUORS
WHOLESALE & RETAIL
C. STALLMANN & CO.
BARRY & PATTEN.
BARRY & PATTEN, MERCHANT TAILORS
120
SUTRO
CIGARS
114
VIEW OF MONTGOMERY STREET, BETWEEN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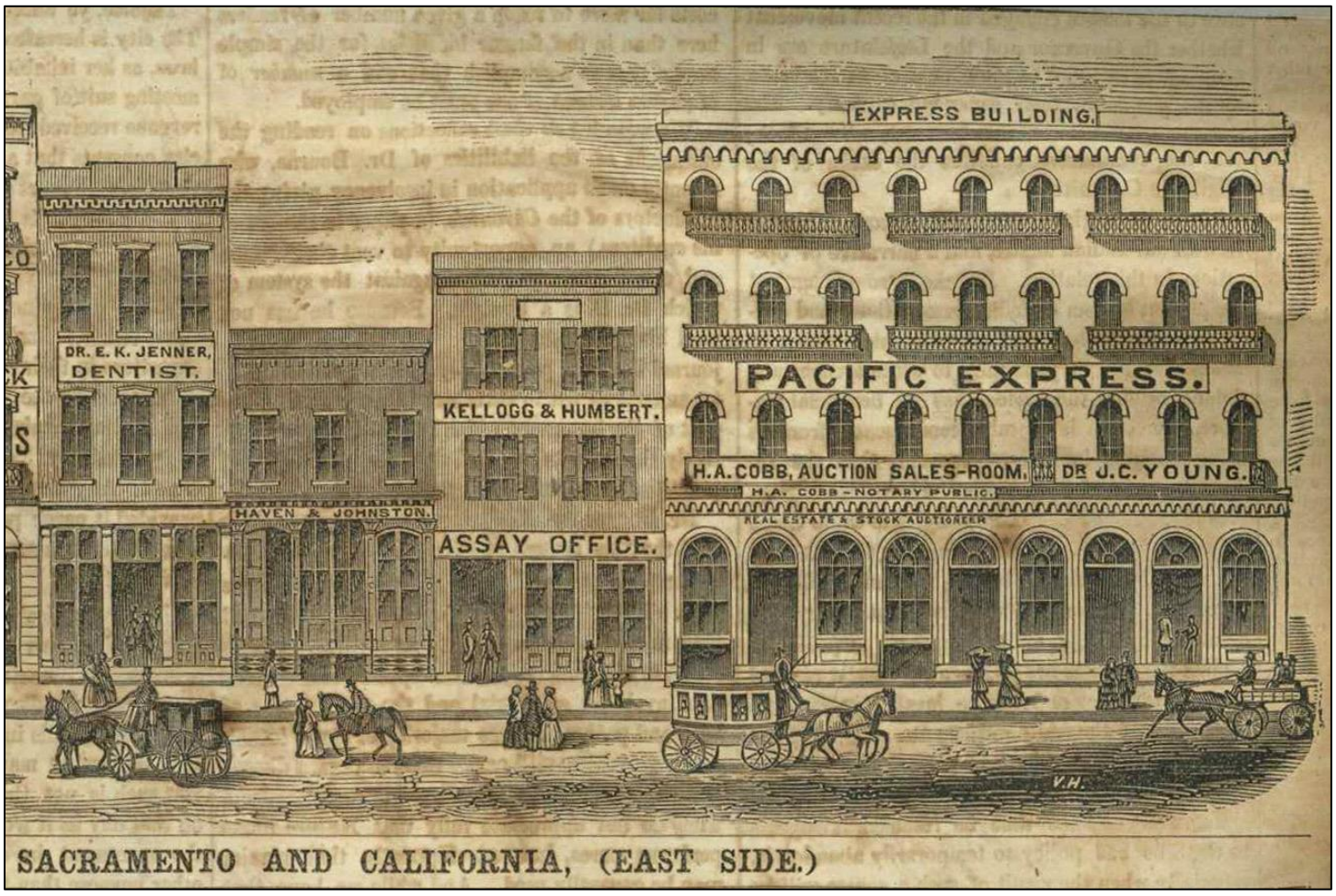

SACRAMENTO AND CALIFORNIA, (EAST SIDE.)

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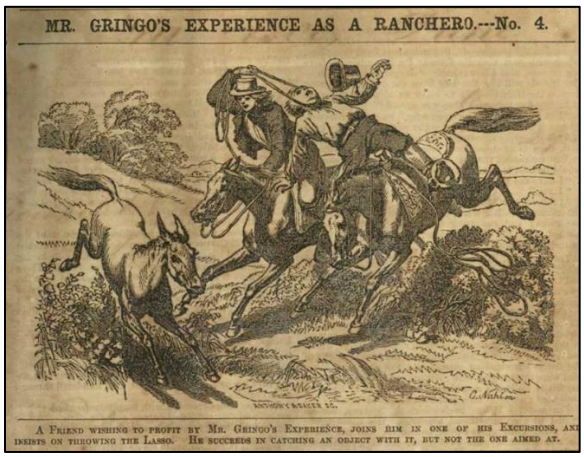

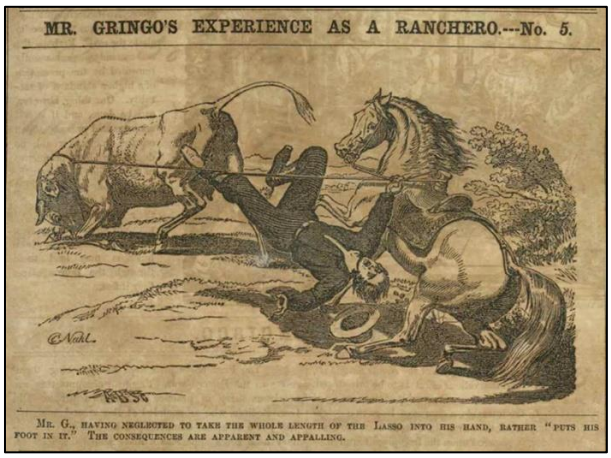

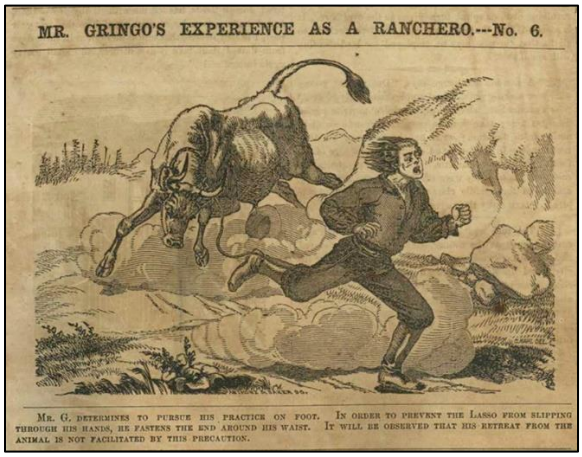

first imprint), the *Victoria Gazette*. Throughout its four years in print, the *Wide West* was known for the variety and high quality of its illustrations. Many of these were accomplished by the team of wood engraver Thomas Armstrong and artist Charles Nahl. Armstrong was a 49er from England (by way of Paris and Australia) who is believed to have produced the first copper plate engraving of San Francisco in October 1849. Nahl, a German-born, classically trained artist, arrived in San Francisco with his family in 1852; he was, note Palmquist and Kailbourn, "the first permanently established professional artist of note in California" (2000:415).

This scrapbook contains 150 carefully mounted clippings in a repurposed 4to ledger, all of its entries dating to 1856. Many leaves were removed from the ledger prior to its subsequent use as a scrapbook--in several instances, images from the same set are are mounted on facing pages with missing leaves in between. Its morocco and reverse calf binding is strong, and the remaining leaves all hold clippings. The smallest clipped images measure approximately three to four inches on a side, with several to a page, while the largest are more than 12 inches across and fill the page entirely; some that even extend beyond the page edge are folded. As an assemblage, the scrapbook includes a remarkable range of images and themes, including comedic illustrations such as the six scenes depicting "Mr. Gringo's Experiences as a Ranchero," or some of the so-called "California Characters" Williston later published in a very rare 8vo pamphlet format. There are descriptive images of different ethnic groups: a group of three numbered woodcuts depicting "The Chinese in

12

San Francisco, June 4, 1856

A DIGGER INDIAN BATTLE.

The battles between different tribes of the savages that inhabit the mountains of California, are frequently as sanguinary as their encounters with the whites, and exhibit instances of courage and valor not to be expected from a race so low in the scale even of barbaric humanity. The combats that take place at the present day are usually occasioned by enmity springing up between those tribes which have yielded in some degree to the overtures of the whites, and embraced some of the customs of civilization. Other differences, however, are not wanting, and it is possible that were any one capable of becoming their historian to render himself familiar with their customs and the feuds existing among them, that it would be found that ancient grudges existed, which had been handed down from generation to generation, growing fiercer and more irreconcilable with the lapse of time. As it is not probable, however, that any such chronicler will ever be tempted to undertake such a task, our information in regard to these conflicts will necessarily be meagre, and our conclusions regarding them continue to be mere surmises.

Pay/ W. W. Cooke

Do 12 V. P. 1 80

A CHINESE BATTLE IN CALIFORNIA.

The Chinese in California are as great a puzzle as they are a nuisance. They are unanimous in nothing but vice. Those among them who have the opportunity are continually levying taxes for some inexplicable purpose on those of their countrymen who are able to pay them and afraid to refuse. The more their institutions are studied, the less are they understood. The only reason they themselves are ever known to give for the various disturbances that arise among them is the existence of a secret society of which no member ever was seen, or known to exist by any of the received rules of evidence. Still, that there is some cause continually operating to produce collisions among them is undeniable, in whatever shape it comes. In all parts of the country they are quarreling with each other, in a manner that would argue that they traveled in parties, whose members were about balanced in their adherence to diverse opinions. Their battles are more remarkable for the great preparations that precede them than for any sanguinary results. Every blacksmith in the neighborhood is employed to make implements of war, he who succeeds in contriving the clumsiest and the one least adapted to service, generally succeeding in getting the highest price. The last of these affairs, which took place in the Northern Mines, is correctly represented by the above engraving.

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California," and another featuring "Chinese Buddhistic Worship in San Francisco." There are also images of "Digger Indians" and Californios; scenes from the mines; views of San Francisco and other towns and camps such as Folsom, San Jose, and Michigan Bar. Seventeen engravings, some quite large, focus on the 1856 assassination of journalist James King of William, the lynching of his killers, and the reign of the 1856 Vigilance Committee. There is a Nahl woodcut, "Sunday in the California Diggings" (1857), which he would use fifteen years later as the basis for his famous oil painting, "Sunday Morning in the Mines." And there is much more.

Such assemblages of early Gold Rush images are rarely encountered today. We trace only two comparable scrapbooks offered at auction, one by Parke-Bernet in 1959 at the sale of the Plath Collection ($275), and another--focused exclusively on King's assassination--by PBA Galleries in 2007 ($2185). A handful of comparable examples are recorded in institutional holdings, most at the University of California's Bancroft Library, but none so specifically compiled as a record of San Francisco's early visual culture. A front blank is signed by F. A. Taylor, who arrived at San Francisco with his father, via the Panama route, in 1850. He would later own several paper stands in San Jose and edit a newspaper there. Rare and fascinating.

Relevant sources:

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Palmquist, Peter E. and Thomas R. Kailbourn
2005 *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.

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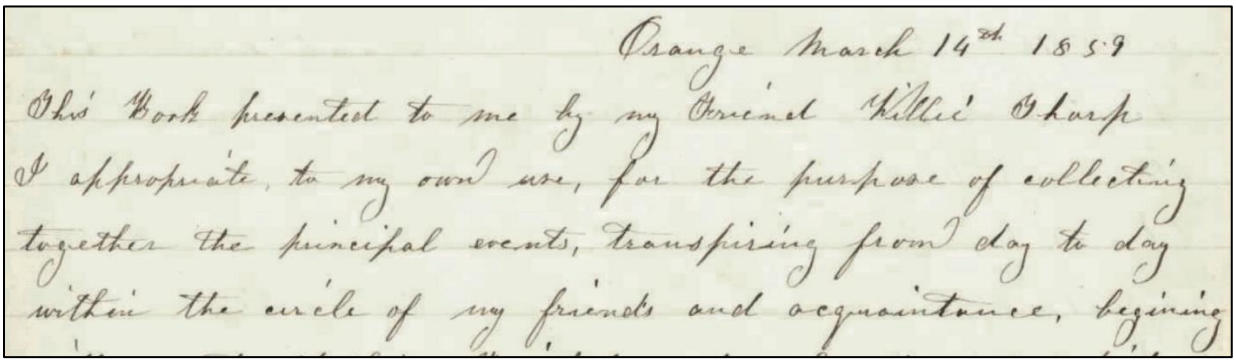
[California Gold Rush--Visual Culture]: [CAREFULLY COMPILED SCRAPBOOK WITH 150 WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS CLIPPED FROM *THE WIDE WEST*, A SAN FRANCISCO NEWSPAPER, DURING THE LATER YEARS OF THE GOLD RUSH]. [n.p., n.d., but likely compiled 1854-1858]. 9 1/2 x 14 in. (24 x 36 cm). Repurposed ledger, entries dated 1856, with many leaves removed before use as a scrapbook. 47 ll. remaining, all with illustrated clippings neatly pasted to recto and verso. Red morocco and reverse calf binding, edge wear and scuffing to spine and boards, interior pages fine, clippings with scattered foxing and tanning.

13. SOLD.

Young, Affluent, and Newly Suburban: The Diary of Carrie Harrison

For most of the period from its incorporation as a township in 1806 through the middle of the 19th century, the community of Orange, New Jersey--located just west of Newark and about 12 miles west of New York City--changed very little. Its population barely doubled in more than five decades, its primary industries remained hat making, tanning, and the manufacture of leather goods, and its landscape was dominated by expanses of farmland and unspoiled woods. But the completion of the Morris and Essex rail line in 1855 opened a convenient link to and from its great urban neighbors, and its bucolic setting was discovered by wealthy New Yorkers seeking a retreat from the traffic and noise of city life. Upper middle class commuters soon followed, and in a span of less than ten years the population of Orange doubled again. It was on its way toward reinvention as an early American suburb. The diary of Caroline "Carrie" Harrison, born in what is now West Orange on March 14, 1836, captures this dynamic well. The Harrison family had established the Oranges in the late 17th century, but her father had sold most of their extensive landholdings and moved to the town center about 1856. **Carrie's diary, begun on her birthday in 1859, details the life of an affluent young woman in a rapidly changing, suburbanizing world**.



Orange March 14th 1859

This Book presented to me by my Friend Willie Clark

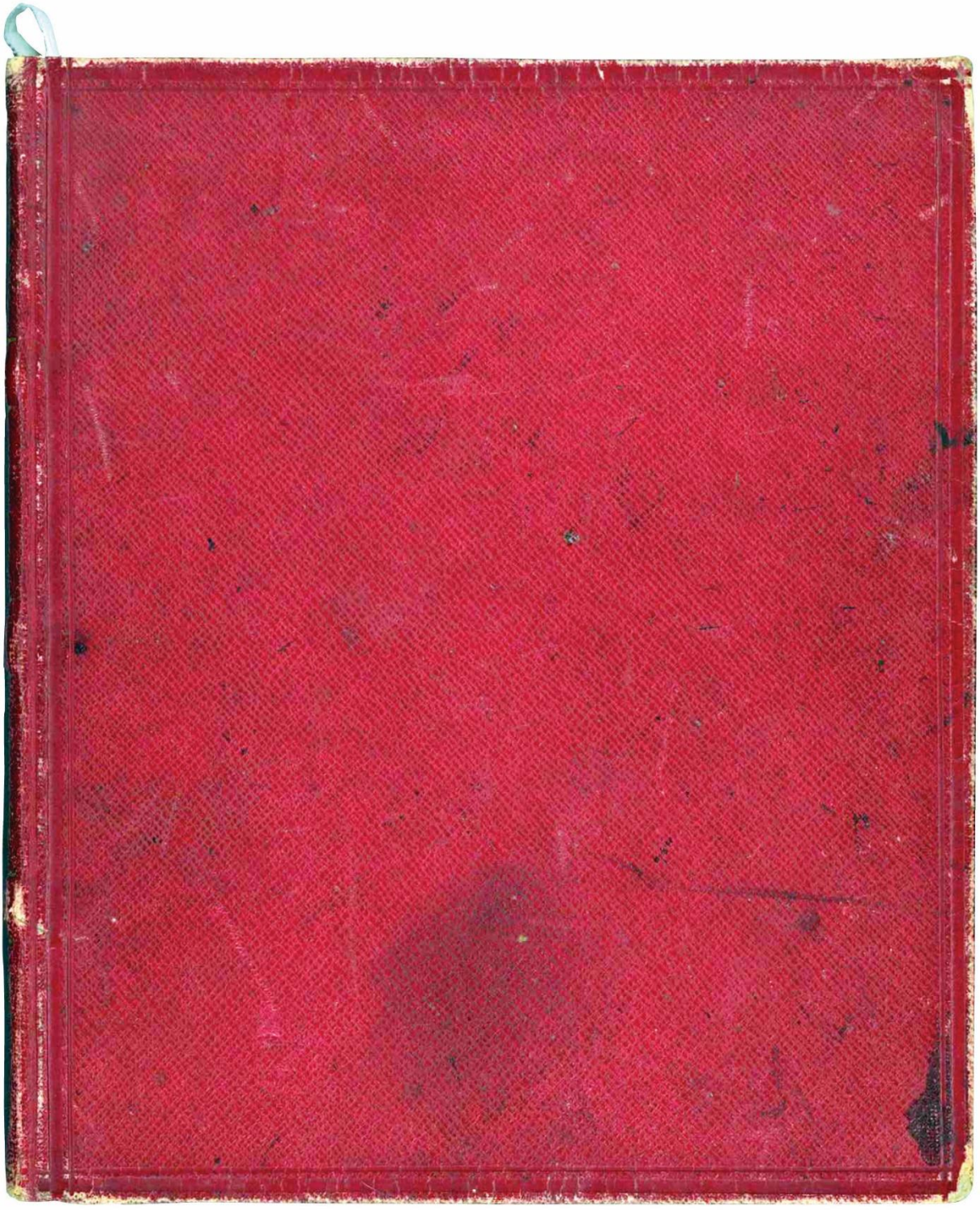
I appropriate to my own use, for the purpose of collecting

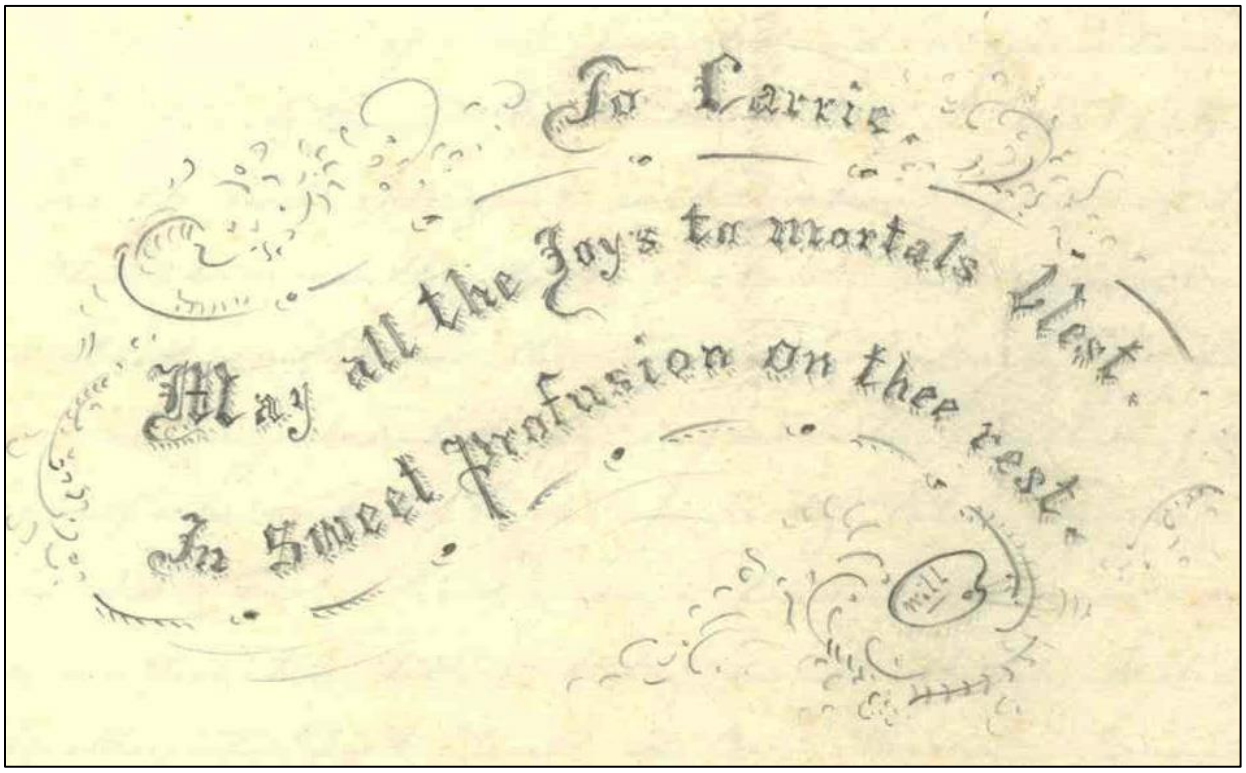
together the principal events, transpiring from day to day

within the circle of my friends and acquaintance, begining

Carrie Harrison was one of eight children--three sons and five daugthers--born to Aaron Burr Harrison (1796-1884) and his wife Caroline (1800-1875). Her father had been groomed for the ministry, attending Bloomfield Academy in preparation for Princeton, but he chose instead the life of a gentleman farmer and property owner, having acquired through inheritance and purchase more than a hundred acres of land in the Oranges. His father, Aaron, had served in the New Jersey militia during the Revolution and presided over of the township's largest agricultural estates. The Harrison family patriarch, Sergeant Richard Harrison, had arrived at Newark from New Haven in 1668, at which time he established the community's first grist mill. Slavery was technically legal in New Jersey, under the guise of lifetime apprenticeship, until passage of the 13th Amendment in 1866, and Carrie's grandfather, Aaron, is recorded as holding a slave in the 1830 Federal Census (there were more than 12,000 enslaved Africans across the state in 1800). While it is unlikely that Carrie was raised with enslaved people on her family's properties, they did have African American servants in their home, some of whom were children, and these relationships may have shaped her rather unsympathetic views on race and abolition.

About 1856, Carrie's father sold most of the family's farmlands to Llewyllen S. Haskell, a chemical manufacturer from New York City. Haskell had moved to the Oranges only a few years





earlier, building a summer residence designed by famed architect Alexander Jackson Davis, and he imagined the countryside's natural woods and streams and fields--nestled against the low slopes of the Watchung Mountains--as the idyllic location for a picturesque community set apart from the chaos and bustle of urban life. In 1857 he announced the opening of Llewellyn Park, regarded as the first gated community in the United States. The Harrisons, meanwhile, moved into the large East Orange home of Carrie's maternal grandfather, hat manufacturer Cyrus Jones. Carrie begins her diary just after this move and the family's shift from land rich, agricultural elites to well-off suburbanites living in a Main Street residence.

Few moments in American history are so burdened with the weight of inevitability, of what was to come, than the period from 1859 to 1860 during which Harrison kept her diary. From John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry to the election of Abraham Lincoln as the first Republican president, it is all too easy now--with the benefit of hindsight--to regard these months as a prelude, to arrange the individual events into a neatly ordered sequence of cause and effect. Yet when we experience such moments first-hand, as Carrie Harrison did, it is far more difficult to comprehend the patterns of history in the hurly burly of the here-and-now. For most of us, personal experience is embedded in the quotidian dramas of everyday life, outside the realm of historical events. And so it is with Harrison's diary. In it she makes note of the big events, offering comments and opinions, but her focus throughout remains her own experience as she lived and understood it.

As she hints in its opening lines, this diary--an octavo blank book with lined paper and gilt edges, bound in bright red, limp morocco--was a gift from an unwanted suitor, a young man named Willie Sharp. Although ambivalant, she notes, "I appropriate it to my own use, for the purpose of

collecting together the principal events, transpiring from day to day within the circle of my friends and acquaintance, beginning with my twenty-third birthday, March 14th, 1859." Later, on May 24, she is abundantly clear about her feelings for this admirer:

> thought I had got rid of Will nicely, but the great goose, went after we had left got another horse and buggy and came up there after me. of course I had to ride with him[.] on the way he invited me to go to a concert with him tomorrow evening and I refused, because I do not want his company, and he forces it upon me thereby giving people to understand that he is an acceptable suitor which he is not for me nor ever will be, I suppose I have made him very angry.

Harrison's days are filled with family, friends, and other suitors more acceptable than the hapless Willie Sharp. She takes in musical concerts and plays in nearby Newark, carriage rides in Orange, and jaunts through Bloomfield on her horse, Bloucher. In April and May 1859 she visits the home of her married and expecting sister in New Haven, Connecticut. On July 8 she is invited to take an evening cruise with her friends: "Charlie Powles came to invite me to go on a moonlight excursion next Monday evening with a party of Newarkers, steamboat excursion. I have an idea it will be delightful and accepted the invitation." Three days later, she reports that:

> Charlie Powles came after me about three in the afternoon, took me to Tillies', and all went together from there....the boat left the dock at eight precisely, with five hundred passengers. Oh, what an elegant night we had, just as clear as a crystal, the moon in full glory, music, dancing, everything to make people enjoy themselves to their hearts [sic] content[.] Aaron went with us. We met a great many acquaintance, arrived at Newark again at 1 oclock [sic]...

She shops in Newark--often two or three times a week--buying silk and muslin dresses and fabrics for making hats and bonnets and even capes; she knits and sews, bakes, spends time with her nieces and nephews, and helps her mother accomplish a deep spring cleaning of their large East Orange home. What is perhaps most striking about this variety of day-to-day activities is the remarkable amount of leisure enjoyed by Harrison, her family, and her circle of friends. **It is the lifestyle of a new, emerging social class--the upper middle class suburbanite**. Forty years later, sociologist Thorstein Veblen would chart its full development--and critique its worst excesses--in his seminal 1899 work *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*.

In keeping with their nascent leisure status, the Harrisons hired two house servants during the period that Carrie kept her diary, at least one of whom she identified as African American. On June 25, after visiting with her brother's family in Newark, she notes that she "came home, found our little coloured help had come, showed her about washing dishes..." Three days later she adds a bit more: "I forgot to say on Saturday that Jane Jackson came to live with us. Coloured girl she is about twelve years old and has done nicely thus far." The following spring, in March 1860, she notes that her brother Charlie "brought us a new boy to do up chores for us, he is a bright looking little fellow about eleven years old[,] name, Sammie Gardner." Sammie, like Jane, was likely an African American child, and while it is unclear from Carrie's diary whether these children were free or enslaved, New Jersey still permitted slavery--typically of house servants and in the form of lifetime apprenticeships--as late as 1860. In any event, beneath her rather patronizing descriptions

of Jane and Sammie lurks a more formal and impersonal racism that makes itself apparent in her opinions of those who sought to end the institution of slavery.

Harrison makes no notice John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry of October 16, 1859. She does, however, report his death less than two months later. Writing on December 1, she observes that "John Brown was executed today at Charleston, Virginia [now West Virginia] for inciting and leading on a party of Abolitionists to murder in order to free slaves, and as a warning to all others the Governor of Virginia has given him the whole length of the law." Months later, on September 7, 1860, Harrison returned home in the evening following a long day with friends at the state fair in Elizabeth City. Then, she writes, "A torchlight procession came up shortly after from Newark called Wide Awakes [a pro-Lincoln, Republican political organization for young men] otherwise Negro worshippers. A Political Party Presidential Election comes off again in two months and the different Parties are growing somewhat excited." As impressive an understatement as we might imagine, but again--and in fairness to Harrison--it is difficult to comprehend the patterns of history as it is happening. And with a living grandfather who had owned slaves and parents of her own who kept Black children as house servants (whether indentured or not), her attitudes on abolition are fully in keeping with her time and place, but rise above neither.

At 114 manuscript pages and nearly 25,000 words, Carrie Harrison's diary offers a unique glimpse into the life of an affluent young woman in an early suburban landscape. The nation was on the cusp of a rupture from which it still has not healed, but one would have little awareness of that from the events of her daily life in northern New Jersey. In that she is like most of us, most of the time, unaware that history is about to happen until we find it exploding around us.

Relevant sources:

Archer, John
2005 *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690—2000*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

Muller, Peter O.
1977 The Evolution of American Suburbs: A Geographical Interpretation. *Urbanism Past and Present* 4:1-10.

Wittemore, Henry
1896 *The Founders and Builders of the Oranges, Comprising a History of the Outlying District of Newark, Subsequently Known as Orange, and of the Later Internal Divisions, Viz.: South Orange, West Orange, and East Orange, 1666-1896*. L. J. Hardham, Newark, NJ.

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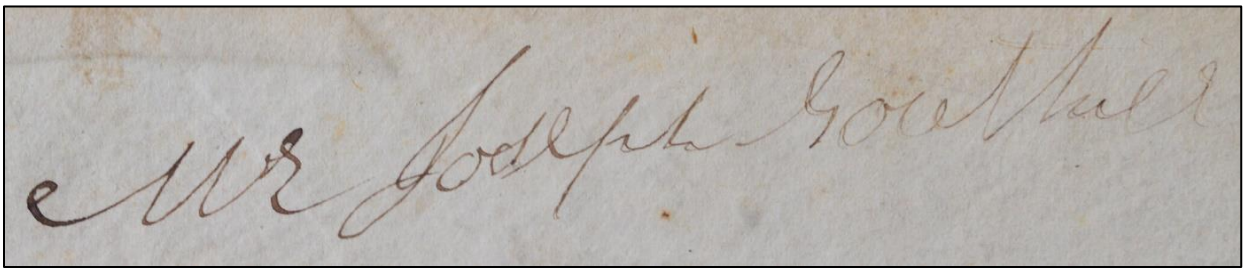
[New Jersey--The Oranges]: Caroline "Carrie" Harrison: [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF CAROLINE "CARRIE" HARRISON, DETAILING HER SUBURBAN SOCIAL LIFE IN THE ORANGES, NEW JERSEY]. [Orange, New Jersey. 1859-1860]. 8vo (20.5 cm). 130 pp., 116 filled with manuscript text in Harrison's hand (about 25,000 words), all in ink and entirely legible. Bright red, limp morocco, edges gilt; lined pages. Light edge wear. Very good.

14. SOLD.

The Store Ledgers of Menominee Merchant and Interpreter Joseph Gauthier

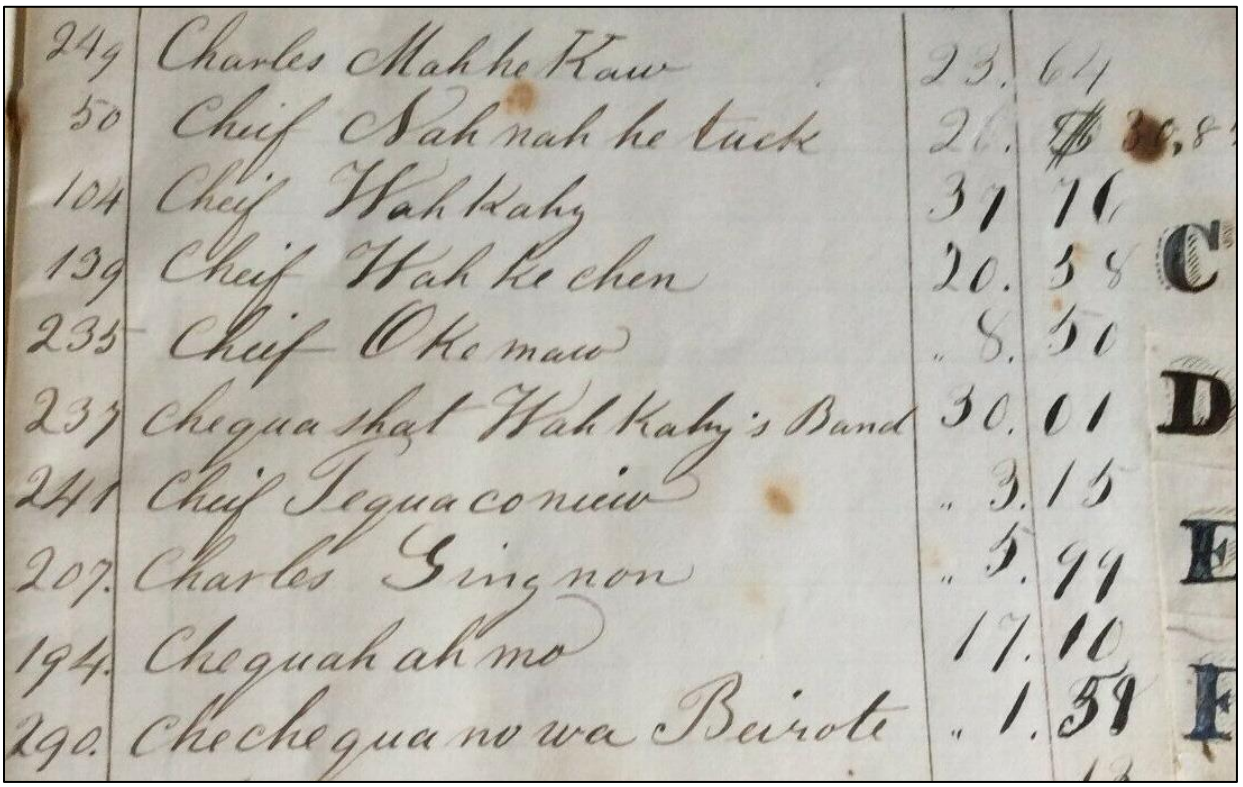
When he died about 1899, Menominee Indian Joseph Gauthier (Mahchickeney) had served his tribe as official interpreter in Wisconsin for nearly four decades, the longest such tenure of any tribal member going back to the mid-18th century. Initially appointed in 1857, Gauthier's term of service was broken only once, near the very beginning of his work for the tribe, when a change in tribal agents saw him removed as interpreter for political reasons in 1860. Undaunted, he partnered with merchant Charles M. Upham of nearby Shawano and established one of the first mercantile stores and trading posts in the Menominee principal town, Keshena, founded several years earlier when the tribe moved to the site of its permanent reservation along Wolf River. Gauthier operated the store until he gained reappointment as tribal interpreter in 1866, a position he would hold for the rest of his life. These four ledgers are all associated with Gauthier's mercantile business, and most of the entries date from 1861 to 1862. Together they contain hundreds of records for dozens of customers, the great majority of whom were tribal members and are listed by their Menominee names. **Although such early and extensive documentation of Native purchasing patterns is rare, the documentation of a Native-owned business is truly extraordinary**.



Joseph Gauthier (Joe Gokie in its Menominee rendering) was born on August 18, 1818, at Rock Island, Illinois. He was nearly a full-blood Menominee; his father was Shaw-nah-quah-hah and his mother Sho-Sha-Quaer, who was herself a daughter of sub-chief Kanote and niece of the head-chief Tomah. Rock Island, his place of birth, is located in northern Illinois where the Rock River empties into the Mississippi, the Menominee having claimed several villages and hunting grounds along the Rock and its tributaries into the 1830s. Gauthier's Menominee father died when he was eight years old, and sometime after his mother married an employee of the American Fur Company named Antoine Gauthier, from whom he took his surname. The frontier schools at Rock Island provided the young Gauthier with a rudimentary education, which he supplemented through his work among U. S. Army officers at Fort Armstrong during the Black Hawk War.

In 1850, Gauthier left Illinois and rejoined the Menominee, who at the time were situated at Poygan Lake just west of present-day Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Two years earlier, the Menominee had signed the Treaty of Lake Poygan, selling all of their remaining lands in Wisconsin (more than 4.5 million acres) to the United States in exchange for about $350,000 and 600,000 acres of land in central Minnesota, to which they were expected to move. Yet Grand Chief Oshkosh and other Menominee leaders asserted that they had signed the treaty under coercion. Oshkosh traveled to Washington, D. C., in August 1850, where he met with President Millard Fillmore and requested that his people be allowed to remain in Wisconsin. Fillmore acquiesced, allowing the Menominee to establish a temporary reservation north of Poygan Lake along the Wolf River. In 1854, the Wolf

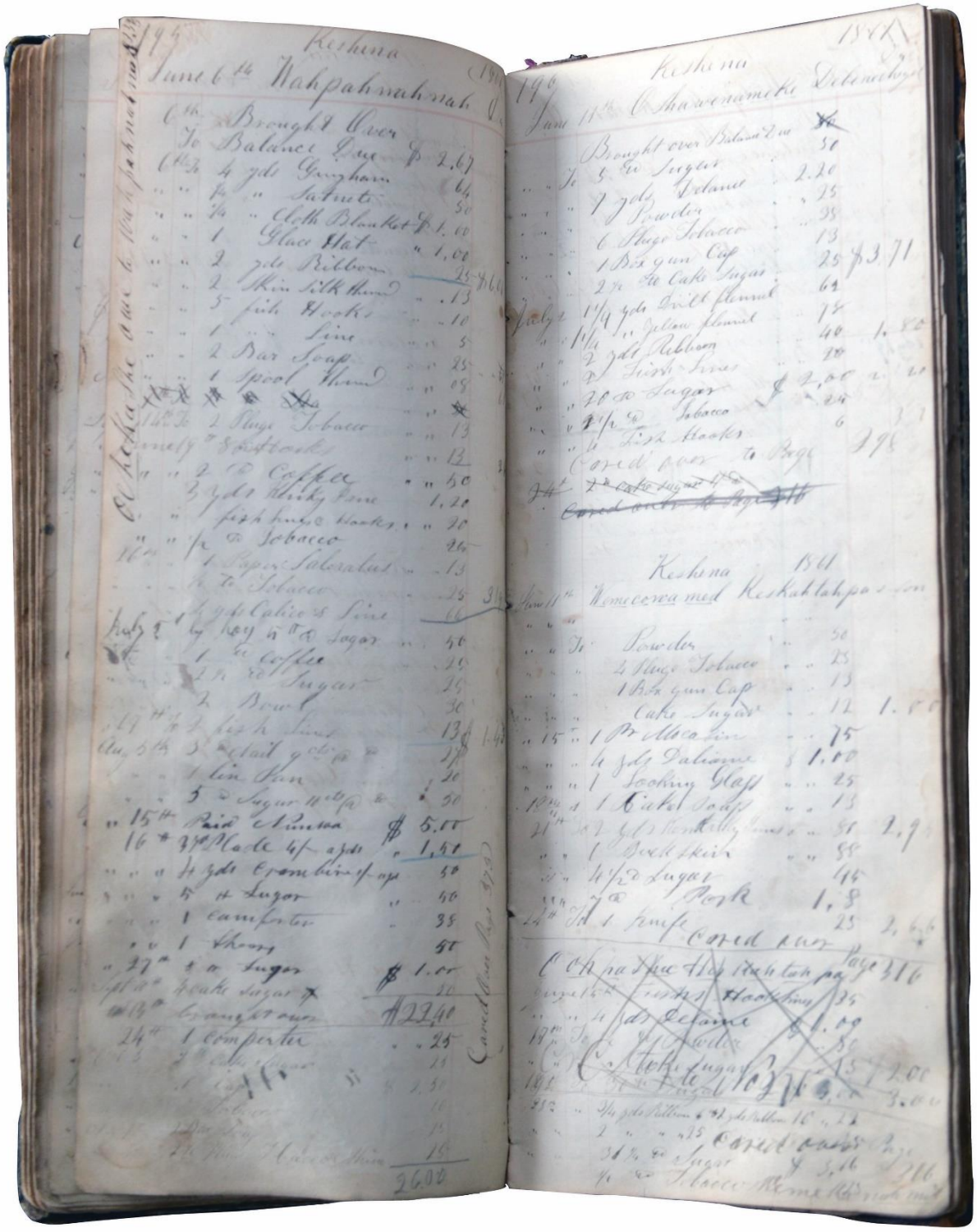

T. MARY'S
RATE SCHOOL.
Joseph Gauthier

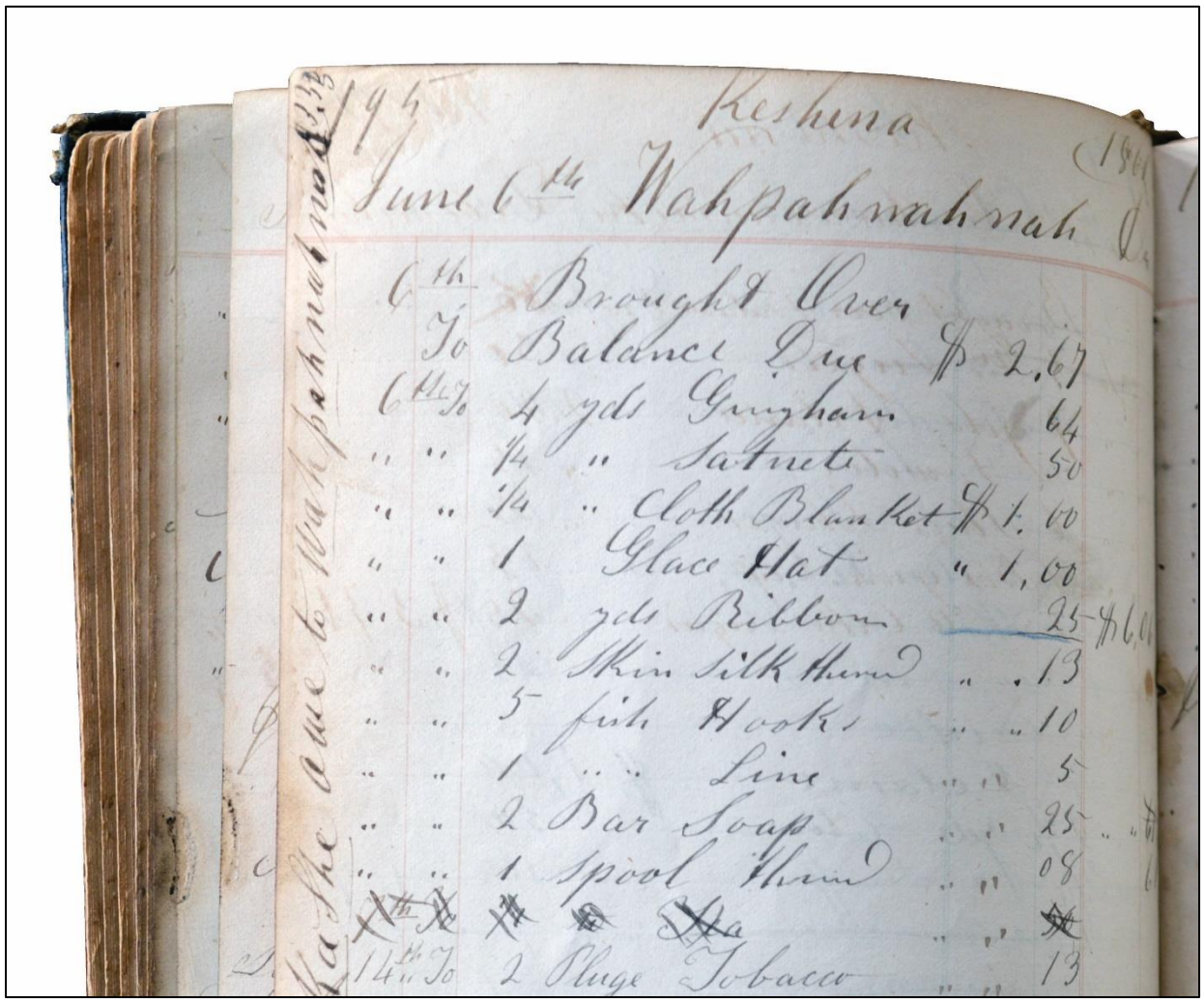


River Treaty made this quarter-million acre reservation permanent. Today it is the largest Indian reservation east of the Mississippi, its principal town and seat of government at Keshena.

Gauthier found work in a government-operated blacksmith shop at Winneconne, near Lake Poygan, just before the Menominee moved in 1852, then was promoted to shop boss shortly after it was reestablished at Keshena. He left five years later, when he received his first appointment as interpreter, but turned to the mercantile trade and a partnership with Charles Upham in 1860 or 1861 following the loss of his tribal position. Upham had established his Shawano general store in 1858, having walked the thirty miles from New London while paying Menominee workers to pole his goods up the Wolf River on barges. His store soon grew to become the largest in northern Wisconsin, and by 1900 he would enjoy political and business relationships throughout the state (his brother, William, served as governor from 1895 to 1897). There is little to suggest that Upham managed the store in Keshena; rather, he likely offered financial support for launching the business and afterward left its everyday operations to Gauthier.

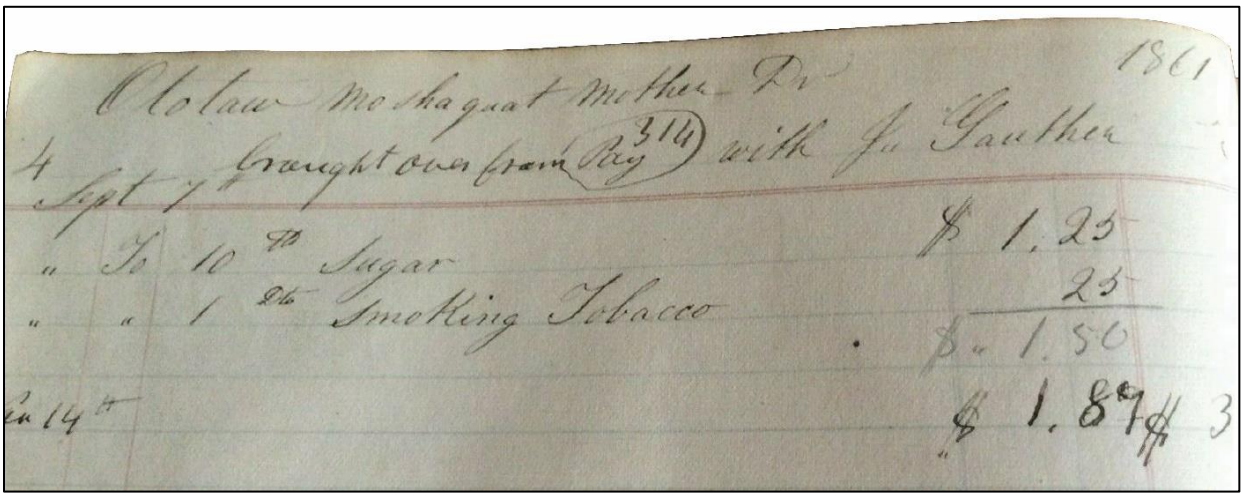
This archive of four manuscript volumes contains hundreds of entries--most of which date to the period from 1861 to 1862--that document detailed purchasing practices for dozens of named Menominee Indians. Among the range of recorded goods are foodstuffs or staples such as sugar and molasses, flour, cranberries, pork, tobacco, coffee, and tea. Merchandise includes household products such as fabrics (calico, gingham, flannel, silk, and denim) and sewing materials (spools of thread, buttons, ribbons, and yarn); goods for hunting and fishing (powder and shot, fish hooks and line); and general items including smoking pipes, looking glasses, blankets, hats, shoes, copper pans, utensils, bowls, and soap. Price and quantity are indicated for each purchase. None of these





four volumes are of the same style or binding, suggesting that Gauthier may have used whatever materials were available for maintaining his records. The archive includes:

> (1) Folio ledger book, 1861-1862. 6 1/4 x 15 in. (16 x 38 cm). [388] pp., all filled. A few early pages with entries from 1859 to 1860, most from March 1861 to mid-1862. First 17 pp. with index of accounts, the great majority with Menominee tribal names. Original quarter calf over drab marbled boards, spine partially detached, binding quite worn and fragile, but interior pages clean and easily legible. Volume used as a day book recording specific purchases by Native customers at Gauthier's store, including lists of items purchased, price, and quantity.
>
> (2) Folio ledger book, 1861-1863. 7 5/8 x 11 3/4 in. (19.5 x 30 cm). [383] pp., [1-334] used as a general ledger for customer accounts, 1861 to 1862, kept in association with daybook (1). [351-383] used as daybook, 1862-1863. Most pages with manuscript records. Original quarter calf over marbled boards, leather scuffed and spine worn, interior pages clean.



(3) Folio ledger book, 1861. 5 5/8 by 12 5/8 in. (14 x 32 cm). [52] pp. on 26 ll., alphabetically tabbed. An alphabetically arranged ledger recording the total debts of all individuals with numbers in the general ledger. Repurposed school teacher's grade and attendance record book. Original green printed wraps, spine and edges chipped, staining to front and back wraps, back wrap torn but intact. Four page tabs lost, page 'R' removed, lower portions of 'V' and 'X' removed. All pages with entries, final pages with draft letters. Wraps signed "Joseph Gautier / Keshena."

(4) Folio ledger book, 1862-1869. 8 1/4 x 12 3/4 in. (21 x 32.5 cm). [385] pp., [1-25] containing daybook entries for 1862 and 1867-1869, with a few scattered entries throughout the remainder of volume. Full reverse calf with tooled boards, spine with four raised bands and black morocco labels, boards and spine scuffed, edge wear. Interior pages clean.

Such an early and extensive record that simultaneously documents the purchasing practices among residents of a Native American reservation and the growth of a Native-owned business is practically unique. The only directly comparable item we can trace at auction is a partial ledger sold by Swann Galleries in 2019 that is also from the mercantile business of Joseph Gauthier. That example, with most entries dating from 1861-1863, is a 256-page ledger with only 169 complete manuscript pages; the remainder were missing, torn, or blank. We are unsure how this relatively damaged or mutilated ledger became separated from the archive that we offer here, but it sold for $4750 in the Swann auction and is now at the Newberry Library. The Swann catalogue suggests that Gauthier's partner, Charles Upham, may have made most of the ledger entries, but we find no evidence that Upham ever spent enough time in Keshena to maintain the day books, and certainly not while operating his own profitable business in Shawano. Rather, as noted, a detailed biography of Gauthier's early life notes that he did obtain some education at Rock Island, "which he improved as he grew older" (Beers & Co. 1895:90). Given this account and his long work as interpreter for both the Menominee tribe and its tribal court, we see no reason to doubt that Gauthier was literate and possessed (at least) the basic skills required to manage his business accounts. His subsequent success in the 1880s as a middleman between Menominee loggers and non-Indian merchants is also strong evidence of his business acumen and capabilities (Hosmer 1999).

We have located a handful of comparable records in institutional collections--including an 1870 account ledger from the general store operated by Choctaw principal chief Wilson N. Jones in Cade, Indian Territory, held by the University of Oklahoma--but all such material is excessively rare. The Joseph Gauthier archive thus offers a singular opportunity to explore the development of retail commerce in a mid-19th century, Native American community, together with a rich source of linguistic information on dozens of Menominee personal names. **As a collection, it is worthy of detailed and careful attention from scholars**.

Relevant sources:

Beck, David
2002 *Siege and Survival: History of the Menominee Indians, 1634-1856*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
2005 *The Struggle for Self-Determination: History of the Menominee Indians Since 1854*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
Beers, J. H. & Company, compilers
1895 *Commemorative Biographical Record of the Upper Wisconsin Counties of Waupaca, Portage, Wood, Marathon, Lincoln, Oneida, Vilas, Langlade, and Shawano*. J. H. Beers & Co., Chicago.
Hosmer, Brian C.
1999 *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation Among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870-1920*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.

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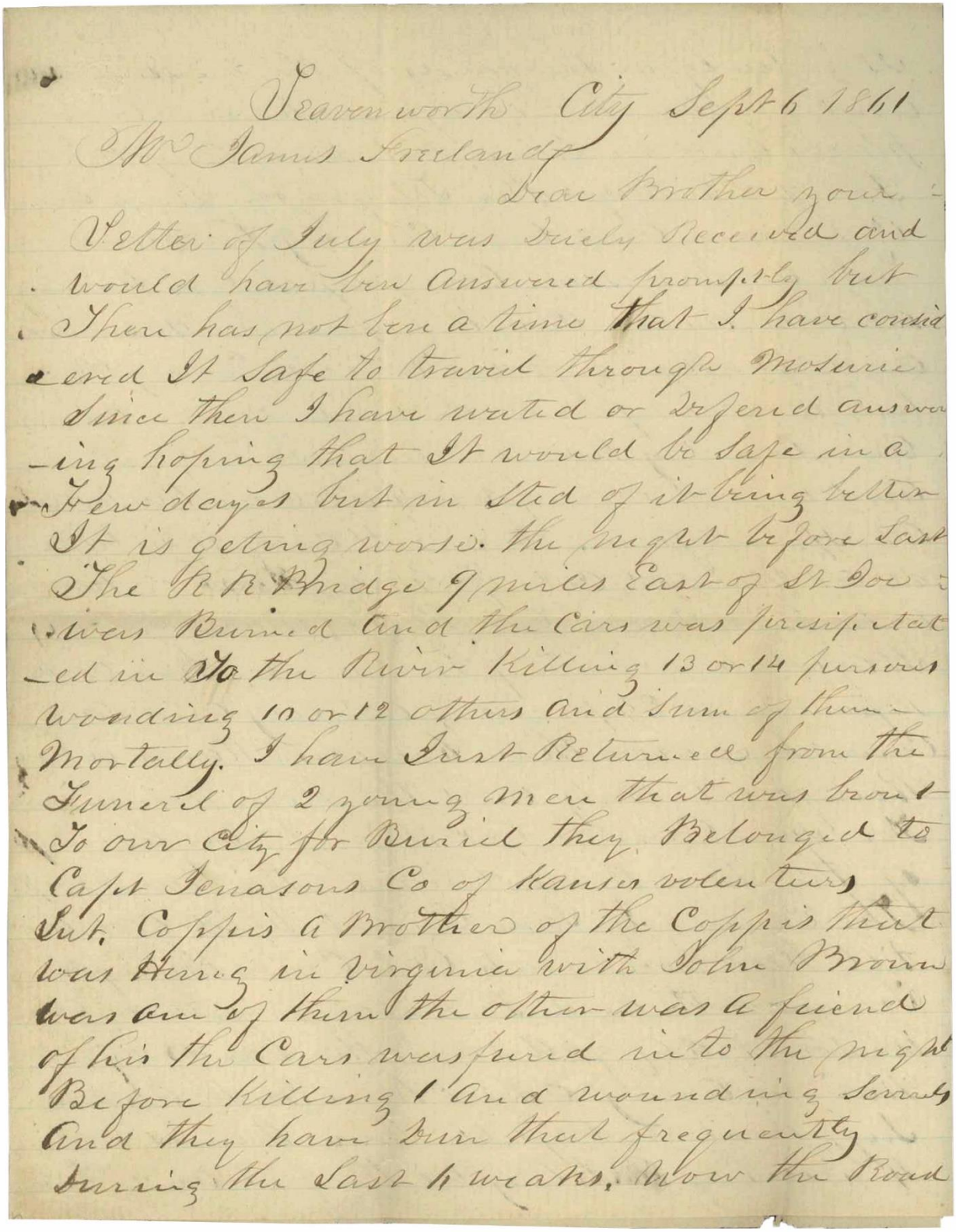
[Wisconsin--Menominee Indians]: Joseph Gauthier: [FOUR MANUSCRIPT LEDGERS FROM THE KENOSHA, WISCONSIN, GENERAL STORE OF MENOMINEE INTERPRETER AND MERCHANT JOSEPH GAUTHIER]. Keshena, Wisconsin, most entries from 1861-1863. Four volumes, different sizes, approximately 1200 pp., total (about 850 used). Two bound in 1/4 calf over marbled boards, one in full reverse calf, and one in printed wraps. All with moderate to heavy wear and scuffing to spine, boards, and wraps, as described above. Interior pages generally clean with scattered spotting and foxing. Overall good to very good

15. SOLD.

The Platte River Bridge Tragedy: An Early Report from Leavenworth

The question of whether Kansas would enter the Union as slave state or free exposed once and for all the incommensorability of two Americas, each with a violently different understanding of personhood and liberty. Bleeding Kansas earned its name during the five years prior to the Civil War, from John Brown's massacre of five pro-slavery settlers at Pottawatomie in May 1856 to the capture and shooting of eleven Free-Staters by Charles Hamilton's gang near Trading Post exactly two years later in May 1858. After war engulfed the nation, the conflict in Kansas and neighboring Missouri witnessed some of the most brutal and intense fighting anywhere in either the eastern or western theaters. Much of the violence was perpetrated by bands of guerrillas operating outside the conventional rules of warfare, both pro-Union Free-Staters from Kansas and pro-Confederacy Border Ruffians or Bushwhackers from Missouri. Among the most vicious of these atrocities took place on the night of September 3, 1861, when Bushwhackers attacked a Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad bridge over the Platte River near St. Joseph, derailing a passenger train carrying civilians and Federal soldiers bound for Fort Leavenworth. **This letter, written from Leavenworth City just three days later, provides an early notice of the attack and offers a first-hand glimpse of conditions in this pro-Union town less than a year into the war.**

Missouri was a slave state until the passage of the 13th Amendment, yet like Kentucky it never formally seceded from the Union. Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson was a vocal Confederate sympathizer, however, and in the early months of the conflict he sought to throw Missouri over to the southern cause. When Union General Nathaniel Lyon captured the capitol of Jefferson City in July, Jackson and his pro-slavery allies fled to Neosho in the southwest corner of the state, where they briefly organized a government-in-exile before moving deeper into the Confederacy. Despite several subsequent attempts by the pro-secession Missouri State Guard to retake the state, Missouri was to remain in Union control for the duration of the war.



Leavenworth City Sept 6 1861

Mr James Freeland

Dear Brother your
Letter of July was duely Received and
would have ben answered promptly but
There has not ben a time that I have consid
ered it Safe to travil through Missouri
Since then I have waited or Expected answer
ing hoping that It would be Safe in a
Few days but instead of it being better
It is getting worse. the night before last
The R R Bridge 9 miles East of St Jos
was Burned and the Cars was precipitat
ed in To the River killing 13 or 14 persons
wounding 10 or 12 others and Some of them
Mortally. I have Just Returned from the
Funeral of 2 young men that was brought
To our City for Burial they Belonged to
Capt Jenasons Co of Kansas volenteers
Lut. Coppis a Brother of the Coppis that
was Hung in Virginia with John Brown
was one of them the other was a friend
of his the Cars was fired into the night
Before killing 1 and wounding Several
And they have been that frequently
During the last 6 weeks. Now the Road

The Bushwhacker's targeting of the Platte River Bridge in September 1861 occurred during a brief moment when this outcome was yet uncertain, when momentum was rapidly building with pro-Confederate forces under General Sterling Price of the State Guard. Price's militia delivered a stunning defeat to northern troops on August 10 at the Battle of Wilson's Creek (where Lyon became the first Union general killed in the Civil War), then advanced toward the Union battalion at Lexington. Price knew that Union soldiers routinely passed through the state by railroad, bound for Leavenworth and other Federal garrisons in Kansas, so he set his militia sabateurs to attacking rail lines in northwestern Missouri. Expecting a regiment of Federal troops aboard a westbound Hannbal and St. Joseph express train on September 3, a party of Bushwhackers burned the lower timbers of the railroad's Platte River Bridge, 30 feet high and reaching 160 feet across the shallow stream. Its upper trestles untouched, the bridge seemed intact to the engine's unsuspecting crew as they approached at 11:15 p.m. The train, not slowing, started onto the bridge, causing its lower timbers to shatter and collapse. The entire train--engine, mail car, baggage car, freight cars, and two passenger cars--plummeted into the river.

That night there were only a few troops among the civilian passengers, more than a hundred men, women, and children. Twelve passengers died in the crash, along with most of the crew--the conductor, engineer, fireman, and two breakmen. Among the dead was Barclay Coppack, once a member of John Brown's army who had become a Union recruiter. Dozens of passengers were injured, some of whom died after the wreck. Silas Gordon, the Bushwhacker who likely directed the attack, went south with his followers to Platte City. Union General David Hunter, stationed at Fort Leavenworth, ordered Platte County to surrender Gordon or face consequences for harboring the fugitive. On December 16, when the city's residents refused to comply, Federal troops burned it to the ground. Gordon was never apprehended.

This letter, written in Leavenworth City on September 6, offers an early report of the Platte River Bridge attack. Its author, William Freeland, ran a Leavenworth hotel in the 1850s but was operating a livery stable on Shawnee Street by the 1860s. In 1861 he was listed as commanding a company of Leavenworth soldiers called the Lincoln Rangers, but it is unclear whether he or the company saw combat; in 1864 he was elected to the Kansas State House. The letter is addressed to his brother, Col. James Freeland of Millersburg, Pennsylvania. Freeland writes of worsening conditions in Kansas and Missouri, coming immediately to the Platte River attack:

> the night before last the RR Bridge 9 miles east of St. Jo was burned and the cars was presipitated in to the river killing 13 or 14 persons wounding 10 or 12 others and sum of them mortally. I have just returned from the funeral of 2 young men that was brout to our city for burial they belongs to Capt. Tenason's Co of Kansas Volunteers[.] Lt. Coppis [i.e., Coppack] a brother of the Coppis that was hung in Virginia with John Brown was one of them[.] the other was a friend of his[.] The cars was fired in to the night before[,] killing and wounding severly and they have dun that frequently during the last weaks. Now the road is intirely in the hands of the Sesessions and the track torn up in a number of places and we have not had any mail for 4 or 5 days[.] The telegraph lines are cut down and our country threatened with an invasion[.]

Freeland goes on to describe Leavenworth's preparations for war:

> Our people are arming as well as we can to repel the Mosurians and looking or an attack every hour[.] We have but few men and fewer arms. Our county has been draned to go south and a good many was killed at the battle at Springfield [i.e., Wilson's Creek]. James H. Lane is intrenched at Mound City 90 miles south of here with 3000 men [Lane's Jayhawker Brigade.] Gen Rains (se sesh general) is upon him with 7 thousand men and reportedly 24 pieces of artillery and Lane cannot have more than 6 pieces[.] Rains [General James H. Rains of the Missouri State Guard] is being reinforced daily and the reinforcements for Lane cannot get through on account of the Rail Road being in the hands of the enemy[.] If Lane cannot hold out until reinforcements can cum through Leavenworth and Fort Leavenworth will undoubtedly fall in to the hands of Rainses army as we have not arms sufficient to repell them[.] there is but 4 pieces of artillery at the fort and but one piece here and not over 6 or 8 hundred guns in both places[.]....We could raise raise 4 or 5 thousand men in this and the ajoining countys for the amergency but anfortunately we have not got the armes to arm them[.] We are organizing and training day & night.

As it happens, Lane's cavalry had surprised Rains and his militia at Dry Wood Creek a day before Freeland's letter, and despite being badly outnumbered, the Jayhawkers had held their own before withdrawing to Fort Scott. And in late September General John C. Frémont marched across Missouri with 38,000 Federal troops, driving Price and his State Guard from Missouri. For a brief period, though, it seemed entirely possible that Missouri and perhaps even Kansas itself would fall to pro-Confederate forces. **An early and important account of the Civil War in the West, when Union superiority in Kansas and Missouri was far from settled**.

Relevant sources:

Fellman, Michael
1989 *Inside War: The Guerilla Conflict in Missouri during the Civil War*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Gerteis, Louis S.
2012 *The Civil War in Missouri: A Military History*. University of Missouri Press, Columbia.
Goodrich, Thomas
1999 *Black Flag: Guerrilla Warfare on the Western Border, 1861-1865*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

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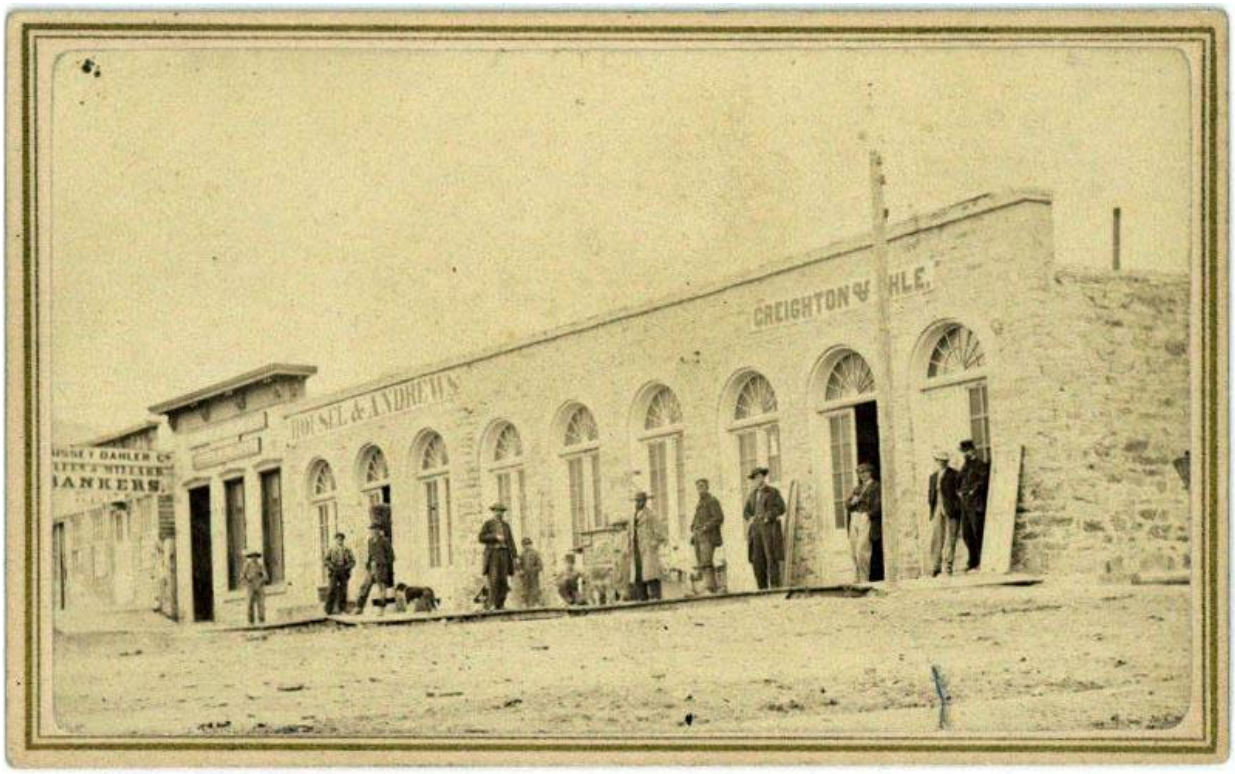
[Kansas and Missouri--Civil War]: William Freeland: [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED BY WILLIAM FREELAND DISCUSSING THE PLATTE RIVER BRIDGE TRAGEDY AND WAR PREPARATIONS IN LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS]. Leavenworth City, Kansas, September 6, 1861. [4] pp. (about 750 words), on a single folded sheet. Old folds, light edge wear, paper lightly tanned; with stamped and postmarked cover. Overall very good.

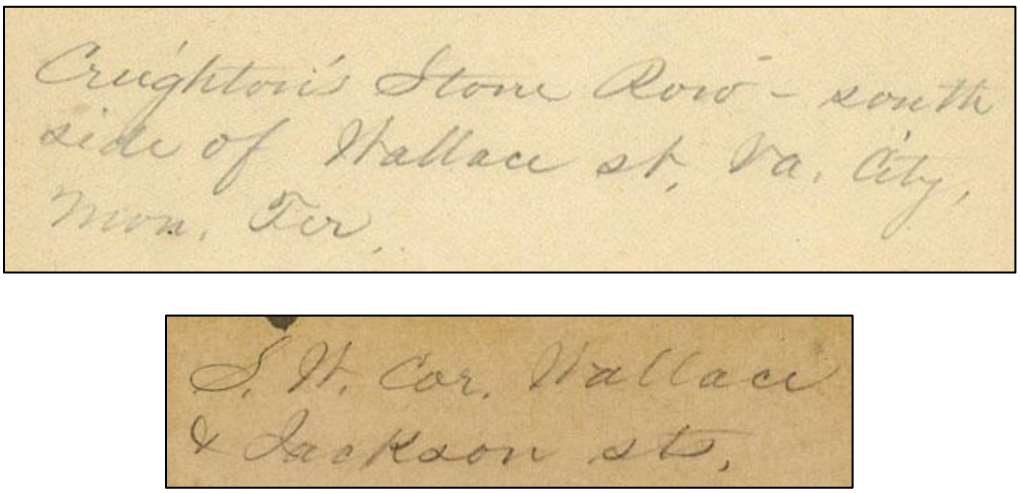
16. SOLD.

Creighton's Stone Block, Virginia City, and Montana's First Telegraph Line

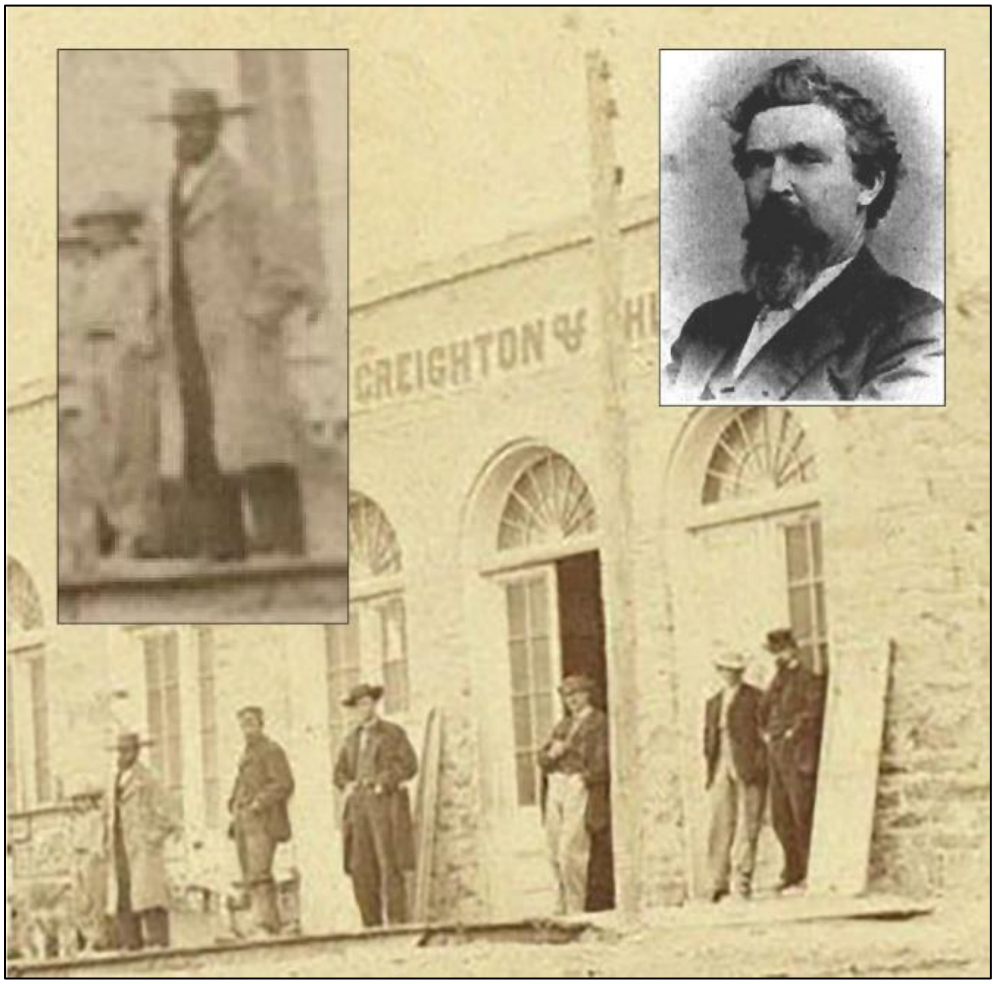
Virginia City, Montana, was one of the great boom towns of the American West. Founded as Varina on June 16, 1863, the townsite was placed a mile south of the gold strike made on Alder Creek the previous month. The name Varina--in honor of Jefferson Davis's wife--was rejected by a Connecticut judge with no taste for the prospectors' southern sympathies. Instead he recorded the townsite as Virginia City, and within weeks it was home to thousands of miners and fortune seekers who seem to have cared little one way or the other. Montana did not yet exist; the place was still a part of the remote and sprawling Idaho Territory. But Montana gained territorial status in 1864, its first capitol at Bannock. The following year the capitol moved to Virginia City, where it remained for a decade. **This rare and early image, taken by photographer A. C. Carter in 1866 or 1867, captures two important firsts: the city's first quarried stone structure; and the telegraph pole that shared the territory's first wired message with the outside world**. Both reflect the labors of two remarkable men, brothers Edward and John Creighton.



The Creightons, Edward (1820-1874) and John (1831-1907), were born the fifth and ninth children, respectively, of Irish immigrants James and Bridget Hughes Creighton, who raised their large family in Licking County, Ohio. At the age of 20, Edward contracted to build a stage road from Wheeling, Virginia, to Springfield, Ohio, and although he completed several more contracts over the next few years, he soon grew interested in the new business of telegraph lines. Edward moved to Omaha, Nebraska, in 1857, winning contracts to set lines from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and to Omaha. About 1858 he became associated with the Western Union Company, and from November 1860 to October 1861, he and his crews surveyed the entire line of



Annotation on verso of Creighton Stone Block CDV (top) and from verso of A. C. Carter CDV sold at Heritage Auctions in 2017



Portrait of John Andrew Creighton (upper right), ca. 1870

the first transcontinental telegraph from Omaha to Sacramento. Edward dug the hole for the very first post on July 2, 1861, and he was present for the completion of the line at Salt Lake City on October 24. In all, they had planted 27,500 poles and strung 2000 miles of iron wire. From here Edward turned his attention to railroads and banking, his acumen for which would make him one of the most successful businessmen in Omaha.

John, meanwhile, had joined Edward in Nebraska in 1856 and worked as a superintendent during construction of the transcontinental telegraph. After the line was complete, he rounded up all of the stray cattle from the workmen's camps and used his profits from their sale to buy a wagon train of merchandise that he sold to Brigham Young for $20,000. With this capitol, he purchased 35 wagons filled with goods and headed north to Virginia City, where he opened a store supplying the swarms of miners and prospectors drawn to the gold strikes on Alder Creek. In 1864, shortly after his arrival, he paid Joseph Griffith and William Thompson to build a permanent block for his mercantile store. Made of local stone quarried by Griffith and Thompson themselves, Creighton's Stone Block was a three-part, Romanesque-style row featuring nine semicircular arches, each with a pair of French doors. Its impressive appearance mirrored John's own success.

In short time John Creighton was among the most prominent citizens of Virginia City. He was an early member of the famous Vigilance Committee that tasked itself with bringing justice and order to the lawless frontier, and he was appointed colonel in the volunteer militia organized by Acting Governor Thomas Meagher when it seemed that an Indian war was imminent. Then, in 1866, he commenced the work that guaranteed his place in Montana's history. Montana Territory was among the most isolated parts of the American West in the mid-1860s. It was more than 1200 miles from the nearest railroad, and there were no telegraph lines linking its larger towns--Virginia City, Helena, and Bannock--to the outside world. John and Edward set about to end this. They obtained a contract with Western Union and on July 17 began laying out a telegraph line from Salt Lake City to Virginia City. By the end of October the line was complete, with the final post planted on Creighton's Stone Block at the corner of Wallace and Van Buren streets. On October 27 the machine itself was installed in the store that John shared with his partner, Charles Ohle. Six days later, on November 2, Edward sent the first telegraph message from Salt Lake to Governor Green Clay Smith in Virginia City, inviting him to write President Johnson back east. Smith did so, but sent his second message to John Creighton, then in Utah with Edward: "We with pleasure hail the completion of your telegraph to this place and by this invite you to an entertainment to be given by your friends of this city, on your return here, as a slight compliment for the extraordinary energy which you have exhibited in the work" (Blake 1904:260-261). John sent a gracious reply, adding that "If I live, I will be there" (Blake 1904:261).

This carte-de-visite is an early image of Creighton's Stone Block, with the famed telegraph pole--its three glass insulators clearly visible--positioned at the corner of the structure. There is no imprint on the verso, but the handwriting of a manuscript annotation reading "Creighton's Stone Row—south side of Wallace St. Va. City, Mon. Ter." is a precise match for the annotations from a contemporaneous CDV with the stamp of A. C. Carter's Montana Picture Gallery, located on Jackson Street in Virginia City. Carter was practicing in Virginia City by at least as early as 1864 and maintained a photographic gallery there until April 1868. A group of men and boys mill about the storefronts, and we suspect that the man in the center of the image, sporting a thick black beard and wearing a long grey overcoat, suit, and broad-brimmed hat, is none other than John Creighton

himself. Creighton was known for his beard. According to Boro and Read, he had observed while surveying and freighting that "the smooth-faced Indians seemed to respect and be a little in awe of the white man who had a long beard, so he decided to grow one for himself. It was reported that the Indians came to regard him as a mystic" (1991:27). The image shows good contrast and light tonality, with excellent detail; its condition is fine. Three comparable and contemporaneous CDVs have appeared at Heritage Auctions, two in 2007 (both with the stamp of A. C. Carter) and one in 2020. These images sold for prices between $2600 and $3100. **We trace no other comparable examples at auction or in the history of the trade**.

John Creighton would leave Virginia City and return to Omaha in early 1868, where he wed Sarah Wareham--younger sister of Edward's wife, Mary--in June. Together, the Creightons continued to expand their business interests from grocery and mercantile sales to banking, stock raising, and freighting, each brother acquiring a considerable fortune. They were already among Omaha's most generous philanthropists when Edward died unexpectedly of a stroke at the age of 54 in 1874. Mary endowed a college in his honor, now Creighton University, but followed Edward in death just two years later. Sarah died in 1888, after a long struggle with arthritis; she was only 47. Such losses may have turned John's thoughts to the health sciences, for in 1892 he endowed the Creighton University School of Medicine. He died in Omaha on February 7, 1907, at the age of 76. And the Creighton Stone Block, now fully restored, anchors Virginia City's modern historic district. **A rare view of Virginia City at the height of its gold rush boom**.

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1999 More than the Glory: Preserving the Gold Rush and Its Outcome at Virginia City. *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 49(3): 64-75.

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1962 *Gold Camp: Alder Gulch and Virginia City, Montana*. Hastings House, New York.

Blake, Henry N.
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Boro, Carolyn J., and Beverley T. Mead
1991 *A Century of Teaching and Healing, 1892-1992: The First One Hundred years of the Creighton University School of Medicine*. Creighton University, Omaha, NE.

Palmquist, Peter E. and Thomas R. Kailbourn
2005 *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.

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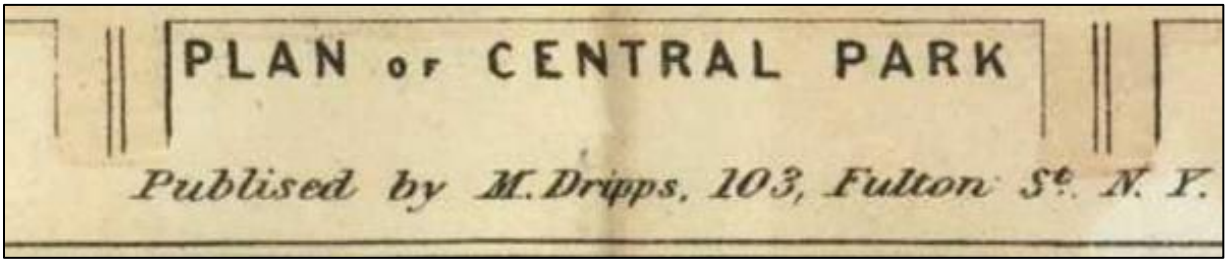
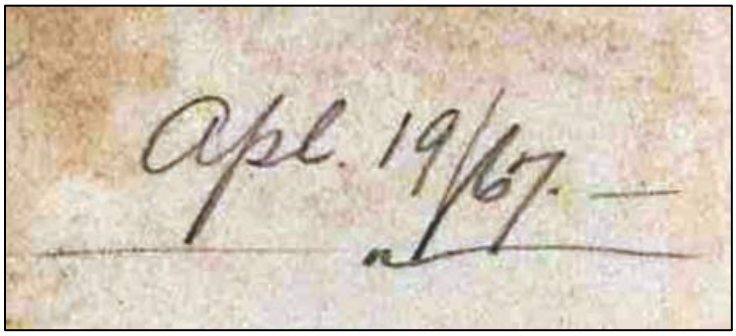
[Montana--Virginia City]: [CARTE-DE-VISITE PHOTOGRAPH OF CREIGHTON'S STONE BLOCK, VIRGINIA CITY, MONTANA, LIKELY BY A. C. CARTER]. [N.p., n.d., but Virginia City, Montana, 1866-1867]. Mounted albumen photograph, 2 1/2 x 4 in. (6.5 x 10 cm). Annotated in pencil on verso by A. C. Carter. Fine.

17. SOLD.

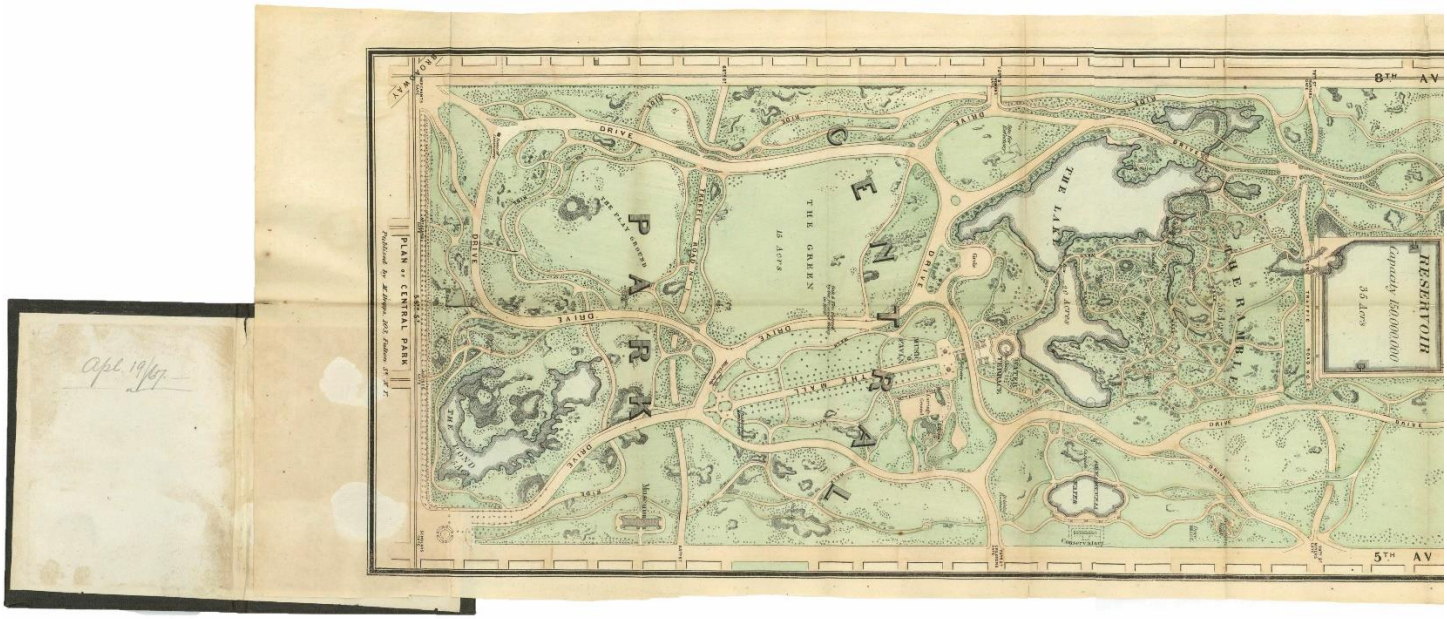
Dripps's Rare Plan of Central Park, in Original Cloth Covers

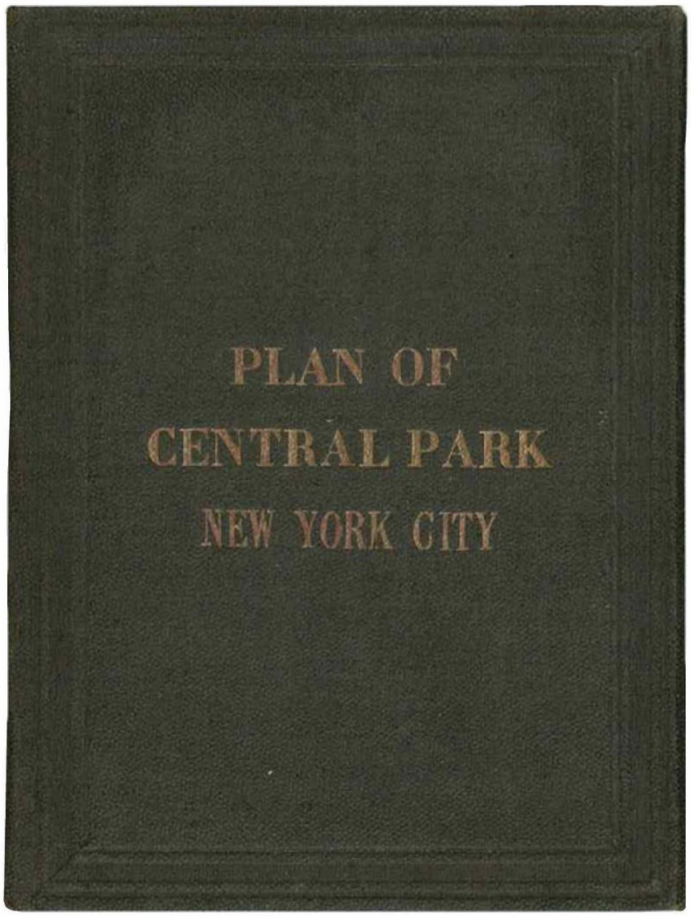
Central Park was not yet a decade old when publisher Matthew Dripps produced this rare and beautifully detailed, hand colored plan map of its roads, buildings, reservoirs, vegetation, and open spaces. Preparations for the park were underway by August 1857, when immigrant European workers--mostly Irish, German, and Italian--began to level, clear, and drain the landscape. Yet not until April 1858 did the Central Park Commission select a winner from among the more than thirty proposals submitted for its design contest, the "Greensward" plan famously offered by landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead and his partner, Calvert Vaux. Although construction continued during the Civil War, much of Olmstead's vision was delayed by the conflict, even as completed areas of the park grew increasingly popular. In 1867, the year Dripps published this map, Central Park was a destination for three million pedestrians, 85,000 horses, and nearly 1.4 million different vehicles. **The plan itself, just over three feet long and in original cloth covers, is an appealing production and quite uncommon: we locate only three institutional copies**.

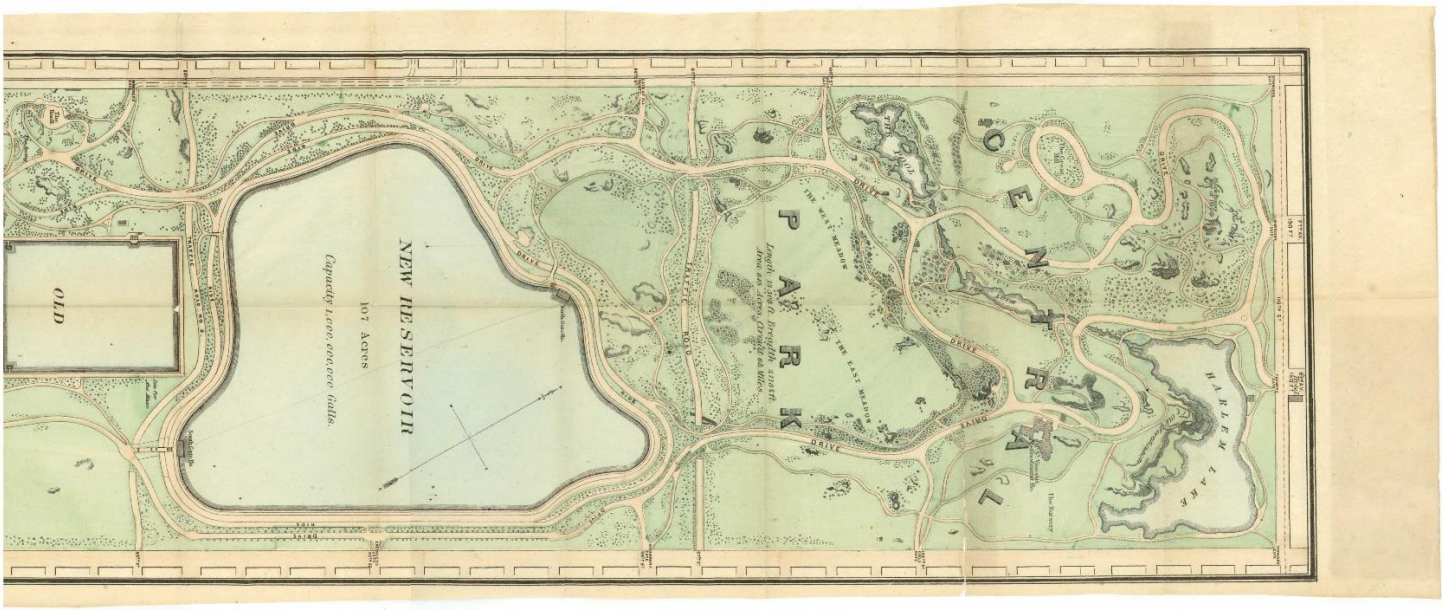


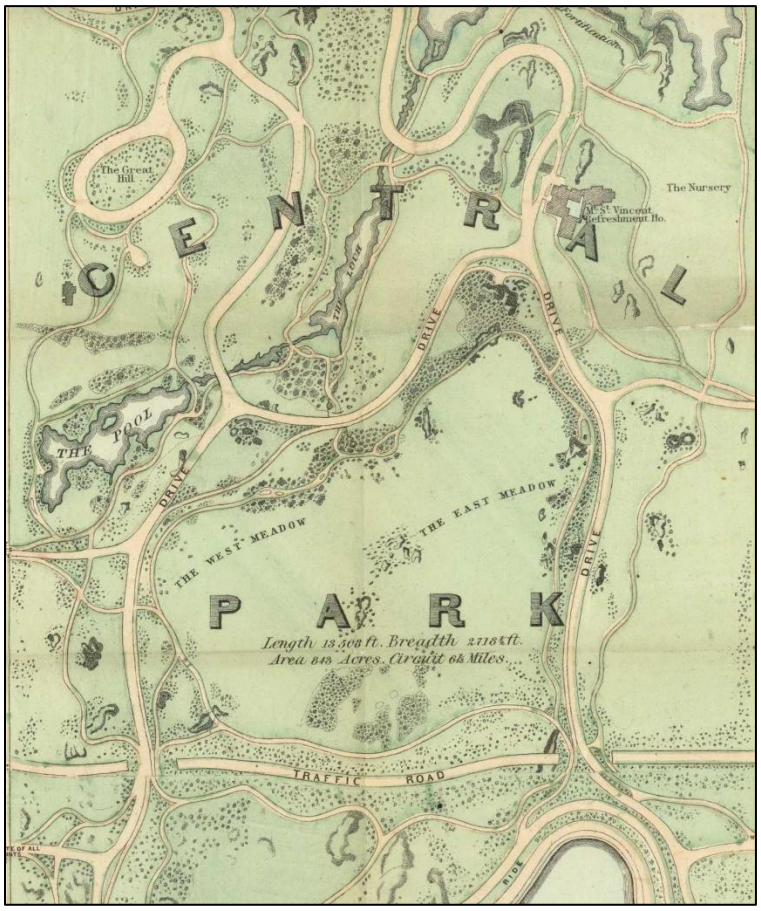


The idea for a large public park in Manhattan dates to at least as early as the 1840s. New York's population was exploding, and as urban development pushed rapidly north from the lower island there were few outdoor spaces--apart from cemeteries--designated for recreation. By 1850 a general consensus had emerged among the city's social, business, and administrative elites that such a space was essential for the city's future growth. Several areas were considered, including a 160-acre block of farmland on the Upper East Site known as Jones's Wood, before the Common Council's Committee on Lands chose a much larger 750-acre space already referred to as "Central Park" and bounded on the south and north by 59th and 106th streets, respectively, and on the east and west by Fifth and Eighth avenues. The area was not unoccupied, having been settled decades earlier by more than 1500 people, most of whom were poor Irish and African American residents living in communities such as Seneca Village and Pigtown. Newspaper editorials denigrated the


Apl 19/67
PLAN OF CENTRAL PARK
CENTRAL PARK
THE GREEN
THE LAKE
RESERVOIR
8TH AV
5TH AV
DRIVE


PLAN OF
CENTRAL PARK
NEW YORK CITY


OLD
NEW RESERVOIR
107 Acres
Capacity 1,000,000,000 Gallons
PARK
CENTRAL
HARLEM LANE
DRIVE


The Great Hill
The Nursery
St. Vincent Refreshment Ho.
CENTRAL
DRIVE
THE POOL
THE WEST MEADOW
THE EAST MEADOW
PARK
Length 13,360 ft. Breadth 2,110 ft.
Area 843 Acres. Circuit 6¾ Miles.
TRAFFIC ROAD
RIDE

villagers as squatters and thieves, and all were forcibly evicted in October 1857 as clearing and earth moving operations gathered steam. Transforming the rocky, swampy ground into the scenic vistas and manicured landscapes we experience today would require an astounding investment of resources and energy. According to Rosenzweig and Blackmar:

> In the first five years, laborers excavated, moved, or brought into the park nearly 2.5 million yards of stone and earth—enough to raise the level of a football field eighty stories. With pickaxes, hammers, shovels, and 166 tons of gunpowder...they cut through more than 300,000 cubic yards of gneiss rock veined with granite...Contractors supplied 6 million bricks, 35,000 barrels of cement, 65,000 cubic yards of gravel, and 19,000 cubic yards of sand. Gardeners fertilized the ground with more than 40,000 cubic yards of manure and compost and planted 270,000 trees and shrubs [1992:150].

Irish immigrant Matthew Dripps was among New York City's most successful and prolific mapmakers during the second half of the 19th century. He arrived at Philadelphia from Belfast in 1849 and soon began producing maps, then moved to Brooklyn less than a year later. This was Dripps's only separately issued plan of Central Park, with a penciled date on the front pastedown of "Apl. 19/67." Measuring 38 by 8 3/4 inches, it folds into a 5 by 3 1/2 pocket case. Its attractive color scheme, applied by hand, includes pink for roads, pale green for open spaces, darker green for vegetation, and pale blue for bodies of water. It identifies dozens of significant features (from south to north) such as The Playground, The Green, The Mall, The Ramble, both the Old Reservoir and the New Reservoir, and Harlem Lake. **We locate but three institutional copies, at Columbia University, the Brooklyn Historical Society, and Wesleyan University**. Today Central Park is the most visited urban park in the United States and the most filmed location in the world. Dripps's plan map offers an early and significant record of its development in the years just after the Civil War, when Olmstead's final vision of its form was nearing completion.

Relevant sources:

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Kinkead, Eugene
1990 *Central Park, 1857-1995. The Birth, Decline, and Renewal of a National Treasure*. W. W. Norton & Co., New York.
Rosenzweig, Roy, and Elizabeth Blackmar
1992 *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park*. Cornall University Press, Ithaca, NY.

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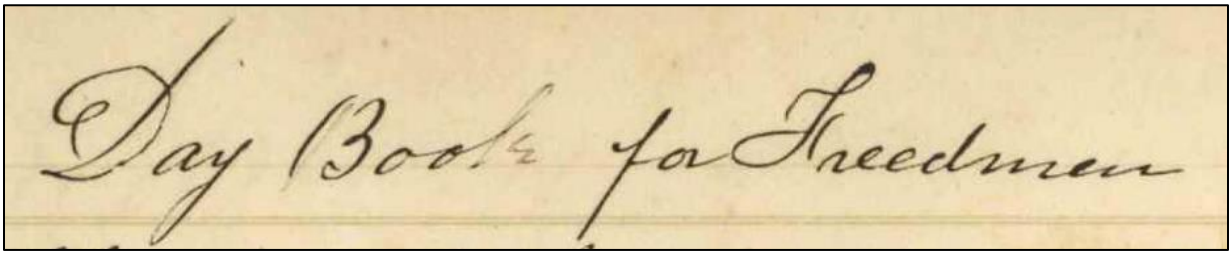
[New York City--Central Park]: PLAN OF CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK CITY. Publised [sic] by M. Dripps. 103, Fulton St., N. Y. N.d., but penciled notation on front pastedown reads April 19, 1867. 24mo, original pebble cloth, gilt title on cover, light toning. Very good.

18. SOLD.

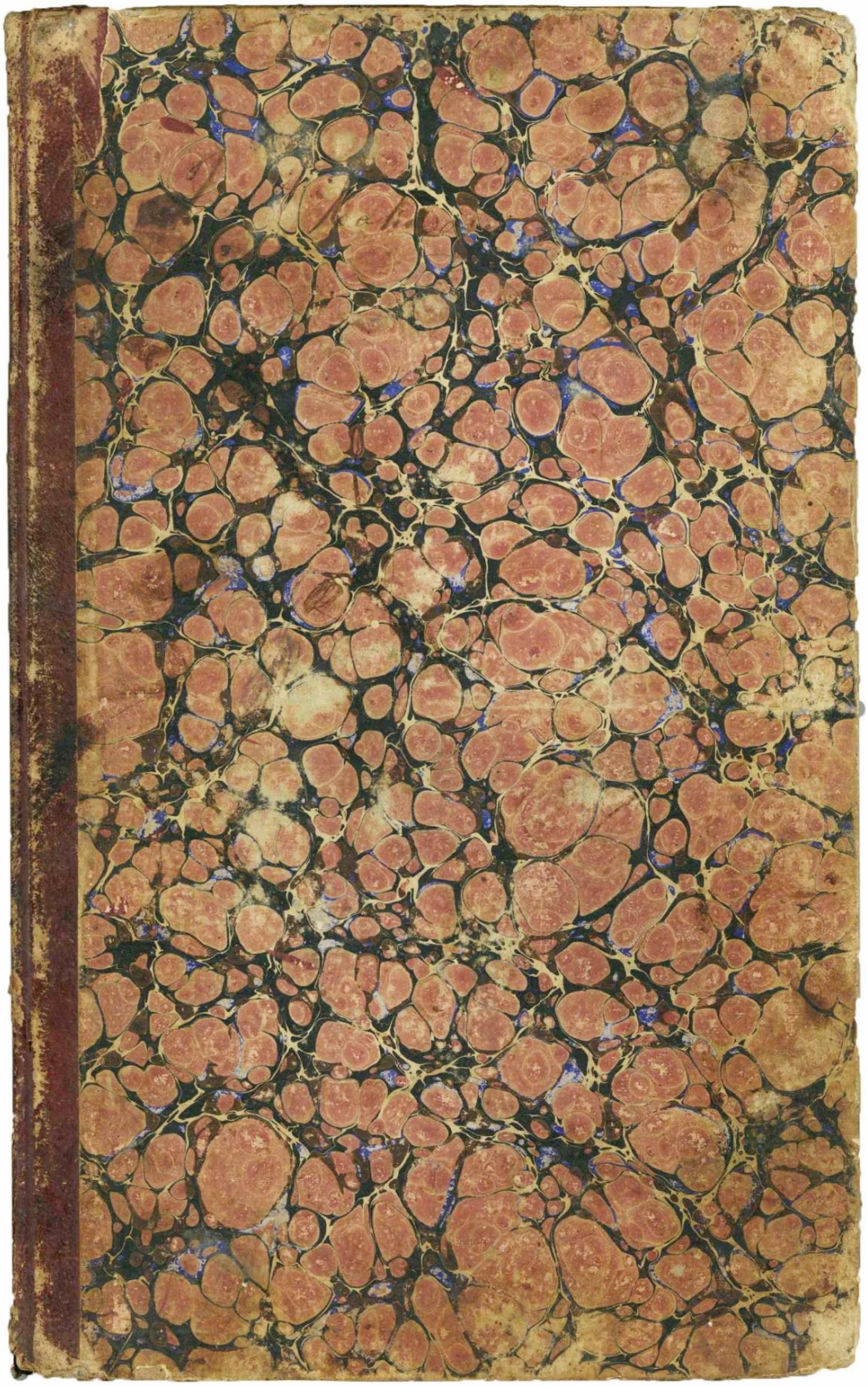
Black Patrons of a South Carolina General Store During Reconstruction

After the Thirteenth Amendment freed all African Americans from bondage, the dominant economic system across the states of the former Confederacy shifted rapidly from slave labor to wage labor. Black southerners, in theory, could enjoy the right to own land, to negotiate contracts for work they accomplished, to break those contracts, and to earn a wage for their work. No longer bound to a single farm or plantation, Black laborers could move as they wished to any place that offered better wages and opportunities, the pathways to self-determination. But over the decade of Reconstruction, from 1867 to 1877, such pathways gradually eroded under the combined forces of poverty, landlessness, and debt, as wage labor gave way to tenancy and sharecropping. In many ways, the economic system of the late 19th-century South shared more in common with the slave economy of the antebellum years than with any system of free wage labor theorized by northern economists. This day book--kept at a mercantile store in Abbeville County, South Carolina, during the mid-1870s--exclusively records the accounts of African American customers, both men and women, offering detailed lists of goods purchased by cash and on credit, as well as payments made and interests accrued. **Itself a segregated document, it illustrates all too vividly the burden of indebtedness that tethered Black families to an emerging Jim Crow economy**.



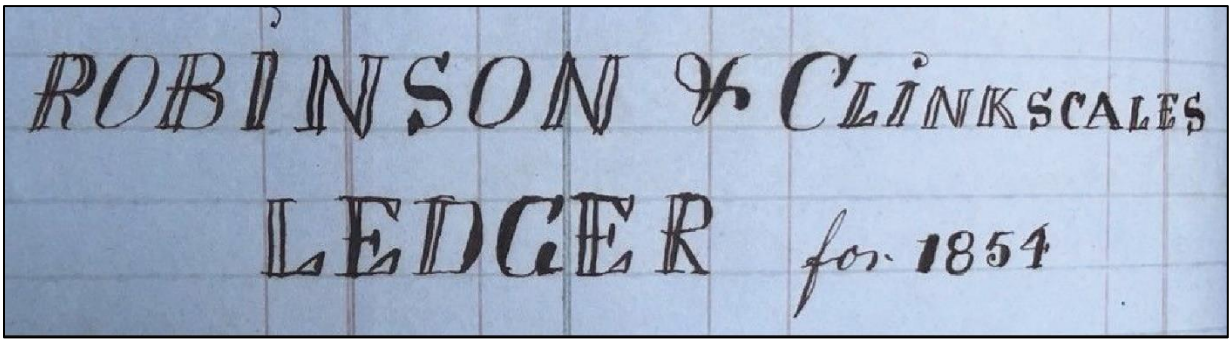
Abbeville County is located along the Savannah River, in the northwestern corner of South Carolina's Piedmont that locals call the Upcountry. Its seat, Abbeville, is remembered as both the place where the Confederacy was born and the place where it died. In November 1860, on a knoll just outside of town--since known as Secession Hill--Abbeville hosted one of the first organized meetings on withdrawing from the Union, during which its attendees voted unanimously to adopt resolutions in favor of secession. The rest of the state would follow suit in December, and South Carolina began its bombardment of Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. Less than five years later, on the run and with his nation in shambles, President Jefferson Davis arrived at the Abbeville home of former congressman, Major Armistead Burt. There, on May 2, 1865, in the final meeting of his cabinet, Davis formally dissolved the Confederacy. Most of Abbeville's substantial antebellum wealth and prominence evaporated with the emancipation of its slaves.

Our ledger was kept by James Addison Robinson (1846-1878), clerk at a family-operated general store in the town of Due West, about 12 miles north of Abbeville. Robinson was a member of the once-prominent Robinson and Clinkscales families (his mother was a Clinkscales), owners of neighboring plantations and dozens of slaves prior to the Civil War. The general store owned by Robinson & Clinkscales was in operation at least as early as the 1840s; the South Caroliniana Library has two store ledgers kept by Charles Addison Clinkscales (1829-1870): an account book used from 1845 to 1847 and a day book from 1855. We offer here--together with the noted 1870s



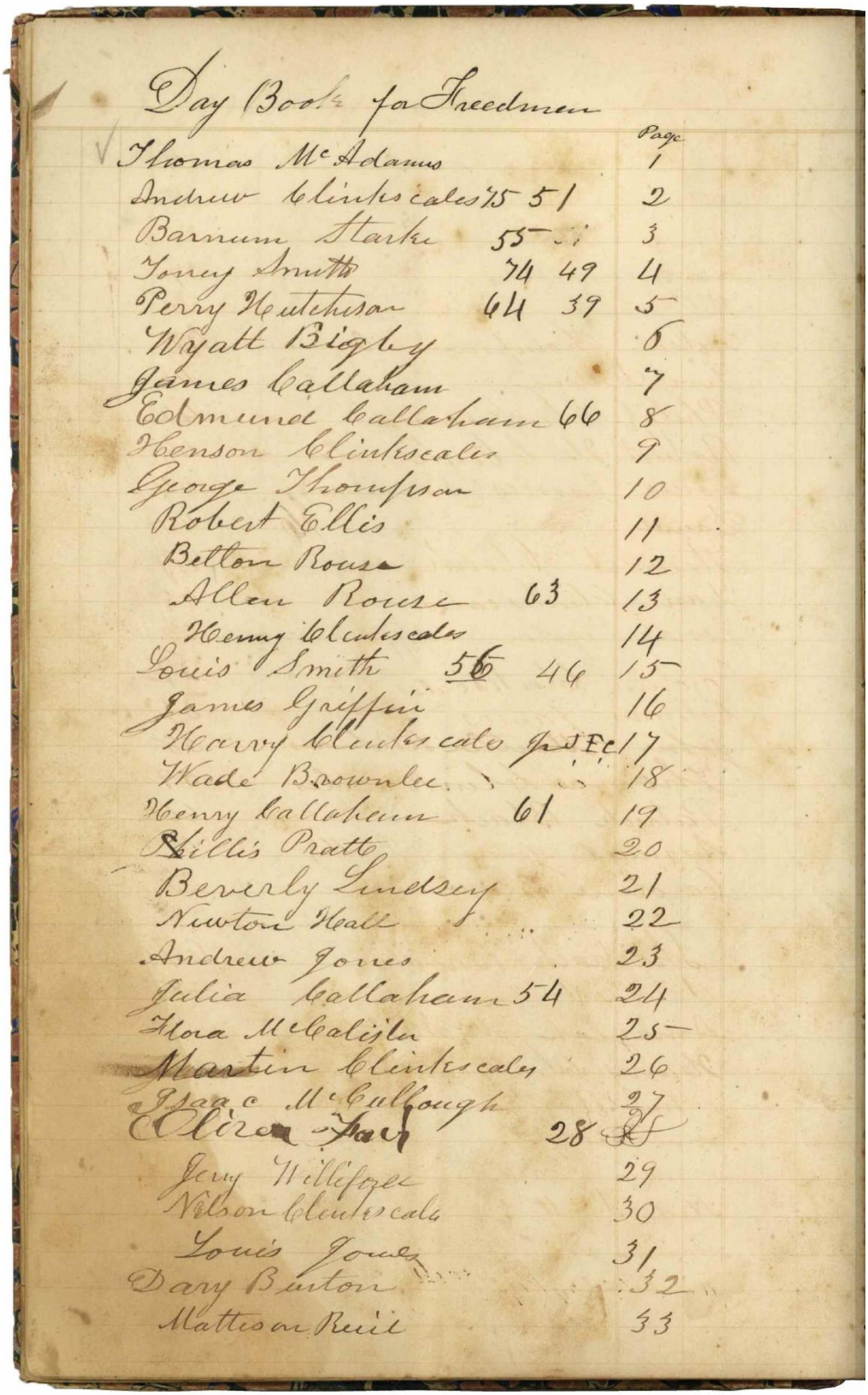
day book--a pair of ledgers from the antebellum period, likewise kept by C. A. Clinkscales, from 1853 to 1857. Yet it is the 1870s "Day Book for Freedmen" and "Day Book for Negroes" kept by Robinson that draws and demands out attention. **We trace nothing quite like it in institutional holdings or in the history of the trade**.

The ledger is small 4to in size and bound in attractive marbled paper-covered boards with a roan spine. Its first seven and final six leaves were used as a student exercise book, probably by Robinson himself, who has left his autograph spread multiple times across all of the front and rear pastedowns and end papers. The 43 leaves in between open with a two-page index of customers followed by 81 pages of detailed accounts. Most of the entries for specific purchases--or for goods offered on credit--date to 1873 and 1874, but entries for interest on credit and for payments made continue through 1878. The opening index lists 64 account holders on facing pages, 33 on the left side under the heading "Day Book for Freedmen" and 31 on the right side under the heading "Day Book for Negroes." Robinson appears not to have been using these terms to distinguish different classes of his African American customers; rather, the accounts for those customers identified as Freedmen began between January and mid-April 1873, while those for customers identified as Negroes began from mid-April 1873 into 1874. While most accounts did not take up more than a single page, several were more extensive and required additional pages later in the ledger; the page numbers for such extensions are clearly indicated.



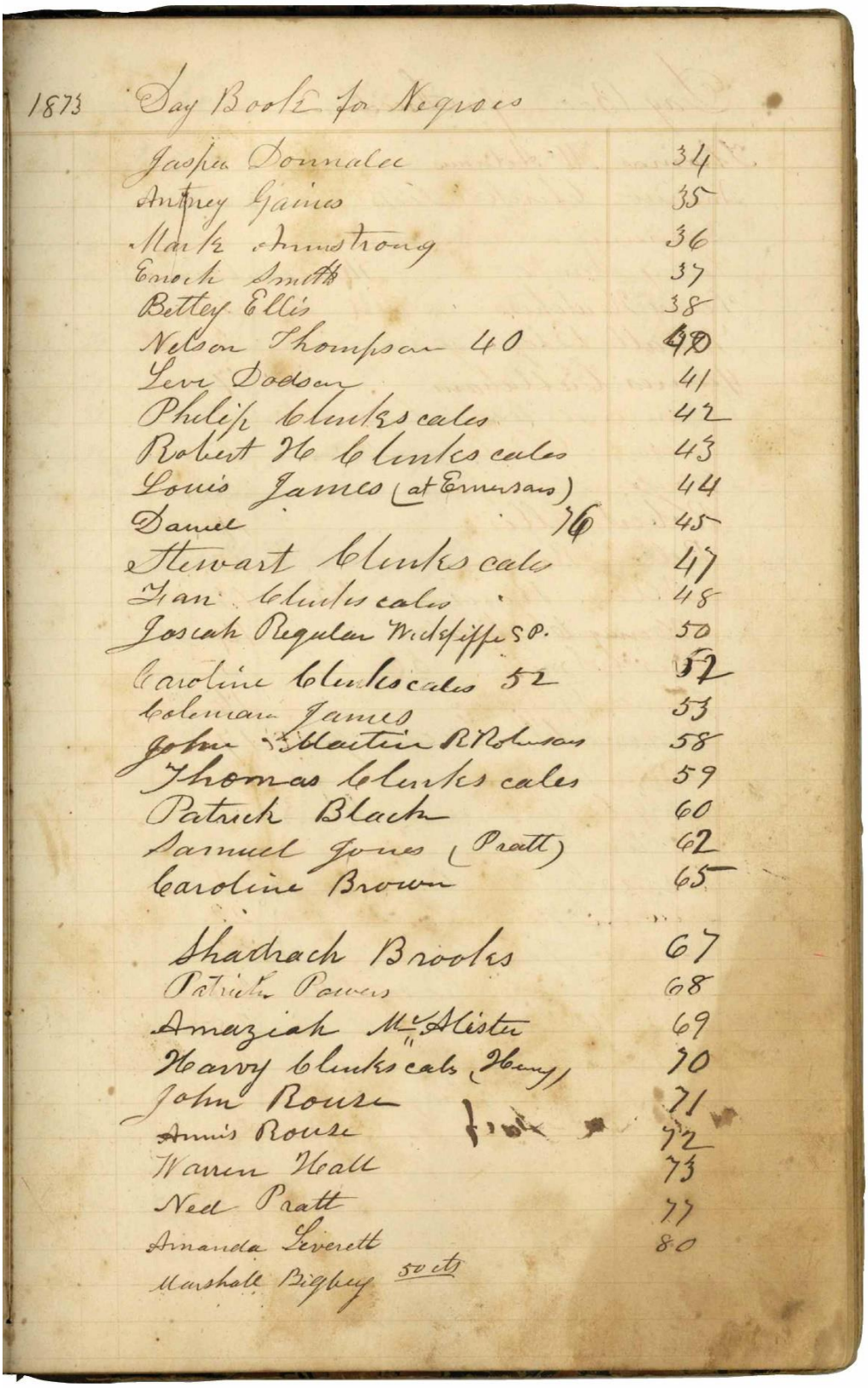
Detail from 1853-54 ledger

Using data from the 1880 Federal Census, we have traced 45 of the 64 individuals linked to specific accounts. At the time of the census, the great majority of these people lived in Abbeville County. Besides Due West (13) and Abbeville (3), others lived in communities such as Diamond Hill (8), Long Cane (5), Lowndesville (4), and Bordeau (3). Six individuals--and probably their immediate families, as well--had moved to Martin Township in Anderson County, where relatives of the Clinkscales family owned farms. No fewer than 13 of the account holders had the surname Clinkscales, clearly indicating their long connection to the Clinkscales family (none of the account holders had the Robinson surname). Seven of the account holders were women: Betty Ellis, Fan Clinkscales, Caroline Clinkscales, Caroline Brown, Amanda Leveritt, Julia Callahan, and Flora McAlister. Not surprisingly, given Abbeville's rural location and post-war focus on the cultivation of cotton, most of the men were employed in agricultural work, 11 as farmers and 11 as laborers on farms (Julia Callahan was also identified as a farm laborer); we suspect that those who identified as farmers probably either owned their land or paid rent as tenants, while farm laborers worked as sharecroppers. Thirteen men were listed as laborers more broadly, entailing wage labor in a variety



Day Book for Freedmen

			Page
Thomas McAdams			1
Andrew Clinkscales	75	51	2
Barnum Starke	55		3
Tony Smith	74	49	4
Perry Hutchison	64	39	5
Wyatt Bigby			6
James Callaham			7
Edmund Callaham	66		8
Henson Clinkscales			9
George Thompson			10
Robert Ellis			11
Belton Rouse			12
Allen Rouse	63		13
Henry Clinkscales			14
Louis Smith	56	46	15
James Griffin			16
Henry Clinkscales Jr.			17
Wade Brownlee			18
Henry Callaham	61		19
Willis Pratt			20
Beverly Lindsey			21
Newton Hall			22
Andrew Jones			23
Julia Callaham	54		24
Hora McCalister			25
Martin Clinkscales			26
Isaac McCullough			27
Eliza Jane	28		28
Jerry Willefoge			29
Nelson Clinkscales			30
Louis Jones			31
Davy Burton			32
Matteson Reid			33



1873 Day Book for Negroes

Jasper Donnalee	34
Antney Gaines	35
Mark Armstrong	36
Enoch Smith	37
Betsey Ellis	38
Nelson Thompson 40	40
Levi Dodson	41
Philip blunks cales	42
Robert H blunks cales	43
Louis James (at Emmans)	44
Daniel 76	45
Stewart blunks cales	47
Jan blunks cales	48
Josiah Regular Mississippi	50
Caroline blunks cales 52	52
Coleman James	53
John Martin R Robinson	58
Thomas blunks cales	59
Patrick Black	60
Samuel Jones (Pratt)	62
Caroline Brown	65
Shadrach Brooks	67
Patrick Powers	68
Amaziah McAlister	69
Harvy blunks cals (Henry)	70
John Rouse	71
Annis Rouse	72
Warren Hall	73
Ned Pratt	77
Amanda Leverett	80
Marshall Bigbey 50 cts	

of jobs, while three women were noted as "keeping house" or "at home." Three men--Warren Hall, Andrew Clinkscales, and Toney Smith--performed skilled labor as blacksmiths, and Beverly Lindsey was a preacher. Additional research may offer insights into economic distinctions within the Black community, based on the kinds of goods purchased and the amount of debt accrued by account holders performing different kinds of work.

Most intriguing, perhaps, are the detailed records of the things they bought. Besides staple goods and foodstuffs like salt, sugar, molasses, spices, bacon, rice, coffee, and tobacco, there are boots and shoes; umbrellas; shirts; ribbon, needles, spools, and buttons; plates and bowls; knives and spoons; flannel, linen, cambric, gingham, and indigo; buckets and shovels; nails, tacks, and screws; and bottles of medicine such as cod liver oil and R. R. R. (Radway's Ready Relief). Many day book entries offer insight into the work and even the personal lives of account holders. Robert Clinkscales, Stewart Clinkscales, and Belton Rouse all bought powder and shot in July 1873, and Robert purchased more in July 1874, probably for hunting. Barnum Starke, perhaps a practicing musician, bought violin strings three times in 1873--January 22, July 12, and November 10. Toney Smith bought blank books in January 1873, and Julia Callahan bought one for "John," likely her husband or son, several months later in July. By combining information internal to the ledger with external information such as census and property records, scholars may gain unparalleled details of economy and society among rural Black southerners during Reconstruction. **An extraordinary ledger with a story that merits continued and extensive research**.

Relevant sources:

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2010 *Entrepreneurs in the Southern Upcountry: Commercial Culture in Spartanburg, South Carolina, 1845-1880*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Irwin, James R.
1990 Farmers and Laborers: A Note on Black Occupations in the Postbellum South. *Agricultural History* 64(1):53-60.

Megginson, William J.
2006 *African American life in South Carolina's Upper Piedmont, 1780-1900*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

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

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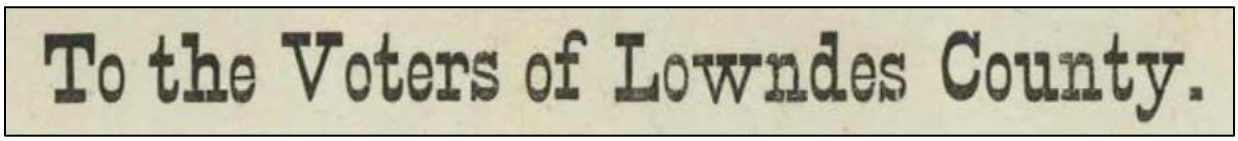
[South Carolina--African Americans and Rural Economy]: Robinson & Clinkscales: [DAY BOOK FROM THE ABBEVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA, MERCANTILE STORE OF ROBINSON & CLINKSCALES, DOCUMENTING AFRICAN AMERICAN ACCOUNTS DURING THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION]. Due West, South Carolina, 1873-1878. 7 1/2 x 12 in. (19 x 30.5 cm). 107 pp. Marbled paper-covered boards with leather spine, edgewear to spine and boards; light tanning, occasional foxing, and scattered stains to interior pages. Very good.

19. SOLD.

The Earliest Surviving Broadside for an African American Office Seeker

Following Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, the former Confederate states sought rapid reentry to the Union, though with shockingly few concessions from or consequences for the southern politicians who had goaded their people to war. Indeed, with little more demanded than a simple oath of fealty to the United States, these instigators of rebellion began to reconstitute southern state governments as though the war itself had never happened, refusing to yield any of the power and privileges their planter class had long enjoyed. Among the first sets of laws passed by most of these postwar legislatures were the so-called Black Codes, which aimed to perpetuate political and economic domination over recently freed African Americans. In response, and over the veto of President Andrew Johnson, the 39th Congress passed the nation's first Civil Rights Act in April 1866, giving full citizenship to all persons born within the United States, regardless of race, color, or previous condition. In 1867, again over Johnson's veto, it passed the Reconstruction Acts, specifying that all males regardless of race were entitled to participate in the constitutional conventions mandated for southern states; that all of the state constitutions must include universal manhood suffrage; and that prior to readmission, all states must ratify the 14th Amendment, which brought the Civil Rights Act of 1866 into the U. S. Constitution.



Following these Reconstruction Acts and the readmission of former Confederate states to the Union, African American voters from across the South elected the first Black legislators to the U. S. House of Representatives, and Mississippi sent two Black Republicans to the Senate. During the decade from 1867 to 1877, 16 African Americans served in the U. S. Congress, more than 600 were elected to southern state houses, and more than 2000 held state or local offices. Given all the elections that put Black candidates in office--as well as those in which Black candidates ran but lost--it is remarkable that so few examples of political ephemera from these early campaigns exist today. **This broadside handbill, issued by Robert Gleed during his 1875 campaign for sheriff of Lowndes County, Mississippi, appears to be the earliest surviving imprint produced by an African American candidate for political office in the United States**. The story of his campaign also sheds tragic light on the waning days of Reconstruction, when the hard earned rights of Black southerners were undone by the resurgence of southern white supremacy.

When 17-year-old Robert Gleed escaped his Virginia enslaver in the early 1850s, his path took him not to the North and freedom but in the opposite direction, to the Deep South city of Columbus, Mississippi. There he was quickly apprehended as a runaway. Yet despite the fact that the Lower South was well known as a more harsh and violent destination for enslaved peoples than the Mid-Atlantic, Gleed "refused to tell where he came from or the name of his master....He kept his identify a profound secret as long as he lived" (Carroll 1931:131). Lacking as he did a certificate of free status--there were fewer than 800 free Black people in Mississippi by 1860--his captors sold him to the highest bidder in full accordance with the law. Today we can only speculate as to why Gleed traveled south from Virginia, but one modern writer suggests (too glibly, it seems)

To the Voters of Lowndes County.

Columbus, Miss., Sept. 28th, 1875.

Many inquiries having been made as to who would have charge of the Sheriff's Office, in case of my election as Sheriff of Lowndes County, I hereby state:

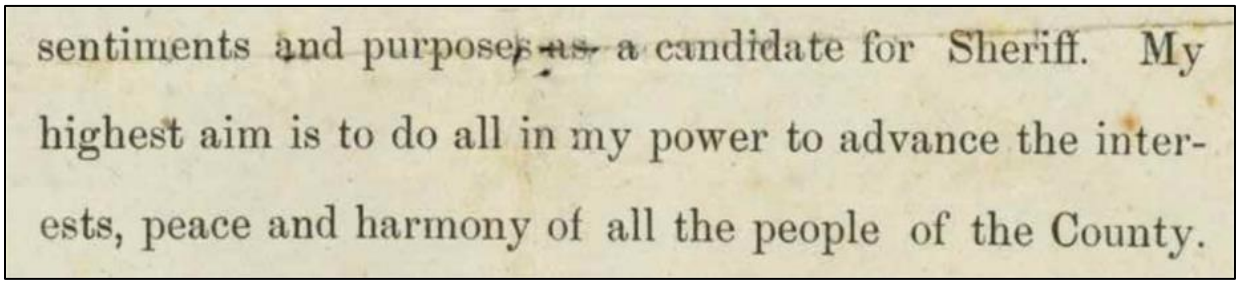
That, if I am elected as Sheriff, in November next, Mr. Jerry Dowsing will have charge of the office, as general deputy From his knowledge of the business of the office, and known integrity and good judgment, the people may rest assured that their interests will be safe in his hands. Whatever other assistance may be reqnried in transacting all business, will be furnished by competent persons, of known integrity.

Many of the good people of the county, having been misled by false statements, seem to misunderstand my sentiments and purposes as a candidate for Sheriff. My highest aim is to do all in my power to advance the interests, peace and harmony of all the people of the County. I hope to be able to convince my fellow citizens of this fact during the Canvass.

R. GLEED.

that "he trailed his sweetheart to eastern Mississippi" (Lewan 2001). African Americans did not just move or trail their sweethearts to antebellum Mississippi. His wife or partner, whether legally recognized or not, was likely sold to a new enslaver. Gleed escaped, and rather than seek his own freedom in the North, he followed her to Columbus and was captured, allowing himself to be sold under far worse circumstances than had he been returned to Virginia alone.

The end of the war gave Gleed his freedom a second time. He soon developed his natural talents for business and leadership to become one of the most prominent members of the Columbus community. In only a few years he acquired more than a thousand acres of farmland, a home, and four or five lots in town, where he owned a thriving general store. He was elected to the Mississippi State Senate in 1870 and in 1873 was appointed to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Lowndes County militia. After Gleed left the legislature in 1873, he served as head of the county's Chamber of Commerce and as president of the Mercantile Land and Banking Company. When the Lowndes County Republican Party sought a candidate for sheriff in the fall of 1875, Gleed was an obvious choice. Indeed, it would have been difficult to find a man more qualified, regardless of race, and the county's political demography--3800 registered African American voters and 1250 registered whites--made his election plausible, if not likely. Democrats, however, refused to countenance the possibility of a Black man serving as sheriff, typically the most powerful official in southern rural counties, and launched a campaign of intimidation against Gleed and his supporters.


sentiments and purposes as a candidate for Sheriff. My highest aim is to do all in my power to advance the interests, peace and harmony of all the people of the County.

Seeking both to reassure white Democrats and to counter the rapidly escalating potential for violence, Gleed issued this broadside handbill on September 28. With it, he commits to naming Jerry Dowsing as "general deputy" and allowing him "charge of the office," given his "knowledge of the business of the office and known integrity and good judgment." Jeremiah Dowsing was a Mexican War veteran who had served as Lowndes County sheriff in the early 1870s and would do so again later in the decade. As for his integrity and good judgement, he and his posse had been arrested in 1871 for violating the Enforcement Act of 1870. Known colloquially as the Ku-Klux Law, the Enforcement Act banned the use of terror, force, or bribery to prevent any persons from voting because of race. And in 1876 Dowsing was a key prosecution witness at the impeachment show trial of Alexander K. Davis, Mississippi's first African American lieutenant governor, who was charged with bribery by resurgent white Democrats. Agreeing to appoint a man like Dowsing his deputy must have been a bitter pill for Gleed, but conditions were growing dire as he aimed to maintain his candidacy while mollifying advocates of mob violence.

It was not enough. On Saturday, October 30, Democrats scheduled a public meeting and speaking event at the county court house. As a prelude, their assembled supporters held a raucous parade that included dragging a 24-pounder cannon to the front of the building; they fired it three times, shattering windows in adjacent shops and offices. Gleed and fellow Republicans agreed to

meet there with the Democratic leadership, "to see," according to Gleed himself, in testimony that he delivered the next year, "if they could suggest some plan by which we could avoid any collision on the day of the election" (Boutwell Report 1876:793). Recognizing the likelihood of bloodshed before voting even began, Gleed even offered to stand aside:

> as the whole objection seemed to be against me, I made a statement to the meeting that if by my forbearing to exercise the elective franchise, or hold office in any way, would be the means of reconciling the white and black men, so that we could have a peaceable election, or be at peace afterward, I would forbear to hold office, or forbear to run for office, or even vote as an individual, if by that means I could secure the peace and harmony of the two races in our county [Boutwell Report 1876:793].

And still it was not enough. The leading spokesmen for the Democrats, attorney William A. Sims and Dr. William Lowndes Lipscomb, replied that Gleed's offer was insufficient: the only way to ensure peace was for the entire Black community to abstain from voting. On the night of November 1, the day before the election, a white mob descended on the Black neighborhood. The rioters killed four African American men and beat many more; they burned four houses and shot up several others, including that of Gleed and his family. Gleed testified that:

> The night of the fire, along before day, my wife told me that parties came there [to his home]—armed parties—in pursuit of me. They shot all through my house in every apartment. We have but five rooms—six rooms in the whole house and five in the main building. They shot all through it—windows, side doors, and side lights. They shot a hole, I reckon as big as my fist, through the chimney in the parlor. The bullet-holes are there now... [Boutwell Report 1876:798].

Gleed and his family lost everything. They fled to Paris, Texas, soon after the election, leaving behind their home and most of their possessions, his general store and all of its stock, his lots in town, and hundreds of acres of farmland. His white opponent was elected sheriff, as Black voters were kept from the polls. Two white men of Columbus claimed that Gleed owed them money and foreclosed on all of his property: Toby Johnston sold the contents of his store; Bernard Hendrick took Gleed's home and more than 200 acres of his land for a supposed debt of $125. Research by former Associate Press writer Todd Lewan reveals that the federal government purchased Gleed's farm in the 1940s and built a portion of U. S. Hwy 50 across its fields. In 2000, one of his town lots in Columbus was occupied by four houses, a gas station, and a reality company. When Lewan related Gleed's story to Bob Oaks, the president of the realty company, Oaks responded, "That's bad, but it sounds like he abandoned his property" (Lewan 2001).

Although election tickets bearing the names of Black Reconstruction candidates do exist and are sometimes encountered in institutional collections and the trade, those small slips of paper were intended for use in the act of voting and were not campaign materials, as such. **Despite our extensive searching, we are unable to locate a single other example of a broadside or handbill produced by an African American political campaign during the Reconstruction era**. This example from Gleed's campaign, printed as the storm clouds of white supremacy were gathering over Columbus, Mississippi, appears to be a unique survival, not only of the Gleed campaign, but

of all the campaigns launched by Black politicians in the time of Reconstruction, the first moment in American history when Black candidates across the country--hundreds of them in the American South--competed for and won political office at national, state, and local levels. Perhaps this is not surprising. Campaign texts are produced to reach voters, the printed word intended to shape their opinions and ultimately their votes. Yet in the aftermath of emancipation, the great majority of southern Black voters were unable to read and write, the consequence of a state policy we might refer to as enforced illiteracy. It was a consequence of enslavement. Even Gleed's handbill was intended not for his Black supporters, but for his white enemies, an effort to calm their inexorable drive to violence. Robert Gleed died in 1916 and is buried with most of his family at Sandfield Cemetery in Columbus, a block from the Lowndes County Justice Court.

Unique, and of great historical significance.

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Fellman, Michael.
2010 *In the Name of God and Country: Reconsidering Terrorism in American History*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
Lewan, Todd
2001 Taking Away the Vote—And a Black Man's Land. Associated Press. Accessed on *The Authentic Voice*: https://theauthenticvoice.org/mainstories/tornfromtheland/torn_part4/.
Moore, Toby
1997 Race and the County Sheriff in the American South. *International Social Science Review* 72(1/2):50-61.

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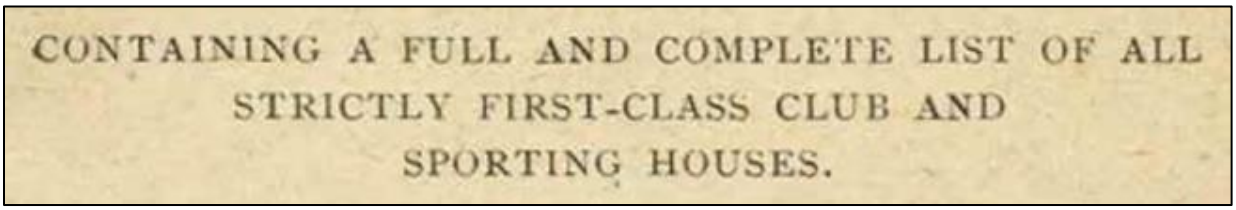
[Mississippi--African American]: Robert Gleed: TO THE VOTERS OF LOWNDES COUNTY [caption title]. Columbus, Miss., September 30, 1875. Broadside handbill. 5 1/2 x 8 1/2 in. (14 x 21.5 cm). Edge wear and chipping along right side with no loss of text, some splitting along old folds, short tape repair on verso, light foxing. About very good.

20. SOLD.

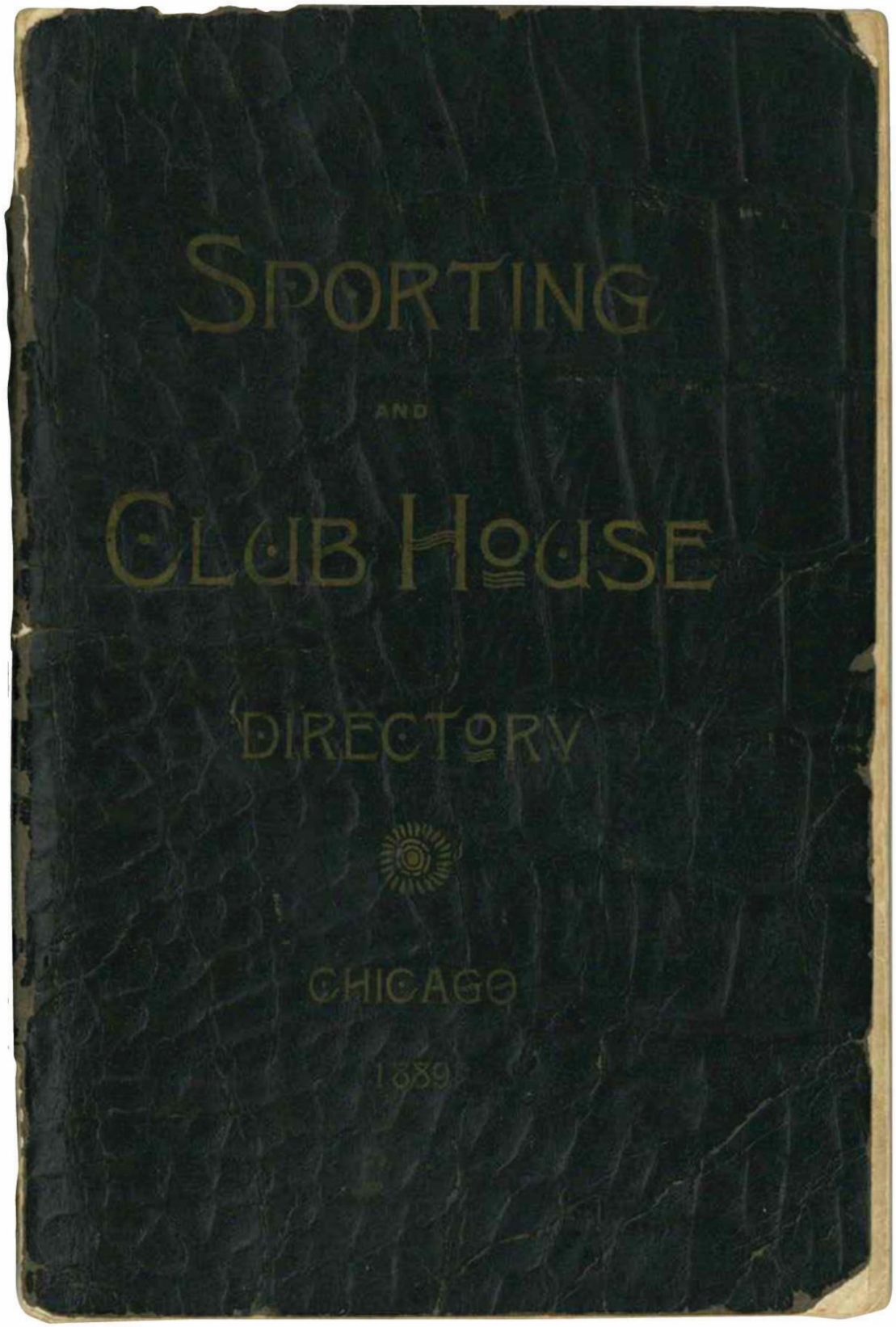
Chicago's *Sporting and Club House Directory*: The Third Recorded Copy

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 each had their Tenderloins, Chicago had its Levee District. There was also Hell's Half Acre in Fort Worth, Happy Hollow in Houston, and San Antonio had its infamous 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 lack of primary sources creates profound difficulties for modern scholars aiming to situate red light businesses and their clientele in urban communities.


CONTAINING A FULL AND COMPLETE LIST OF ALL
STRICTLY FIRST-CLASS CLUB AND
SPORTING HOUSES.

Among the most informative--but rarest--such sources are the printed guides or directories produced for visitors to these districts, many of which contain detailed information about specific clubs, brothels, and workers. The best-known of these directories are the notorious Blue Books of New Orleans, which went through at least a dozen editions from 1895 to 1915, but these are also the most common today, as the later editions in particular seem to have been issued primarily as novelties for the tourist trade. The true rarities are the guides from other cities, as few of these are known in more than a handful of copies. The earliest American examples were published in New York and Philadelphia during the second quarter of the 19th century, with New York represented by at least four such pre-Civil War guides to the city's bustling sex trade. After these East Coast metropoles, the next American city to produce its own guide to vice was Chicago. *The Sporting and Club House Directory...Containing a Full and Complete List of All Strictly First-Class Club and Sporting Houses* appeared in 1889--nearly a decade before the first New Orleans guide--from the press of Ross and St. Clair (the only recorded work with this imprint). **The copy that we offer here, in its original wrappers, is one of only three known examples**.

Long before the Great Fire of 1871 that leveled nearly 4 m² of the city, Chicago was well known for its vice: as early as 1835, its board of trustees levied a $25 fine on anyone convicted of operating a brothel. After the fire, however, as the city commenced its Great Rebuilding, a heroic effort that made Chicago an architectural wonder, it also witnessed an extraordinary expansion of its red-light economy. From January to August of 1872, as Karen Abbott notes, the city issued no fewer than 2218 saloon licenses, 1 for every 150 residents. "The vice districts," she writes, were "slung like a tawdry necklace across the city's South Side" (2008:10). These include locales with such descriptive names as Bed Bug Row, Black Hole, Little Cheyenne, Satan's Mile, and--best known of all--the Levee, which encompassed four blocks in the South Loop. By 1894 it harbored 46 saloons, 37 brothels, and no fewer than 11 pawnbrokers. Across the city, estimates suggest that there were six to seven thousand saloons and ten thousand prostitutes.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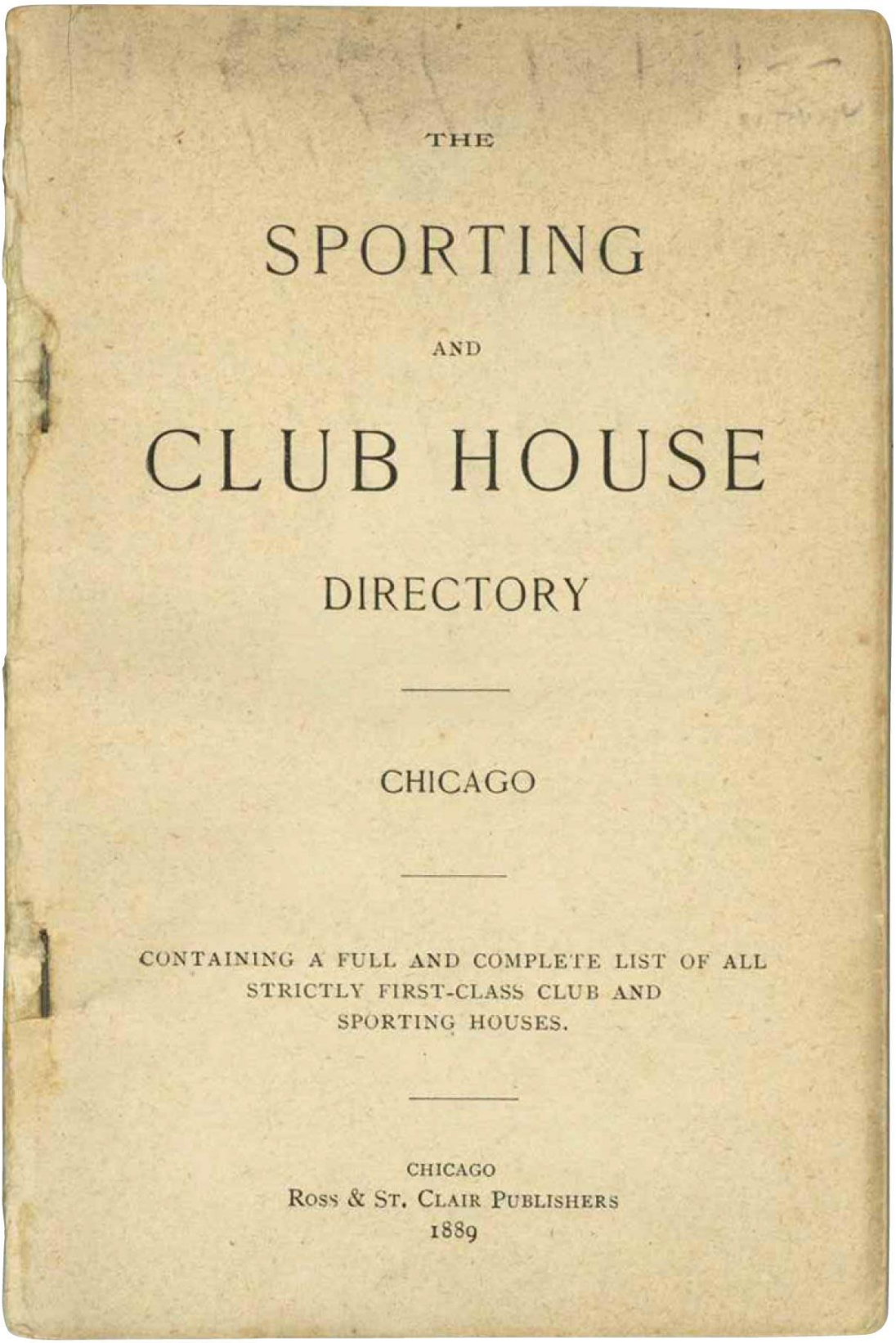
CHICAGO
1889



THE

SPORTING

AND

CLUB HOUSE

DIRECTORY

CHICAGO

CONTAINING A FULL AND COMPLETE LIST OF ALL
STRICTLY FIRST-CLASS CLUB AND
SPORTING HOUSES.

CHICAGO
ROSS & ST. CLAIR PUBLISHERS
1889

The best and most comprehensive record of this world, the illicit underside of Chicago's post-Fire recovery, is the 1889 *Sporting and Club House Directory*. Although unattributed, the *Directory* was apparently written by Ransom H. Andrews, a *Chicago Times* reporter and sometime publisher of cheap, vice-oriented tabloids with titles such as *Sporting Life* and *The Chicago Street Gazette*. In his Preface, writing as non-existent publisher "Ross and St. Clair," Andrews declares that "We have selected from among more than nine hundred so called sporting houses all that are really worthy of the name, in other words, we have separated the quiet, respectable and legitimate establishments from the low down dens known among the sporting fraternity as 'dives'" (p. 3). In the following 35 pages, he provides detailed assessments for dozens of these "First Class Sporting Houses," along with three examples of "the better class of colored houses," none of which admitted Black men (pp. 38-39), and several so-called "French Houses" (pp. 39-41). After these is a long list of dives identified by street and number only, with African American establishments marked by an asterisk. Andrews also includes four pages of "Personals," giving the names and addresses of "lady boarders...published by request" (p. 47), and a two-page Addenda offers the names and addresses of vetted sporting houses in Indianapolis. Interspersed throughout are advertisements for businesses selling beer, liquors, wines, and cigars, and for hucksters selling cures for sexually transmitted diseases and opium addiction; there is even a players wanted ad for "The Great and Only Young Ladies Baseball Club....the best Talent that Money will Hire" (p. 48).

As recently observed by Katharine Hijar, writing more broadly on the genre of such brothel guides, "these texts comprise what is arguably the most important set of artifacts commemorating nineteenth-century urban prostitution in the United States" (2018). Beyond this Chicago example and the aforenoted guides from New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, other examples of the genre are known from Milwaukee, Denver, San Antonio, Kansas City, and Los Angeles. With the exception of later issues from New Orleans, none of these appears to survive in more than two or three copies. Chicago's *Sporting and Club House Directory* is no exception. **We locate only two other copies of this rare guide, at Harvard's Schlesinger Library and at the Chicago History Museum; we trace no copies at auction or in the history of the trade**. Indeed, save for the later issues of the New Orleans *Blue Book*, we can find only a single auction record for another example of the genre, a disbound and damaged 1849 directory to *All the Gay Houses and Ladies of Pleasure in the City of New York*, offered at Christies in 1995 and now at the Clements Library. Given the combination of their illicit content, cheap production quality, and small, "pocket" size, it is hardly surprising that examples of these guides are so rarely met with today.

Relevant sources:

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2008 *Sin in the Second City Madams, Ministers, Playboys, and the Battle for America's Soul*. Random House, New York

Blair, Cynthia M.
2018 *I've Got to Make My Livin' Black Women's Sex Work in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

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Howell, Philip
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Junger, Richard
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Keire, Mara Laura
2010 *For Business and Pleasure: Red-Light Districts and the Regulation of Vice in the United States, 1890–1933*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
Meyerowitz, Joanne
1991 *Women Adrift Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

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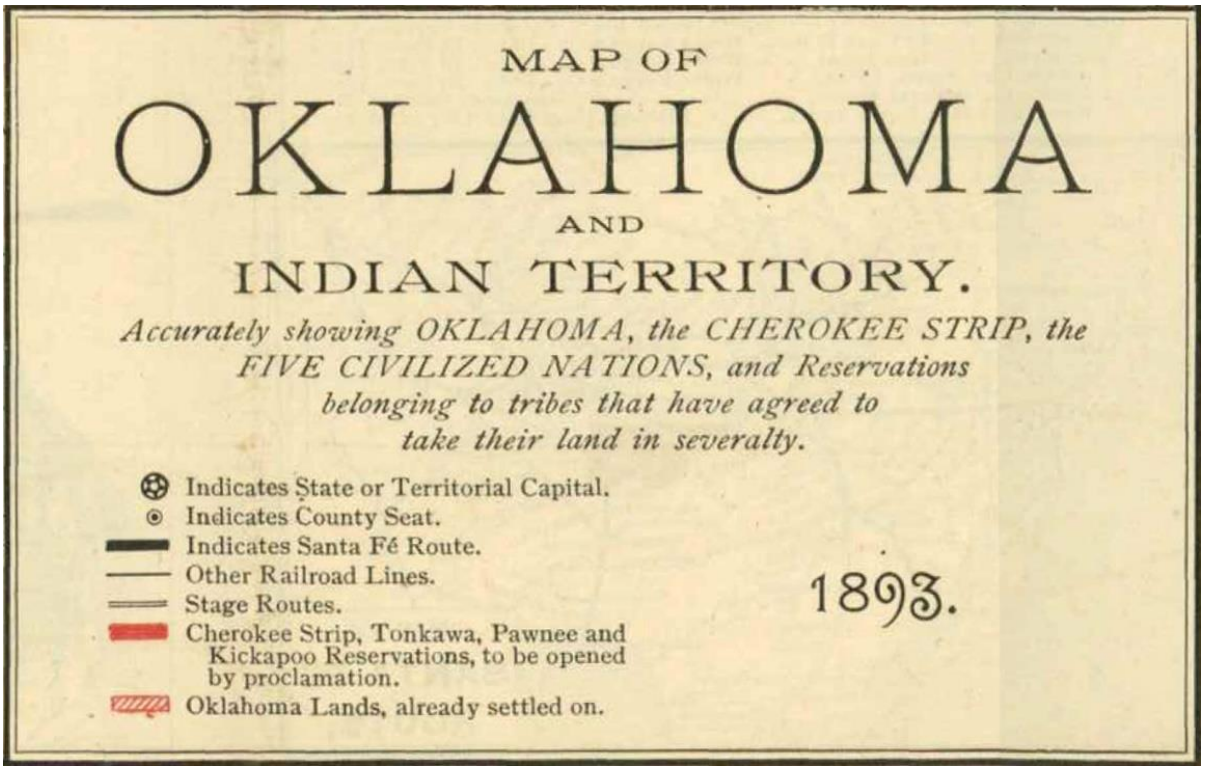
[Chicago--Sex Work and Prostitution]: [Ransom H. Andrews]: THE SPORTING AND CLUB HOUSE DIRECTORY / CHICAGO / CONTAINING A FULL AND COMPLETE LIST OF ALL STRICTLY FIRST-CLASS CLUB AND SPORTING HOUSES. Ross & St. Clair Publishers, Chicago, 1889. 16mo (16 cm). 64 pp., illus. Original gilt-printed wraps with faux alligator skin patterning, loss at head and tail of spine. Light edge wear to covers, small chip to top edge of rear cover; text block stapled and loose in covers, light soil and toning. About very good.

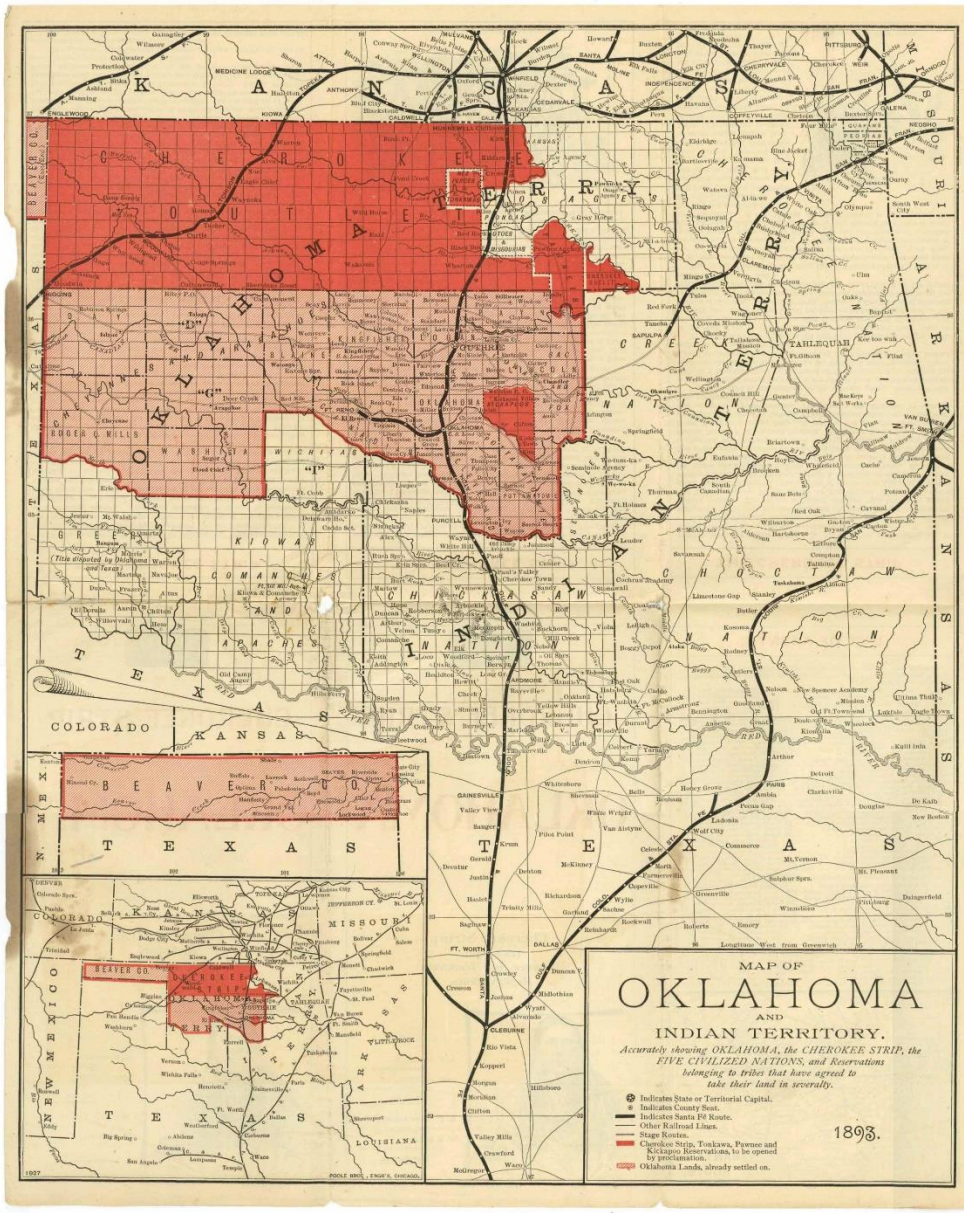
21. SOLD.

Oklahoma, the Cherokee Strip, and the Land Run of 1893

The general boundaries of Indian Territory were established by the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 as "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas," and at its greatest extent it incorporated most of modern-day Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and part of Iowa. These lands were set aside, with a promise of self-determination, for the resettlement of Native peoples forcibly removed from the East. Yet from its founding, the incommensurability of indigenous sovereignty and federal control in the territories proved an intractable problem both in Washington and in the Native capitols of Indian Territory. Three decades later, the end of the Civil War gave the United States government an opportunity to transform relations between federal and tribal authorities entirely, as those tribes that joined the Confederacy were forced to cede even more of their allotted lands. A two-million acre zone in the center of the territory, ceded by Creek and Seminole Indians, became known as the Unassigned Lands and was legally opened for white settlement in the Land Run of 1889. A year later Congress passed the Oklahoma Organic Act, carving the entire western half of Indian Territory--some 24 million acres--into a newly organized Oklahoma Territory.

The Cherokee, too, eventually ceded portions of their territory, the most valuable of which was referred to as the Cherokee Outlet or Strip, a parcel along the Kansas border that measured 60 miles wide and 225 miles long. The opening of this area to settlement on October 16, 1893, spurred the Cherokee Strip Land Run, the largest event of its kind in American history. This promotional map and brochure, dated April 18, was among the earliest and most detailed productions issued to attract white settlers to Oklahoma. **Only two other copies are recorded**.





How to Get One of Uncle Sam's Farms.

An entryman must be the head of a family, or twenty-one years old; and must either be a citizen of the United States or have declared his intention to become such. A person under twenty-one years of age, but who is the head of a family, can enter lands. A widow, who holds her deceased husband's claim, may make entry in her own right. Service in the army or navy of the United States, in the recent Rebellion, for a period of ninety days, entitles an honorably discharged soldier or sailor to make a homestead entry without regard to age or citizenship. Where the soldier is dead, his widow or his minor heirs can have all the benefits of the law. A married woman who is the head of a family, or who has been deserted by her husband, is also qualified to enter Government land as a home.

Be sure that your homestead rights have not been previously exhausted. If a person owns 160 acres of land anywhere else at the time this new country is opened, he cannot acquire a homestead.

Homestead claims may attach in either of two ways—by settlement or by first entering at land office. Between two persons, one of whom settled upon and the other entered the same tract, the rule is, *first in time is first in right*. The safest plan is to settle on your tract first and make the entry afterwards. A homesteader has three months from date of settlement in which to enter, and his rights and equities date back to the settlement. He has six months from date of entry to establish residence, and settlement must be maintained after entry as well as before.

To make an entry, application must be made at proper office, accompanied by affidavits, and the usual fees paid of $14.00 for 160 acres, $7.00 for eighty acres, and $4.00 for forty acres. The final proof fees are $4.00.

Substantial and visible improvements must be made immediately upon taking the land, and the settler should have competent witnesses to such acts. The witnesses should be requested to make such memorandum of the event as will clearly fix the day and hour, in case there is a contest. The settler's rights attach the instant he goes upon the land and drives a stake, or blazes a tree, or throws one spade of earth, or hoists a flag, or does any act, however small, if he follows that act immediately with others of greater importance, with improvements of a more substantial nature, and within a reasonable time erects a habitable house and cultivates the soil. Take no chances. Make the improvements so tangible and evident that there need be no doubt as to occupancy.

The law requires, specifically, that in addition to the intent of appropriating land there must be some act indicative of the intent, and the two must harmonize. Neither alone is sufficient. Settlement cannot be made by agent. Improvements avail nothing in absence of personal presence. Actual notice by word of mouth is sometimes as good as notice given by improvements. The mere erection of a board, with statement of claim, is not construed as an act of settlement, where party does nothing else and returns home.

Entry should be made within not later than three months—sooner if possible. It is the entry that gives the right, and the sooner entry is made the less opportunity there is for vexatious contests.

Actual residence must follow within a reasonable time. One who goes upon public land for the purpose of staying just long enough to get title by a compliance with the letter and not the spirit of the law, and then goes back to his family at some other place, where they have remained all the time, does not establish the required residence. Visits to the property, to keep up the fiction of occupancy, do not count. Residence, in other words, must be in the utmost good faith, as shown by acts of claimant. The old home must be actually abandoned. Settlers are cautioned not to leave their claims without first attempting to secure a leave of absence, by application

How to Get One of

in writing to the local land office
sworn to by two witnesses.

The land must be resided upon
not less than twelve months, thou
for seven years. Before patent is
ment will have to be paid. The
watomie and Cheyenne and Arap
raised to $1.50.

The rate per acre in the CHE
640 acres east of 97½° west longitu
line three miles west of Cashwell)
west (the western boundary being
lying west of 98½°. Interest is cha
from date of entry to date of final
25, 34, 35, 36, 27, 28, and east half of 1
2 cents, are not subject to public-sett
Indian school. Sections 16 and 3
apart for public schools. Seven
lands in the east part of the Strip.

In the PAWNEE reservation
per cent. interest from entry to fin
apart in each township for school
In the TONKAWA reservation
each acre is $2.50, with interest at
payment. Sections 16 and 36 are re
land.
Lands in the KICKAPOO reser
no interest charged. Sections 16 a
To prevent numerous contests
authorized the President to incorp
tion governing the settlement of
several mooted questions, such as
sons can make the run from the
that way. It is thought that Sec
275,000 acres) will inure to Oklaho
under previous legislation.

THE HOME

The homestead privilege is c
Statutes. This section, together wi
by Act of Congress approved March
"SECTION 2. That Sections 29
of the Revised Statutes, be, and
they shall read as follows:
"SECTION 2289. Every person
rived at the age of twenty-one years
who has filed his declaration of in
the naturalization laws, shall be
a less quantity, of unappropriated
in conformity to the legal sub-divi
who is the proprietor of more than
shall acquire any right under the
owning and residing on land, may,
other land lying contiguous to this
already owned, or occupied, acco
"SEC. 2290. That any person

OKLAHOMA TO-DAY.

The present Territory of Oklahoma consists of four tracts of land, mainly lying between 97° and 103° of longitude, and between the Cherokee Strip on the north and the Chickasaw country on the south, with a strip formerly known as No Man's Land, now called Beaver County, in the extreme northwestern corner of Indian Territory, and separated from Oklahoma proper by the Cherokee Outlet. For judicial and other purposes, all of the old Indian Territory, except that belonging to the five civilized nations, is called Oklahoma Territory.

Oklahoma now contains 11,922,547 acres, to which add Beaver County, with its 3,645,000 acres. Almost the whole of this area is rich arable land, a gently rolling prairie interspersed with river bottoms. A small part of it is rocky, and there are tracts of timber of considerable size—more timber than is usual in a prairie land. Some sandy spots exist, and Beaver County is quite broken in places. Timber becomes more plentiful, and has a greater commercial value as one travels eastward.

The high prairies of the extreme western part of the Indian Territory are well covered with grass, and the soil is naturally possessed of the properties necessary for crops; but the water supply in that section is not yet sufficiently uniform to sustain a dense population. Until agriculture has been more thoroughly tested there, stock raising will continue to be the main reliance. The eastern part, including what is known as Oklahoma proper, is more suitable for farming purposes, and farmers feel confident that an intelligent tillage of the soil and a diversity of crops will enable an industrious man to make a good living for himself and family, with something left over.

The climate of the eastern portion is so evenly balanced between the long winters of the North and the hot summers of the South, that almost every staple product of both North and South can be cultivated, enabling the citizen of Oklahoma to be busy on his farm nearly the whole year. The summers are long and warm, while the winters are hardly more than a dividing line between fall and spring. In the central and southern parts the thermometer rarely goes below 20°, and the average or mean temperature is 60°. Trying extremes are unknown.

Oklahoma is well watered by rivers and creeks. The principal streams are the Cimarron River, the North Fork of the Canadian, and the Canadian River proper. The course of these streams through Oklahoma is from northwest to southeast. The Cimarron is the most northerly of the streams named. It is several hundreds of miles in length, with sources in the Rocky Mountains. The North Fork heads in the same locality, and is a large stream of perpetually running water. It enters Beaver County in the extreme western end, and keeping from twenty to fifty miles north of the Canadian River, joins the same near Eufaula, 400 miles below. The source of the main body of the Canadian River is also in the Rocky Mountains, so there is always running water in Oklahoma, even during the dryest weather. Spring water is found in nearly every part of this vast domain, and a good supply of well water can be obtained at a depth of from twenty to fifty feet. In the eastern district the rainfall has reached as high as fifty-two inches per annum. At some of the northern and central points it has amounted to thirty-five inches yearly.

The acquisition of the Cherokee Strip, and of the Tonkawa, Pawnee and Kickapoo reservations will add 6,575,000 acres to the area mentioned above, making the total area over 17,500,000 acres.

This will make Oklahoma a compact and cohesive body, in shape for statehood.

EASTERN

The following description of the
omie Reservations, now a part of O
a fair idea of the resources of that
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.

The old Sac and Fox Reservatio
watomie county), may properly be
dian and Deep Fork bottoms, whic
in fertility. The face of the countr
the Pottawatomies, being exceedin
for the most part through the pl
quent eminences the traveler see
sometimes quite rolling and then
height, with here and there the den
a stream; all covered with that bl
When Bayard Taylor traveled over
aptly likened it in appearance to "
The Iowa Reservation (now a pa
lar to that of the Sac and Fox.
else in the Indian Territory lies pr
the farmer. There is not so much
east or south. Enough exists to r
many hills, covered with a fine gro
of underbrush, and watered by livi
stock. Nearness to Guthrie will g
here. Nearly every foot of ground
laiors, but attractive locations can
Except in a few spots, the forma
(in Pottawatomie County), present
toms along the two Canadians and
corn fields producing from forty to
The highlands are mostly covered wi
of open prairie. The timber consis
in the nature of a thick forest,
underbrush, heavy grass baking
reality the wooded portions, of
trees. The timber along the Iro
blackberry, elm, walnut, burr-oak, p
The SOIL of these lands consist
from one to six feet, on the uplands
moisture is retained an indefinite le
The soil of the lowlands, commonly
sandy loam, of great depth, and is
WATER is an important factor
The territory named is traversed b
to east, the largest of which are
North Fork and Little Rivers.
rivers, approaching them from the
the Indian country a few miles below.
A plentiful supply of TIMBER
the streams are bordered by a luxu
—the walnut, oak, cedar, pecan, h
Native timber can be procured
demands for building purposes.
are covered with an immense gro
Along Little River is a mixed grow
large size and extra quality.
CHANDLER, the seat of Lin
people, located about thirty miles
and connected by daily lines of sta
There is also a stage line from Sap
joys a fine trade with the farming
lands, and will be a favorite point
when they are opened to settlemen
and schools, substantial store bu
place in which to reside.

f Uncle Sam's Farms.

, accompanied by sufficient facts and

, cultivated and improved for a period of
h settler may delay making final proof
issued the price asked by the Govern-
usual price is $1.25. When the Potta-
ahoe reservations were opened it was

OKEE STRIP will be $2.50 for the 1,000-
e (which takes in the country east of a
, $1.50 per acre between 97½° and 98½°
ear Kiowa), and $1.00 per acre for lands
rged at rate of four per cent. per annum,
payment. Sections 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22,
, 29 and 32, in Township 29 North, Range
lement, but are reserved for the Chilloco
e in each township of the Strip are set
y Cherokee intruders are also allotted

the price will be $2.50 per acre, with four
al payment. Sections 16 and 36 are set
purposes.
, the price that will have to be paid for
four per cent. annually until after of last
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vation are to bring $1.50 per acre, and
nd 36 are set apart for schools.
and expensive litigation, Congress has
orate in his proclamation certain regula-
the Cherokee Strip. It is expected that
ntitled to enter one-quarter section, or
public lands to be located in a body,
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0 acres of land in any State or Territory
'homestead law. And every person
under provisions of this section, enter
land which shall not, with the land so
d in the aggregate 160 acres,
applying to enter land under the pre-

ESTEAD LAW.

onferred by Section 2289, U. S. Revised
th Sections 2290 and 2291, were amended
3, 1891, to read as follows:
90 and 2289, of the chapter numbered 5
the same are hereby amended, so that

who is the head of a family or who has ar-
, and is a citizen of the United States or
ention to become such, as required by
ntitled to enter one-quarter section, or
public lands to be located in a body,
tions of the public lands; but no person
0 acres of land in any State or Territory
'homestead law. And every person
under provisions of this section, enter
land which shall not, with the land so
d in the aggregate 160 acres,
applying to enter land under the pre-

THE HOMESTEAD LAW.

ording section shall first make and subscribe before the proper officer and file in the proper land office an affidavit that he or she is the head of a family, or is over twenty-one years of age, and that such application is honestly and in good faith made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation, and not for the benefit of any other person, persons or corporation, and that he or she will faithfully and honestly endeavor to comply with all the requirements of the law as to settlement, residence and cultivation necessary to acquire title to the land applied for; that he or she is not acting as agent of any person, corporation or syndicate in making such entry, nor in collusion with any person, corporation or syndicate to give them the benefit of the land entered, or any part thereof, or the timber thereon; that he or she does not apply to enter the same for the purpose of speculation, but in good faith to obtain a home for himself or herself, and that he or she has not directly or indirectly made, and will not make, any agreement or contract in any way or manner, with any person or persons, corporation or syndicate whatsoever, by which the title which he or she might acquire from the government of the United States should inure, in whole or in part, to the benefit of any person, except himself and herself; that he or she has not heretofore filed a declaration or entered or proved upon any of the lands thereby or has not more than eighty acres, and on payment of $50 when the entry is for more than eighty acres, he or she shall thereupon be permitted to enter the amount of land prescribed.

"SECTION 6. That Section 2304 of the Revised Statutes be amended so as to read as follows:

"SECTION 2301. Nothing in this chapter shall be so construed as to prevent any person who shall hereafter avail himself of the benefits of section 2289 from paying the minimum price for the quantity of land so entered at any time after the expiration of fourteen calendar months from the date of such entry, and obtaining a patent therefor, upon making proof of settlement and of residence and cultivation for such period of fourteen months, and the provision of this section shall apply to lands on the ceded portion of the Sioux Reservation, by act approved March 2, 1889, in North Dakota, but shall not relieve said settlers from any payments now required by law."

By same act Section 2288 was amended to read as follows:

"SECTION 3. That Section 2288 of the Revised Statutes be amended so as to read as follows:

"SECTION 2288. Any bona fide settler under the pre-emption, homestead or other settlement law shall have the right to transfer, by warranty against his own acts, any portion of his claim for church, cemetery or school purposes, or for the right of way of railroads, canals, reservoirs or ditches for irrigation or drainage across it; and the transfer for such public purposes shall in no way vitiate the right to complete and perfect the title of his claim."

RED ROCK STATION—CHEROKEE STRIP.

OKLAHOMA.

old Sac and Fox, Iowa and Pottawat-
Oklahoma and occupied by settlers, gives
portion of Oklahoma lying east of the

n (now embraced in Lincoln and Potta-
termed a park region. The North Cana-
h lie within its borders, are unsurpassed
y is more varied and rolling than that of
ely picturesque. The wagon roads run
easant shade of oak trees, and from fre-
s long reaches of woodland and prairie,
revealing wooded hills of considerable
ber foliage that indicates the course of
e haze so characteristic of the climate.
this same country, many years ago, he
a nobleman's well-kept park."
st of Logan and Lincoln counties) is situ-
a quarter of a million acres anywhere
ttler or is better adapted as a home for
rich river bottom soil as may be found
ise crops for a large population. The
ch of "scrub" and "post" oaks, dotended
ng springs, afford fine pasturage for live
e a good market for everything raised
has been taken up by settlers and many
be purchased at moderate rates.
pr possession of the Pottawatomie tribe
pleasantly rolling surface, while the bot-
Little River are exceedingly productive,
ntally bushels per acre being common.
ish timber, varied by occasional stretches
sh of white oak and hickory. It is not
nut grows sparsely, absolutely without
he place of tangled bush growths. In
the streams are a prairie covered with
rts and creeks consists of cottonwood,
eam, hickory and other deciduous trees.
s of a rich sandy loam, varying in depth
s and a black loam in the valleys. The
epth of time for use by growing crops.
known as "first bottom," is a dark and
unexcelled for farming purposes.
in the development of a new country,
g a number of small streams, from west
the Cimarron, Canadian, Deep Fork,
Summercreek creeks, empty into these
north and south. No part of the great
advantage.
exists throughout the whole area. All
great growth of timber of varying kinds
kory and cottonwood predominating.
quantities sufficient to supply all local
he banks of the Cimarron and Canadian
rth of walnut and oak of fine quality
th of walnuts, cottonwoods and oaks, of

ooth County, is a thriving city of 1,500
east of the line of the A., T. & S. F. R. R.
ges with Guthrie and Edmond stations.
alpa, on the 'Frisco Line. Chandler en-
community occupying the old Sac & Fox
from which to enter the Kickapoo lands,
. A weekly newspaper, good churches
dings, etc., make the city a pleasant

WESTERN OKLAHOMA.

The old Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation, which was opened to settlement in the spring of 1892, is now embraced in the counties of Blaine, D. Day, Roger Mills, G and Washita, and the western part of Kingfisher and Canadian, all lying in the western half of Oklahoma.

For agriculture, the eastern three fifths of this reservation cannot be excelled, embracing, as it does, the rich valleys of the Canadian, with the Kingfisher as its most prominent tributary, spreading out like a hand and furnishing an abundant supply of water in the rich valleys. Next south comes the North Fork of Canadian River, with numerous branches fed by living springs of pure water. The North Fork traverses the entire length of this vast reservation, from northwest to southeast, and has the broadest bottom lands of any stream in the Territory. Darlington Agency and Fort Reno are situated in this valley, at each of reservation, their sites having been selected on account of fertility of soil and commanding surroundings. Next south is the South Canadian River, paralleling the North Fork, through the entire Cheyenne and Arapahoe country from northwest to southeast. This is the largest stream in the section, with rich valleys on either side. In the Washita Valley is located a settlement of Cheyennes and Arapahoes known as the "Seger Colony," taking its name from John H. Seger, who built up the colony. Here the United States Government has expended a large sum in buildings, etc., and there is also a trading post and a postoffice. The Washita is a beautiful and productive valley. It is noted for the historic battle of Black Kettle, and witnessed the great charge of Custer, when Col. Elliot was killed. Indians always selected the valley of the Washita for camping grounds, on account of the excellent quality of the grass, as their ponies would keep fat in that locality all winter. This river traverses, in serpentine fashion, the entire length of the reservation, and is fed by more small creeks of pure water than any other in the Territory.

Every stream is fairly supplied with timber. Bordering the valleys, and on the ridges, is found an abundance of timber for fuel and fence posts. In some places, especially on the South Canadian and in the cañons, are valuable oak, walnut and cedar trees of sufficient size for sawing into lumber.

Along the North Fork of Canadian River are vast ledges of limestone rock, which, by proper burning, makes the best of lime. Plenty of sharp sand is found here for building purposes.

The climate is unsurpassed in the growth of the peach. At the Darlington Agency and Fort Reno, out of twelve successive years ten crops of peaches have been grown. Apples, grapes, apricots, plums and all the smaller fruits are also produced with marked success. This will be a great peach country. Plant trees the first year, and you will secure a crop the next.

During the past twenty years (and this will include some of the driest seasons) it is a matter of record that there has been grown successfully some corn every year in certain valleys. This has been done by wispire plowing and early spring planting, so that the grain has matured before the hot winds and dry weather of August have set in. What has been done can be done again and all the time. Better have the corn bitten by frost once or twice than take chances later in the season. In 1891 some farmers in Kingfisher and adjoining counties harvested as high as forty-one bushels of wheat to the acre.

The records for the past twenty years at Fort Sill show a fraction over thirty-two inches of rain annually, a fair criterion for the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country, as it is thought this will surely be increased by breaking up the sod and the drinking in of rain and moisture. With five years of experience for wheat breaking, the whole country will be as one vast sponge, heavily laden with moisture, and necessarily productive. This will hold good with the uplands as well as valleys.

There still remain a good many choice tracts of unoccupied land which settlers can obtain on reasonable terms.

The eastern half of this country can be quickly and comfortably reached via Santa Fé Route to Oklahoma City, where direct connection is made with the Choctaw Railway, from Oklahoma City to El Reno, a distance of twenty-six miles. Conveyances can also be had by stage from both Guthrie and Edmond, on Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Parties wishing to take up claims in the northwestern portion of the old Cheyenne and Arapahoe lands, should purchase tickets to Kiowa, Woodward, Canadian or Higgins on Panhandle Line of Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.

Letter from Register of U. S. Land Office.

U. S. LAND OFFICE, GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA TERRITORY.
March 24, 1893.

G. T. NICHOLSON, Esq.,
Gen'l Pass'r Agt. A., T. & S. F. R. R. Co.,
Topeka, Kan.

Dear Sir:—Answering your request for information in regard to the law under which the lands known as the Cherokee Outlet, or Strip, and the Tonkawa, Pawnee, and Kickapoo Indian reservations will be opened to homestead entry and settlement, I have to say that the time of the opening of these lands will be fixed by proclamation of the President, in which he will give twenty days' notice. It is probable, however, that the proclamation will be issued within the next ninety days.

The law prohibits all persons from occupying or entering upon any of these lands in any other manner than that which will be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, under the direction of the President, and which will be announced in the proclamation of the President opening the lands to settlement. Any person who occupies or enters said territory in any other manner than as above stated forfeits all right to acquire any of said lands.

Persons who made homestead entry prior to March 3, 1893, and failed from any cause to obtain title thereto, or who made entry under what is known as the commuted provision of the homestead laws (that is, under Section 2301, United States Revised Statutes), are permitted to make another entry, if otherwise qualified.

Each settler on the lands in the Strip, Tonkawa and Pawnee reservations, must pay for the land entered by them, in addition to the usual land office fees, the sum of $2.50 per acre for any land east of 97½° west longitude, the sum of $1.50 per acre for any land between 97½° west longitude and 98½° west longitude, and the sum of $1.00 per acre for land west of 98½° west longitude, and shall pay interest upon the amount so to be paid for said land from the date of entry to the date of final payment at the rate of four per cent per annum.

Final proof may be made and the purchase money paid at any time after twelve months actual residence on the land, and must be made before the expiration of two years after the completion of five years' residence on the land.

Kickapoo lands must be paid for at the rate of $1.50 per acre, one-half to be paid within two years after entry, and one-half at the expiration of the five years period of residence required.

The rights of old soldiers to take lands by filing a declaratory statement by agent at the proper land office remains intact under these laws.

Very respectfully,
C. M. BARNES,
Receiver.

The population of the principal cities and towns by the census of the spring of 1893 is estimated as follows:

Guthrie, 11,000; Oklahoma City, 10,000; El Reno, 3,500; Kingfisher, 3,000; Norman, 3,500; Stillwater, 3,000; Chandler, 2,500; Tecumseh, 1,500; Edmond, 1,000; Langston City, 1,000; Mulhall, 1,000; Hennessey, 1,000; Orlando, 1,000; Watonga, 800; Arapahoe, 600; Tuhoga, 500; Lexington, 500; Okarche, 300; Perkins, 500; Yukon, 300; Noble, 400; Cheyenne, 300; Frisco, 300; Ioland, 300; Cloud Chief, 300; Downs, 300; Union City, 150.

NOBLE is located near the South Canadian River, on the A., T. & S. F. R. R., ten miles north of Purcell and twenty-five miles south of Oklahoma City, in a rich portion of Cleveland County.

The present population is 400. Nearly all classes of business are represented, including stores, hotels, grist and saw mill, cotton gin, schools, churches, etc. A daily mail and hack line connects Noble with Burnett, Tecumseh and Shawnee. Mail and express facilities will be put into the Chickasaw country. It has one of the most beautiful locations in the Territory, and is accounted very healthful.

Sketches of Cities in Oklahoma.

THE CITY OF GUTHRIE.

Guthrie is the largest city in Oklahoma, with a population of 5,333, according to the United States Census of 1890. It now contains upwards of 11,000 inhabitants, and is growing rapidly. Every house is occupied and new ones are being built. Location is on Cottonwood River—a pretty stream, large enough to be used for steam yachts—which empties into the Cimarron a few miles away. The town site covers about 1,280 acres, and slopes gently to all sides, giving the city a commanding appearance. Kansas City is distant 368 miles, and the southern border of Kansas lies ninety miles to the north.

Guthrie, besides having been designated as capital of Oklahoma Territory, is also the county seat of Logan County, which has a population of about 18,000, making it the most densely settled section of the whole Territory.

The place to-day presents the appearance of a modest Western town, the streets being broad and laid out at right angles. There are handsome store and office buildings of stone and brick, and many tasty residences. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. is arranging to erect a costly brick passenger depot, two stories high, which will be an ornament to the city.

Several fine iron bridges span the Cottonwood, making all parts of Guthrie easy of access. A complete system of waterworks furnishes water for public and private use, sprinkling the located areas of the principal streets. An electric light plant supplies light for the streets and residences. Churches and schools help to make the society equal to that found anywhere else in the West. The Catholic and Episcopal Sees are located at Guthrie, and a large Catholic school is completed. There is also a university, just finished, which would be a credit to any city in the older States. A telephone system and electric street railway are being constructed. The Federal jail has been completed; also two roller flour mills, and a large ice plant. There is a good opening here for a 100-room hotel and grain elevators. Guthrie is also a good horse and mule market.

As the capital of Oklahoma Territory, Guthrie is a center of political activity. The estimated amount of business done at Guthrie for the first year was $2,700,000; postoffice receipts for the same period being $12,000.

Stages leave Guthrie every morning for McKinley, Partridge, Chandler and Sac and Fox Agency, arriving 5:00 p. m.; fare, $2.00 single trip and $3.50 round trip. Same rates apply for stage fare to Langston City, northeast of Guthrie. Stages leave 8:00 a. m. daily for Kingfisher (thirty-two miles), via Downs, arriving Downs 11:00 a. m. and Kingfisher 5:00 p. m.; fare, $2.00 one way and $3.50 round trip. Trunks to all above points charged extra, the rate being $1.00 on each 100 pounds.

OKLAHOMA CITY.

Midway between Kansas City and Galveston, on a beautiful plateau, just north of the Canadian River and west of the rich Kickapoo country, lies Oklahoma City, finely sloping prairies, wooded hills and broad valleys surround the city.

Two railroads center here—the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé, and the Choctaw Coal & Railway Co. It is expected that the latter line will soon be completed to the rich coal fields of South McAlester. The census of June 1, 1890, showed a *bona fide* population of 5,185. Since then the city has almost doubled in size, there being nearly 10,000 people there now.

Oklahoma City is the seat of government for Oklahoma County; has a fine electric light and gas plant, a complete system of water works and sewerage, making healthful sanitary conditions; has a flour mill with capacity of 400 barrels daily; a canning factory, carriage factory and candy factory; an up-town express and telegraph office; three daily and five weekly newspapers; one opera house; a land office and United States court; three cotton gins; two brick-making plants; an ice factory; packing house, machine shop, broom factory, planing mill, sash and door factory, and a number of other small establishments. It is expected that an electric street railway will be built this summer.

The assessed value of real estate and personal property, May, 1892, was: Real estate, $1,756,405; and personal, $626,611. Oklahoma City has four banks, which represent a combined capital of over $1,000,000; also three real estate boards. Six exclusively wholesale houses do a flourishing business. The business streets are well built up with a substantial class of houses, and the residence portion would likewise be a credit to larger places. For mercantile and manufacturing interests, capitalists can here find good investments—a natural feed for the Canadian river affording unlimited horse-power.

The best quality of clay for brick making, and of building stone, are within a convenient distance; also fine bodies of timber of the kind and

Sketches of Cities in Oklahoma.

quality required for manufacturing furniture and agricultural implements. The surrounding country is very invitingly adapted to agriculture, and without regard to wholesale trade the local business will always afford good profits for the home merchants. As the metropolis of the Canadian valley, Oklahoma City occupies a commanding position.

NORMAN.

Norman is seventeen miles south of Oklahoma City, and is the county seat of Cleveland County, which is settled by a thrifty class of people.

It is estimated that the city now has a population of 2,000. The territorial university is located here, having a very fine $50,000 building nearly completed. The M. E. Church south has a handsome two-story academy in process of erection. The citizens of Norman are evidently expect that it will become the educational city of Oklahoma.

The banking capital of its two incorporated banks aggregates $100,000. Business firms have doubled in number during the last one and a half years. There may be seen the finest hotel building in the Territory, and also other excellent wayside inns furnish ample refreshment for the wayfarer. Three weekly newspapers, seven churches, a large schoolhouse, cotton gins, lumber yards and ample facilities for milling, are other advantages of the city.

Being located on the line between the South Canadian and Little Rivers, in one of the best farming sections of the Territory, Norman hopes to materially increase its wealth and inhabitants. It now has a heavy trade with the Chickasaw Nation, which lies three miles to the south of it. In this vicinity, corn made thirty to ninety bushels per acre during 1892; wheat fifteen to forty-two bushels, and other crops in proportion.

EDMOND.

Seventeen miles south of Guthrie, and fourteen miles north of Oklahoma City, is the thrifty town of Edmond, surrounded by a choice farming country. Pure water is found in great abundance at a depth of thirty feet. The town was settled in May, 1889, and has a population of 284, by United States census; since increased to nearly 1,000.

There are several Protestant churches, and the Catholics have a neat church building, the first in the Territory. The first schoolhouse was also built here, and seven months of school held without any revenue from taxation. Edmond has the State Normal School.

Thirty-five store buildings are all occupied. Trade comes from west and east. An excellent road has been opened, and daily mail and stage route established to and from Sac and Fox Agency, via Arcadia, Ingram and Chandler. Fare, Edmond to Chandler, $2.50; round trip, $4.50. Twenty pounds free baggage allowed. $1.00 per hundred for excess baggage. There is also a mail route and stage line to El Reno, via Center, Herron, Eda and Frisco. Edmond is only twelve miles from the Kickapoo line.

PURCELL.

Purcell is located in the Chickasaw Nation, on the south bank of South Fork of Canadian River, which is the southern boundary of Oklahoma Territory. The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. and Gulf, Colorado & Santa Fé Ry. lines here unite, making the city the end of two important divisions, being now the recognized commercial center of the old Indian Territory, and by virtue of location and railroad facilities offers fine inducements to the manufacturer. Being surrounded by a rich agricultural country, it excels in cattle, grain and hay shipments, and has a big cotton trade. Purcell claims to have the only large flouring mill and elevator in the Territory, erected at a cost of $50,000. It has three substantial banking and monetary institutions, all doing a splendid business; it leads all other towns in Indian Territory as regards commercial activity, newspapers, churches, schools, banks, hotels and stores of all kinds. Location is upon a beautiful plateau, commanding a splendid view in all directions. The lands in this vicinity are very fertile, consisting of a rich, sandy loam. Cattle, grain and cotton are the chief products.

The farming in Chickasaw Nation is chiefly carried on by white persons, who rent and lease land of the Indian owners, for a nominal price. An iron bridge connects the town of Lexington, Oklahoma Territory, with Purcell. A large three-story brick hotel is to be erected immediately, at a cost of $20,000.

Purcell is connected with all towns in the interior of Chickasaw Nation by well-kept wagon roads, and is the most accessible point for those located in the northern part of the Nation.

BEAVER COUNTY, OKLAHOMA.

Beaver County is located in the northwest corner of Oklahoma and contains nearly 4,000,000 acres of land. Its greatest length is from east to west. Kansas and Colorado are on the north; New Mexico on the west, Texas on the south, and Cherokee Strip on the east. Englewood, Kan., on the A., T. & S. F. R. R. is the nearest railroad point to Beaver, the county seat, forty miles away. Daily stages run between Englewood and Beaver, with excellent service, carrying passengers and express at very reasonable rates.

Beaver County has been settled, in some portions, for several years, and its agricultural possibilities have been quite fully worked out. With favorable seasons, good crops of corn can be raised. But in raising small grain and grasses, it has been found that the soil and climate are particularly adapted to secure success. The soil is a dark sandy loam, which is light and easily cultivated, retains moisture well, and is very fertile.

The absence of extremely wet weather during midsummer, greatly assists in producing a fine quality of grain and admits of harvesting and threshing being completed without serious loss or damage. The grasses, particularly alfalfa, produce bountifully.

Stock raising is a leading and a very profitable industry. The unsettled lands afford fine grazing for cattle, accounting of their being raised ready for the market with but little expense for feed, either winter or summer. Sheep raising is especially profitable, the returns being very large on the capital invested. The excellent pasturage and mild winters make expenses very light to the owners, while the yield of wool is of a high standard both in quantity and quality. The east half of the country is unusually well watered—three rivers, the Cimarron, Beaver and Wolf, running nearly parallel for a considerable distance, and the intervening country is closely intersected by a net-work of smaller streams flowing into the three.

Beaver, the county seat on the Beaver River, is a thriving town of several hundred population. A town site of several hundred acres has been surveyed and platted, and clear titles can be obtained to property. The Government Land Office for a large district is located here. Two terms of both the United States District Court and the Territorial District Court are held here each year. Beaver has graded schools, organized churches and religious societies, large stocks of merchandise, with enterprising merchants and rapidly growing trade. The people are an intelligent, social and law abiding class.

The lands in this county are open to settlement under the homestead laws, without payment of any kind to extinguish Indian titles. A claim of 160 acres of land can be selected, an entry of it made at the land office on payment of $14.00, and at the end of five years' residence upon it, a deed title can be obtained, the whole land office expenses not exceeding $20.00.

HOW IT GROWS.

State and Territorial lines are usually sharply defined from the outset, no growth in area being possible. Older communities, each jealous of its own territorial integrity, form a barrier to further increase of acreage, and the young aspirant for admission to the Union finds its metes and bounds firmly fixed for years to come.

Such is not the case as regards Oklahoma Territory.

Located near the center of a vast body of fertile lands hitherto exclusively set apart for Uncle Sam's Indian wards, this new member of our body politic will spread out on all sides, as arrangements are made by the Government with the various Indian tribes, until the jurisdiction of the Governor of Oklahoma will probably extend over all of what is now known as the Indian Territory, originally a magnificent domain of 69,000 square miles, divided as follows:

Choctaw, 15,456; Cherokee, 7,031; Chickasaw, 7,267; Creek, 4,750; Seminole, 365; Cherokee Strip, 9,408; Kiowa, Comanche and Apache, 4,630; Oklahoma proper, 17,451; Greer County, 2,362, Osage Nation, 2,296; Wichitas 1,651; Pawnees, 441; Kickapoos, 322; Utes and Missourias, 291; Ponceas, 159; Tonkawas, 106; Kansas, 100.

The infant Territory's clothes are already too small. They were patched up in September, 1891, when the Iowa, Pottawatomie and Sac and Fox lands were added, and later when the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation was annexed; but a new suit is again necessary. Commissioners appointed by the United States have obtained consent of the Otoes, Ponceas and Wichitas to take their lands in severalty and throw the residue open for public settlement under the homestead laws. That portion of Oklahoma belonging to the Tonkawa, Pawnee and Kickapoo tribes, and not taken by them in severalty, will be thrown open for settlement at a very early date—as soon as the President's proclamation is issued, which must be prior to March 4th, 1894.

STATISTICS OF THE CENSUS.

The official Government census returns of June 1, 1890, give Oklahoma Territory 61,834 inhabitants, divided as follows:

Logan County, Guthrie, county seat, 12,779; Oklahoma County, Oklahoma City, county seat, 11,242; Kingfisher County, Kingfisher, county seat, 3,332; Cleveland County, Norman, county seat, 4,666; Payne County, Stillwater, county seat, 7,215; Canadian County, El Reno, county seat, 7,158; Beaver County, Beaver, county seat, 1,674; Greer County (all reported with Texas), 5,385; Total, 61,834.

Gov. Scoy, in his report of October 1, 1892, to the Secretary of the Interior, estimated the population at that date to be as follows:

Lincoln County, 10,500; Pottawatomie County, 10,000; Blaine County, 3,000; D County, 1,200; Day County, 300; Mills County, 700; G County, 1,000; Washita County, 1,500; Beaver County, 2,000; Canadian County, 15,500; Cleveland County, 14,000; Logan County, 22,000; Payne County, 13,000; Oklahoma County, 21,000; Kingfisher County, 10,500; Total, 163,000.

The foregoing figures do not include Indians who still maintain their tribal relations. Of the 125,190 it is estimated that eighty-five per cent. are white, ten per cent. colored, and five per cent. Indians.

Settlers are pouring in very fast, and the present population of the above counties is not far from 180,000.

Sketches of Cities in Oklahoma.

MULHALL.

Mulhall is located in the famous valleys of the two Beaver Rivers, thirteen miles north of Guthrie. Fertility of soil, salubrity of climate and purity of water, have combined to build here a pretty town of nearly 1,000 people. Within the past year many handsome residences and stores have been erected. Business openings are numerous, with good prospects for a fine commercial future. A bank has just been started. At present Mulhall is the home of a large and plenty of water may be had at a depth of thirty feet. Daily stages run to and from Guthrie (except Sunday) to Clarkson, Cimarron City, Perkins, Clayton, Stillwater and Cushing. Last year's business exceeded $75,000. Two good hotels and an ably-edited weekly paper furnish food for brawn and brain.

STILLWATER.

The town of Stillwater is the county seat of Payne County (population in 1890, 7,215, now 14,000), in the extreme northeast corner of Oklahoma. The United States census of June, 1890, showed 3,000 as the city census of. Its increased the figures to 1,200, and recent estimates give nearly 2,000 as the present population of this energetic city.

There are daily stage lines to and from Wharton and Orlando on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé railroad, connecting with passenger trains north and south.

The Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Experiment Station are located here, in successful operation, and are worthy the attention of each prospective settler as to educational privileges.

Stillwater does a very large business. In addition to the country trade, the adjoining reservations of the Pawnee, Otoe, Ponca, Osage and other Indian tribes spend their money at this point.

The opening of the Strip, in the near future, will still further increase the growth and advantages. Land is sold to close the property of this thriving town.

TECUMSEH.

Tecumseh, the county seat of Pottawatomie County, is situated on a high rolling prairie. It contains 2,000 inhabitants, and has a natural drainage in all directions makes it unsurpassed for cleanliness and healthfulness. Good water, in abundant quantities, is found at from twenty to thirty feet. Tecumseh has four schools, seven churches, a public library, one saw mill, one gin, two weekly newspapers, a business of all kinds is well represented. Being situated forty-five miles from any other town, it has a large area of the best agricultural country from which it draws trade. It is three miles to the southern boundary line of the Kickapoo lands, soon to be opened to settlement. It is one of the best points from which to enter the lands for opening. The merchants have all needed supplies for new settlers. Tecumseh is in the midst of the finest grazing country in the world. All kinds of grain and fruits grow in abundance. Hack lines make daily connection with Oklahoma City and Noble on the Santa Fé R. R.

ORLANDO.

Orlando, on the A., T. & S. F. R. R., is the most northern town in Oklahoma. It is only one-half mile south of Cheyenne Strip, and will be a starting point for "boomers." It is surrounded by the richest of farming lands; has recently acquired its population; will be a county seat; is out of debt; has good school and hotel accommodations, and is the distributing point for the inland towns of Stillwater, Marshall, Mulhall, Los Ingalls, Cushing, Clayton, Windom, Plumb and Ransom. Orlando is also an excellent shipping point; stock yards are soon to be established. The community is orderly, peaceable and prosperous. The necessaries of life can be cheaply obtained. Fine water is found at a moderate depth. All kinds are being made this spring, and Orlando promises to be an important town. Present population is given as 1,000. Three churches are to be erected at once.

MOORE.

Moore is situated on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R., nine miles south of Oklahoma City, between the North and South Canadian Rivers, in the center of a productive region. The surrounding country is well watered by small springs and creeks, with plenty of timber, black walnut, pecan and other timber. Fine building stone is found within a few miles of town. Every quarter section is occupied and cultivated. Good schools and churches are being built. Parties locating into this point are first class, and with necessary developers for handling grain, Moore expects to lead all other points in grain shipments.

The town has a good hotel, cotton gin, and other branches of business. The surrounding country is a fine wheat and corn region.

FACTS FOR THE CURIOUS.

The taxable property of Oklahoma Territory for 1892, at two-thirds value, aggregates $11,485,000, an increase of $4,650,000 over 1891. This does not include the old Cheyenne and Arapahoe lands. With them the present value of real and personal property is not far from $80,000,000. Four years ago it was not one cent.

There are five national banks in the Territory, of $50,000 capital stock each, with an average of $150,000 deposits; four incorporated banks and fourteen private banks, with a total capital of $370,000 and total deposits of $500,000. Four years ago there were no banks, no capital, and no deposits.

The school population of Oklahoma in 1892 was 31,209, an increase of 10,561 over the preceding year. The public schools are in a prosperous condition. A Territorial University is located at Norman, a Normal School at Edmond, and an Agricultural College at Stillwater. The little red schoolhouse is to the front, as usual, in the West.

Gov. Scoy says that on a few choice farms as much as 44 bushels of wheat and 118 bushels of oats was grown per acre, last season.

The assessors' returns are authority for the statement that in 1892 there were in Oklahoma Territory 145,677 cattle, 15,353 sheep, 30,168 swine, and 52,396 horses and mules.

Oklahoma has fine brick-clay, good building stone and prospects for coal.

The few Indians in Oklahoma are quiet, peaceable and law-abiding.

The area of the lands belonging to Oklahoma Territory politically, but not yet opened for settlement, is 18,989 square miles. This is 3,324 square miles greater than Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey and Delaware combined. It is now occupied by 8,000 Indians and squaw men. It could comfortably support half a million people, and not be crowded.

COLUMBIAN EDITION.

Santa Fé Route.

CHEROKEE STRIP

AND

OKLAHOMA

Opening of

Cherokee Strip;
Kickapoo,
Pawnee and Tonkawa
Reservations.

W. F. WHITE,
PASSENGER TRAFFIC MGR.

JNO. J. BYRNE,
ASS'T PASS'R TRAFFIC MGR.

CHICAGO.

G. T. NICHOLSON,
GEN'L PASS'R & TKT. AGT.

W. J. BLACK,
ASS'T GEN'L PASS'R & TKT. AGT.

TOPEKA, KAN.

27214 POOLE BROS. CHICAGO.

The Cherokee Strip was one of three areas allotted to the Cherokee Nation in 1835 as part of the Treaty of Echota. During the decades prior to the Civil War, its six million acres of open grasslands were rarely used by Cherokee farmers, most of whom were settled in the northeastern portion of Indian Territory. But in 1864 a Scotch-Cherokee trader named Jesse Chisholm staked out a path from Texas to Kansas across the Strip, developing an old military and Indian trail into a road capable of bearing heavy wagons laden with merchandise. Three years later, Joseph McCoy built the first large-scale stockyards in Abilene, Kansas. He encouraged Texas ranchers to drive their cattle to Abilene, where access by rail to northern and eastern markets could yield a ten-fold increase in the value of their herds. The first herd of 2400 steers arrived from San Antonio soon after, and over the next 20 years more than five million heads of Texas cattle were moved along the Chisolm Trail through the Cherokee Strip to Kansas. Many drivers used its grasslands to graze and winter their herds at little cost, despite continued Cherokee efforts to collect leasing fees for grazing rights. In 1890 President Benjamin Harrison outlawed all grazing in the Strip, removing any profit from leasing, and in January 1893 the Cherokee Nation agreed to cede the entire parcel to the U. S. Government for just over eight million dollars, or about $1.50 an acre.

The subsequent Land Run of September 16 was the fourth and largest event of its kind in Oklahoma history. Each of these had its roots in the so-called Boomer Movement, named for the loud, booming demands of land seekers insisting that federal authorities open unoccupied areas of the Indian Territory for settlement. The first land run took place at noon on April 22, 1889, and opened those Unassigned Lands relinquished by Creeks and Seminoles after the Civil War. More than 50,000 people stormed in on the first day, including thousands of African American freedmen and other formerly enslaved peoples. Tent communities sprang up on the sites of what would soon become Oklahoma City, Norman, Guthrie, and Stillwater. The next two land runs--following on September 22, 1891 and April 19, 1892--combined to open five million acres of land, the second drawing from territories of the Sac and Fox, Iowa, Potawatomi, and Shawnee tribes, the third from the Cheyenne and Arapaho. The 1893 Land Run was four times larger than that of 1889, opening 12,700 mi² to an estimated 100,000 would-be claimants vying for just 40,000 homesteads; most of those who rushed the Cherokee Strip failed to secure a claim. The fifth and final run of 1895 was also the smallest, settling Kickapoo lands in central Oklahoma.

This rare map and brochure promoting the 1893 Land Run was published by Poole Brothers of Chicago for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Company. Folded accordion-style, it contains 28 pages or panels of detailed information about Oklahoma, 16 on the recto of the sheet and 12 on the verso, which also features a large colored map. The recto includes descriptions of the Cherokee Strip; the Pawnee Indian Reservation; lands of the Ponca, Tonkawa-Nez Perces, and Otoe-Missouria; the Kickapoo Indians; the Indians of the Cherokee Strip; the Wichita Reservation; cotton growing in Oklahoma; railroad schedules dated April 18, 1893, for travel to Oklahoma from Chicago, St. Louis, Texas, and Colorado; and directions for placing a homestead claim. The verso panels include extended descriptions of Eastern and Western Oklahoma; Oklahoma's cities; an explanation of the Homestead Law of 1891; and "How to Get One of Uncle Sam's Farms." The map is titled "Map of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, accurately showing Oklahoma, the Cherokee Strip, the Five Civilized Nations, and Reservations belonging to tribes that have agreed to take their land in severalty." It measures 11 3/4 x 15 3/4 inches (30 x 40 cm). But for a single pinhole tear, one panel split, and light marginal staining and short tears along one edge--both brochure and map are in very good condition. Fully open, the sheet measures 15 3/4 x 35 1/2 inches (40 x 90 cm). Closed, its front and rear facing panels each include a Native American portrait. **We locate only two examples of this impressive production in institutional holdings--one at Yale, the other at the Newberry; no copies appear to have been offered at auction or in the trade**. An early and important map promoting the greatest land run in American history.

Relevant sources:

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

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2018 1889: The Boomer Movement, the Land Run, and Early Oklahoma City. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Lynn-Sherow, Bonnie
2004 *Red Earth Race: and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory*. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.

Turner, Alvin O.
1993 Order and Disorder: The Opening of the Cherokee Outlet. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* 71(2):154-173.

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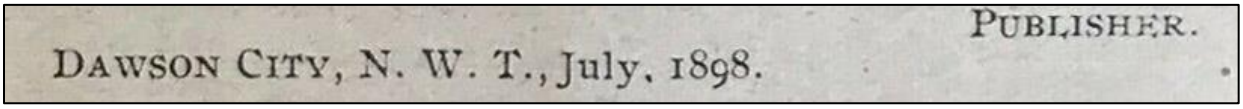
[Oklahoma Territory--Land Run of 1893]: CHEROKEE STRIP AND OKLAHOMA. OPENING OF CHEROKEE STRIP; KICKAPOO, PAWNEE AND TONKAWA RESERVATIONS. Santa Fé Route, Columbian Edition. Poole Bros., Chicago. April 1893. Folding promotional with 28 text panels and a large colored map. Sheet measures 15 3/4 x 35 1/2 inches (40 x 90 cm); map is 11 3/4 x 15 3/4 inches (30 x 40 cm). One pinhole tear, one panel separation along fold, light wear and staining along one edge. Overall very good.

22. SOLD.

The Only Known Copy of the First Dawson City Directory

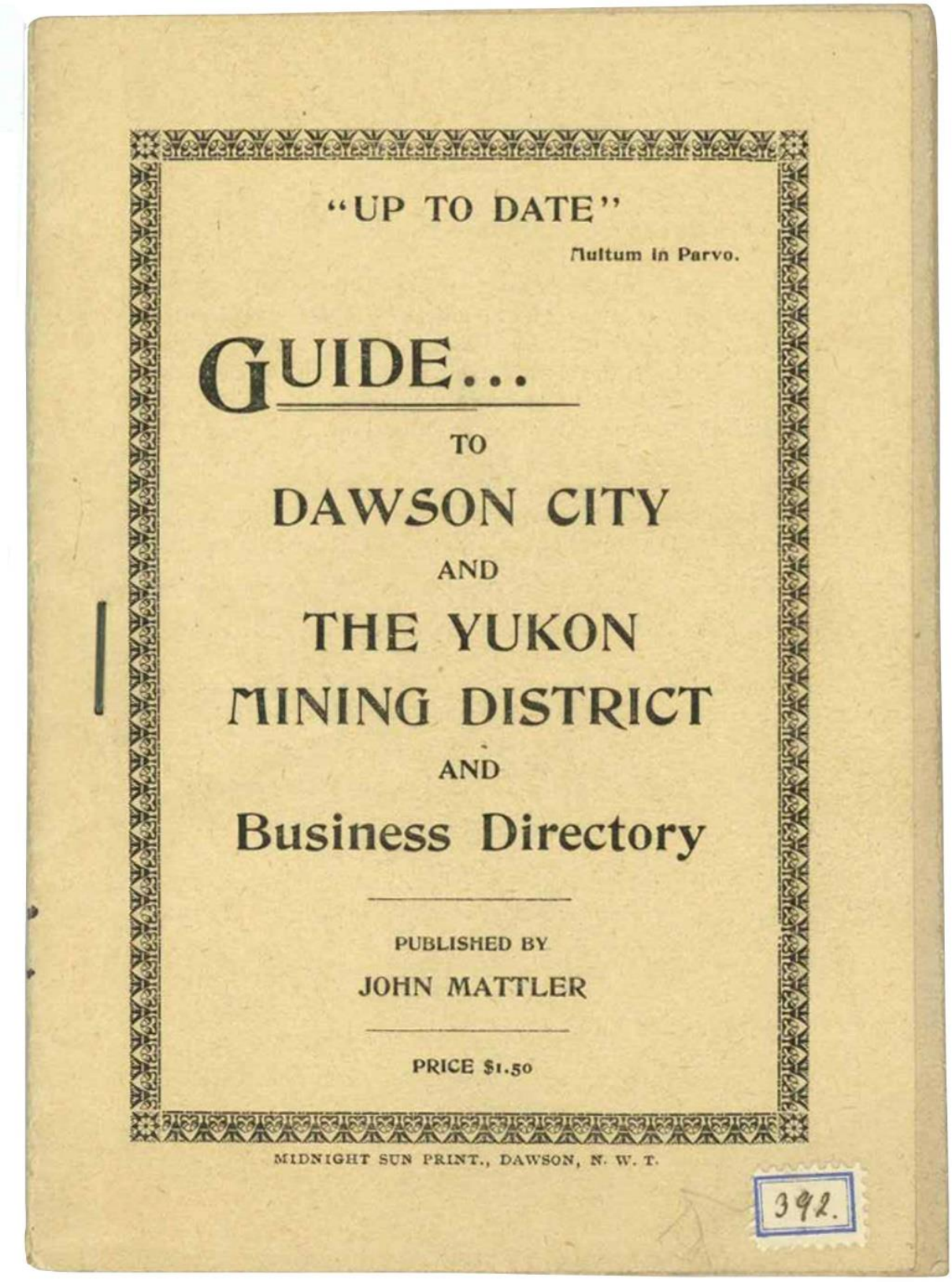
In August 1896, just a few days after George Carmack and his relatives discovered gold in Rabbit Creek--a tributary of the Klondike River--fellow prospector, trader, and sawmill operator Joseph Ladue staked out the muddy flats at the mouth of the river as a townsite, which he registered as Dawson. Miners soon claimed all of Rabbit Creek, renamed Bonanza, and were spreading into neighboring streams seeking additional deposits. Ladue, meanwhile, moved his entire sawmill to Dawson, now home to two dozen people, a pair of log cabins, a small warehouse, and a scattering of tents. Word of the discoveries had yet to reach beyond the Yukon by winter, though prospectors from places downstream began making their way to Dawson, swelling its population to 500. By April, that number had grown to 1500 and Ladue's asking price for a plot of land to $500 ($14,000 in modern currency). Not until July 1897 would the ships *Excelsior* and *Portland* arrive in San Francisco and Seattle bearing millions of dollars in gold and the promise of so much more. That first summer, Dawson's population would explode to 5000 people, then to more than 30,000 by June 1898, making it the largest city in Canada west of Winnipeg. Lots, when available, could sell for $10,000. It was then that Dawson earned is first two newspapers, the *Yukon Midnight Sun* and the *Klondike Nugget*. Its first city directory, from the press of the *Sun*, followed in August. **A pamphlet of 40 pp., it is the first book of any kind published in Yukon Territory; previously unrecorded, ours is also the only known surviving copy**.


PUBLISHER.

DAWSON CITY, N. W. T., July, 1898.

Among the wave of hopefuls trekking toward Dawson in the spring of 1898 was George P. Swinehart of Juneau. Yet unlike most of those who trudged the same arduous route along the Chilkoot Trail, Swinehart carried no prospecting supplies or mining equipment. Instead, having left his position as editor and publisher of the *Juneau Mining Record*, he carried a small printing press and a set of type, intent on establishing Dawson's first paper. After crossing Chilkoot Pass in early April, Swinehart's party--which included his brother and nephew--found themselves stuck on the other side at a place called Caribou Crossing (now shortened to Carcross), located near Lake Bennett. With no choice but to wait for the winter's ice to go out of the lakes and rivers, Swinehart carefully set up his press on May 16 and printed a single issue of the *Caribou Sun*. Not only was it the first Yukon newspaper, but also apparently the first Yukon imprint of any kind. OCLC lists just three institutional copies of the *Caribou Sun*, at Yale, the University of Alaska-Fairbanks, and the Washington State Library.

Unbeknownst to Swinehart as he was making his way along the Chilkoot, another team out of Seattle, led by Eugene C. Allen, was also vying to produce Dawson's first newspaper. When Allen learned of Swinehart's progress, he left the rest of his group with their own cumbersome press and hurried ahead to Dawson alone, intending to get settled and begin gathering news before either of the presses was ready to print. Allen arrived first, in mid-April. Within a few weeks he had acquired enough material for a single issue, but all of his equipment was still hundreds of miles away. Rather than wait, he bought enough lumber to build a bulletin board and placed it on Front Street. On a borrowed typewriter, he pounded out the first pages of the *Klondike Nugget*, posting



"UP TO DATE"

Multum in Parvo.

GUIDE...

TO

DAWSON CITY

AND

THE YUKON MINING DISTRICT

AND

Business Directory

PUBLISHED BY

JOHN MATTLER

PRICE $1.50

MIDNIGHT SUN PRINT., DAWSON, N. W. T.

MARTIN, JOSLIN & GRIFFIN,

Mining Brokers, Financial Agents,

Attorneys and Counselor in Courts of United States and Alaska.

DAWSON CITY OFFICE,

2nd St., between 1st and 2d Avenues.

SEATTLE OFFICE,

Collins Block, cor. 2d Ave. and James Street.

REFERENCES:

Any of the Judges of the State or Federal Courts in Seattle or to any bank in Seattle.

IN DAWSON.

To the Alaska Commercial Co.

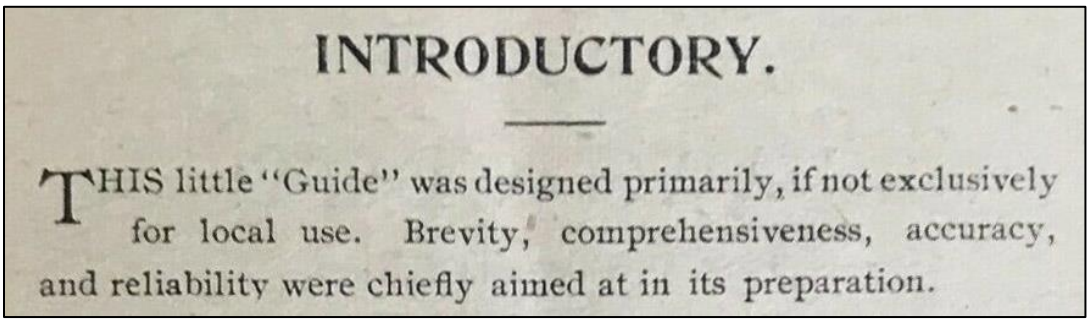
Any kind of legal business in the Courts of the United States and Alaska promptly and carefully attended to.

Interests and inves ments of non-residents in the Klondike and Alaskan gold fields looked after.

Expert examination and report upon mines and mining titles.

Loans and Investments Negotiated.

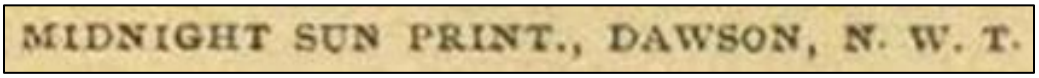
Correspondence from non-residents invited.



INTRODUCTORY.

THIS little "Guide" was designed primarily, if not exclusively for local use. Brevity, comprehensiveness, accuracy, and reliability were chiefly aimed at in its preparation.

each page to the board as he finished it. Although Allen always insisted that his *Nugget* won the race to Dawson, few of his contemporaries or much later historians of frontier printing considered these early typewritten pages to constitute a newspaper proper. Swinehart and his press reached Dawson ahead of Allen's team, and on June 11 Swinehart published his first, eight-page issue of the *Yukon Midnight Sun*. He beat Allen's *Nugget* by five days. The first few issues of Swinehart's weekly were printed in three columns on both sides of a newsprint sheet folded to a smaller format measuring 21 cm by 28 cm. A month later, a larger press arrived from St. Michael on board the steamship *John J. Healy*. The subsequent number of the *Sun*, issued on July 18, was published in a four-page format of seven columns per page and measuring 48 cm by 58.5 cm. It would retain this format for remainder of its run, which seems to have ended in 1905.



MIDNIGHT SUN PRINT., DAWSON, N. W. T.

Soon after arriving in Dawson, Swinehart must have crossed paths with Denver real-estate agent turned gold-prospector John Mattler, who is identified on the directory's front wrapper as its publisher. We have learned little of Mattler, save for his work in Colorado real estate before and after the years of the Klondike gold rush. We suspect that Mattler had begun to collect information for a guide prior to Swinehart's arrival, so soon did it appear from the press of the *Sun*. A notice published by Swinehart in a July issue of the paper announced that, as a service to miners, the *Sun* would offer its readers and the wider community:

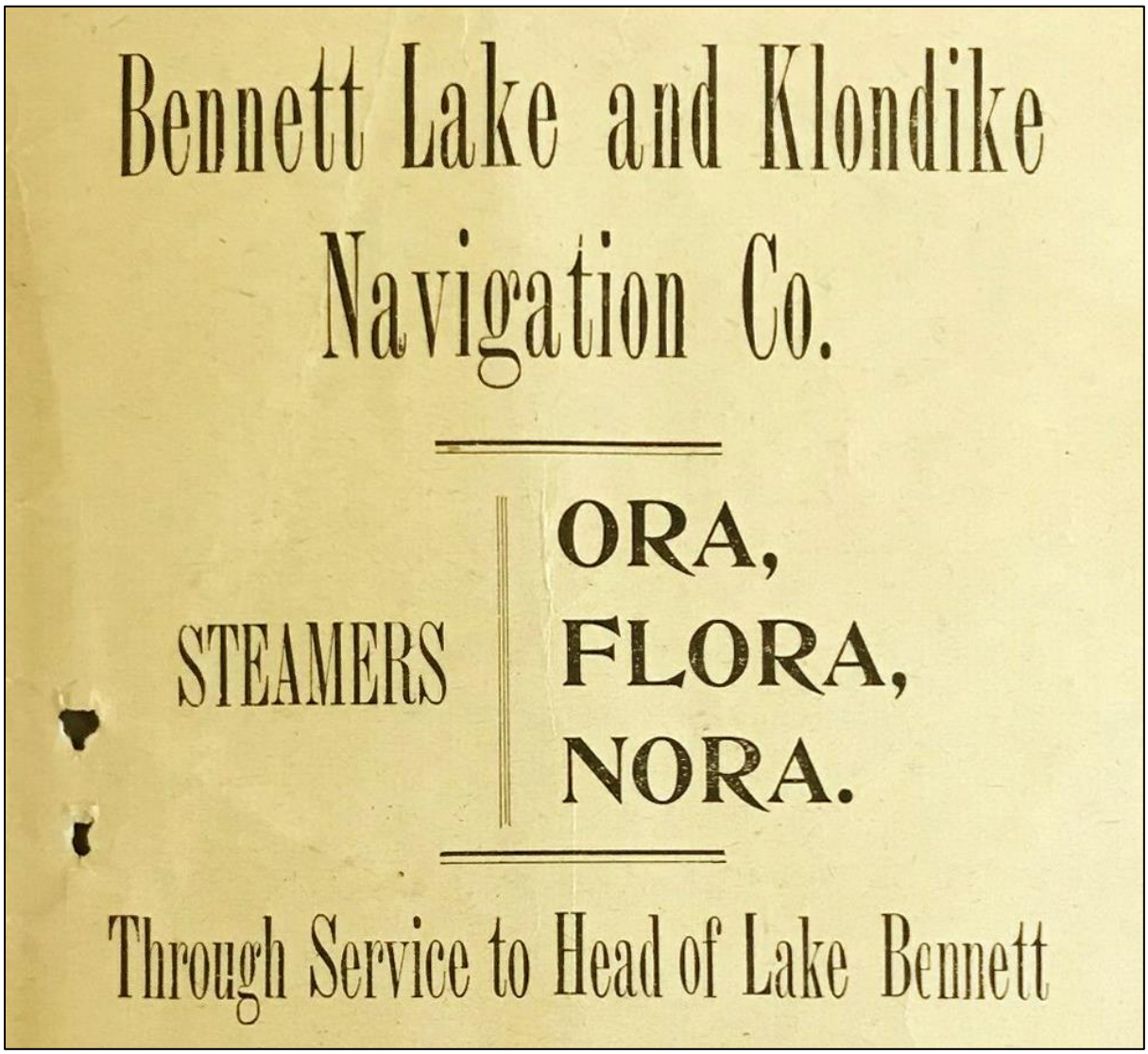
> a *Guide to Dawson and the Yukon Mining District*, to be available by 10 August and to include such useful information as mining regulations for both Yukon and Alaska, dominion land and timber regulations, descriptions of mining districts, tables of weights for gold dust, and a business directory [in Bush 1979:77].

The resulting publication, of which no other copy is known to have survived, was titled *Guide to Dawson City and the Yukon Mining District and Business Directory*. Filling 40 pp. with small type in a 16mo "pocket" size format on cheap newsprint, it contains a Table of Contents and the aforenoted Introduction, followed by essays on Dawson City—Past, Present, and Future; The Mines and Mining; Mining Laws; Mining Districts and Divisions Accurately Defined; Dawson Real Estate; Make Your Own Map—Outline Description of the Yukon Mining District; Gold Dust as Currency—Table of Weights; and finally the Dawson City Business Directory, printed on eight pages cut to slightly smaller size, the whole attached to yellow wrappers by a staple.

Mattler's Introduction is dated "Dawson City, N. W. T., July, 1898," suggesting that his *Guide to Dawson* appeared in print between mid-July and mid-August (news of the Yukon Act of June 13, which formally carved Yukon from the old Northwest Territories, may not have widely circulated in the west, though this act named Dawson the new capitol). Mattler writes that "This little 'Guide' was designed primarily, if not exclusively for local use" (p. 1). Moreover,

> Whilst care was exercised to exclude all superfluous matters appearing in the numerous more or less excellent "Guides" published on the "outside," no effort was spared to give all the information of an essential character than may be desired by the prospector, or the visitor to and the inhabitant of Dawson [p. 1].

Finally, he acknowledges the lack of a map, noting "It is to be regretted that it was impossible to produce a reliable map to accompany the Guide. This cause for regret, however, is minimized by giving all the essential features of a map in another form" (p. 1). This refers to the Make Your Own Map section of the guide, offering 4 pp. of tabular data on the mining district.



We can trace no other copies of Mattler's *Guide to Dawson*, either in institutional holdings through OCLC or in the history of the trade through RBH. It is not to be found among the 649 titles included in Gary F. Kurutz's magnificent new book, *The Klondike & Alaska Gold Rushes: A Descriptive Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Covering the Years 1896-1905* (2021). Apart from the earliest issues of the *Yukon Midnight Sun* and the *Klondike Nugget*, we can trace no earlier Dawson City imprints. Certainly this appears to be the only gold rush guide or directory produced in Dawson during the height of the stampede. Nor can we identify any earlier book printed in any part of Canada's North. Prior to the discovery of *Guide to Dawson*, the earliest such items known to bibliographers were a souvenir book of Yukon scenes published by the Dawson *News* in 1908 and what Peter Mitham refers to as "the first major Yukon imprint" (2000:59), a 56-pp. collection of poetry by Marie Joussaye Fotheringham titled *Selections from Anglo Saxon Songs*, ca. 1918, of which only two copies are known. **Altogether, this unique guide and directory must be counted among the most important productions of the last great gold rush, as one of the only imprints published in the heart of the Klondike while it was still the golden north**.

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Mitham, Peter
2000 History of the Book in Yukon: A Discussion Paper. *The Northern Review* 21:57-71.
Porsild, Charlene
2007 *Gamblers and Dreamers: Men, Women, and Community in the Klondike*. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.

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[Yukon Gold Rush--Dawson City]: GUIDE…TO DAWSON CITY AND THE YUKON MINING DISTRICT AND BUSINESS DIRECTORY. Published by John Mattler. Price $1.50. Midnight Sun Print, Dawson, N. W. T. [n.d., but July-August 1898]. 16mo (16 cm). 40 pp. Light yellow wrappers, title in ornamental frame; Table of Contents printed on inner front wrapper, full-page advertisements on recto and verso of rear wrapper. Small adhesive stamp, numbered, at lower right corner of front wrapper, rear wrapper separated from staple. Text printed on newsprint, and stapled as issued. Very slight vertical fold, light edge wear. Very good.

23. SOLD.

A Rare Hymnal Printed at the Fraser River Indian Mission

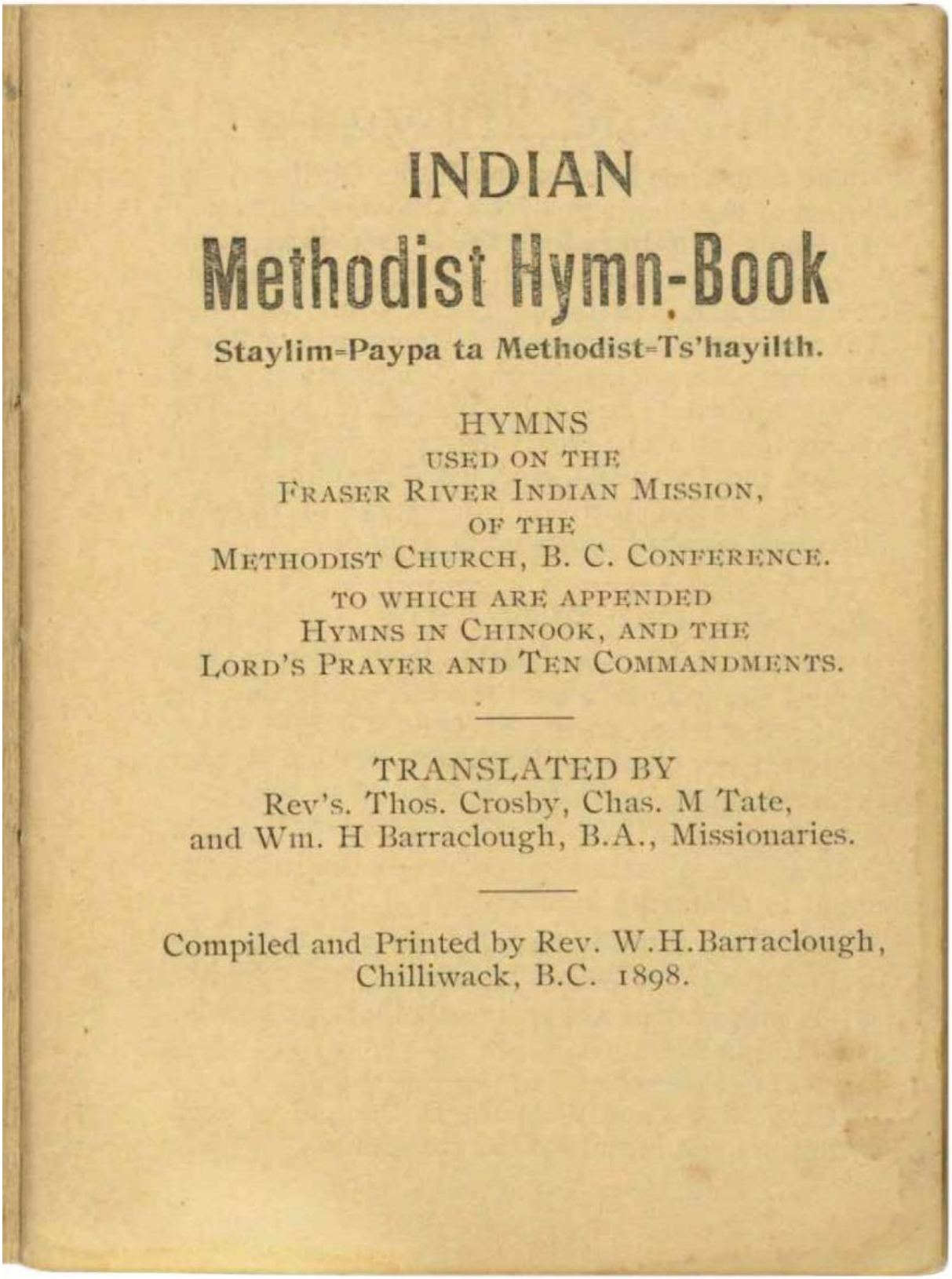
In 1841, when the first Christian missionary visited Sto:lo communities along the Fraser River, British Columbia's Aboriginal population was about 70,000 people. There were fewer than 500 white settlers. By 1898, when missionary W. H. Barraclough compiled this *Indian Methodist Hymn-Book* for use at the Fraser River Indian Mission, the province's Aboriginal population had declined by two-thirds to just over 25,000 people. Meanwhile, the number of non-Native settlers had climbed to more than 150,000. In the span of a lifetime, the Sto:lo and neighboring peoples witnessed a demographic upheaval, from constituting essentially 100% of the region's population to little more than 14% (Lutz 2008). With the settlers, churches, and government institutions came focused efforts to stamp out Indigenous beliefs and lifeways. As Duncan Campbell Scott, deputy superintendent of Canada's Indian Affairs Department, famously declared in 1914: "The happiest future for the Indian race is absorption into the general population, and this is the object and policy of our government...[to] finally overcome the lingering traces of native custom and tradition" (in Chapman and Withers 2019:276). This hymn book, almost entirely in the language of the Sto:lo (Halq'eméylem) Salish of the lower Fraser River, is a part of that long, painful process. **Printed at Chilliwack in an edition of 100 copies, this is one of five known examples**.


INDIAN

Methodist Hymn-Book

Staylim-Paypa ta Methodist-Ts'hayilth.

The Sto:lo people--also known historically as the Staho, Fraser River Indians, and Lower Fraser Salish--have inhabited the Fraser Valley and Fraser Canyon for 10,000 years, developing a complex political economy based on salmon fishing and coastal trade, supplemented by hunting and gathering wild resources. Their first contact with Europeans came not through face-to-face interaction but through down-the-line transmission of smallpox, the epidemic of late 1782 having killed nearly two-thirds of their entire population in a matter of weeks. The first Europeans the Sto:lo met in person were coastal traders who periodically began to explore the Salish Sea and the mouth of the Fraser River during the 1790s. In 1808, Simon Fraser became the first European to explore the river (later named for him) from an overland approach, and the Hudson Bay Company followed after with the construction of Fort Langley in 1827, placed 30 miles (50 km) upstream from the river's mouth to exploit the growing trade in salmon and furs. The HBC planted another outpost, Fort Yale, much farther upstream near Fraser Canyon in 1848.



INDIAN
Methodist Hymn-Book

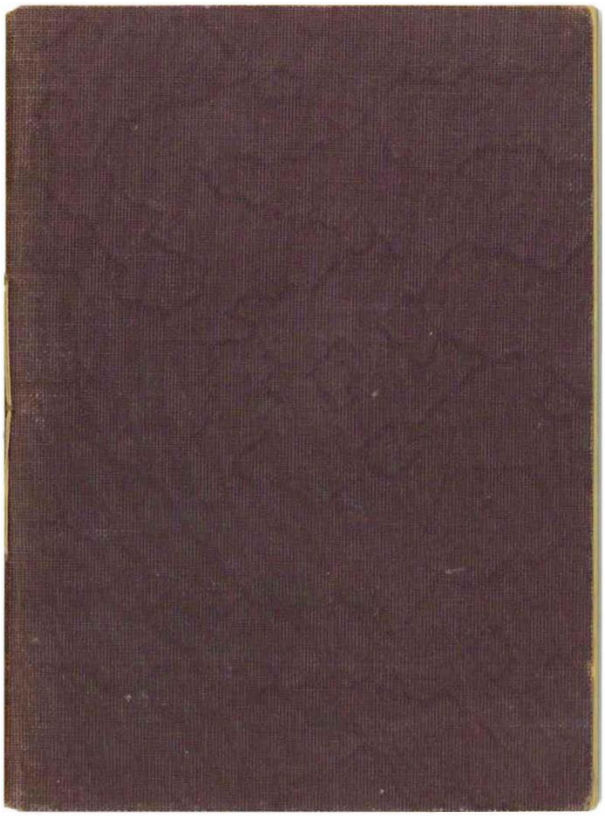
Staylim-Paypa ta Methodist-Ts'hayilth.

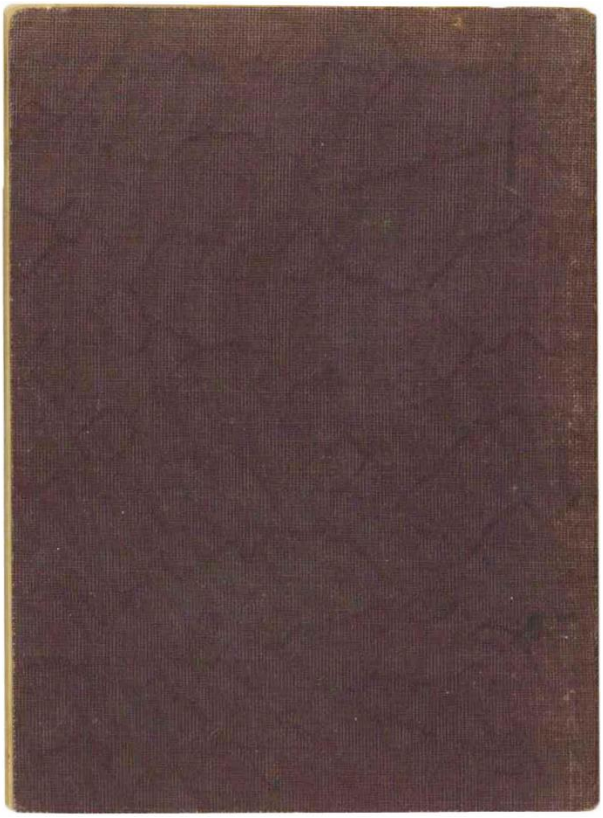
HYMNS
USED ON THE
FRASER RIVER INDIAN MISSION,
OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH, B. C. CONFERENCE.
TO WHICH ARE APPENDED
HYMNS IN CHINOOK, AND THE
LORD'S PRAYER AND TEN COMMANDMENTS.

TRANSLATED BY
Rev's. Thos. Crosby, Chas. M Tate,
and Wm. H Barraclough, B.A., Missionaries.

Compiled and Printed by Rev. W.H.Barraclough,
Chilliwack, B.C. 1898.

On the heels of the HBC came the Christian missionaries, primarily Roman Catholic and Methodist. The Catholics arrived first, led by Father Modeste Demers, who preached to a large assembly of Sto:lo at Fort Langley in 1841. The next few years witnessed only sporadic efforts to establish a permanent mission presence in the Sto:lo homelands, but the discovery of gold in their territory in 1857 sparked the Fraser River gold rush, bringing as many as 50,000 miners and fortune seekers--most from California--into the Fraser Valley in just a matter of months. In response, the British Colonial Office converted the entire region into a Crown colony and changed its name from New Caledonia to British Columbia. Although the Fraser River's gold was exhausted by the early 1860s, the lives and lands of the Sto:lo and other Coastal Salish peoples were changed forever. In 1863, Catholic missionaries opened St. Mary's, a residential a school for Sto:lo boys, followed five years later by a separate school for girls; both would operate until 1961.





The first Protestant missionary to establish his station among the Fraser River Sto:lo was English Methodist Thomas Crosby, who would arguably become the most famous missionary in all of Canada. Crosby, identified as first translator of this hymn book, came to British Columbia in 1863 and delivered his first lecture in the Fraser River county at Chilliwack four years later. In 1869 he obtained a formal appointment to work there. "In the course of his career," Robin Fisher observes, "Crosby waged a total war against Indian customs...He told Indian leaders he could have nothing to do with the old way, 'the dance, the potlatch, etc., it is all bad'" (1977:139). Clarence Bolt notes that "Because Native society was so corrupt," in Crosby's view, "it had to be abolished and replaced by something similar to Canadian society" (2011:35). In 1877 the Chilliwack mission was taken over by Charles Montgomery Tate and his wife, Caroline; Charles Tate is identified as the second translator of this hymnal. The Tates eventually converted a section of their home into

a boarding school, which opened in 1890 as Coqualeetza Home, named after a Sto:lo fishing site nearby. Fire destroyed the building a year later, but a greatly expanded facility reopened in 1894 as the Coqualeetza Industrial Institute and would remain in operation until 1940.

William H. Barraclough is the final missionary listed as a translator of the *Indian Methodist Hymn-Book*; he was also responsible for compiling and printing it. Our research has revealed little about Barraclough; he was stationed at Chilliwack by 1895 and left soon after, having been among the first Methodist missionaries to preach in the Klondike gold fields. The *Hymn-Book* itself is 18mo in size and contains 37 hymns in English and Halq'eméylem (which Barraclough refers to as "Alkomaylum"), the Fraser River dialect of Coastal Salish spoken by the Sto:lo. These hymns are followed by seven in Chinook, the trade jargon used by dozens of Indigenous groups along the Northwest Coast. An Appendix presents both the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in English, Halq'eméylem, and Chinook. The text was likely printed on a small handpress, while the original wraps consist of a wine-colored, patterned cloth over flexible cardstock. It was a simple production, one that Chinook authority David Douglas Robertson notes was printed in an edition just 100 copies. **The work is undoubtedly rare: the only four institutional holdings are at the Newberry Library, Victoria University in Toronto, the Vancouver School of Theology, and Library and Archives Canada (Bibliothèque et Archives Canada)**. An exceptional example of the tension--inherent to evangelism--between saving souls and extirpating cultures.

Relevant sources:

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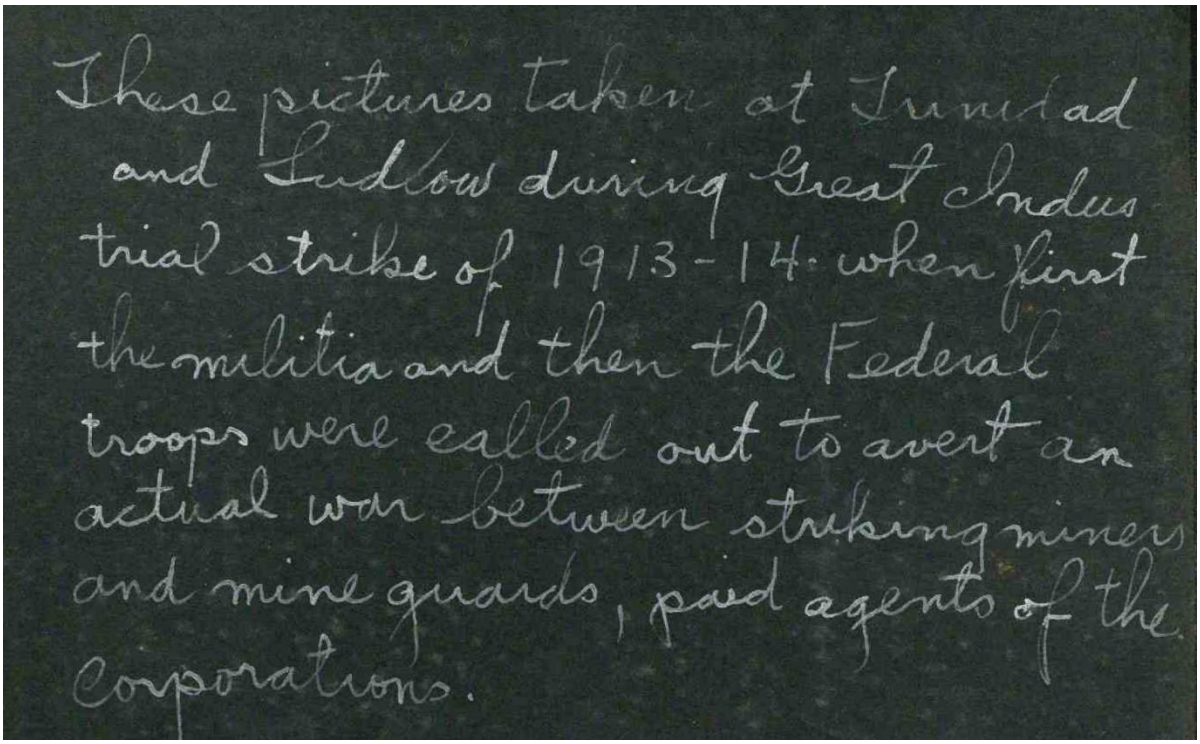
[Northwest Coast--Missions]: INDIAN METHODIST HYMN-BOOK. STAYLIM=PAYPA TA METHODIST=TS'HAYILTH. HYMNS USED ON THE FRASER INDIAN MISSION, OF THE METHODIST CHURCH, B. C. CONFERENCE. TO WHICH ARE APPENDED HYMNS IN CHINOOK, AND THE LORD'S PRAYER AND TEN COMMANDMENTS. Translated by Rev's. Thos. Crosby, Chas. M. Tate, and W. H. Barraclough, B. A., Missionaries. Compiled and Printed by Rev. W. H. Barraclough, Chilliwack, B. C. 1898. 18mo (14 cm). [2], 48, [2]. Stitched in original cloth-covered wraps, light occasional spotting. Very good.

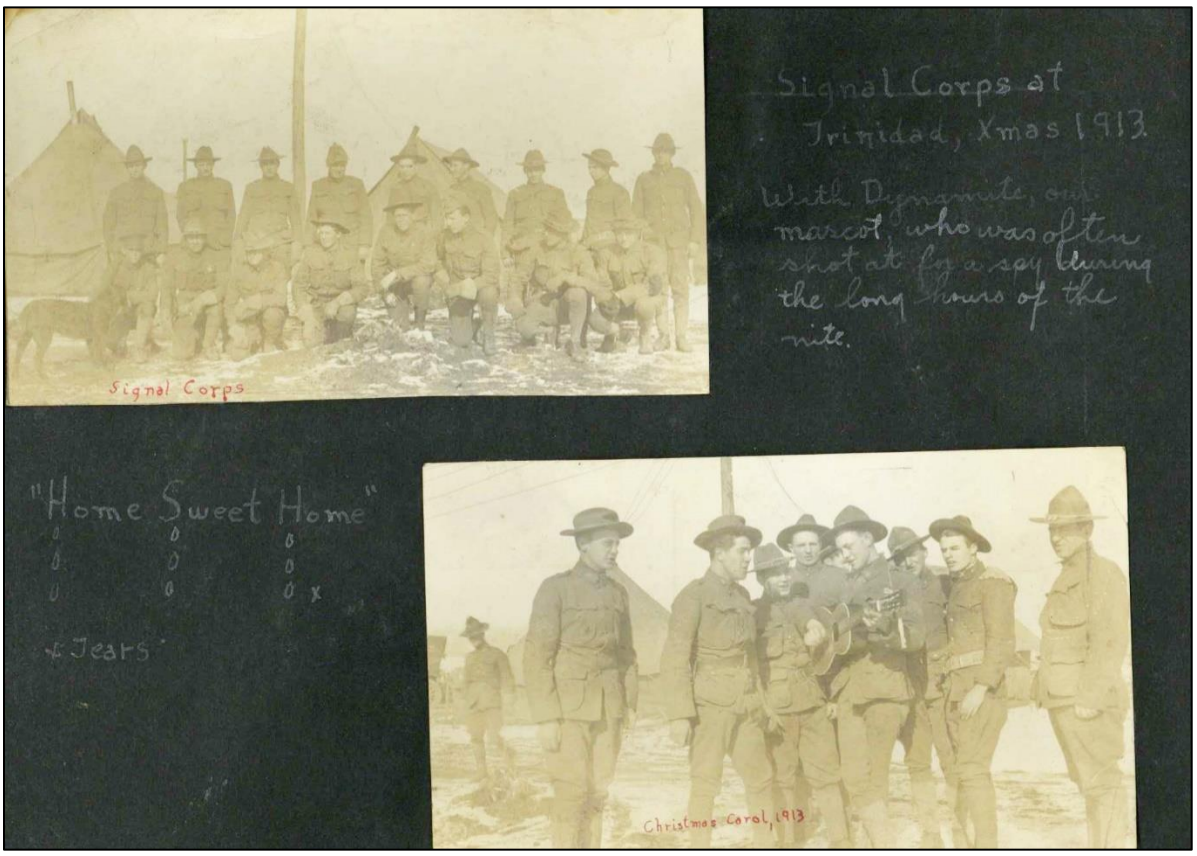
24. SOLD.

The Ludlow Massacre: A Photograph Album from Colorado's Coalfield War

Wallace Stegner wrote that it was "one of the bleakest and blackest episodes of American labor history" (1991:xvii). Howard Zinn described it as "the culminating act of perhaps the most violent struggle between corporate power and laboring men in American history" (1990:79). The event we know today as the Ludlow Massacre, which pitted a tent colony of striking coal workers and their families against both the hired gunmen of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Colorado National Guard, unfolded on April 20, 1914. By day's end no fewer than 19 people lay dead: one guardsmen, five miners, and thirteen women and children, most of whom had suffocated as they hid in makeshift cellar pits while National Guard troops set their tents afire. Over the next week-and-a-half, in what came to be called the Ten Days War, another three dozen or more men were killed in heavy fighting between the strikers and the guardsmen and militia--fighting that would have continued much longer had President Woodrow Wilson not used federal troops to put an end to the violence. Ludlow and the Ten Days War would prove the crescendo of the Colorado Coalfield War, generally recognized as America's most violent labor conflict.

Primary source materials pertaining to any aspect of the labor uprising, particularly Ludlow itself, are extremely rare. This photograph album, compiled by a member of the Colorado National Guard's signal corps, is thus of the utmost significance for the study of American labor movements in the early 20th century. **Annotated throughout, it contains more than 135 photographs that document the period from October 1913 through April 1914 and the immediate aftermath of the massacre**. It appears to be the only surviving record of its kind.


These pictures taken at Trinidad and Ludlow during Great Industrial strike of 1913-14: when first the militia and then the Federal troops were called out to avert an actual war between striking miners and mine guards, paid agents of the corporations.


Signal Corps
Signal Corps at Trinidad, Xmas 1913
With Dynamite, our mascot, who was often shot at for a spy during the long hours of the nite.
"Home Sweet Home"
Jears
Christmas Carol, 1913

By 1900, coal mining had replaced the extraction of gold, silver, and other base metals as the most important mineral industry in southwestern Colorado. It was also the most dangerous work: from 1884 to 1912, more than 1700 miners were killed in Colorado coal mines, a number second only to Utah's and twice the national average. Coal mining had begun in Colorado as early as 1859, during the height of the Pike's Peak gold rush, with the discovery of deposits between the gold rush towns of Denver and Boulder. Yet it was not until the 1880s that coal mining attained economic significance, after Denver & Rio Grande Railroad (D&RG) magnate William Jackson Palmer revolutionized the railroad industry by switching from wood to coal burning engines. He created the Colorado Coal & Iron Company (CC&I) as a subsidiary of the D&RG in 1873, opening coal mines across southern Colorado. In 1892 the CC&I merged with its rival, the Colorado Fuel Company, forming the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company (CF&I). After Palmer's retirement, CF&I president John Osgood launched an expensive modernization plan that left the company unable to pay its debts. Desperate for cash, Osgood sought financial assistance from George Jay Gould and John D. Rockefeller, creator of the Standard Oil monopoly. Gould and Rockefeller took control of the company in 1903, the latter turning his portion over to his son, John, Jr.

They could hardly have chosen a more volatile time to enter Colorado's mining and milling industries. That same year, gold and silver miners and mill workers--represented by the Western Federation of Miners--launched a series of labor strikes across the state in demand of a minimum daily wage and an eight-hour work day. Known collectively as the Colorado Labor War, the strikes spread in early 1903 from Colorado City to Cripple Creek, Idaho Springs, Telluride, Denver, and Durango. Continuing into 1904, it was until then the most violent such episode in American labor history. Conditions in the Colorado mines were notoriously bad, and most miners saw little hope for improvement through establishment reform. The great majority of mine and mill workers were recent immigrants to the United States; by 1902, coal workers alone represented 32 nationalities and spoke 27 languages, with Anglo-Americans making up only 13% of the work force. Lamont Bowers, whom Rockefeller, Sr. tapped to manage CF&I in 1907, referred to his workers as "these foreigners who do not intend to make America their home, and who live like rats in order to save money" (Deutch 2014:16). It is not surprising, then, that the company's treatment of its employees declined after Gould and the Rockefellers assumed control.

CF&I was the largest employer in Colorado in 1910, its 15,000 workers constituting 10% of the state's labor force. That year, 75 coal miners were killed in an explosion at the CF&I-owned Primero Mine at Trinidad, followed just a few months later by another 58 killed in a second CF&I explosion at Starkville. Each was less than fifteen miles from Ludlow, which was little more than a cluster of several buildings that included a railroad depot, a general store, a post office, and a saloon. In September of 1913, 10,000 of those CF&I workers would go on strike across southern Colorado, organized by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). Striking miners and their families were immediately evicted from company-owned homes, but the UMWA organizers had predicted as much and were well prepared, having already leased private land where tent colonies were waiting for the workers, each tent erected on a wooden platform and outfitted with a cast iron stove. Striker colonies were built in several places near Walsenberg and Trinidad, but the largest of these--with 200 tents housing 1200 workers and their families--was established at Ludlow, and for the eight months from September 1913 through May 1914 it would be the focal point for the Colorado Coalfield War. For most of that time, its main union organizer was a 28-year-old Greek immigrant named Elias Anastasios Spantidakis, remembered today as Louis Tikas.

Tikas was born at Loutra, Crete, in 1886 and immigrated to the United States in 1906. Four years later, when he filed his citizenship papers and formally changed his name, he was part owner of a Greek coffee house on Market Street in Denver. It is unclear how Tikas came to be involved in coal mining, or what brought him to southern Colorado, but between Denver and Ludlow he had labored as a strikebreaker in Colorado's northern coalfields. Sometime afterward, he switched sides and moved south, where he led several dozen fellow Greek immigrants in a labor strike at the Frederick Mine near Trinidad, the second largest coal mine ever opened by CF&I. By 1912 he was working as an organizer for the UMWA, touring coal fields and collecting information on accidents and injuries. He came to Ludlow at the outbreak of the 1913 strikes, quickly becoming a leader of the colony, particularly among its hundreds of Greek and Cretan miners. Most camp residents knew him simply as Louie the Greek.

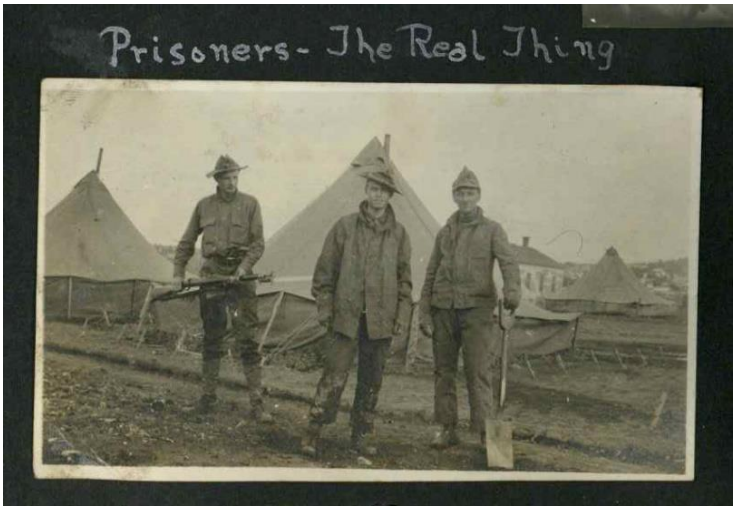
The Rockefellers and their managers refused to negotiate with the striking miners, instead bringing in strikebreakers and hiring the notorious Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency--which had earned a reputation for using aggressive, heavy-handed tactics against strikers--to defend the new workers and harass the tent colonies. Baldwin-Felts agents acted as a private security force for the company owners, beating and sometimes murdering strikers, shining bright searchlights into the colony at all hours of the night and randomly firing guns at tents. Agents even patrolled the colony in an improvised armored car they dubbed the "Death Special." All of these actions were probably aimed at provoking the strikers into a violent response that would provide Governor Elias Ammons a pretext for calling up the Colorado National Guard. It worked. By October, guards and strikers had fought four battles with at least nine men killed, prompting Ammons to declare martial law on October 28. Each side was rapidly acquiring its own arsenal of guns; as the Department of Labor's emissary to the coalfields reported to Washington, "the only language common to all, and which all understand in southern Colorado, is the voice of the gun" (in Zinn 2001:24). Just one day after declaring martial law, Ammons ordered General John Chase of the Colorado National Guard to begin moving his troops into Ludlow and other volatile areas.

Gen. Chase commanded about a thousand Colorado guardsmen, organized into two cavalry troops, two incomplete infantry regiments, a detachment of field artillery, a hospital corps, and a signal corps. After withstanding weeks of harassment and worse from CF&I enforcers, the miners were initially relieved to have the Guard arrive at Ludlow, believing that these new troops were there to restore order. Labor historian Howard Zinn writes that:

> On the day before the Guard was due to arrive, several hundred miners camped at Ludlow put together their pennies and nickels to buy a large American flag, which flew the next morning over one of the strangest sights

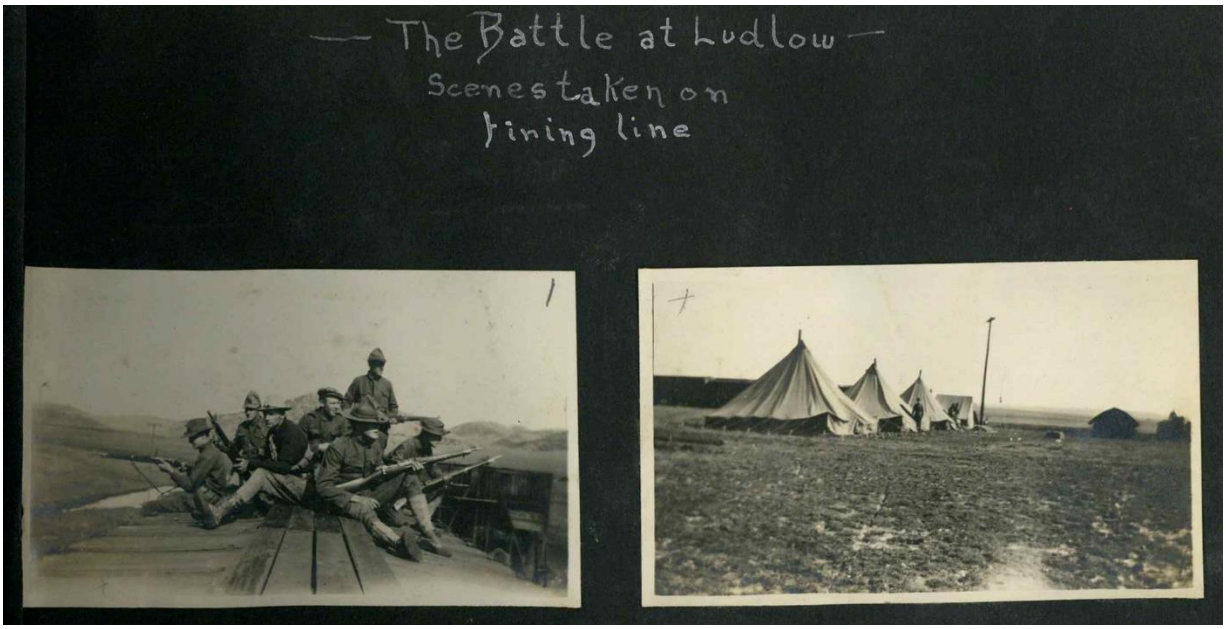
> in Colorado history. Stretching for a mile along the road...were a thousand men, women and children. They had been slowly starving for the past month, and it showed in their gaunt faces, their tired bodies. But they were dressed in their Sunday best, the miners' children decked out in white, all waving little American flags, and shouting shrill welcomes in English, Greek, Italian, and a dozen other tongues [Zinn 2001:25-26].

The Guard, though--as with the agents of Baldwin-Felts--had little interest in restoring order for order's sake. They were there to support the interests of the mining company and its owners, not to protect the strikers or even to serve as a buffer between the opposing sides. The strikers' sense of hope was not to last, nor was the welcome they extended to the troops.



Tensions between troops and strikers escalated through the fall and winter months. Chase's troops forced their way into the miners' temporary homes, searching for weapons and hauling men and women away on mere suspicion, usually without charge. Later testimonies would report that guardsmen arrested more than 170 strikers and organizers during those weeks, holding them in ice cold cells and subjecting them to sleep deprivation, beatings, and interrogations. They harassed women and children for sport. Tikas himself was taken prisoner and beaten by the man recognized by strikers and several of his fellow officers as the most violent of the guardsmen, Lieutenant Karl Linderfelt, a veteran of the U. S. Army's occupation of the Philippines a decade earlier and a hired gun who had fought as a mercenary for government forces in the Mexican Revolution. As Martelle notes, "If Linderfelt wasn't a soldier of fortune, he was close to it" (2008:107). Strikers retaliated against strikebreakers, against miners and mine guards who kept working, and--when opportunity permitted--against the troops of the Colorado Guard.

By spring, Colorado was unable to afford the cost of maintaining the full National Guard contingent in Ludlow. Regular enlisted guardsmen began to drop out and were replaced by CF&I mine guards who wore National Guard uniforms but were paid by the company. Ammons recalled most of the remaining Guard in early April, leaving only 35 men in Company B under Linderfelt's charge. Then on April 18 a hundred CF&I deputies were reformed into a new Company A of the Guard and placed under the command of Major Patrick Hamrock, a Denver saloonkeeper. It was Saturday, the day before Orthodox Easter Sunday.


— The Battle at Ludlow —
Scenes taken on
firing line

Monday morning opened with Hamrock calling Tikas in the colony by phone, insisting to know the whereabouts of a man the Guard leader believed was being held by the miners against his will. Tikas replied that there was no such man in the colony, and Hamrock requested that Tikas come to speak with him in person at one of the nearby military camps. At first Tikas refused, but soon he changed his mind and agreed to meet at the Ludlow train depot. In the meantime, Hamrock had begun positioning his troops--led by Linderfelt--on a high ground that overlooked the colony from the south called Water Tank Hill. At Hamrock's suggestion, Linderfelt dragged at least one machine gun into position, as well. Tikas told Hamrock that the strikers would rebuff any efforts to search their homes for the supposedly missing man, viewing any such search as the prelude to expulsion. While the two men talked, the miners back in the colony watched Linderfelt and his guardsmen moving the machine gun into place and taking positions on the hill. Certain that an assault was imminent, they began gathering their own arms and running towards a place that gave them a line of fire onto the troops. Tikas, intent on leading the miners back into camp, bolted from the depot waving a white handkerchief. At that moment, just before 9:00, Hamrock ordered the explosion of three dynamite bombs, meant as a signal to troops at the Guard's main encampment that trouble was imminent. For strikers, it was the signal that they were under attack.

No one knows who fired the first actual shot, but for the rest of the day the soldiers of the Colorado National Guard rained rifle and machine gun fire down upon the tents at Ludlow, most of which sheltered only women and children. The Guard brought in a second machine gun later that morning and pinned down a large group of armed strikers in an arroyo, leaving anyone still trapped in the canvas tents with little choice but to move underground. Some of the women hid as many as two dozen children in a dry well; others clambered down with their families into cellar holes that miners had dug within their tents to shield them from the Baldwin-Felts guns earlier in the strike. Hours later, at 4:30 in the afternoon, a train arrived from Trinidad bringing more soldiers and more machine guns. Tikas was tending to the injured in the strikers' big tent when Linderfelt called by phone and urgently demanded a meeting. Tikas was reluctant but accepted, hoping to end the onslaught. Waving a white flag, he climbed the hill to where Linderfelt and his guardsmen waited. Tikas was seized, but he talked with Linderfelt while being held by two men. Suddenly the lieutenant grabbed his rifle by its barrel and smashed Tikas in the head with its stock, which broke in the process. A young electrical engineer named Godfey Irwin, visiting Colorado with a friend, was standing on a nearby cliff and happened to witness what unfolded next. Speaking later with a reporter from the *New York World*, he recalled that "Tikas fell face downward. As he lay there, we saw the militiamen fall back. Then they aimed their rifles and fired into the unconscious man's body. It was the first murder I had ever seen" (in Zinn 2001:37). As evening came, soldiers began pouring into the now-burning colony and doused the remaining tents with coal oil, setting them ablaze. The strike at Ludlow was effectively over by nightfall.

In the end, Tikas and two other miners held in custody by the Colorado Guard were shot and killed, summarily executed without trial. At least two other miners and one guardsman were killed in the fighting; the young son of a striker was shot in the head and killed by a stray bullet while huddling inside his family's tent. But the deaths that registered with the public--those that led observers to call Ludlow a massacre--were those of two women and eleven children who had suffocated to death in a cellar hole when the canvas tent above them caught fire and burned. Over the days that followed, thousands lined the streets of Trinidad for the funerals of Tikas and the other Ludlow victims. And then Colorado's southern coalfields exploded, as hundreds of strikers

attacked mine after mine, driving away or killing guards and setting fire to mine property. Another two to three dozen men on both sides were killed in the so-called Ten Day War before Woodrow Wilson called in federal troops and ended the fighting for good. In the short term, the strikers lost the conflict: the UMWA ran out of money, CF&I refused to meet any of the miners' demands, the striking workers were replaced, and not a single member of the Colorado Guard--not even Karl Linderfelt--faced any legal indictment, either for the cold-blooded murder of Tikas and the other unarmed strikers in their custody or for the negligence that caused the deaths of thirteen woman and children who asphyxiated beneath their tents.

But in the longer term, public outcry over the women and children killed at Ludlow forced the Wilson administration's Commission on Industrial Relations to hold its own investigation of the Colorado Coalfield War. It concluded that mining companies--and CF&I, in particular--were responsible for labor conditions that caused the violent 1913-14 strike. "The Colorado strike," it determined, "was a revolt by whole communities against arbitrary, economic, political, and social domination by the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the smaller coal mining companies that followed its lead" (1915:15). As for CF&I's management, it declared that:

> Letters from Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., heartily approving of his company's refusal to meet representatives of the strikers, of the measures taken to suppress the strike, and of the coercion of the governor that resulted in throwing he state troops on the side of the owners, were shown not only to executive officers of his company, but to other operators who followed its lead, and his support contributed largely to the unyielding and lawless policy that finally resulted in the horrors of the Ludlow massacre…" [1915:16-17].

Public opinion soon swelled against the Rockefellers. But with help from a public relations expert, Rockefeller, Jr., sought to change his reputation by producing a comprehensive system for addressing the miners' grievances. He began to develop a labor-management plan that included offering employee representation in management, safer working conditions, and wage scales. In September 1915 he toured the coalfields for the first time, even visiting the homes of miners and their families. The next month, on October 2, he announced that CF&I would adopt the Employee Representation Plan (ERP), also called the Rockefeller Plan, giving workers collective bargaining rights through elected representatives, established worker participation in an annual conference with management, and provided workers with greater influence in mine conditions. Miners would not be fired for joining a union, nor would buying goods at company stores be compulsory. A new corporate welfare program would expand housing and sanitation in company towns. The ERP was to influence worker rights across the nation during the decades to come, such that the tragic events at Ludlow ultimately transformed labor policy in America.

This vernacular photograph album was compiled by a member of the Colorado National Guard's signal corps and contains 137 images, eight of which are captioned in the negative. The great majority of the photographs appear to be original snapshots, none of which are duplicated in other known collections. The earliest photographs document the arrival of the Guards in Trinidad and their march to Ludlow on October 29, 1913, with images of their welcome by the strikers, one of whom sits atop a white horse waving a large American flag (as Zinn described). Many of the photographs that follow, nearly all of which are clearly captioned in white, offer a record of life in

camp: there are portraits of individual guardsmen; images of soldiers posing with their pistols and gun batteries; group photographs of signal corps members at Thanksgiving and Christmas; of band practice, card playing, and athletic events organized to keep the soldiers active. There are also, of course, images pertaining to the strike--photographs of strikers taken prisoner; of searches for and seizures of the strikers' weapons; of guardsmen taking practice with small cannons. Although the signal corps was among the companies dispatched from Ludlow on April 16--well documented in the album as their last day encamped--the compiler also includes original snapshots identified as "The Battle at Ludlow / Scenes taken on firing line:" soldiers atop a train near the Ludlow depot and in position behind earth embankments and railroad trestles; guardsmen posing with rifles in a dismantled canvas tent, others pointing weapons at an empty cellar hole. The album also includes the iconic image of Louis Tikas standing with fellow union organizer John R. Lawson, captioned as "Louie, the Greek whose Death Heralded the Battle of Ludlow."

The album itself, its cover titled "WAR!," measures 9 1/2 by 7 inches, while most of the photographs measure 5 by 3 or 3 x 2 inches; eight images seem to be missing. There is edge wear to the boards and the spine covering is lost, but the album is still tightly bound and the photographs are generally in very good condition. We have located only five significant collections of images from the Ludlow strike: the Denver Public Library holds 263 images (including duplicates), most by professional Trinidad photographer Lewis R. Dold; History Colorado (formerly the Colorado Historical Society) holds 61 images, also by Dold; the Myron H. Ross papers on labor history at Georgia State University contain 31 Dold photographs; the University of Utah holds 29 real photo postcards by Dold; and Yale has 22 real photo postcards and newswire images by Dold. **We have not located a single collection of images by a photographer other than Dold, much less taken and compiled by an actual participant in the event**. Ludlow has come to be considered one of the most iconic episodes in the history of America's labor movement. Woody Guthrie wrote the song "Ludlow Massacre" in 1944, since recorded by nearly a dozen artists, and the site of the tent colony was designated a National Historic Landmark in 2009.

Of the utmost rarity and significance.

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[Colorado--Ludlow Massacre]: [ALBUM COMPILED BY A MEMBER OF THE COLORADO NATIONAL GUARD SIGNAL CORPS CONTAINING 137 PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE COAL STRIKE AT LUDLOW, COLORADO, FROM OCTOBER 1913 TO APRIL 1914]. [Ludlow and Trinidad, Colorado, October 29, 1913, to April 20, 1914]. 137 silver gelatin photographs, most measuring 5 x 3 or 3 x 2 inches; most images captioned in white ink on album page or labelled in the negative. Album measures 9 1/2 x 7 in. (24 x 18 cm). Album spine perished but pages holding well, edge wear to front and rear covers. Front cover titled “WAR!” Some images lightly faded but otherwise in excellent condition. Overall about very good.

25. SOLD.