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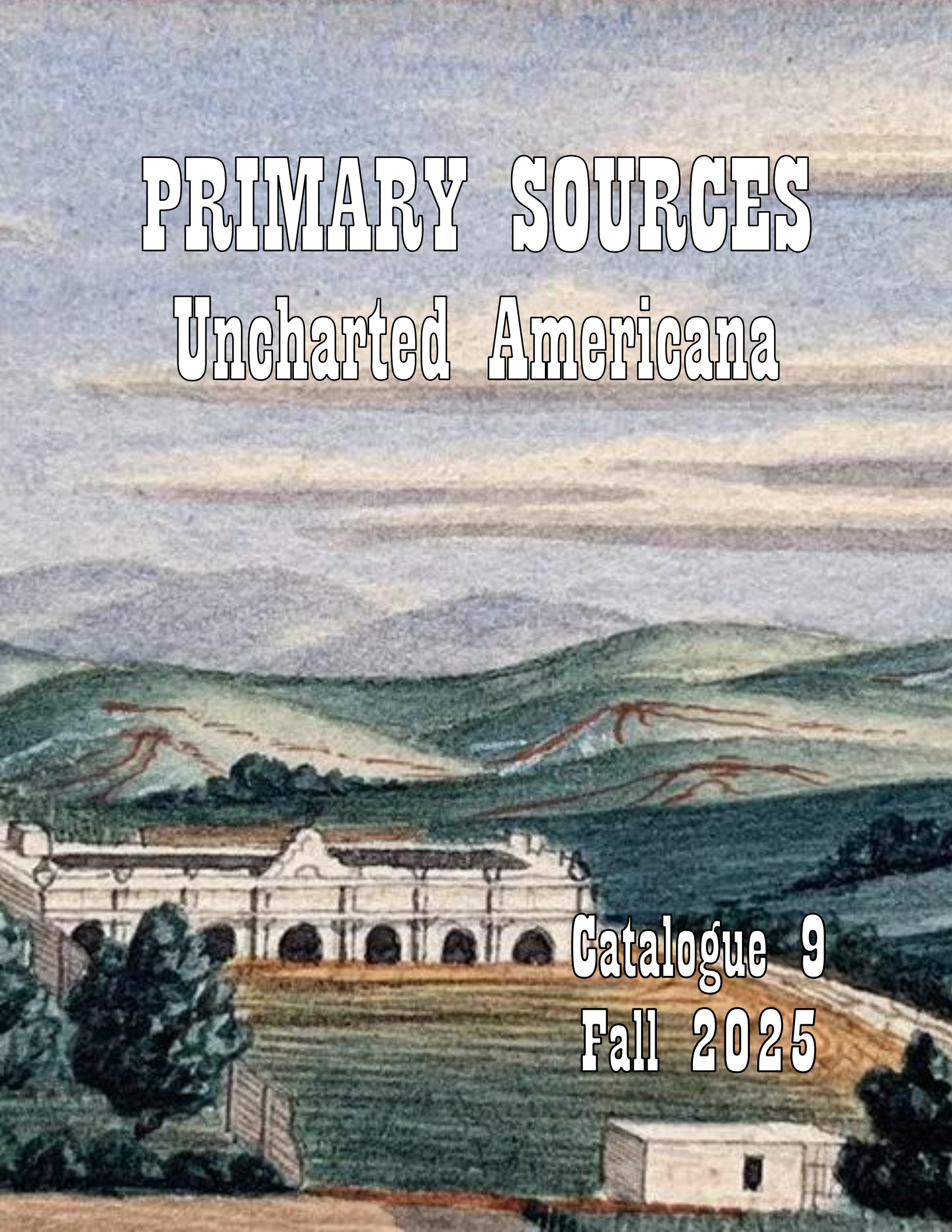

Catalogue 9

Fall 2025

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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On the covers: 15. Hacienda y Molenas de Rosario (detail).

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Uncharted Americana

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Contents

The Phoenix of Mexico: Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz

Poet, dramatist, essayist, scholar: Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz was never among the countless women authors who toiled in obscurity, their writings either unappreciated or altogether unseen during their own lifetimes, only to be rediscovered and celebrated decades or centuries later. Even among her contemporaries--those who gathered her works for publication and composed eulogies following her untimely death at the age of 43 in April 1695--she was revered as "The Phoenix of Mexico" and "The Tenth Muse." Today she is widely recognized as the most significant writer in Spanish-American colonial literature and is regarded as the first advocate for women's rights and education in the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, some of her works are considered among the most important feminist writings of the 17th century, whether in Europe or the Americas. Perhaps the best known of these is her *Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz* [Answer to Sister Filotea], written in 1691 in reply to a letter from the Bishop of Puebla, Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, who was writing under the pseudonym "Sor Filotea." Both a memoir and an exposition, the *Repuesta* asserts that there is no justification for limiting a woman's studies to devotional works, explaining instead her own commitment to writing and to the pursuit of knowledge in all fields. Sor Juana's *Repuesta* was published in the posthumously appearing third volume of her works, *Fama, y Obras*, printed at Madrid in 1700 and quickly followed by editions printed at Lisbon and Barcelona in 1701. Here we are pleased to offer a copy of the Barcelona *Fama, y Obras* in contemporary limp vellum. **All of these early editions are extremely rare, both in library holdings and in the trade--we locate no separate auction records for this Barcelona edition since 1951**.


POETISA DE LA AMERICA,
SOR JVANA INES DE LA CRVZ,

Juana Inés de la Cruz was born Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez in the pueblo of San Miguel Nepantla, Tepetlixpa--a municipality on the southern outskirts of Mexico City--on November 12 in either 1648 or 1651. She was one of three children born out-of-wedlock to a middle class creole mother, Doña Isabel Ramírez de Santillana y Rendón, and a Spanish navy captain from the Canary Islands, Don Pedro Manuel de Asuaje y Vargas-Machuca. Her father would play little role in her life, but her maternal grandfather leased a nearby estate in Amecameca, where she and her mother spent much of her childhood. From a young age, Juana Inés had unfettered access to the volumes in her grandfather's library, a privilege rarely extended to girls in colonial Mexico. Contemporary sources suggest that she could read and write in Latin by the age of three, practice accounting by age five, and had learned Greek logic by early in her adolescence. Her grandfather died when she was eight, after which she was sent to Mexico City to live with a maternal aunt. She continued to study privately, unable to attend university because of her sex, and at the age of 16 was presented to the court of the Viceroy Marquis de Mancera, who admitted her to the service of his wife. The following year, he convened a panel of scholars to test her intelligence; her remarkable display of knowledge and erudition soon became known throughout Mexico.


OBRAS
DE
Sor Juana
3.

Although her intelligence and beauty drew attention at court, with numerous suitors seeking her hand in marriage, Juana Inés declined them all, knowing full well that to become a wife and to assume the domestic duties that entailed would curtail a life of writing and scholarship. Instead she took the only other option available and entered the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites of St. Joseph, where she remained for a few months. Then in 1669, at the age of about 20, she joined the Convent of the Order of St. Jérôme, where she remained for the rest of her life. As a cloistered nun, Sor Juana--who by now had taken the name "de la Cruz," likely in recognition of Sor Juana de la Cruz Vázquez y Gutiérrez (1481-1534), one of the very few Catholic women granted a formal dispensation to preach--was not permitted to leave the grounds of St. Jérôme. However, she could have visitors come to her, and she soon began hosting regular literary salons in her own rooms that brought together the members of New Spain's female intellectual elite. Her private library, among the largest in the Western Hemisphere, came to hold more than 4000 volumes and also boasted an impressive collection of musical and scientific instruments and maps.

And she began to write. Sor Juana had long composed poetry and plays--she is reported to have written a poem on the Eucharist at the age of eight--but she now devoted herself to writing across a range of literary genres: poetry, drama, essays, and religious texts for ceremonies at the convent school where she taught. Her work was widely circulated, and through the influence of her friends and patrons, the Viceroy Marqués de la Laguna and his wife María Luisa, Condesa de Paredes (to whom Sor Juana addressed several apparent love poems), some of these works were published in Madrid. The viceroy and his wife would serve as Sor Juana's patrons and protectors from the time of their arrival at Mexico City in 1680 through their return to Spain in 1688. During these years, her writing came to express a personal political philosophy that modern scholars liken to a "feminist theology" (Kirk 1998:77). As Pamela Kirk notes, Sor Juana:

> [takes] advantage of material of traditional Mariology and popular devotion to create a religious symbolic system that has at its center a female figure of power and radiance, nearly a goddess....Some of Sor Juana's rhetorical strategies, as well as her selection of those qualities of Mary's personality and aspects of the tradition of her cult which correspond to contemporary feminists' analysis of feminine gendered speech, create openings in traditional language about God to a degree too remarkable to be purely accidental....[S]he is part of a theological tradition which exalts Mary and emphasizes her power [1998:59-60].

Yet despite the renown that Sor Juana had achieved in both the secular intellectual circles of New Spain and at the Spanish court in Madrid, the Church was not nearly so enamored with her growing reputation or with the political philosophy expressed in her work. When the viceroy and his wife returned to Spain in 1688, all of Sor Juana's vulnerabilities would be exposed.

In 1690, at one of the salon-like gatherings in her convent rooms, Sor Juana made a powerful argument against a 40-year-old sermon by the famous Jesuit preacher António Vieira. Among her guests was Manuel Fernández de Santa Cruz, Bishop of Puebla, who was intrigued by her rebuttal and asked her to present it to him in the form of a letter. When she complied, he published it that November with neither her knowledge nor permission as *Carta Athenagórica* (Letter Worthy of Athena), followed by his own rebuke of her writings (under the pseudonym "Sor Filotea"). Here he wrote that--as a woman--she should abandon her secular, scholarly interests and devote herself

FAMA,
Y OBRAS POSTHVMAS,
TOMO TERCERO,
DEL FENIX DE MEXICO, Y DEZIMA MVSA,

POETISA DE LA AMERICA,

SOR JVANA INES DE LA CRVZ,

RELIGIOSA PROFESSA

EN EL CONVENTO DE SAN Geronimo, de la Imperial Ciudad de Mexico.

RECOGIDAS, Y DADAS A LVZ

POR EL DOCTOR DON JVAN Ignacio de Caſtorena y Vrſua, Capellan de Honor de ſu Mageſtad, y Prebendado de la Santa Igleſia Metropolitana de Mexico.

Año 1701.

EN BARZELONA:

Por Rafael Figuerò. Año de M.DCCI.

Con todas las licencias neceſſarias.

to prayer. The following year, Sor Juana responded with her now iconic *Repuesta*, which would not appear in print until 1700. As Lisa D. Powell observes:

> *La Respuesta* is best known as Sor Juana's defense of women's equal intelligence and right to study. She makes an extended argument not only for her own God-given love of learning but also for the importance of the education of women. To build her case, she uses an exegesis of Pauline texts traditionally used to silence women; her own life story of an innate desire to learn; philosophical arguments based on the interrelated nature of all knowledge culminating in theology; historical arguments cataloging a list of women leaders and thinkers from a variety of sources, eras, and contexts; as well as an array of rhetorical arts [2011:14].

Nothing like Sor Juana's *Repuesta* had ever appeared in the Americas, and perhaps in the entirety of the Spanish-speaking world. Electra Arenal and Amanda Powell identify it as "[a] fundamental work in Western feminism" (2009:xvii). It was here that she explained her quest for knowledge while simultaneously accepting its cost:

> I do confess that the trial I have undergone has been beyond all telling; and thus I cannot confirm what I have, with envy, heard others say: that learning has cost them no drudgery. How lucky they are! For me, it has not been knowledge (for I still know nothing) but the desire to know that has cost me so dear that I might truly say, like my good Father St. Jerome (though not with the benefit he offers): "What efforts I spent on that task, what difficulties I had to face, how often I despaired, how often I gave up and then in my eagerness to learn began again, my own knowledge can witness from personal experience, and those can testify who were living with me." Save for the mention of companions and witnesses (for I have lacked even this mitigation), I can in all truth affirm the rest of his words. And to think that this, my wicked inclination, should be such, that it has vanquished all before it! [2009:61].

For all of its rhetorical brilliance, Sor Juana's *Repuesta* would be her downfall. Although her final years remain something of a mystery, it does seem clear that in 1694 the Church patriarchy compelled Sor Juana to sell her precious library and donate its proceeds to the poor. We will never know how she might have responded to this loss--only a year later, in 1695, plague struck Mexico City and breached the walls of the Convent of the Order of St. Jérôme. Sor Juana became ill while treating her fellow nuns and died herself on April 17.

Nearly all of the works for which Sor Juana is remembered today were gathered in three volumes published separately in 1689 (Madrid), 1691 (Seville), and 1700 (Madrid). Each of these was followed by subsequent editions issued across Spain and Portugal--as many as 19 appeared in a half-dozen cities by 1725--and a complete set of all three collected works was issued in Madrid in 1714-1715. The 1700 Madrid edition of Vol. III, published posthumously as *Fama, y Obras Posthumas del Fenix de Mexico*, was the first to include *Repuesta* and also contained an engraved portrait of the author (apparently not issued with all copies) not found in any other edition. It was immediately followed by the Lisbon and Barcelona editions in 1701, neither of which included the

RESPVESTA DE LA POETISA
A LA MVY ILVSTRE
SOR PHILOTEA DE LA CRVZ.

MVY ILVSTRE SEñORA, MI SEñORA.

NO mi voluntad, mi poca salud, y mi justo temor han suspendido tantos dias mi respuesta. Què mucho, si al primer passo encontrava, para tropezar mi torpe pluma, dos imposibles? El primero (y para mi el mas riguroso) es, saber responder à vuestra doctissima, discretissima, santissima, y amorosissima Carta. Y si veo, que preguntado el Angel de las Escuelas, Santo Thomàs, de su silencio con Alberto Magno, su Maestro; respondiò: *Que callaba, porque nada sabia dezir digno de Alberto*: Con quanta mayor razon callaria, no como el Santo, de humildad; sino que en la realidad es, no saber algo digno de vos? El segundo imposible es, saber agradeceros tan excessivo, como no esperado favor, de dàr à las Prensas mis borrones, merced tan sin medida, que aun se le passarà por alto à la esperança mas ambiciosa, y al deseo mas fantastico; y que ni aun como ente de razon, pudiera caber en mis pensamientos; y en fin de tal magnitud, que no solo no se puede estrechar à lo limitado de las vozes;

pero

pero excede à la capacidad del agradecimiento, tanto por grande, como por no esperado, que es lo que dixo Quintiliano: *Minorem spei, maiorem beneficii gloriam pereunt.* Y tal, que enmudecen al beneficiado. *In eius operibus.*

Quando la felizmente esteril, para ser milagrosamente fecunda, Madre del Baptista, viò en su casa tan desproporcionada visita, como la Madre de el Verbo, se le entorpeciò el entendimiento, y se le suspendiò el discurso; y assi, en vez de agradecimientos, prorrumpiò en dudas, y preguntas: *Et vnde hoc mihi?* De donde à mi viene tal cosa? Lo mismo sucediò a Saul, quando se viò electo, y vngido Rey de Israèl: *Numquid non filius nemini ego sum de minima Tribu Israèl, & cognatio mea infes omnes de Tribu Beniamin? Quare igitur locutus es mihi sermonem istum?* Assi yo dirè: De donde venerable señora, de donde a mi tanto favor? Por ventura soy mas, que vna pobre Monja, la mas minima criatura del Mundo, y la mas indigna de ocupar vuestra atencion? Pues *quare locutus es mihi sermonem istum? Et vnde hoc mihi?* Ni al primer imposible tengo mas, que responder, que no ser nada digno de vuestros ojos, ni al segundo mas, que admiraciones, en vez de gracias, diziendo, que no soy capàz de agradeceros la mas minima parte de lo que os debo. No es afectada modestia, señora, si no ingenua verdad de toda mi alma; que al llegar à mis manos impressa la Carta, que vuestra propriedad llamò *Athenagorica*, prorrumpì (con no ser esto

Luc. 1. c. ver. 43.

Lib. 1. *Reg.* c. 9. *vers.* 21.

portrait. Any editions of Volumes I, II, and III published prior to the 1714-15 collected works are quite scarce in commerce. Focusing on Vol. III, we trace since 1950 only three copies of the 1700 Madrid issue, one of the 1701 Lisbon issue, and one of the 1701 Barcelona issue, a rare example of which we are pleased to offer here. All three copies of the Madrid issue appeared at auction in recent years: a complete copy with the portrait brought $81,250 at Swann in 2021, while another made $52,920 at Christies in 2023; a copy containing the portrait but lacking the final leaf made $33,000 at Addison and Sarova in 2022 and was later offered in the trade for $60,000. A copy of the Lisbon issue was also recently offered in the trade at $30,000. No separate copy of the 1701 Barcelona edition has appeared at auction or in the trade since 1951, although a copy was included in a mixed set of all three volumes that made $50,000 at Swann in 2021. OCLC lists only seven copies in US libraries: Clements, Newberry, NYPL, Texas, Bancroft, Stanford, and BYU. **A rare and very early edition of America's first feminist manifesto**.

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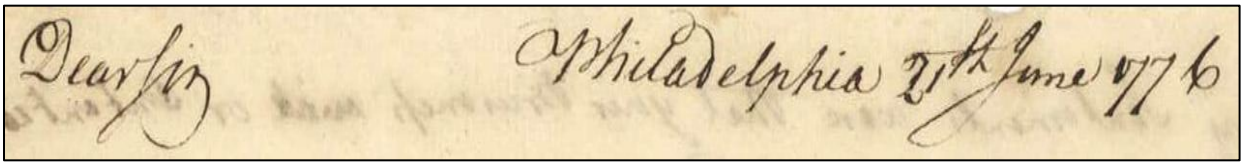
[Spanish America--Early Literature and Feminism]. FAMA, Y OBRAS POSTHUMAS, TOMO TERCERO, DEL FENIX DE MEXICO, Y DEZIMA MUSA, POETISA DE LA AMERICA, SOR JUANA INES DE LA CRUZ, RELIGIOSA PROFESSA EN EL CONVENTO DE SAN GERONIMO, DE LA IMPERIAL CIUDAD DE MEXICO. En Barzelona: por Rafael Figarò. Año de M.DCCI [1701]. [132], 212, [3] pp. Small 4to (20 cm). First Barcelona edition. Bound in contemporary Spanish vellum with traces of two leather ties, title inked on spine. Vellum covers worn with tear at base of spine, textblock coming detached. Front endpaper worn and creased with light wear and creasing to title page; title page printed in black within typographic border, woodcut head and tail pieces throughout; published without frontis. portrait found in some copies of 1700 Madrid edition; textblock quite clean and sound. Overall about very good.

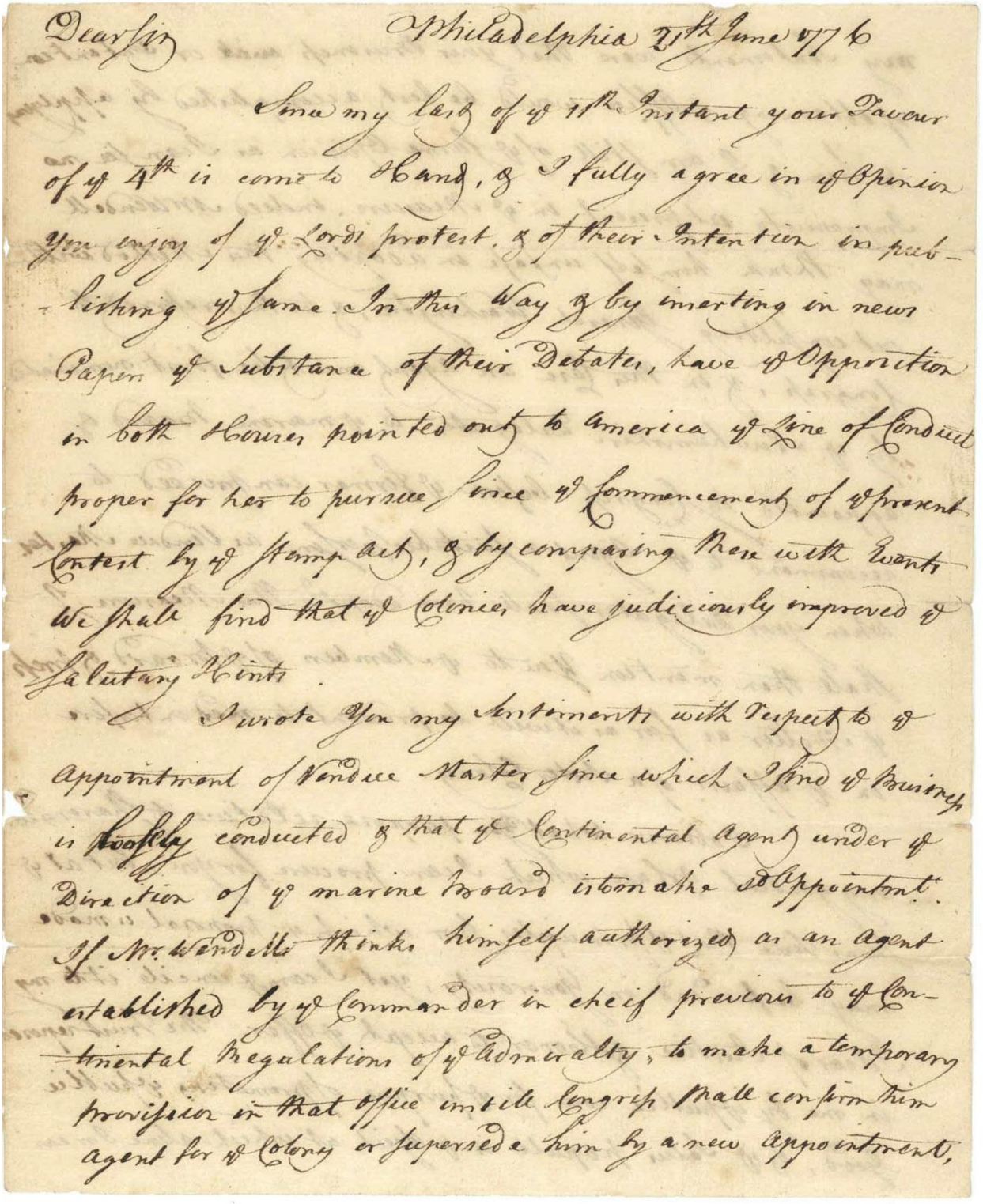
1. **$20,000**.

Elbridge Gerry Writes from the Continental Congress in June 1776

By June 1776, the Second Continental Congress had been seated at Philadelphia for more than a year, having convened the previous May just three weeks after the Battles of Lexington and Concord. Throughout that time, as a local uprising exploded to encompass much of British North America, they had overseen a rebellion that pitted their united thirteen colonies against the world's most powerful empire. Their continued resistance, led in the field by General Washington, was no small miracle. Yet they knew that without foreign allies there could be no hope of victory, and that there could be no hope of foreign allies as long as European monarchs viewed the struggle as one of mere colonies against the British Crown. On May 10, 1776, Congress passed a resolution recommending that any colony with a government not inclined toward independence should form one that was. On May 15, John Adams added a preamble calling for the authority of the Crown to be suppressed in any colonial government that still drew its own authority from the Crown. That same day, the Fifth Virginia Convention empowered its delegates to propose independence, and on June 7, Richard Henry Lee offered such a resolution to the Congress. Four days later, Congress appointed the Committee of Five to draft a Declaration of Independence. Elbridge Gerry, delegate from Massachusetts, wrote this 4-page letter to his friend, John Wendell, on June 21, while Thomas Jefferson was drafting their declaration. **Days away from signing the most important document in political history, Gerry alludes to the justness of America's line of conduct in pursuing independence and discusses his philosophy of public service**.



Elbridge Gerry--born to a family of wealthy North Shore merchants on July 17, 1744, in Marblehead, Massachusetts--enjoyed one of the longest and most successful political careers of any Founding Father: he was a merchant and diplomat; a delegate to the Continental Congress; a delegate to the Confederation Congress; a member of the U. S. House of Representatives; the 9th governor of Massachusetts; and finally, under President James Madison, the 5th vice-president of the United States, in which position he died on November 23, 1814. Gerry had received his AM from Harvard as a young man of 21 in 1765, then joined his father's mercantile business. In 1772 he launched his political career with election to the Massachusetts Bay legislative assembly, and when rebellion took root in Massachusetts just two years later he won a seat in the Massachusetts Provisional Congress. Through the early months of the Revolution, Gerry supplied the fledgling Continental Army with a wide range of munitions and field supplies, and in February 1776 began representing Massachusetts as a delegate in the Second Continental Congress, a position he held until 1780. As a delegate, Gerry favored limited central government and continued civilian control of the military. He was also one of the most vocal and effective advocates for the Declaration of Independence, convincing several other delegates to support its passage during the congressional debates that unfolded in the summer of 1776. No less a patriot than fellow Massachusetts delegate John Adams would write of him--in a letter to James Warren dated July 15, just two weeks after the Declaration's passage--that "If every Man here was a Gerry, the Liberties of America would be safe against the Gates of Earth and Hell" (in Hatfield 1997:64).



Dear Sir Philadelphia 25th June 1776

Since my last of ye 11th Instant your Favour of ye 4th is come to Hand, & I fully agree in ye Opinion you enjoy of ye Lords protest, & of their Intention in publishing ye same. In this Way & by inserting in news Papers ye Substance of their Debates, have ye Opposition in both Houses pointed out to America ye Line of Conduct proper for her to pursue since ye Commencement of ye present Contest by ye Stamp act, & by comparing these with Events We shall find that ye Colonies have judiciously improved ye salutary Hints.

I wrote You my Sentiments with Respect to ye Appointment of Vendue Master since which I find ye Business is ~~loosely~~ conducted & that ye Continental Agents under ye Direction of ye marine Board intended the Appointment. If Mr Wendell thinks himself authorized as an agent established by ye Commander in chief previous to ye Continental Regulations of ye Admiralty, to make a temporary provision in that Office until Congress shall confirm him agent for ye Colony or supersede him by a new Appointment,

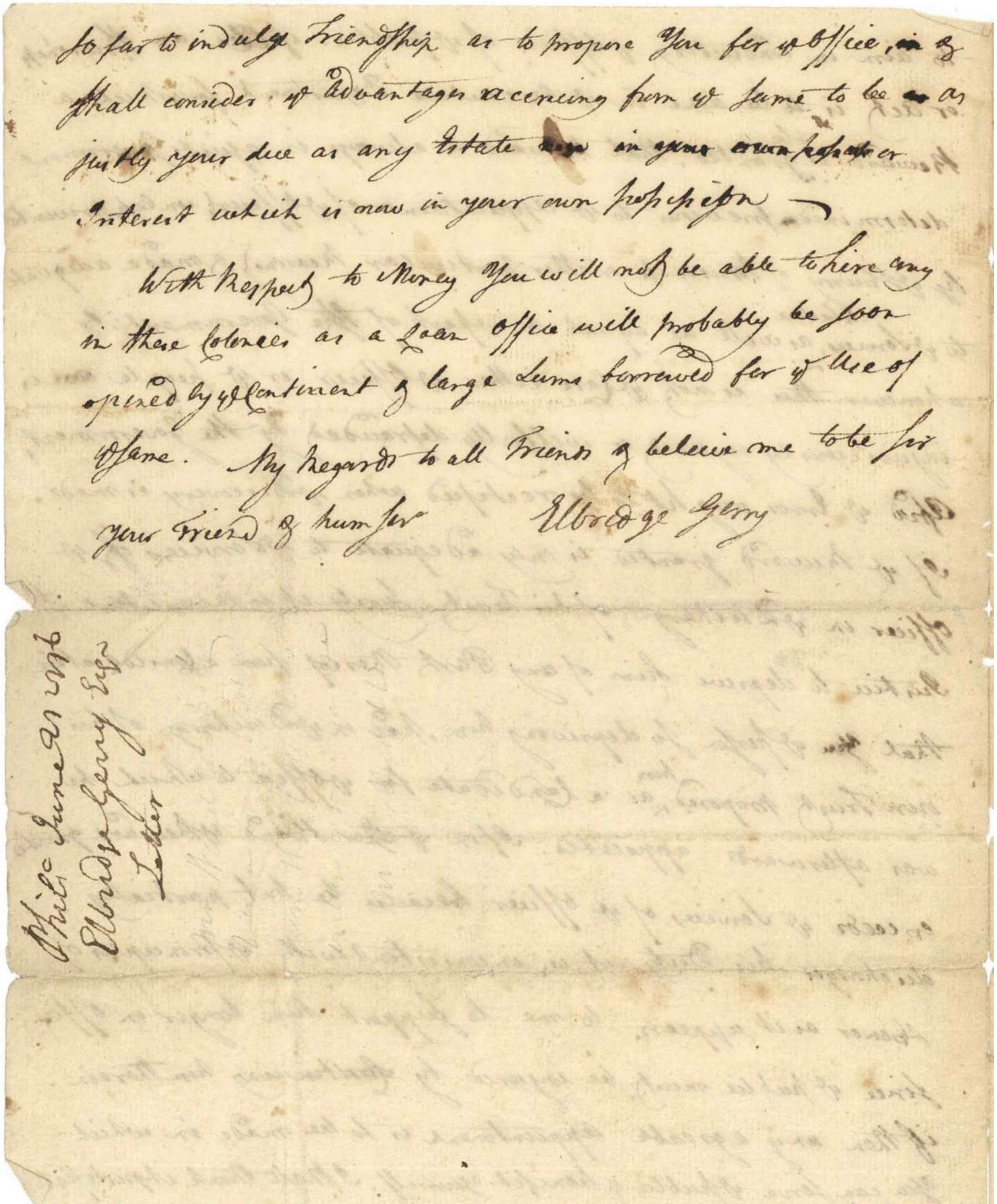
In this letter of June 21, 1776, Gerry writes to his friend and long-time correspondent John Wendell (1731-1808) of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Wendell was born in Boston, and like the younger Gerry, was from a line of wealthy merchants and received his education at Harvard. After earning his degree in 1750, he moved to Portsmouth and soon established himself as a successful real estate lawyer with extensive land holdings. And as the seeds of revolution began to take root in New England during the early 1770s, he likewise threw in with the patriot cause. Here Gerry responds to a letter from Wendell that must have referenced the protest of opposition figures in the British Parliament--members of the Chatham and Rockingham factions such as Charles James Fox and Edmund Burke--who favored reconciliation over the coercive colonial policies of King George III and the prime minister, Lord North. Gerry writes:

> Since my last of the 11th Instant your Favour of the 4th is come to Hand, & I fully agree in the Opinion You enjoy of the Lords protest & of their Intention in publishing the same. In this Way & by inserting in news Papers the Substance of their Debates, have the Opposition in both Houses pointed out to America the Line of Conduct proper for her to pursue since the Commencement of the present Contest by the stamp act, & by comparing these with Events We shall find that the Colonies have judiciously improved the salutary Hints.

Much of the opposition in Parliament explicitly blamed North's government for sparking colonial outrage. Fox, for instance, had responded after Parliament's December 1775 passage of the Prohibitory Act, which cut off all trade with the colonies, that "It puts us in a complete state of war with America" (in Thomas 1991:302). Rockingham himself went even further: "If an arbitrary Military Force is to govern one part of this large Empire, I think & fear if it succeeds, it will not be long before the whole of this Empire will be brought under a similar Thraldom" (in O'Gorman 1998:111). What Gerry suggests to Wendell is that in publishing the details of their parliamentary debates in newspapers--debates containing powerful statements against tyranny and oppression certain to be read by American colonists--this opposition had "pointed out to America the Line of Conduct proper for her to pursue since the Commencement of the present Contest," up to and even including revolution. **In this brief but remarkable passage, written as Jefferson was drafting the Declaration of Independence, Gerry explains how the opposition's support in Parliament had buttressed congressional resolve in breaking with England**.

Next Gerry turns to Wendell's request for his assistance in gaining appointment as vendue master in New Hampshire. Vendue masters were colonial officials responsible for selling goods and real estate at auction, often the property of loyalists who were forced to sell their possessions or whose belongings were confiscated by American forces. Gerry tempers Wendell's expectations somewhat, noting that if Wendell believes he was authorized as such by General Washington prior to congressional regulations, then he should reapply to the General and have Washington refer him to Congress. Gerry promised to mention Wendell's name to the New Hampshire delegation when the time was appropriate, but would only "press the Matter as far as it will be prudent to interfere in the affairs of a Sister Colony." He writes:

> I wrote You my Sentiments with Respect to the Appointment of Vendue Master, since which I find the Business is loosely conducted & that the Continental Agent under the Direction of the marine Board is to make sd



so far to indulge Friendship as to propose You for ye Office, in [struck out]
shall consider ye Advantages accruing from ye same to be as
justly your due as any Estate [struck out] or
Interest which is now in your own possession —

With Respect to Money You will not be able to hire any
in these Colonies as a Loan Office will probably be soon
opened by ye Continent & large Sums borrowed for ye Use of
ye same. My Regards to all Friends & believe me to be Sir
your Friend & hum Ser Elbridge Gerry

Phila June 21 1776
Elbridge Gerry Esqr
Letter

> Appointmt If Mr. Wendell thinks himself authorized as an agent established by the Commander in chief previous to the Continental Regulations of the Admiralty, to make a temporary provission in that office untill Congress shall confirm him agent for the Colony or supersede him by a new Appointment, my Sentiments were that your Business or Intention of obtaining the Office would be best accomplished by applying to him & I am still of the same Opinion as I see no Impropriety at present in the Measure. Indeed Mr Wendell may think himself unsafe in adopting this Method without consulting General Washington, & be thus referred to Congress, & in this Case an Agent must be first nominated by the New Hampshire Delegates to the marine Board & appointed by Congress before the former can proceed to recommend to the Agent a suitable person as Vendue Master. When your Delegates shall have adopted this Measure I shall then mention You to the Members of the Board & press the Matter as far as it will be prudent to interfere in the affairs of a Sister Colony.

Finally, Gerry responds to an apparent offer from Wendell to share in whatever benefits or profits come his way if appointed to the vendue master position. Gerry firmly but tactfully rejects the seeming *quid pro quo*, but creates from the moment an opportunity to elaborate his philosophy of fair government, outlining the public servant's responsibility to the public good:

> I observe what You propose relative to sharing any genteel place which I can procure for you, but at the same time that the principles from which yr proposal be made may be founded in Generosity, <u>yet I cannot reconcile it to my Ideas of Justice & Honor to accept the Offer. The Trust reposed in me by the public was for the purpose of promoting the public Good, & the Salus populi is the object at which alone I mean to aim in conducting the Affairs of the public</u>. If then an Business or Act is to be done in the Executive Department for which a Reward is to be granted, that Reward is always in a just Government determined previous to the Appointment of the Officer (unless prevented by the Hurry of Business or other particular Reasons) & made adequate to the Services to be done as well or equal on the part of the Government; & whenever this is not the Case either the Officer or the people is injudiciously injured or wilfully defrauded by the Government, And the Error ought to be rectified when the Discovery is made. If the Reward granted is only adequate to the Services of the officer in the Discharge of his Trust, surely it is inconsistent with Justice to deprive him of any Part thereof from a Consideration that the person so depriving him, had in the Discharge of his own Trust proposed him as a Candidate for the office to which he was afterwards appointed. If on the other Hand the Reward granted exceeds the Services of the officer because he but partially discharges his Duty, it is inconsistent with the principles of Honor as it appears to me to support him longer in office, since the public must be injured by Continuing him therein. If then any agreable Appointment is to be made in which You can serve the public & benefit yourself, I shall think it justifiable so far to indulge Friendship as to propose You for the Office, & shall consider the Advantages accruing from the same to be as justly your due as any Estate or Interest which is now in your own possession [emphasis added].

This extraordinary passage, composed at the beginning of Gerry's long and distinguished career in government, offers a vision of public service with little precedent in his own day and that likewise seems at odds with our experience today. Gerry argues that the business of those in public service, no more and no less, is the *salus populi*--the welfare of the people. Individual holders of office must subsume their personal interests to the public interests, and Gerry suggests that it is antithetical to the public good for officeholders to take payment in return for securing another's appointment. If a new appointee proves suited to the work, then they deserve to receive the full profit of their labors; if unsuited, then they should not continue long in the position.

Elbridge Gerry was a prolific correspondent, and among Declaration signers his letters are not greatly valued for his autograph alone. Yet exceptional letters such as this, dated less than two weeks before he and his fellow delegates ratified the Declaration and containing important content regarding both the march toward independence and the role of government in promoting the public good, are rarely available in commerce. Only a single 1776 letter by Gerry has appeared at auction in nearly a century: specifically discussing the Declaration and dated July 8, 1776, it made $37,500 at Christies in 2015. A pair of 1776 letters were sold at Anderson Galleries in 1927: the first, dated September 6 and also addressed to John Wendell, brought $700, while the second, to an unnamed recipient and dated November 26, brought $575; Rosenbach later offered both in his monumental 1949 *History of America in Documents* catalogue at $850 and $650, respectively (approximately $40,375 and $30,875 per RBH current estimate calculator). This letter was published in *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*, Vol. 4. **A step on the path to Independence**.

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1991 *Tea Party to Independence: The Third Phase of the American Revolution, 1773-1776*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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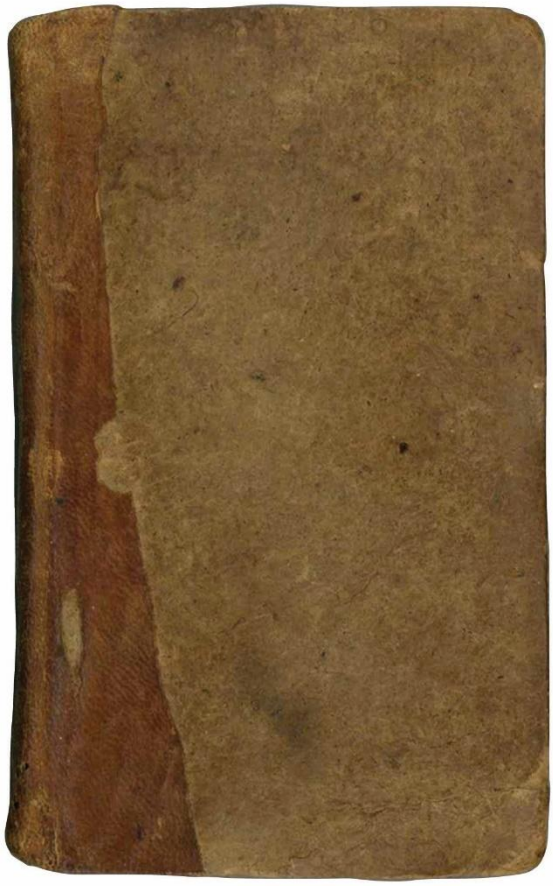
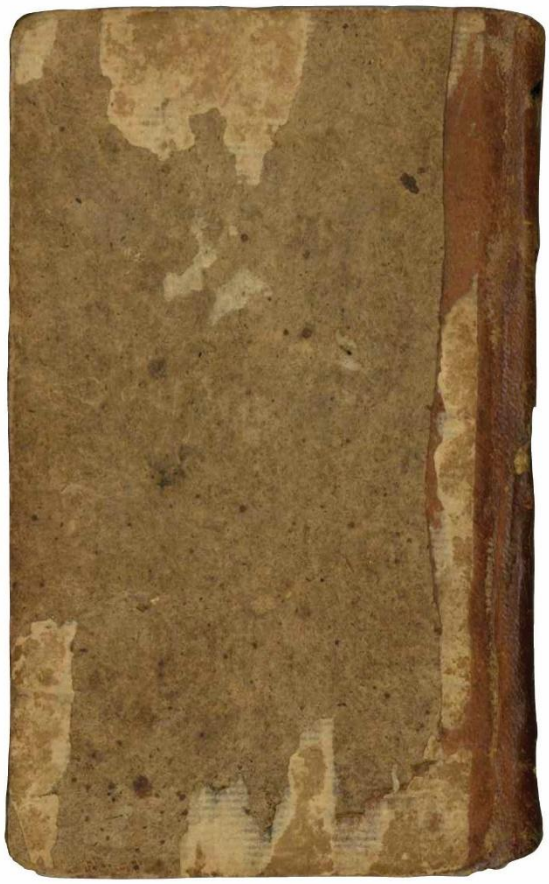
[Founding Fathers--American Revolution]. Elbridge Gerry. [AUTOGRAPH LETTER SIGNED FROM CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATE ELBRIDGE GERRY TO JOHN WENDELL, SENT FROM PHILADELPHIA AND DATED JUST TWO WEEKS BEFORE GERRY SIGNED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE]. Philadelphia, June 21, 1776. [4] pp. (approximately 650 words), on a folded 4to sheet. Old fold lines, light edge wear and small pin holes at folds, not affecting words or legibility. Overall very good.

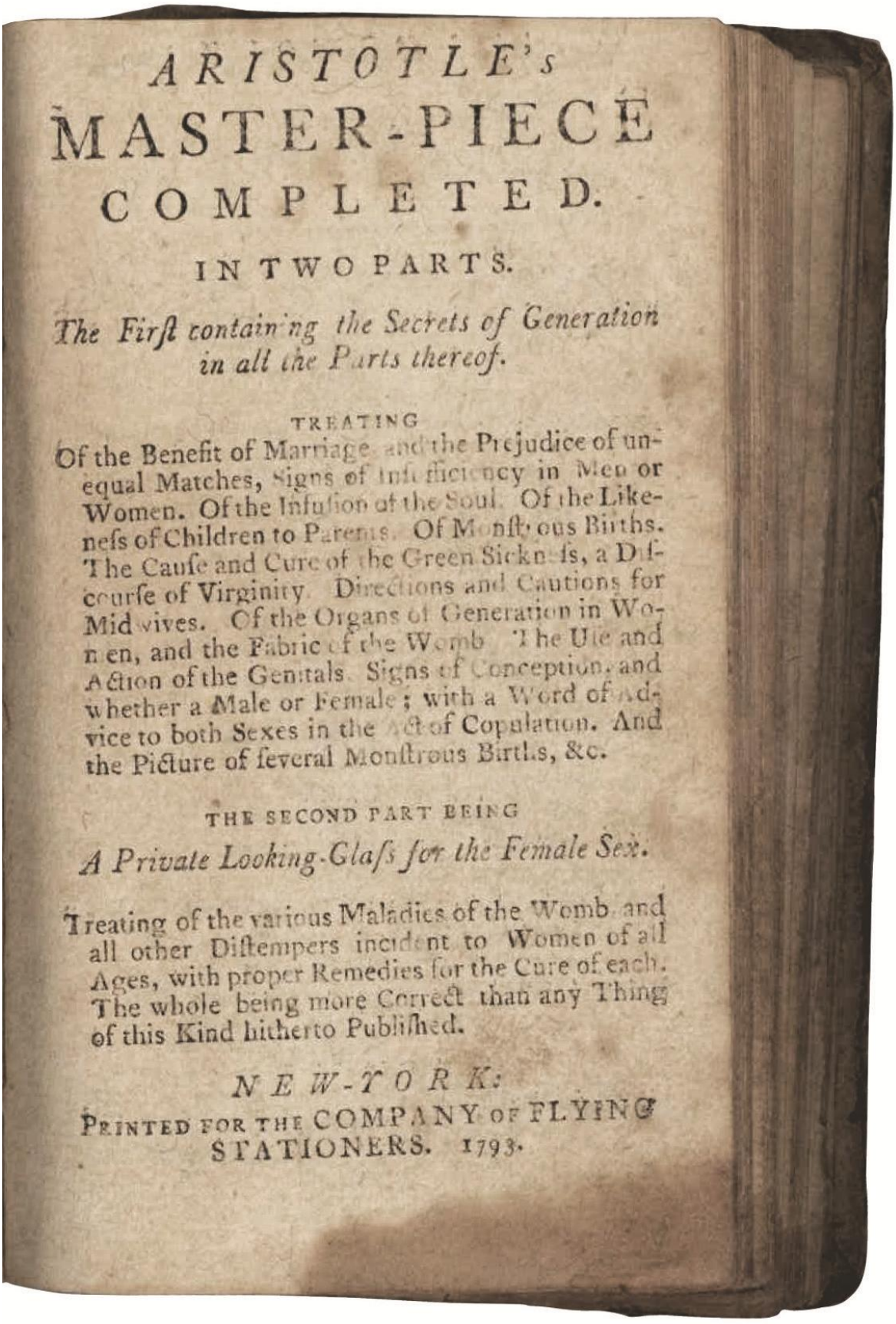
2. **$25,000**.

Aristotle's Master-Piece: The First Sex Manual Published in America

Probably no other work in the English language was so popular for so long despite being sold almost exclusively on the sly, whether in bars and taverns, by itinerant peddlers and in frontier general stores, or from under the counter at respectable bookshops and printing offices. Often it was banned outright. Yet *Aristotle's Master-Piece* (neither by Aristotle nor, by most standards, a masterpiece) went through more than 250 known editions across two centuries in Great Britan and the United States. More editions were likely unrecorded and lost. In any case, it was indisputably the best selling work on sex and reproduction on either side of the Atlantic, from the first recorded edition published at London in 1684 through issues sold in sex shops well into the 1930s. No one knows who wrote the *Master-Piece*--its anonymous 'author' compiled it from a number of popular medical works--and its text was more or less unchanged from century to century, though the parts were periodically rearranged. On the one hand, *Aristotle's Master-Piece* was a practical guide to pregnancy and childbirth, containing a wide range of facts and folklore intended for midwives. On the other, and this ensured its blockbuster status, it was a manual describing women's bodies and providing clear advice about sex. As Mary Fissell writes, "the huge numbers of editions and the frequency of references to it suggest that this book provided a kind of sex education to the masses long before the concept of sex education was invented" (2015). **All early editions of *Aristotle's Master-Piece* are rare (those printed before 1720 in Britain and before 1800 in America), and we offer here a very nice example of the second New York edition of 1793**.







ARISTOTLE's
MASTER-PIECE
COMPLETED.

IN TWO PARTS.

The First containing the Secrets of Generation in all the Parts thereof.

TREATING

Of the Benefit of Marriage and the Prejudice of unequal Matches, Signs of Inefficiency in Men or Women. Of the Infusion of the Soul. Of the Likeness of Children to Parents. Of Monstrous Births. The Cause and Cure of the Green Sickness, a Discourse of Virginity. Directions and Cautions for Midwives. Of the Organs of Generation in Women, and the Fabric of the Womb. The Use and Action of the Genitals. Signs of Conception, and whether a Male or Female; with a Word of Advice to both Sexes in the Act of Copulation. And the Picture of several Monstrous Births, &c.

THE SECOND PART BEING

A Private Looking-Glass for the Female Sex.

Treating of the various Maladies of the Womb and all other Distempers incident to Women of all Ages, with proper Remedies for the Cure of each. The whole being more Correct than any Thing of this Kind hitherto Published.

NEW-YORK:

PRINTED FOR THE COMPANY OF FLYING STATIONERS. 1793.

The Effigies of a Maid all hairy, and an Infant that was born black, by the Imagination of the Parents.

Although a number of more learned, if not scientific, guides to midwifery and the female anatomy appeared in Britain throughout the 18th century, few of these became widely available in the colonies, such that the unabashedly vernacular *Master-Piece* retained its popularity with little competition. In one notable episode, which unfolded at Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1744, the famed revivalist Jonathan Edwards learned that a group of young men had acquired a copy of the book and were using it to harass young women in the parish with comments about female anatomy and menstrual cycles. An outraged Edwards formed a committee to punish the boys, who seemed not in the least bit concerned--one even responded to questioning with a defiant "I don't care a turd" (Fissell 2003:78). At first the parents supported their minister, but as Edwards' investigation progressed and came to include calling out likely offenders in church, his own parishioners decided that it was not a very big deal after all and turned against him.

The first American edition of *Aristotle's Master-Piece* appeared at Boston in 1766. It was published by renowned colonial printer Zechariah Fowle, who used the alias Zechariah Feeling in its imprint, which he also gave a spurious London location (he was a respectable publisher, after all). The next recorded American *Master-Piece* would not appear until 1788, when a New York edition was issued anonymously by the "United Company of Flying Stationers." This same printer or group of printers issued a second New York edition--and the third American--in 1793, a copy of which we offer here. Dozens more American editions would follow. Our copy is in its original binding of quarter-leather spine over plain, buff paper boards. It is also complete with the woodcut frontispiece and seven in-text woodcut illustrations. Per OCLC we trace about a dozen copies of this edition in institutional collections. RBH offers only two auction records: a copy with the front board detached and edge damage to the frontis. brought $1875 at Doyle in 2013, while a copy in a chipped and worn binding made $3750 at Bonhams in 2014. **Ours is as attractive as one could ask of a work such as this, often read, used, and misused (...) to pieces.**

Relevant sources:

Fissell, Mary E.
2003 Hairy Women and Naked Truths: Gender and the Politics of Knowledge in "Aristotle's Masterpiece." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 60(1):43-74.
2015 When the Birds and the Bees Were Not Enough: Aristotle's Masterpiece. *The Public Domain Review* (published online August 19, 2015).

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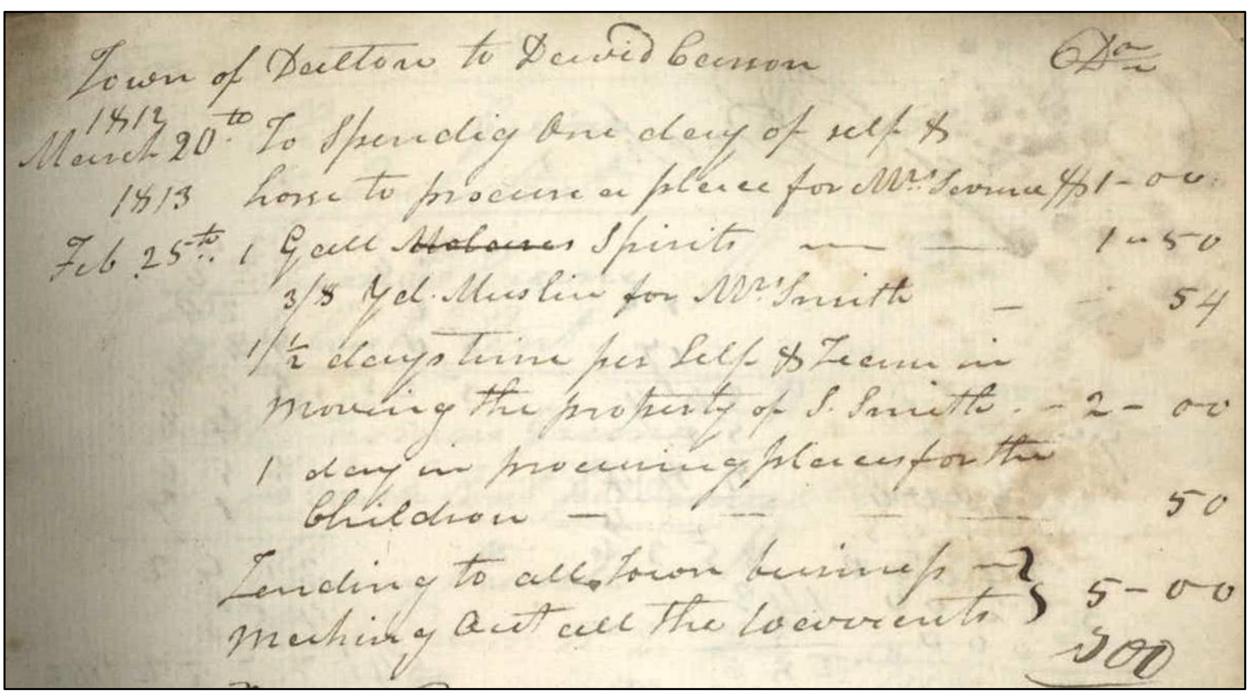
[Early American--Midwifery and Sexuality]. ARISTOTLE'S MASTER-PIECE COMPLETED. IN TWO PARTS. THE FIRST CONTAINING THE SECRETS OF GENERATION IN ALL THE PARTS THEREOF...THE SECOND PART BEING A PRIVATE LOOKING GLASS FOR THE FEMALE SEX... Printed for the Company of Flying Stationers, New York, 1793. Second New York edition. v, [1], [7]-130 pp. 12mo (13 cm). Woodcut frontis. and seven woodcut figures in text. Original plain, paper-covered boards and 1/4 leather spine, spine with light wear, paper pealed on areas of rear board; light interior toning, marginal stain. Very good.

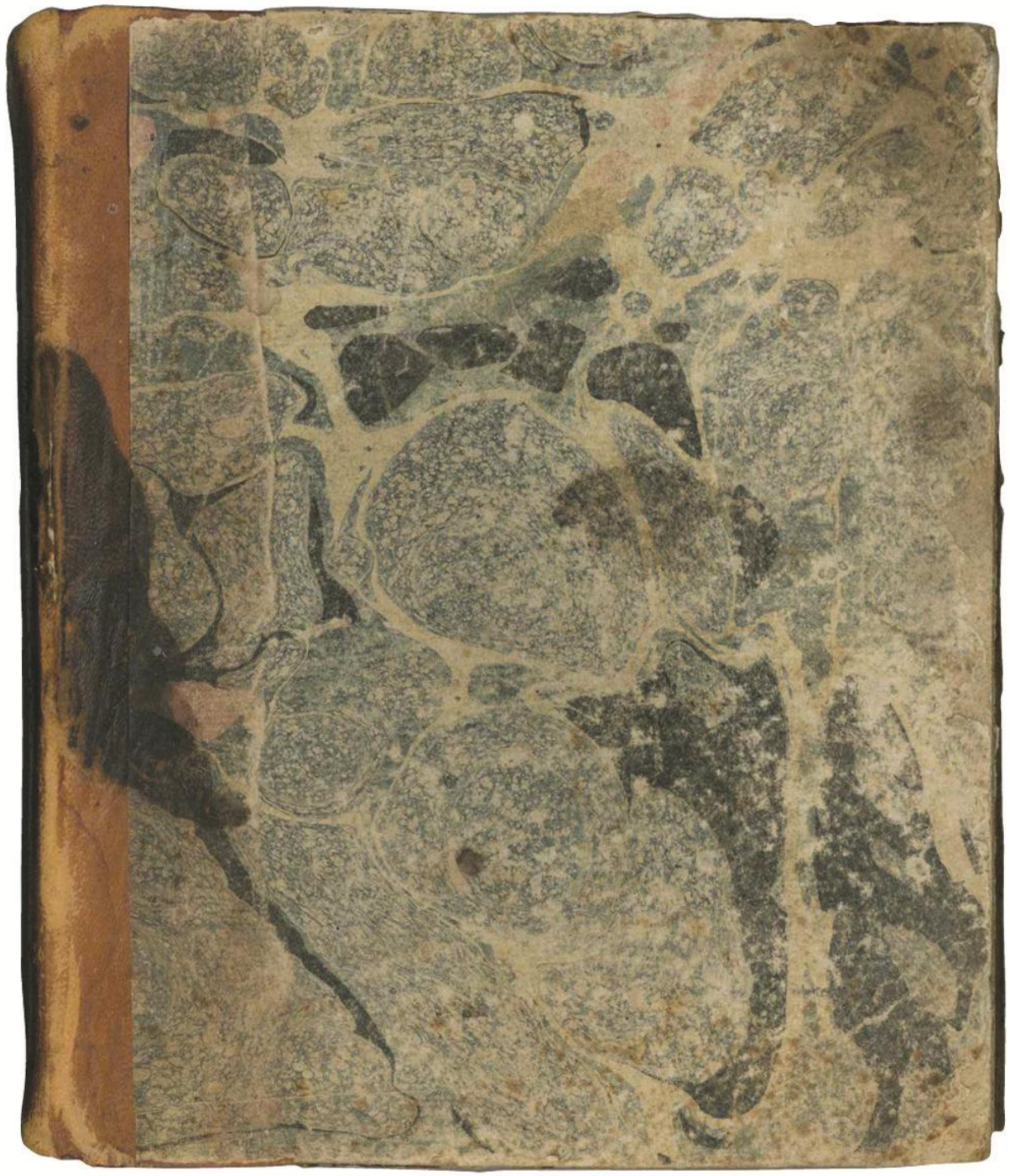
3. **$4000**.

David Carson and the Berkshire Paper Mill of Dalton, Massachusetts

In the summer of 1799, a 22-year-old papermaker named Zenas Crane headed west from Worcester, Massachusetts--where he had learned his trade at the mill belonging to Major General Caleb Burbank--in search of a suitable place to establish a mill of his own. He found it in Berkshire County near the small town of Dalton, on the other side of the Hoosac Mountains along the Upper Housatonic River. The waters of the Housatonic were nearly free of mineral impurities, having a close chemical approximation to distilled water, and thus were ideal for washing pulp. Forming a partnership with fellow papermaker, Henry Wiswell, and Daniel Gilbert, an old Boston friend of Crane's family, he founded what came to be known as Berkshire Mill in 1801, the first paper mill west of the Connecticut River. But in 1807 he sold his interest in the mill to Wiswell and opened a mercantile store (he would later return to papermaking). That same year, the management of the mill was assumed by David Carson, a native of Albany, New York, who had learned the trade at Goshen before moving to Dalton about 1800 "with only his trade and a change of linen" (McGaw 1987:39). Carson was a partner in the business by 1810, then in 1814 he bought out the others to become sole owner of the Berkshire Paper Mill. Berkshire County produced more paper than any other district in the United States by mid-century, and Carson was one of its leading citizens. **This day book records Carson's management of the Berkshire Mill during his time as a partner from 1811-1813, just before he assumed sole ownership**. It offers a rare, detailed view into the workings of an early and historically significant papermaking operation.

German immigrant William Rittenhouse built the first paper mill in America in 1690, along a tributary of Wissahickon Creek near Germantown, Pennsylvania. For nearly forty years, he and his extended family were the only papermakers in the British colonies, and his descendants would produce fine paper at this location through the 1850s. In 1729, bookbinder and bookseller Daniel

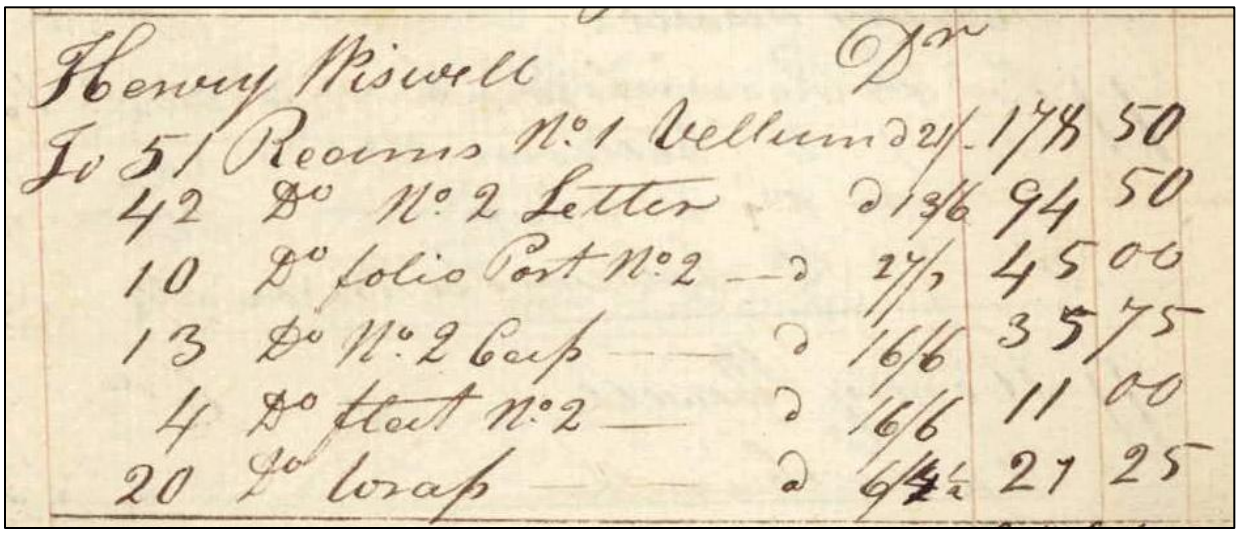

Town of Dalton to David Carson Dr
1812 March 20th To Spending one day of self & horse to procure a place for Mrs [illegible] $1-00
1813 Feb. 25th 1 Gall ~~Molasses~~ Spirits — 1-50
3/8 Yd Muslin for Mrs Smith — 54
1 1/2 days time per self & Team in moving the property of S. Smith — 2-00
1 day in procuring places for the children — 50
Tending to all town business & making out all the accounts } 5-00



Henchman joined with several others to build New England's first paper mill, located along the Neponset River at Milton, Massachusetts. Dozens of small mills were scattered throughout the Atlantic colonies by the middle of the 18th century, all of which followed a relatively standardized papermaking practice. The two essential ingredients for making paper were water and fiber; all early mills were therefore situated along streams, and all depended upon large quantities of cotton or linen rags (but also hemp and jute) for pulping into fiber. Judith McGaw offers a succinct and clear description of the papermaking process and its spatial organization in the mill:

> Paper making involves breaking down vegetable matter into cellulose fiber; forming it into a thin, wet sheet; drying it; and when it is destined for writing or printing, giving it a suitable surface. In the early nineteenth century paper makers performed each of these steps in a different section or room of the mill. In the rag room workers sorted and prepared the raw materials. In the beater room or engine room, power-driven machinery washed and broke down the rags into fiber. Craftsmen in the vat room formed the fiber into sheets of paper. Other men and women hung the sheets up to dry in the dry loft. In the size room, a workman applied a coating to make the sheets less absorbent. Finally, employees of the finishing room smoothed the paper and prepared it for shipping [1987:39-40].

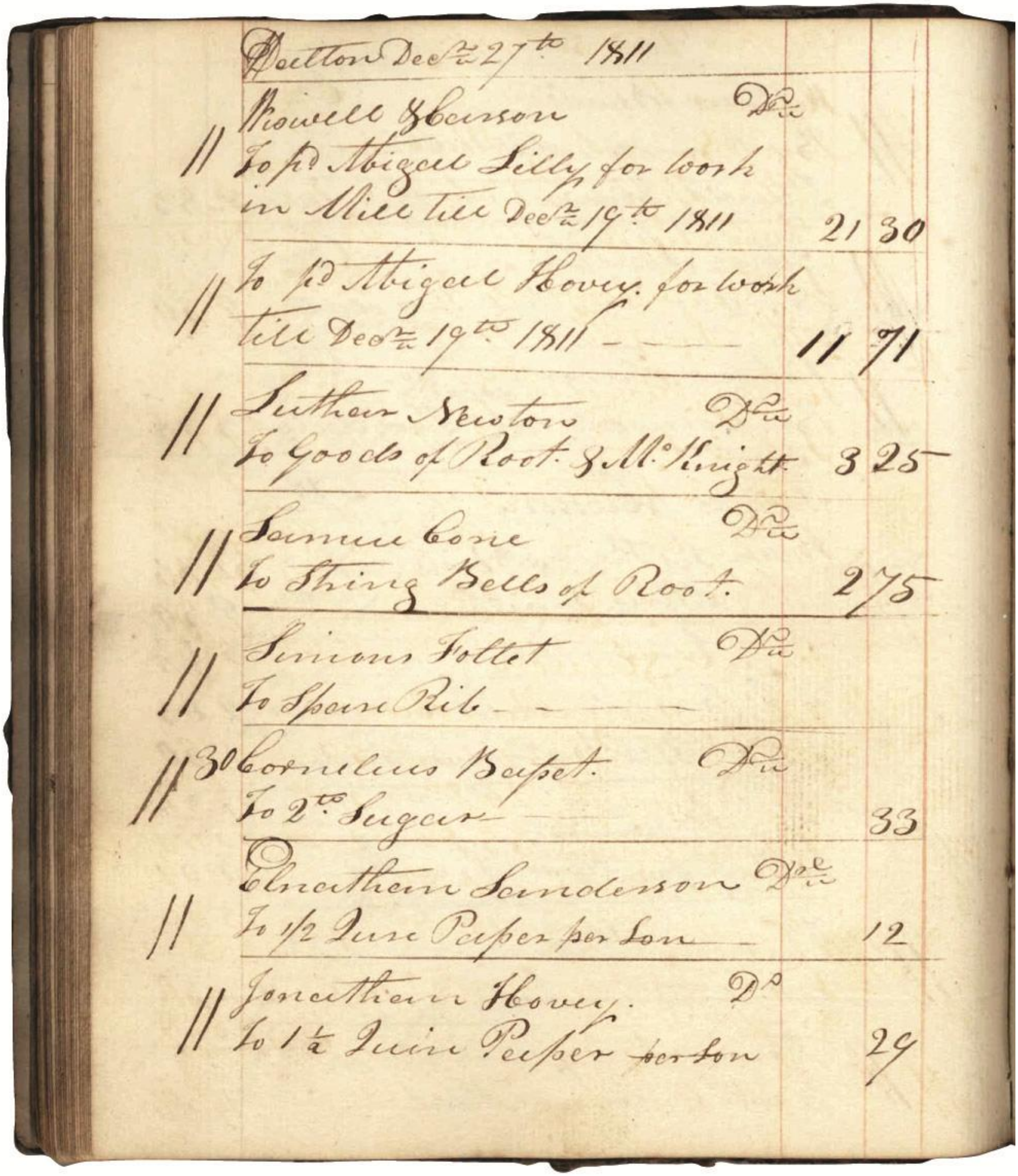
Zenas Crane, Henry Wiswell, and David Carson had all been trained in these traditional production methods, which they immediately put into practice at Dalton.



Henry Wiswell Dr

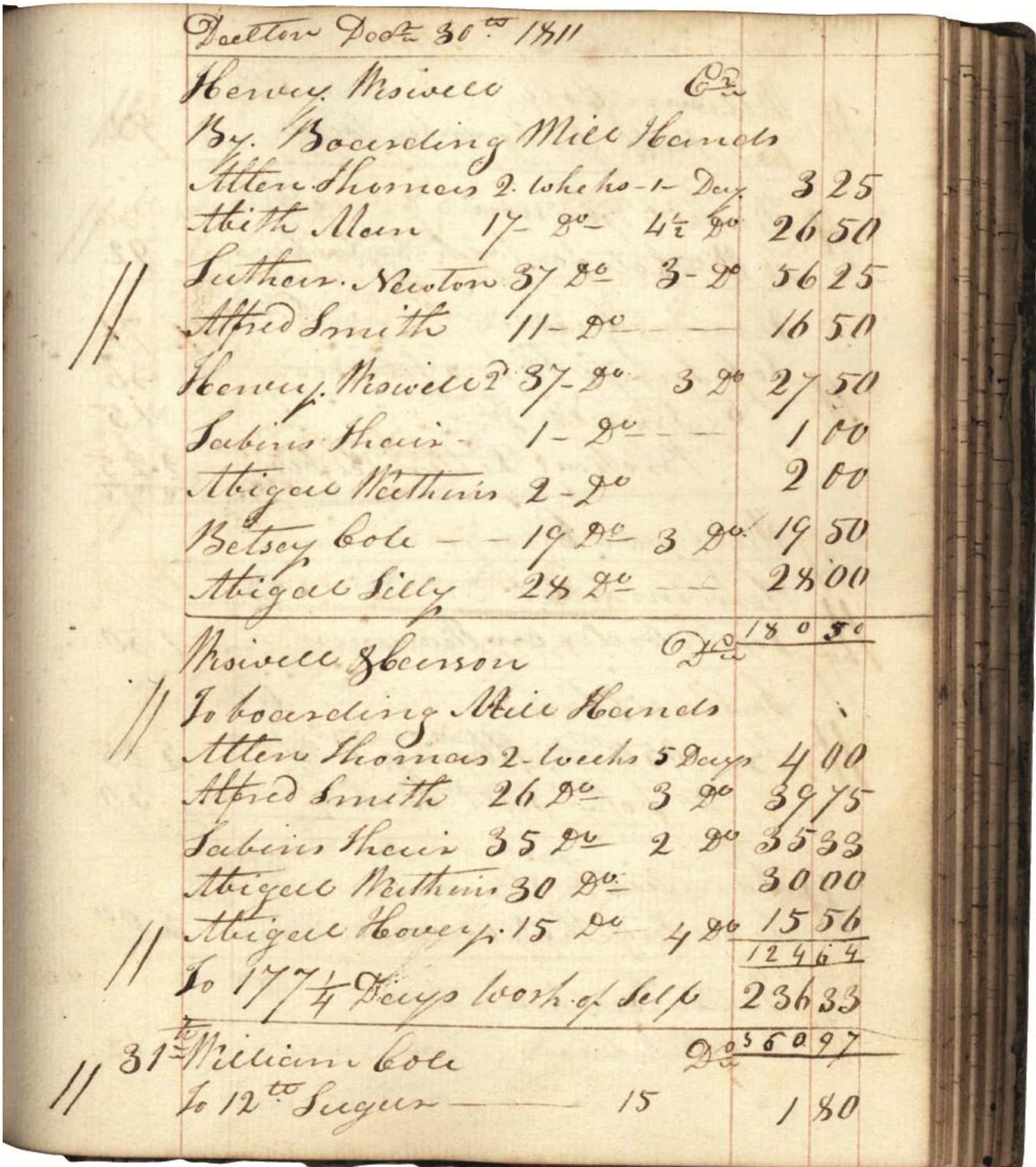
Jo 5	Reams	No 1 Vellum	@ 21/	178	50
42	Do	No 2 Letter	@ 13/6	94	50
10	Do	Folio Post No 2	@ 27/	45	00
13	Do	No 2 Cap	@ 16/6	35	75
4	Do	Post No 2	@ 16/6	11	00
20	Do	Wrap	@ 6/4½	27	25

Carson's day book runs from February 14, 1811, to May 19, 1813; his entries generally fill each side of 80 unnumbered leaves (laid paper with no watermark) for 160 pages. The binding of marbled paper over boards with a quarter-leather spine is well-preserved and sound. The greatest number of entries identify business with Henry Wiswell (either as Wiswell alone or as Wiswell and Carson). This is surprising, as Bidwell (2013:123) notes that Wiswell had sold his partnership in the mill by 1810. If he and Carson were no longer partners at Berkshire No. 1, then their business interests were still very closely intertwined. Entries document expenses related to many stages of paper production, including: acquiring rags, linen, and cotton for paper; providing room and board



Dutton Decr 27th 1811

	Rowell & Carson Dr		
//	To pd Abigail Lilly for work in Mill till Decr 19th 1811	21	30
//	To pd Abigail Hovey for work till Decr 19th 1811 —	11	71
//	Luther Newton Dr		
	To Goods of Root & McKnight	3	25
//	Samuel Cone Dr		
	To String Bells of Root	2	75
//	Simons Follet Dr		
	To Spare Rib —		
// 30	Cornelius Basset Dr		
	To 2 lb Sugar		33
	Elnathan Sanderson Dr		
//	To 1/2 Quire Paper per Son		12
//	Jonathan Hovey Dr		
	To 1 1/2 Quire Paper per Son		29


Dutton Decr 30th 1811
Henry Moswell Cr
By Boarding Mill Hands
Allen Thomas 2 weeks 1 Day 3 25
Abith Man 17 Do 4½ Do 26 50
// Luther Newton 37 Do 3 Do 56 25
Alfred Smith 11 Do 16 50
Henry Moswell Jr 37 Do 3 Do 27 50
Sabins Shaw 1 Do 1 00
Abigail Witherus 2 Do 2 00
Betsey Cole 19 Do 3 Do 19 50
Abigail Lilly 28 Do 28 00
180 50
Moswell & Pearson Dr
// To boarding Mill Hands
Allen Thomas 2 weeks 5 Days 4 00
Alfred Smith 26 Do 3 Do 39 75
Sabins Shaw 35 Do 2 Do 35 33
Abigail Witherus 30 Do 30 00
// Abigail Hovey 15 Do 4 Do 15 56
124 64
To 177¼ Days work of Self 236 33
360 97
// 31st William Cole Dr
To 12 lb Sugar 15 1 80

for mill hands (men and women are listed by name, along with days worked); purchasing wooden planks and bricks for the mill (the latter from Zenas Crane); repairs to the mill's machinery; and a range of other mill-related expenses. There are also dozens of entries specifying the different kinds of paper produced at the mill, as well as the number of reams: "superoyal"; "small Royal"; No. 1 vellum; No. 1 writing; No. 1 letter; No. 1 [fools?] cap; No. 1 Retrieve [?]; No. 1 cut; No. 2 folio post; No. 2 letter; No. 2 cap; No. 2 cut; No. 2 uncut; and wrap [wrapping paper]. By 1812 Carson also seems to have operated a store at the mill, and there are numerous entries for provisions such as pork, beef, potatoes, apples, corn, salt, sugar, tobacco, coffee, tea, spirits, rye, chocolate, and molasses, as well as merchandise like shoes, cloth, and spelling books.

Bidwell notes that by 1820 Carson employed four men, three boys, and five girls at his Old Berkshire Mill--perhaps including some of those whose boarding expenses are recorded in this day book--and that annually the mill made a range of papers: "200 reams of letter paper, 700 reams of writing grades, 100 reams of writing medium, and 1000 reams of medium printing and super royal printing" (2013:123-124). Paper demand had decreased, however, especially for the higher quality grades, likely due to the Great Panic of 1819. Yet Carson and his fellow Berkshire papermakers persevered, and by 1850 no fewer than 27 mills had been established in the county. Carson would retire from making paper in 1849, turning management of the company over to his sons. He moved to Pittsfield, where he became president of the Pittsfield Bank and died about a decade later at the age of 75 in 1858. Carson's 1811-1813 day book offers a richly detailed record of papermaking at the first mill in western Massachusetts, a pioneering enterprise in New England's manufacturing history. **Most primary source materials related to American papermaking, particularly from such an early date, are now in library collections and rarely appear in commerce**.

Relevant sources:

Bidwell, John
2013 *American Paper Mills, 1690-1832: A Directory of the Paper Trade, with Notes on Products, Watermarks, Distribution Methods, and Manufacturing Techniques*. Dartmouth College Press, Hanover, NH.

McGaw, Judith A.
1987 *Most Wonderful Machine: Mechanization and Social Change in Berkshire Paper Making, 1801-1885*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Valente, A. J.
2010 *Rag Paper Manufacture in the United States, 1801-1900: A History, with Directories of Mills and Owners*. McFarland & Co., Jefferson, NC.

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[New England--Early Paper Making]. David Carson. [MANUSCRIPT DAY BOOK OF DAVID CARSON, DOCUMENTING PRODUCTION AT THE FIRST PAPER MILL IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS]. Dalton, Massachusetts, February 1811-May 1813. 160 pp. 6 3/4 x 7 1/2 in. (17 x 19 cm). Marbled paper covered boards and 1/4 leather spine, edge wear, paper stripped from about 2/3 of rear board, minor exterior stains; interior with light foxing. Very good.

4. SOLD.

An Impressive Broadsheet: The First *Calendario* by El Pensador Mexicano

Late in 1811, during the midst of Mexico's War of Independence, José Joaquín Eugenio Fernández de Lizardi Gutiérrez found himself freed from jail in Mexico City with no home and no means save his pen for supporting a young and growing family. Lizardi had published some of his writings before, mostly poems that he issued as pamphlets, to supplement the meager income he earned as a provincial officer in Taxco, a small town in Guerrero about 100 miles southwest of Mexico City. Yet after running afoul of royalist forces in January 1811 and spending the next few months imprisoned, he would make his writing a vocation. Over the next year he published about twenty lightly satirical poems as broadsheets and pamphlets and sold them on the street. Then, in October 1812, when the Constitution of Cádiz granted limited freedom of the press throughout the Spanish Empire, he shifted to political journalism and published the first number of the periodical whose name he took as his pseudonym: *El Pensador Mexicano* (The Mexican Thinker). From this platform, Lizardi would become a leading figure in Mexico's liberation movement, issuing more than 300 recorded pamphlets, editing four periodicals, and--most famously of all--writing Latin America's first novel, *El Periquillo Sarniento*. He also published four issues of a *Calendario* in 1816, 1824, and 1825. This rare copy of the *Calendario y Prognostico* for 1816, published as a broadsheet, is the earliest known example of his work in the genre and may have been issued as an insert in his 1816 *Calednario Curioso*. **It is one of two recorded examples**.

Lizardi was born in Mexico City in 1776; his father was a physician who supplemented his income by writing, and his mother was the daughter of a Puebla bookseller. When his father died unexpectedly in 1798, he left Colegio de San Ildefonso and entered the civil service at Taxco. It was here in 1810, as the long and drawn out war for independence broke out across Mexico, that he came to the attention of both insurgent and loyalist factions. Lizardi had ascended through the civil service ranks to the role of Teniente de Justica, the acting head of the local government, and when insurgent forces took Taxco in November, he turned over its armory to the rebels in the hope of sparing his city and its residents further bloodshed. At the same time, he also passed information about rebel troop movements to the viceroy, Francisco Javier Venegas. Nevertheless, Lizardi was arrested as a rebel sympathizer when royalists retook the city in January. Only months later, after appealing to Venegas directly, were charges against him dropped. Yet his post and home were not returned, and lacking other opportunities, he turned to his pen.

CALENDARIO Y PRONOSTICO DEL PENSADOR

Nuevamente reformado el orden del Jubileo circular

LOS SEIS MESES

ENERO tiene 31. dias.

Este mes será muy frio
como todos los Eneros
y seguramente habrá
viento escarchas, nieves, yelos.

SOL EN AQUARIO.

E. Lun. 1 ✠ La Circuncision del Señor.
Mart. 2 Octava de S. Estavan
y S. Martiniano Ob. M. *
Mierc. 3 Octava de S. Juan y
Santa Genoveva.
Juev. 4 S. Priciliano M.
Vier. 5 S. Telesforo Papa.
E. Sab. 6 ✠ La Adoracion
de los santos Reyes. *
Dom. 7 S Luciano M.
Quarto crec. á las 11 y 39 min. de la mañana. Viento frio.
Lun. 8 S. Teófilo Diácono.
Mart. 9 S. Julian M.
Mier. 10 S. Nicanor Diácono. *
Juev. 11 S. Higinio Papa.
Viern. 12 S. Arcadio Mart.
Sab. 13 S. Gumesindo Presbit.
Dom. 14 El Dulce Nombre de
Jesus, y S. Hilario Obispo. *
Llena á las 10 y 18 minutos de la noche. Viento frio arrasante.
Lun. 15 S. Pablo primer hermitaño.
Mart. 16 S. Marcelo Papa y M.
Mier. 17 S. Antonio Abad.
Absolucion en la Merced, y en quantos dias la hay en este convento la hay en el Sagrario.
Juev. 18 LaCatedra de S. Pedro
y Santa Prisca. *
Vier. 19 S. Canuto Rey.
Sab. 20 Ss. Fabian y Sebas
tian Martires.
Dom. 21 Ntra Señora de Belén
Stâ. Inés y S Fructuoso. *Indulgencia plenaria en los Belemitas.*
Quarto menguante á las 11 y 58 minutos de la mañana. Ayre frio
R. Lun. 22 S. Anastacio M. *
Mart 23 S. Ildefonso Arzobispo.
Mier. 24 Ntrâ. Srâ. de la Paz.
Juev. 25 La Conversion de S.
Pablo.
Vier. 26 S. Policarpo Obispo
y Santa Paula. *
Sab. 27 San Juan Crisóstomo.
A. Dom 28 S Tirso M.
Lun. 29 S. Francisco de Sales.
Conjuncion á las 2 y 20 minutos de la mañana. Ayre escarchante.
Aunque el pronóstico errado
por mi ignorancia saliere,
será lo que Dios quisiere
que asi fue el año pasado.
Mart. 30 Santa Martina V. *
Mier. 31 S. Pedro Nolasco.
Absolucion en la Merced.

Catedral.
Sagrario.
Ntrâ. Señora de Guadalupe.
Cap. del Pozito.
Par. de S. Miguel.
Santa Catalina Mar. tir.
Cap. de la Preciosa Sangre.
Santa Veracruz.

FEBRERO tiene 29. dias.

En este mes poco á poco
el invierno calmará:
aunque ayre y nubes habrá,
al fin es Febrero loco.

SOL EN PISCIS.

Juev. 1 S. Severo y S. Ignacio Mart.
T. Vier. 2 ✠ La Purificacion de Nuestra Señora.
Bendicion Papal en los conventos de San Juan de Dios.
Sab. 3 S. Blas Obispo. *
Dom. 4 S Andrés Corsino.
Lun. 5 El Glorioso Protomartir Mexicano S. FELIPE DE JUSUS, Patron y de guarda política en esta Capital.
Mart. 6 Santa Dorotea V. M.
y S. Teófilo.
Quarto crec. á las 2 y 28 minutos de la mañana. Recios vientos.
Mier. 7 S. Romualdo Abad. *
Juev. 8 S. Juan de Mata.
Vier. 9 Stâs. Petronila y Polonia Virgenes y Marts.
Sab. 10 S. Guillermo hermitaño.
A.E. Dom. 11 [*Septuag.*] S. Desiderio Obispo. *
Lun. 12 Santa Eulalia V.
Mart. 13 S. Benigno M.
Llena á las 5 y 20 m. de la mañana. Nubes y viento
R Mier. 14 S. Valentin M.
Juev. 15 S. Faustino M. *
Vier. 16 Santa Juliana M.
Sab 17 S. Romulo M.
E. Dom. 18 (*Sexag.*) S. Simeon Obispo.
Lun. 19 S Gabino Presb. *
Quarto meng. á las 10 y 25 minutos de la noche. Nubes humedas.
Mart. 20 S. Eleuterio Ob.
Mier. 21 S Severano Ob.
Juev. 22 Stâ Margarita de Cortona y S Pascasio Ob.
Vier. 23 S. Florencio Conf. *
Sab. 24 (*Vigil.*) S. Modesto
E. Dom. 25 (*Carnest.*) S. Matias Apstol. S. Cesario Confesor y S. Sebastian de Aparicio.
¶Lun. 26 San Nestor Obispo y Martir.
¶Mar. 27 S. Leandro Arzobispo. *
Conjuncion á las 9 y 57 min. de la noch. Recios vientos.
Este aspecto pronostíca
que aquel que debe y no paga;
aunque el dinero retenga
no escusará mil habladas.
§¶*E.* Mier. 28 (*Ceniza*) S. Roman Abad.
A. Juev. 29 La Translacion del Cuerpo de San Agustin.

Parroq. de Sr. S. José.
Parroq. de Srâ. Santa Ana.
Santa Cruz.
San Sebastian.
S Antonio Tomatlan.
Santa María.
Parroq. de San Pablo.

MARZO tiene 31. dias.

Bien lloviznoso será
este mes tal qual caliente,
y si el pronóstico miente,
¿que cuidado se medá?

SOL EN ARIES.

§ Vier. 1 Las Llagas de
Nuestro Redentor, y
S. Alvino Obispo.
Sab. 2 San Pablo Mart. *
Dom. 3 (*1. de quaresma*) San
Emeterio M.
Lun. 4 S. Casimiro Conf.
A. Mar. 5 S Eusebio M.
Mier. 6 (*Temporas*) S. Victor
M. y Santa Coleta V. *
Quarto crec. á las 10 y 12 minutos de la noche. Viento con aparatos de agua.
Juev 7 ✠ S. Tomás de Aquino.
§ Vier. 8 (*Temper.*) S Juan de
Dios. *Indulg. Plen y Bend. Papal en sus conventos.*
Sab. 9 (*Temporas*) Santa Francisca Viuda.
Dom. 10 (*2. de quaresma*) S.
Macario Obispo. *
Lun. 11 S. Eulogio M.
Mar. 12 S. Gregorio Papa.
Mier. 13 S. Rodrigo M.
Llena á las 4 y 2 min. de la tarde. Viento, y lluvias.
Juev. 14 Santa Matilde Reyna
y S. Eutiquio. *
§ Vier. 15 S. Longinos M.
A Sab. 16 S. Abrahan hermitañ.
A. Dom. 17 (*3. de quaresma*)
S. Patricio Obispo.
Lun 18 S. Grabiel Archangel.*
Mart. 19 ✠* El Castisimo Patriarca Sr. S. José (*Indulg en S. José de Gracia.*)
Mier. 20 Santa Eufemia M.
Quarto meng. á las 11 y 49 minutos de la mañana. Viento.
Juev. 21 S. Benito Abad.
§ Vier. 22 S. Octaviano M. *
Sab. 23 S. Victoriano M.
A. Dom. 24 (*4. de quaresma*)
S. Epigmenio.
Lun. 25 ✠ La Encarnacion
del Verbo Divino y San Dimas *Bend. en S Agustin. S. Juan de Dios, é Indulgencia de Bermeo.*
Mart. 26 S. Castulo Mart. *
Mier. 27 S. Ruperto Ob.
Juev. 28 S. Sixto Papa.
Conjuncion á las 9 y 48 min de la tarde. Calor, y tiempo nebuloso.
En el mes que entra un traidor
colgarán, que es justa ley
que aquel que vendió á su rey
pague como malhechor.
§ Vier. 29 S. Anastacio Abad.
b. 30 S. Juan Climaco. *
Dom 31 (*de Pasion*) S. Felix M.

Santa Cruz Acatl.
Ntrâ. Srâ. del Saltodel Agua.
Santo Tomás.
San Antonio de las Huert.
Santo Domingo.
Sepulcr. de sus Religiosos.
Tercer Orden.
Capilla del Rosario.

MEXICANO, PARA EL AÑO BISEXTO DE 1816.

en este mismo año para esta Capital.

PRIMEROS.

ABRIL tiene 30. dias.

En este mes variedades
habrá en calor mas ó menos
y las nubes con sus truenos
anunciarán tempestades.

SOL EN TAURO.

Lun. 1 Santa Teodora M.
Mar. 2 S. Franc. de Paula.
Mier. 3 S. Ricardo Ob. y S Benito de Palermo. *
Juev. 4 S. Isidoro Ob.
A. § Vier. 5 (*de Dolores*) San Vicente Ferrer.
Quarto crec. á las 8 y 45. min. de la mañana. Viento, y nubes.
A. Sab 6 Ntrâ. Srâ. de la Piedad y S Celso Ob. (*Indulg. en su Santuario.*)
T. Dom. 7 (*de Ramos.*) San Epifanio Ob. *
Lun 8 (*Santo*) S. Dionisio Ob.
Mart. 9 (*Stô*) Stâ. Maria Cleofas.
§ Mier. 10 (*Santo*) S. Apolonio M.
T. § Juev. 11 (*Santo*) San Leon Pap. *Absolucion en la Merced.*
T § Vier. 12 (*Santo*) S. Julio P.
Llena á las 3 y 26 min. de la mañana. Viento y nubes.
§ Sab. 13 (*de Gloria*) S. Hermenegildo
Dom. 14 (*Pasq. de Res*) Stôs. Tiburcio y Valeriano Mrs. (*Bend. en San Agustin*)
Lun. 15 ✝* (*Pasqua*) Santas Basilica y Anastasia Ms.
Mar 16 ✝ (*Pasqua*) S. Toribio Ob. *Bend en el Carmen.*
A. Mier. 17 S. Anacleto P y Stâ Mariana de Jesus. *Ind. plen. y absolucion en la Merced.* *
Juev. 18 S Perfecto M.
Vier. 19 S. Crecencio Conf.
Quarto meng. á las 3 y 26 min de la mañ. Caliente nubes tempestuosas.
Sab 20 Stâ. Inés del monte Pulciano y S. Crisoforo M
E. Dom 21 (*In albis*) S. Anselmo Obispo. *
Lun. 22 S. Sotero Papa.
Mar. 23 S. Jorge M.
Mier. 24 S. Alexandro M.
E. Juev. 25 (*Letanias*) S. Marcos. Evangelis. *
Vier. 26 S. Cleto y Marcelino P.
Sab. 27 S. Anastasio Pap. y Santo Toribio Arzobispo.
Conj á las 7 y 40 m. de la mañana. Calor, y nebulosidad.
No te purgues ni te sangres
sin execucion precisa,
porque el humor y la sangre
son azeyte de la vida.
Dom. 28 S. Vidal. M.
Lun. 29 S. Pedro de Verona M.*
Mar. 30 Stâ. Catalina de Sena y San Amador M.

Porta-Cali.

CESA.

S. Francisco.

Tercer Orden.

Aranzazú.

Cap. del Sr. de Burgos.

MAYO tiene 31. dias.

En este mes el calor
ha de ser mas excesivo
segun lo que yo percibo
que aun en el mes anterior

SOL EN GEMINIS.

Mier. 1 ✝ S. Felipe y Santiago Ap.
Juev. 2 S. Antonio Ob.
Vier. 3 ✝ La Santa Cruz y San Diodoro M. *Hoy se expone en Catedral el Santo Lignum y en Regina.* *
Sab 4 Santa Mónica Viuda y Silviano M.
Quarto crec. á las 6 de la tarde. Viento.
Dom. 5 El Patrocinio de Sr S. José, S. Pio V. y Santa Crecenciana M.
Lun. 6 S. Juan Ante portam latinam. *Patron de la Imprent*
Mar 7 S. Estanislao, y Santa Flavia. *
Mier. 8 La Aparicion de Sr. S. Miguel.
Juev. 9 S. Gregorio Nacianceno.
Vier. 10 S. Antonino Arzob
Sab. 11 S. Maxîmo M. *
Llena á las 9 y 58 minutos de la mañana. Calor y nubes.
Dom. 12 Ntrâ. Srâ. de los Desamparados y Santo Domingo de la Calzada.
Lun. 13 S. Mucio Presbitero.
Mar. 14 S. Bonifacio M.
Mier. 15 ✝ S. Isidro Labrador*
Juev. 16 S. Juan Nepomuceno.
Vier. 17 S. Pasqual Bailon
Sab. 18 S. Felix Ob. y Venancio
Quarto meng. á las 8. y 25. min de la noche. Viento, y lluvia.
Dom. 19 La Renovacion del Sr. de Stâ. Teresa y Stâ. Pudenciana V. *
E Lun. 20 (*Let*) S. Bernardino de Sena.
E. Mar. 21 (*Let*) S. Valente Ob.
E. Mier. 22 (*Let*) Stâ. Rita de Casia y S Casto M.
Juev. 23 ✝✝ La Ascencion del Señor y S. Epitacio Ob. *
Vier. 24 Stâ Susana M.
Sab. 25 S. Urbano Papa.
Dom. 26 S. Felipe Neri.
Conj. á las 7. y 9. minut. de la noche. Calor, y lluvia.
Este aspecto me asegura
será el mes que entra fatal,
pues consumirá el portal
mucho dinero en basura.
Lun 27 S. Juan Papa M. *
Mar. 28 S. German Ob.
Mier. 29 Ntrâ Srâ. de la Luz, y Santa Teodosia.
T. Juev. 30 S Fernando Rey. *Dias de N. C. M.*
Viet. 31 Santa Petrolina V. *

Tercer Orden de Servitas.

S. Diego

Capilla de Ntrâ Srâ de los Dolores.

San Agustin

Tercer Orden.

El Carmen.

La Merced.

Tercer Orden.

JUNIO tiene 30. dias.

Por cálculos verdaderos,
el calor fuerte será,
aunque este se templará
con copiosos aguaceros.

SOL EN CANCER.

§ *E.* Sab. 1 (*Vig.*) S. Panfilo M.
E. Dom. 2 (*Pasq. de Espíritu Santo*) S. Marcelino M. *Bendicion en S. Agustin.*
Quarto creciente á las 12 y 40 minutos de la noche. Agua.
E Lun. 3 ✝* (*Pasq*) S. Isac Monge.
E. Mar 4 ✝ (*Pasq.*) S Quirino M. (*Bend. en el Carm.*) *
E. Mier. 5 (*Temp*) S. Doroteo M
A.E Juev. 6 S Noberto Ob.
E. Vier. 7 (*Temp*) S. Pablo O.
A. E. Sab. 8 (*Tempor.*) Ss. Maximino y Heraclio Ob. *
Dom. 9 La Smâ. Trinidad, y Ss Primo y Feliciano M.
Llena ecl á las 4. y 40. m. de la tarde. Truenos y en partes granizo.
R Lun. 10 Stâ. Margarita, y S. Primitivo M.
Mar. 11 S. Bernabé Ap.
Mier. 12 S. Onofre Anacoreta, y S. Juan Sahagun. *
T. Juev 13 ✝✝ Corpus Cristi, y San Antonio de Padua.
Vier. 14 S. Bacilio Magno.
R. Sab. 15 S. Vito y Modesto M.
Dom. 16 S. Juan Francisco Regis y Santa Lugarda V.
Lun 17 Ss Manuel, Sabel é Ism.
Quart. meng. á la 1 y 48. min. de la tarde. Truenos y lluvias.
Mar. 18 Ss. Ciriaco y Paula Ms.
Mier. 19 Stâ. Juliana de Falconeli, y S. Gervasio Ms.
T Juev. 20 (*Octava de Corpus*) S. Silverio.
Vier. 21 El Sagrado Corazon de Jesus, y S Luis Gonzaga. (*Ind. plen. en Corpus Cristi*)*
Sab. 22 (*Vig*) S. Paulino Ob.
Dom. 23 S. Cenon y Stâ. Agripina M.
Lun. 24 ✝* La Natividad de S. Juan Bautista (*Indulg. en Sant a Catarina Martir.*)
Mar. 25 Stâ Febronia y Lucia.*
Conjun. á las 2 y 49. min. de la mañ. Nubes tempestuosas.
Este aspecto te aconseja,
ó joven, que no enamores
á la que sabe de amores,
á la casada, ó la vieja.
Mier 26 S Juan y S. Pablo Ms.
Juev. 27 S Ladisleo Rey.
§ Vier. 28 (*Vig*) S. Plutarco M.
T. Sab. 29 ✝✝ S. Pedro y San Pablo A *
Dom. 30 S. Marcial Ob.

S. Andres.

S. Camilo.

CESA.

S. Juan de Dios.

S. Hipolito.

Espiritu Stô.

In *El Pensador Mexicano*, his writing became more overtly political and regularly focused on the pressing conditions that pushed Mexico deeper into violence. In the December 1812 issue he attacked the dictatorial policies of Venegas and his government, which landed him once again in prison. Released seven months later with the installation of a new viceroy, he shifted his writing from journalism and explicit political commentary to fiction, and to the novel in particular. Two years after his release, he produced *El Periquillo Sarniento* (*The Mangy Parrot*), issued in weekly installments through late 1816. Widely recognized as the first Latin American novel, *Periquillo* is a picaresque that follows the adventures of Pedro Sarmiento, nicknamed "the mangy parrot" by his equally shabby friends. But like many other novels written in the picaresque tradition, it is anything but apolitical. Literary critic Jean Franco has described it as "a ferocious indictment of Spanish administration in Mexico: ignorance, superstition and corruption are seen to be its most notable characteristics" (1969:34). Indeed, the novel's blistering critique of the *Asiento*--a contract between Spanish merchants and the Crown that perpetuated African slavery--led authorities to halt publication of its final chapters, which did not appear until several years after his death. Over the next four years, during a period of renewed royalist censorship, Lizardi would complete three more novels and a collection of fables.

When the freedoms of the Constitution of Cádiz were reestablished in 1820, Lizardi turned again to journalism and immediately began issuing a periodical *El Conductor Electrico*, intended as a defense of the constitution and its liberal supporters against abuses by the clergy. In 1821 he was briefly imprisoned yet again for writing a pamphlet that advocated Mexico's independence from Spain. Upon his release he joined the insurgent forces of Agustín de Iturbide and continued to print pamphlets in support of independence. Iturbide would triumphantly enter Mexico City in September, ending Spanish colonial rule once and for all, but Lizardi would find little peace in the newly proclaimed Mexican Empire. He was excommunicated by the Church in 1822 for defending the rights of freemasons (although he was not a mason himself), and launched a series of pamphlet attacks against centralists in the provisional government. He fought until the end for the Mexico of his republican ideals, and by this time that end was near. Lizardi had contracted tuberculosis at some point in the previous decade, perhaps when jailed, and he died penniless in 1827. He was buried in a pauper's grave but had asked that his epitaph read: "Here lie the ashes of the Mexican Thinker, who did the best he could for his country" (Vogely 2004:xxvii).

This impressive broadsheet, *Calendario y Pronostico del Pensador Mexicano, para el Año Bisexto de 1816*, is the first *calendario* that Lizardi issued. Both the recto and verso display the title printed at the top of the sheet and a central column flanked by three equal sized columns to its left and right. The text of the title is divided on each side of the sheet, recto and verso, by a circular monogram, that of Jesus Christ on the recto and of Mary, Lady of Guadalupe, on the verso. Below each of the two monograms is a short poem by Lizardi that does not appear elsewhere: the poem on the recto is titled "Decima a San Felipe de Jesus," while that on the verso is "Decima a Maria Santisima de Guadalupe." Each of the twelve flanking columns is devoted to a specific month and opens with a clever, four-line poem about the month. Here is September's, for example:

Este mes refrescará
el ambiente su calor.
Agua y granizo en rigor
del todo, no faltará.

Each poem is followed by that month's religious feast days and days of observance, with its lunar cycles indicated by woodcut moons. All of the text on recto and verso is surrounded by a simple printer's device. Finally, there is an imprint on the verso, at the base of the central column, for the printshop of Doña Maria Fernandez de Jáuregui, one of the most prolific female printers in Mexico during the colonial period. This would have been one of her last imprints, as the shop was sold and moved following her death in 1815.

All of Lizardi's works published during his lifetime are quite scarce today, particularly in commerce. This *Calendario* is among the scarcest. We locate no other copies on OCLC, but we do trace a copy among the Mexican pamphlets in the Sutro Library, now housed at the California State Library. In his discussion of newly discovered works by Lizardi located during cataloguing of the Sutro collection, Paul Radin--who led the WPA's Sutro Library Project--suggests that it may have been issued as an insert in Lizardi's 1816 *Pronostico Curioso*, the only known copy of which is located in the National Library of Chile (BNCH). The BNCH catalogue entry makes no mention of an insert, however, so it is also quite likely that the broadsheet was issued separately. There is no question, though, as to its rarity. Radin transcribed its *decimas* to Jesus and Mary in his entry for the Sutro copy, "Since there may be no other copy...in existence" (1939:16). **The copy that we offer here is the first seen since, and may well be the only other**.

Relevant sources:

Radin, Paul
1939 *Some Newly Discovered Poems and Pamphlets of J. J. Fernández de Lizardi (El Pensador Mexicano). Prepared under the direction of Paul Radin.* Occasional Papers, Mexican History Series, No. 1. Sutro Branch, California State Library, San Francisco.

Spell, Jefferson R.
1927 Fernández de Lizardi as a Pamphleteer. *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 7(1):104-123.

Vogely, Nancy
2004 Introduction. In *The Mangy Parrot: The Life and Times of Pedro Sarmiento, Written by Himself for His Children*, by José Joaquín Eugenio Fernández de Lizardi Gutiérrez, translated by David Frye, pp. xi-xxx. Hackett Publishing Co., Indianapolis.

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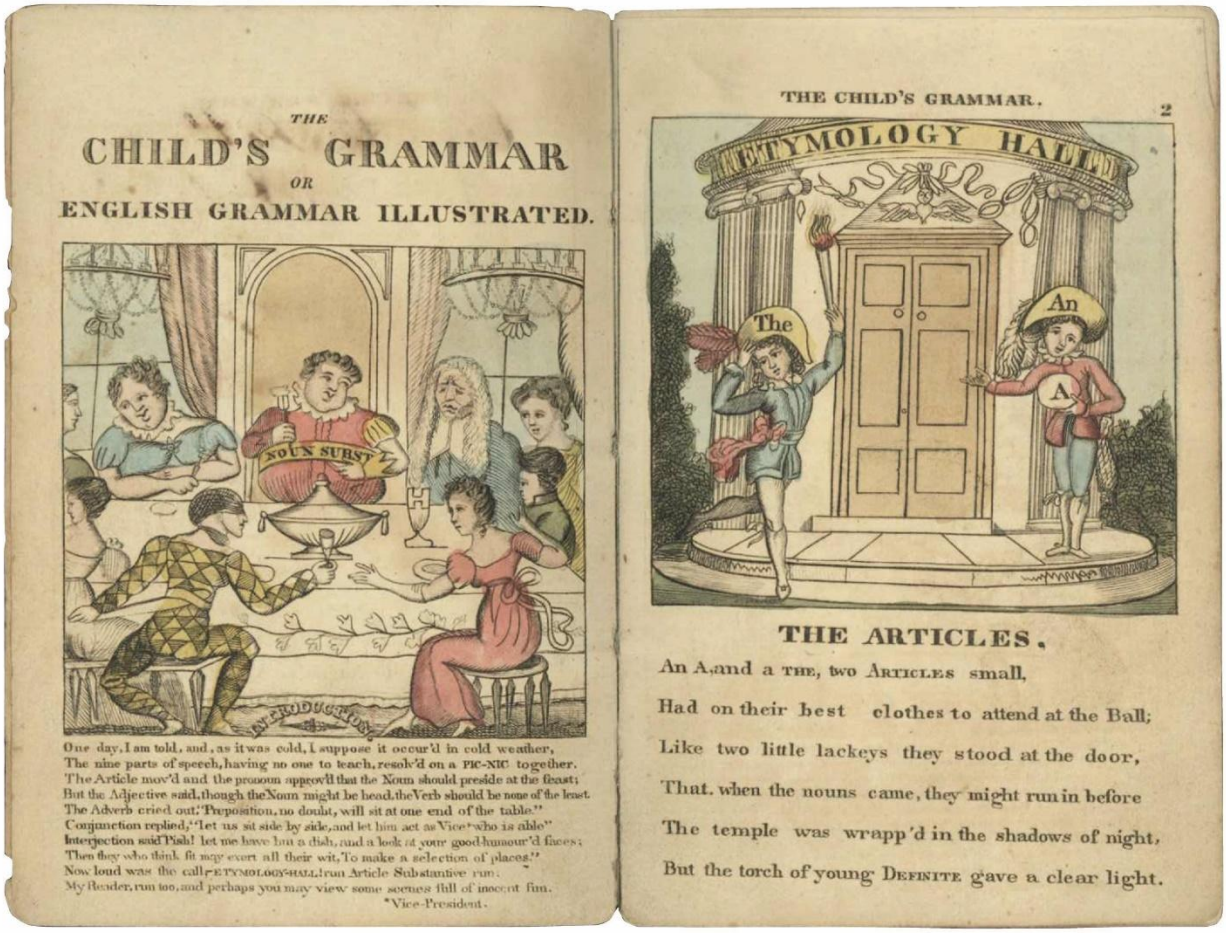
[Mexico--Colonial Imprint]. José Joaquín Eugenio Fernández de Lizardi. CALENDARIO Y PRONOSTICO DEL PENSADOR MEXICANO, PARA EL AÑO BISEXTO DE 1816. En la Officina de Doña Maria Fernandez de Jáuregui, calle de Santo Domingo, Mexico City, 1816. Con las licencias necesarias. Broadsheet, oblong folio. 12 1/4 x 16 3/4 in. (31 x 42.5 cm). Text on recto and verso in seven columns, all contained within a typographic rectangle. Old folds, small pinhole at center fold, several very small scattered wormholes. Very good.

5. SOLD.

The Child's Grammar, with Illustrations by Ohio Engraver Hugh Anderson

Prior to American Independence, practically all of the children's books sold in the colonies were published in Great Britain, and among the bare handful of surviving titles that were printed locally, most were limited to religious subjects. By the mid-1780s, a much wider range of books became available to American children, usually copied from British titles and published in the East Coast centers of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. As Americans and the printing press made their inexorable advance on the West, there was a noticeable lag in the appearance of children's books and literature published along the frontier; for example, d'Alté Welch's classic *Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821* (1972) lists no more than three or four titles printed and published in Cincinnati and Lexington, the cultural hubs of the American West. Hugh Anderson was one of the first publishers of children's books to locate to the west of the Allegheny Mountains. He was also a talented engraver, and his works are well regarded for their charming and brightly hand-colored illustrations. Between about 1830 and 1835, he published at least eight small, chapbook-style works in Cadiz, Ohio, a small town 60 miles west of Pittsburgh. Rarely do any of these imprints appear in commerce--hardly a surprise, given that children in such a frontier setting must have read them to pieces. **This work, *The Child's Grammar, or English Grammar Illustrated*, is the fifth known copy, complete in its original illustrated wraps**.


THE
CHILD'S GRAMMAR
OR
ENGLISH GRAMMAR ILLUSTRATED.

One day, I am told, and, as it was cold, I suppose it occur'd in cold weather,
The nine parts of speech, having no one to teach, resolv'd on a PIC-NIC together.
The Article mov'd and the pronoun approv'd that the Noun should preside at the feast;
But the Adjective said, though the Noun might be head, the Verb should be none of the least.
The Adverb cried out: "Preposition, no doubt, will sit at one end of the table."
Conjunction replied, "let us sit side by side, and let him act as Vice* who is able"
Interjection said Pish! let me have but a dish, and a look at your good-humour'd faces;
Then they who think fit may exert all their wit, To make a selection of places."
Now loud was the call—ETYMOLOGY-HALL! run Article Substantive run:
My Reader, run too, and perhaps you may view some scenes full of innocent fun.

*Vice-President.

THE CHILD'S GRAMMAR. 2

THE ARTICLES.

An A, and a THE, two ARTICLES small,
Had on their best clothes to attend at the Ball;
Like two little lackeys they stood at the door,
That, when the nouns came, they might run in before
The temple was wrapp'd in the shadows of night,
But the torch of young DEFINITE gave a clear light.

THE

CHILD'S GRAMMAR.

OR

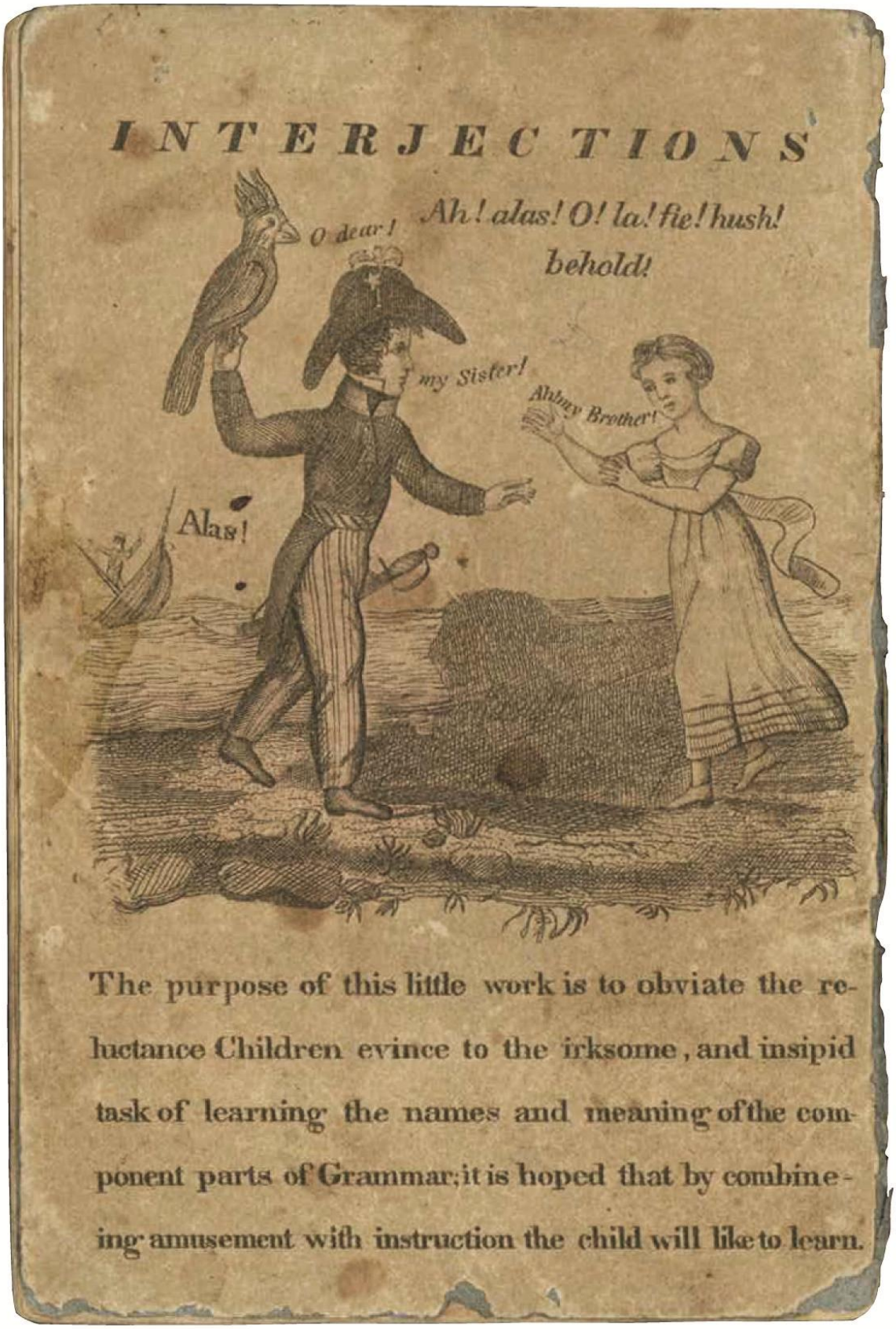
ENGLISH GRAMMAR ILLUSTRATED.

THE, is called a definite Article, because it means some particular thing, as I caught a Pigeon, but not the Pigeon with strings round its neck.

CADIZ, OHIO,

PUBLISHED BY H. ANDERSON Engraver,

Printer, & Publisher, of Maps, Prints, & Juvenile Books.


INTERJECTIONS
O dear!
Ah! alas! O! la! fie! hush!
behold!
my Sister!
Ahhny Brother!
Alas!
The purpose of this little work is to obviate the reluctance Children evince to the irksome, and insipid task of learning the names and meaning of the component parts of Grammar; it is hoped that by combineing amusement with instruction the child will like to learn.

Hugh Anderson was born in Ireland in either 1785 or 1787 and moved to the United States about 1810. From 1811 to 1819 he worked in Philadelphia, then went south to Baltimore where he worked under cartographer, engraver, and publisher Fielding Lucas until about 1826. Next he journeyed 300 miles west to the hill town of Cadiz, Ohio, a sparsely populated village in Harrison County (he may have lived briefly in Stuebenville before setting in Cadiz). Here he began to issue the children's books for which he is best known today, apparently basing many of these on patterns and designs he brought with him from Lucas's Baltimore shop. The *Morgan Bibliography of Ohio Imprints, 1796-1850* identifies eight of these juvenile works published by Anderson at Cadiz and one at Steubenville. The latter, dated 1829, is the earliest of his dated Ohio imprints; the dated Cadiz imprints were all issued from 1829 to 1834 (*Metamorphosis*, a possible Cadiz imprint, is dated 1836, but with no place of publication indicated). About 1834, Anderson relocated to St. Claireville, 30 miles south of Cadiz, where he shifted his focus to cartography and issued a number of important maps of Ohio counties. He died there in 1866.

This copy of *The Child's Grammar*, published at Cadiz about 1830 (according to Morgan's bibliography) is an exceptional survival. It is in the original stiff blue wrappers, pasted over with buff-colored, printed and illustrated paper covers. Front and back covers contain charming figures engraved by Anderson, all of which--the figures and their surrounding text--are taken from another chapbook, *The Paths of Learning Strewed with Flowers, or English Grammar Illustrated*. Issued first at London in 1820, Fielding Lucas published a Baltimore edition about 1825. Each pastedown shows mild evidence of dampstaining, but this is hardly apparent on the outer covers and even less so inside the text. The front cover, which carries the imprint (but no date), identifies the publisher as "H. Anderson, Engraver. / Printer, & Publisher, of Maps, Prints, & Juvenile Books." There are 12 text leaves, each of which contains a vibrant, hand-colored engraving. These are printed on one side of the leaf only, with printed pages facing each other. Like all of Anderson's children's books, *The Child's Grammar* is excessively rare, in any condition. **We trace four institutional copies: at AAS, Yale, the Free Library, and the Clarke Historical Library**. Likewise, we have located only a single copy in commerce, which sold for £50 at Sotheby's, London, in 1974. No less an authority than Ernest Wesson of Midland Books noted in 1965 that Anderson's works were all "remarkable today for their great rarity and the enduring brilliance of their colors" (RBH). His words are no less accurate today, more than a half-century later.

Relevant sources:

Haverstock, Mary S., Jeannette M. Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt, editors and compilers
2000 *Artists in Ohio, 1787-1900: A Biographical Dictionary*. Kent State University Press, Kent, OH.

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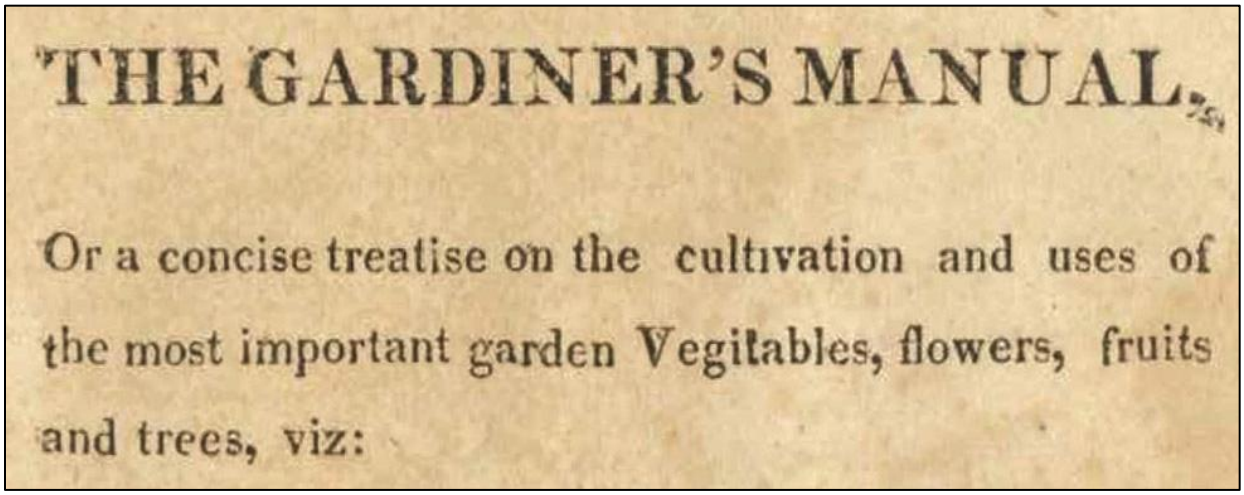
[Illustrated Children's Books--Ohio]. THE CHILD'S GRAMMAR, OR ENGLISH GRAMMAR ILLUSTRATED. Published by H. Anderson, Engraver, Cadiz, Ohio [1830]. 16mo (14 cm). 12 pp., illus.. Original stiff blue covers with pasted-on, printed covers; string binding, light edge wear and soiling, light wear to spine, old owner's signature. Very good [Morgan 5418].

6. SOLD.

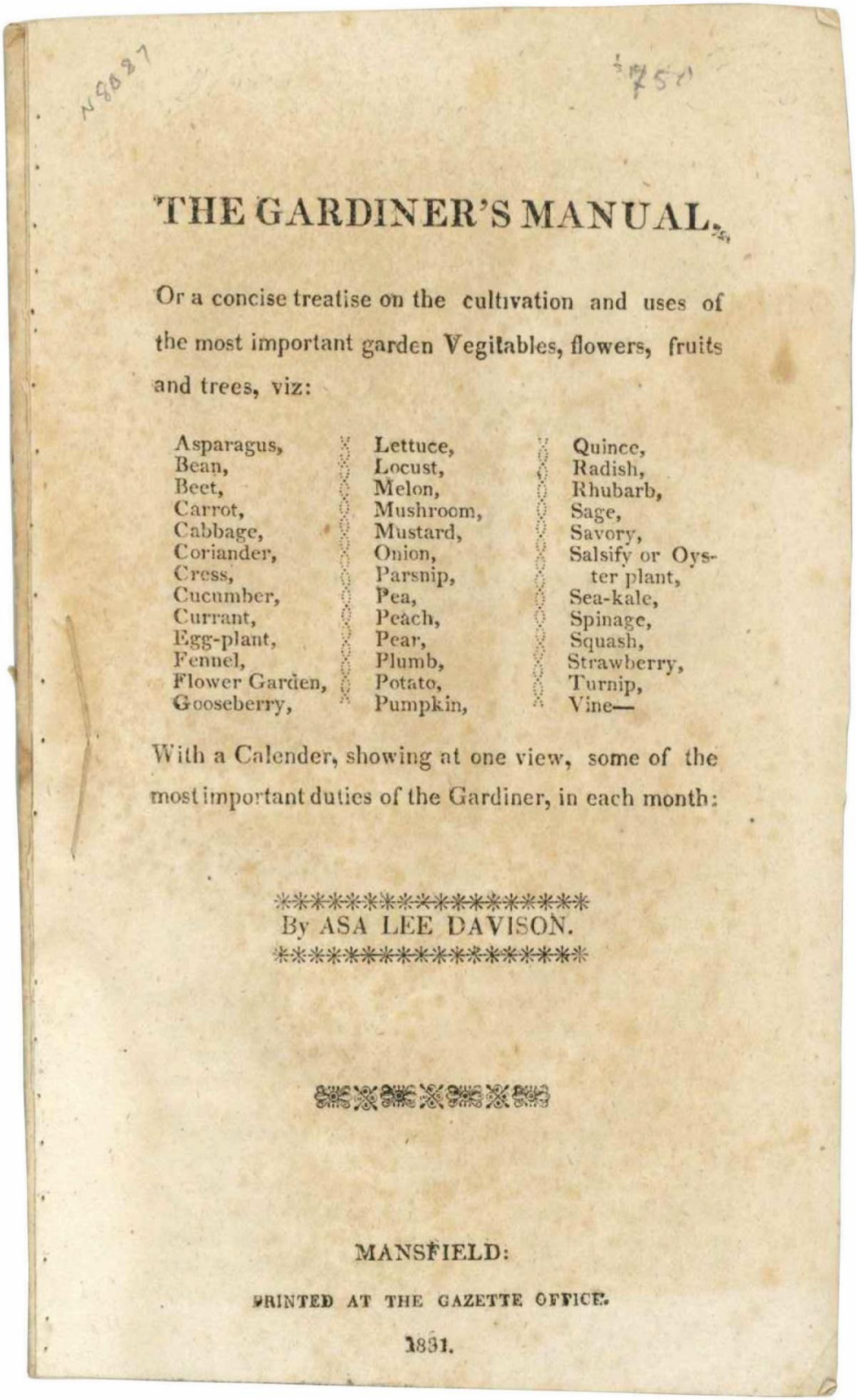
The Only Known Copy of the First Midwestern Gardening Book

While 'the field' is almost universally recognized as a place of labor (even a so-called *field* of study), the garden is just as often treated as a place of leisure, whether that means actually doing some gardening or just taking in the scenery. Fields yield crops; gardens yield fruits and vegetables and flowers. And if gardening can feel like work, it is a sort of work we undertake when we enjoy the privilege of time and means. The American vegetable garden traces its roots back to the kitchen gardens that pioneers planted to supplement their standard fare of grain, meat, and game, and only then after having first cleared the fields for sowing crops. Yet by the early 19th century, few but the cultural elites--wealthy urbanites who could afford market prices or southern gentry depending on enslaved labor--could regularly afford to dine on fresh fruits and vegetables. Even of rural New England, horticulturalist Charles Hovey could write in 1835 that "Country homes lack vegetables; it is only in the city markets that one can find tomatoes, celery, cauliflower, broccoli, and hot house [i.e., greenhouse] vegetables" (in Becker 1984:624). Yet on the frontier, in places with well-suited soil and climate, conditions were ripe for a change. In 1831, a Connecticut native and resident of Ashland, Ohio, Asa Lee Davison, published this guide to the cultivation of more than three dozen fruits and vegetables. Titled *The Gardiner's Manual: Or a concise treatise on the cultivation and uses of the most important garden Vegitables, flowers, fruits and trees, viz*...[sic], it is the earliest known book or pamphlet on gardening written and published in the American Midwest**. It is also entirely unrecorded, and this is the only known surviving copy**.


THE GARDINER'S MANUAL,

Or a concise treatise on the cultivation and uses of the most important garden Vegitables, flowers, fruits and trees, viz:

Asa Lee Davison (sometimes misspelled Davidson) was born in Newtown, Connecticut (or perhaps Preston), in 1792 and by the 1820s was residing in Cuba, New York. He appears to have been a practicing physician, with militia records from Allegheny County identifying him in 1821 as a surgeon's mate and in 1822 as an assistant hospital surgeon. While living in Allegheny County he published two Fourth of July orations, one in 1816, the other in 1823 (unique copies of these orations sold together at Swann in 2022 for $875). In 1829 we find the only notice of his time in Ohio, save for *The Gardiner's Manual*: he married Abigail Hall at Ashtabula on December 24. By April 1836, Davison had moved once again and remarried, this time to Abigail C. Goodnough in Peoria, Illinois. A few years later he would move a short distance south to be a founding pioneer of Groveland, Illinois, then one more time to Canton, Illinois, in Fulton County. Here we find him



THE GARDINER'S MANUAL,

Or a concise treatise on the cultivation and uses of the most important garden Vegitables, flowers, fruits and trees, viz:

Asparagus,	Lettuce,	Quince,
Bean,	Locust,	Radish,
Beet,	Melon,	Rhubarb,
Carrot,	Mushroom,	Sage,
Cabbage,	Mustard,	Savory,
Coriander,	Onion,	Salsify or Oyster plant,
Cress,	Parsnip,	Sea-kale,
Cucumber,	Pea,	Spinage,
Currant,	Peach,	Squash,
Egg-plant,	Pear,	Strawberry,
Fennel,	Plumb,	Turnip,
Flower Garden,	Potato,	Vine—
Gooseberry,	Pumpkin,	

With a Calender, showing at one view, some of the most important duties of the Gardiner, in each month:

****

By ASA LEE DAVISON.

****

MANSFIELD:

PRINTED AT THE GAZETTE OFFICE.

1831.

NOVEMBER.—Gather your winter fruits, not forgetting your squashes; sow rhubarb, see-kale, skerret, parsnips; manure and trench your ground for early spring crops; sow early peas if you can protect them from the mice; plant seeds of fruit trees; lay a good coating of litter over the roots of choice trees & shrubs.

DECEMBER.—If the season permits, do which was directed last month and remains undone; collect all your old sticks and poles, and lay them up carefully; procure stakes and other materials which may be wanted in a more busy season.

ARRATA.

Title page for Gardiner's read Gardener's.
Page 14 *line* 3 for *first* read fish.
" 18 " 3 for *charltores* read charltons.
" 22 " 8 from bottom, for *briennial* read biennial.

as co-editor and co-publisher of the *Canton Weekly Register* beginning about 1850. He died in Canton on March 2, 1853, at the age of 61.

The Gardiner's Manual was issued in early 1831 at Mansfield, Ohio, from the press of the *Mansfield Gazette and Richland Farmer*. Davison's Preface, dated Ashland, Dec. 6, 1830, lays out the advantages of fruit and vegetable gardening in Ohio, particularly in comparison with New England, but also criticizes Ohio settlers for failing to fully exploit their bounty:

> An observing traveler cannot but be surprised and astonished, on visiting the western country...from the eastern states, to see the superior richness of its soils, and the fineness of its climate, with the scarcity and inferiority of its garden vegitables.—There are many excuses for this remissness and deficiency, but good reasons, at this late day, there are none [p. vi].

He implores Ohio settlers to address this oversight, to "turn their attention, most exclusively, to the production of such articles [i.e., fruits and vegetables], as would best suit the eastern, southern and western markets, which are all easily accessible to them" [p. vii]. To assist in these labors, his text itself provides concise instructions on the planting and cultivation of some 38 plants, arranged alphabetically from asparagus to vine, then closes with his month-by-month calendar of suggested activities. The book is 28 pages, 12mo in size, stitched in self-wraps with stab holes. It seems to have been unevenly cropped during the production process, which shaved several text leaves close with full or partial loss to the final line on six pages. **Nonetheless, we trace no other copy of this significant work, the earliest known gardening book published in the American Midwest**. It is not in OCLC, nor is it included in the standard bibliographies (not in Evans, NUC, Massachusetts Horticultural Society Catalogue, Morgan Ohio Imprints, etc.). A fascinating imprint.

Relevant sources:

Becker, Robert F.
1984 Vegetable Gardening in the United States: A History, 1565-1900. *HortScience* 19(5):624-630.

Kerrigan, William
2015 Creating Ohio's Fruitful Landscape: 1800-1860. Paper presented at New Paths in the Environmental History of North America and the Ohio Valley, sponsored by the Filson Historical Society and the College of Arts & Sciences, University of Louisville.

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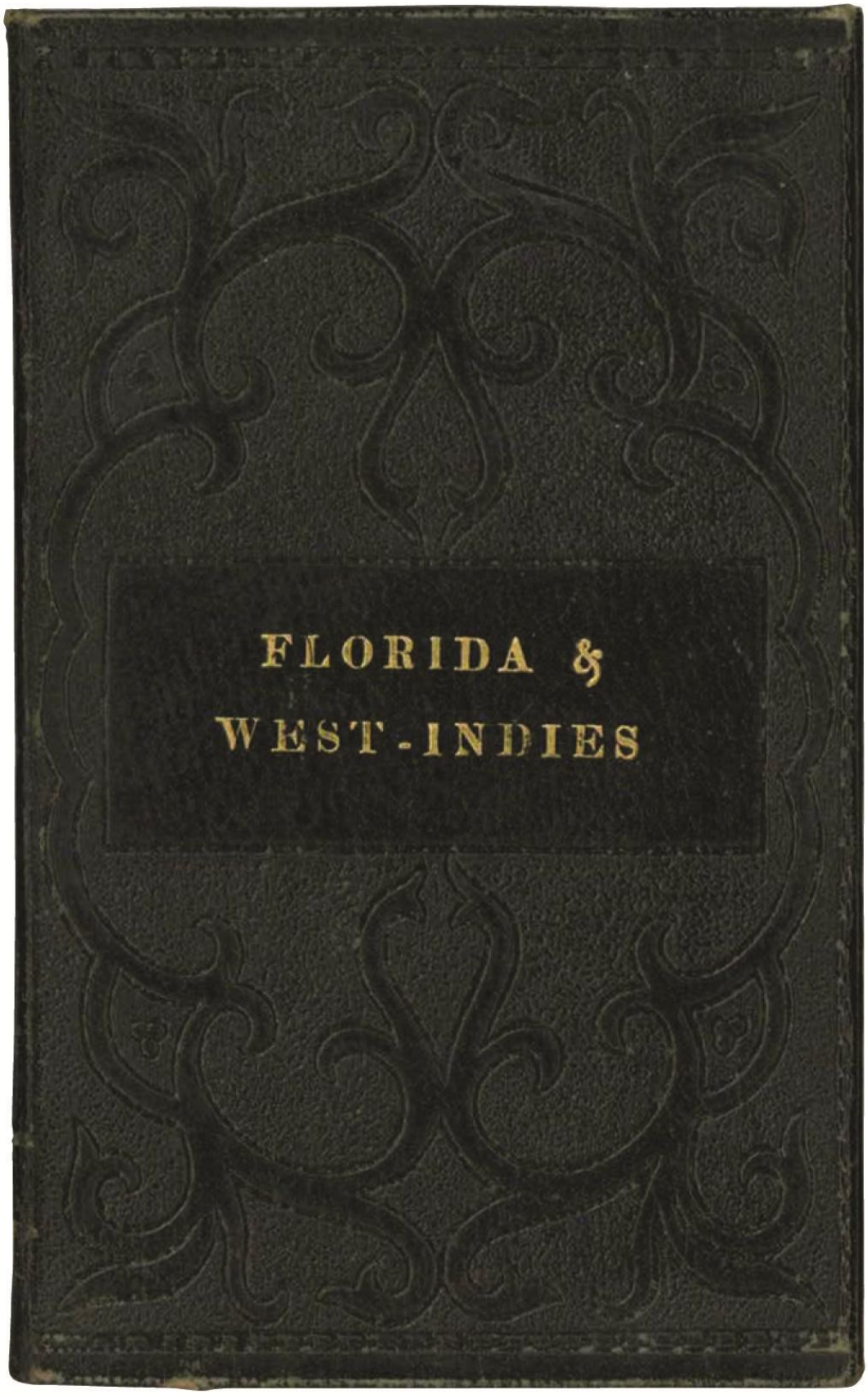
[Ohio--Midwestern Gardening]. Asa Lee Davison. THE GARDINER'S MANUAL: OR A CONCISE TREATISE ON THE CULTIVATION AND USES OF THE MOST IMPORTANT GARDEN VEGITABLES, FLOWERS, FRUITS AND TREES, VIZ...[sic]. Printed at the Gazette Office, Mansfield, Ohio, 1831. 28 pp. 12mo (18 cm). Stitched in self-wraps with stab holes and unevenly cropped in production with full or partial loss of final text line on six pages. Scattered foxing and staining. Overall good (shaved leaves notwithstanding).

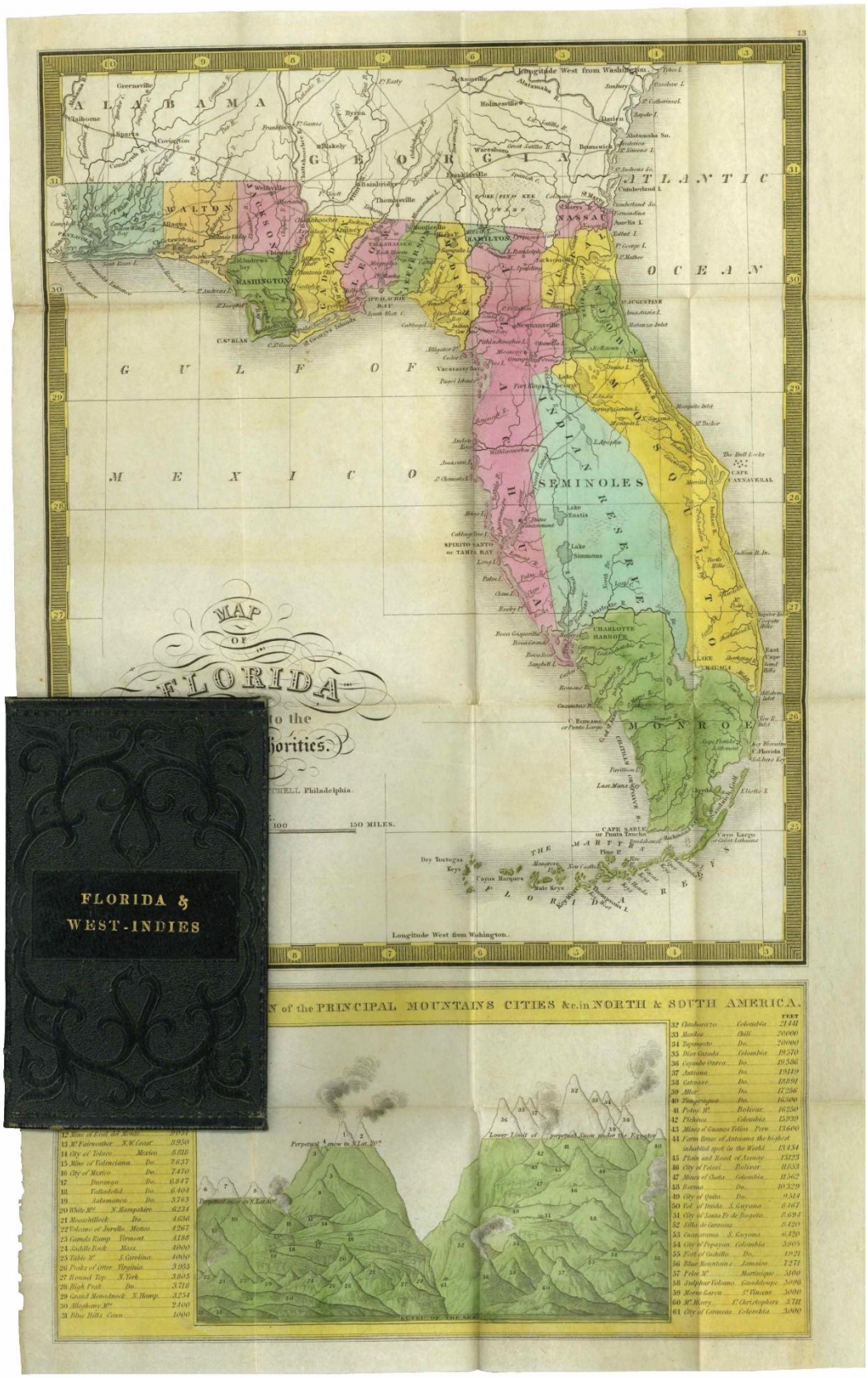
7. SOLD**.**

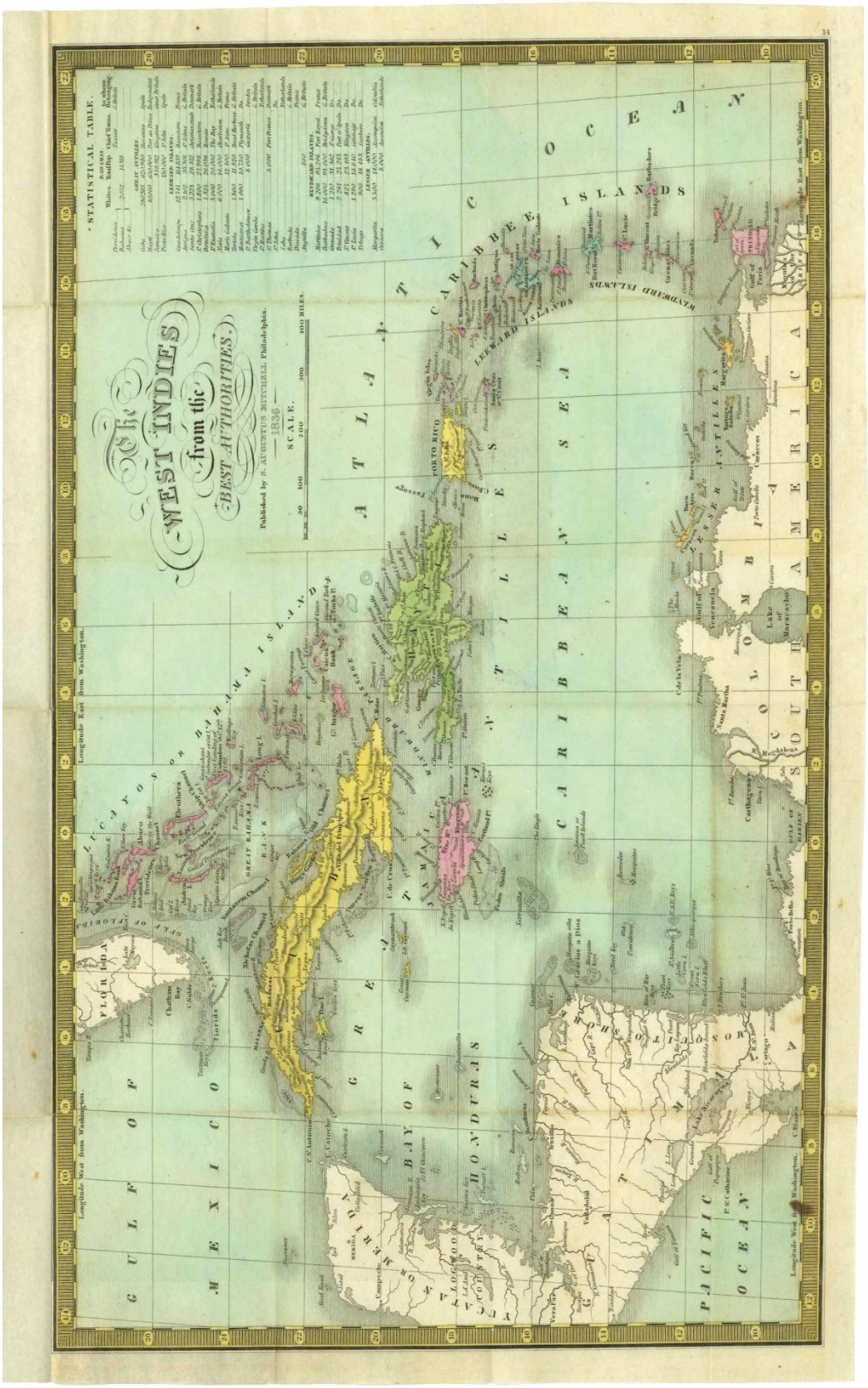
Mitchell's Rare 1836 Map of Florida, with Seminole War Additions

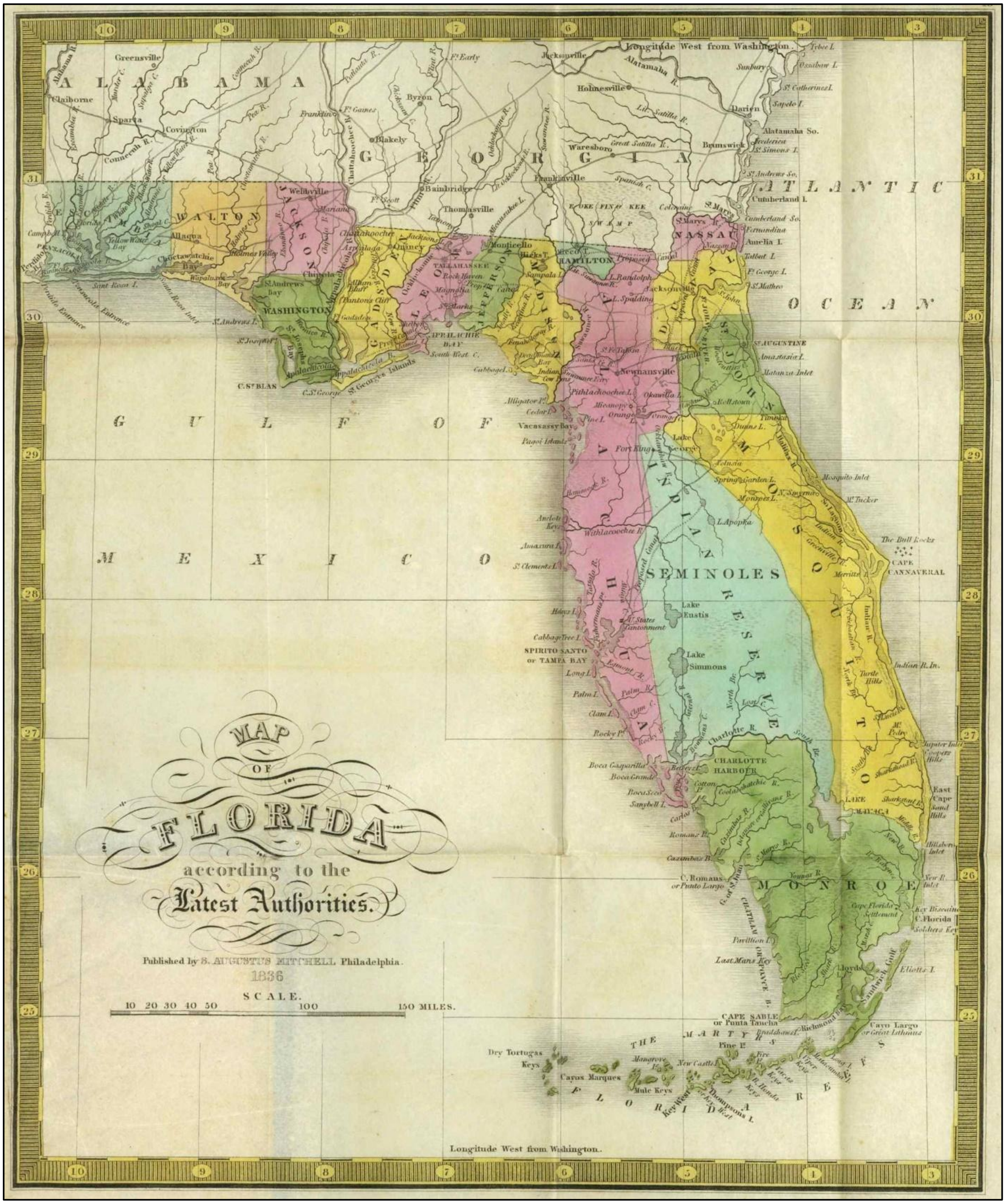
After three centuries of claims and counterclaims among France, Spain, Great Britain, and eventually the United States, the Florida Peninsula finally became an American possession when East and West Florida were merged into Florida Territory on March 30, 1822. Former president Thomas Jefferson had predicted as much just three years earlier, writing in July 1819 to his old secretary of war, Henry Dearborn, that the Monroe Administration should resist the temptation to bargain away too much for the peninsula. Jefferson suggested instead that Americans should "trust to the inevitable falling of Florida into our mouths" (Looney 2017:503). In truth, America nearly bit off more than it could chew. Much of Florida's interior was swamp and dense tropical forest with challenges to colonization unlike anything else in the continental United States. And there was another claimant to much of this territory apart from French, Spanish, English, and American interests. After taking Florida from Spain with hardly a fight, the United States would find in the Seminole Indians a much more determined foe, and the war that erupted in December 1835 would burn on for seven years, becoming "the longest and most costly of the Indian conflicts of the United States" (Lancaster 1994:18). New publisher Samuel Augustus Mitchell included Florida in his first project, an 1831 re-issue of Finley's *New American Atlas* (1826). Mitchell produced separate pocket editions of the Florida map in 1832 and 1834, little changed from that of 1831 (1826). This example of Mitchell's 1836 *Map of Florida* is the first to include additions from the Seminole War and is in fine condition. **We trace only a single institutional copy**.

The Seminole Nation began forming in the early 18th century as Native American refugees from the southeastern shatter zone--many of whom descended from Lower Creeks, Yuchis, and Yamasees--retreated farther south into Florida's interior and panhandle regions. They adapted to the region's unique climate and ecology, established wide exchange networks, and opened their towns and villages to enslaved Africans who escaped from southern plantations. Their willingness to accept Black fugitives, more than any other practice, put them in the crosshairs of white southern settlers. Andrew Jackson invaded the peninsula in 1817, instigating the so-called First Seminole War, in large part to put an end to the practice. Spain sold its share of Florida to the United States just two years later. Shortly after Florida Territory was created in 1822, the Seminoles signed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, under which terms they agreed to move to a reservation in the center of the peninsula. The treaty guaranteed the Seminoles' right to remain, with support from the United government, for a period of no less than twenty years.


FLORIDA &
WEST-INDIES


MAP
OF
FLORIDA
FLORIDA &
WEST-INDIES
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
GULF OF
MEXICO
SEMINOLES
MONROE
Longitude West from Washington.
of the PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS CITIES &c. in NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA.


WEST INDIES
From the
BEST AUTHORITIES.
Published by S. AUGUSTUS MITCHELL, Philadelphia.
1836
SCALE.
30 100 200 300 400 MILES.
STATISTICAL TABLE.
GULF OF MEXICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
GREAT BAHAMA BANK
BAY OF HONDURAS
LEEWARD ISLANDS
WINDWARD ISLANDS
PUERTO RICO
FLORIDA
Longitude West from Washington.
Longitude East from Washington.


MAP
OF
FLORIDA
according to the
Latest Authorities.
Published by S. AUGUSTUS MITCHELL Philadelphia.
1836
SCALE.
10 20 30 40 50 100 150 MILES.
Longitude West from Washington.
A L A B A M A
G E O R G I A
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
G U L F O F
M E X I C O
SEMINOLES
WALTON
JACKSON
WASHINGTON
NASSAU
HAMILTON
MONROE
MOSQUITO
INDIAN RESERVE
TALLAHASSEE
ST AUGUSTINE
CAPE CANNAVERAL
SPIRITO SANTO or TAMPA BAY
CHARLOTTE HARBOUR
CAPE SABLE or Punta Tancha
Dry Tortugas Keys
Key West
Jacksonville
Newnansville
Lake George
L. Apopka
Lake Eustis
Lake Simmons
C.St BLAS
PENSACOLA

Just a decade later, however, the United States tried enforce to a different 'agreement,' the Treaty of Payne's Landing, with which the Seminole leaders did not agree. This treaty, not ratified until 1834, would have forced the Seminoles to move west to Arkansas by 1835. Five of the most important Seminole chiefs, including a charismatic young leader named Osceola, refused to give up their lands. On December 23, 1835, two U. S. companies of 110 men and seven officers, under the command of Major Francis L. Dade, left Fort Brooke near modern Tampa and headed north on the military road toward Fort King, which they meant to reinforce and resupply. On December 28, about 25 miles south of Fort King, the Seminoles sprang their ambush. Only three of the men under Dade's command are reported to have survived the attack, the worst defeat of U. S. troops to Native American forces until Little Bighorn. The Second Seminole War was on.

Mitchell issued this 1836 Florida map in the months soon after the Dade Battle, also known as the Dade Massacre, and it includes details of the seat of war not shown on earlier editions of the map. Fort King is shown within the northernmost part of the Seminole Reserve (which is outlined in light blue), as is the road where Dade and his men fell that connects Fort King to the "U. States Cantonment" (i.e., Fort Brooke) at Tampa Bay. Another road shown for the first time forks from this one and crosses the northern Reserve near Lake Apopka, linking Fort Brooke to Halifax Road on the east coast of the peninsula, just south of St. Augustine. It also presents far more detail on the network of towns and roads expanding across Florida's northern counties from the Panhandle to the Atlantic. Besides the map of Florida, the sheet also includes a map of the West Indies and an elevation map. We trace only one institutional holding, at Yale. One example has also appeared in commerce, offered by Martayan Lan in 2005. Two copies of the 1834 edition have appeared at auction since 1967, both sold in 2007: the Frank Streeter copy with fold splitting and repairs made $2170 at Christies; a different example brought $3570 at Bloomsbury. Finally, the condition of the copy that we offer here is extraordinary, and we do not hesitate to describe it as fine. Save for a couple of very minor pinholes, it is essentially as issued, in its original morocco case (likewise fine). **An important map in wonderful condition with bright, striking color**.

Relevant sources:

Looney, J. Jefferson, editor
2017 *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, Volume 14*: *1 February to 31 August 1819*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Lancaster, Jane F.
1994 *Removal Aftershock: The Seminoles' Struggles to Survive in the West, 1836-1866*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

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[Florida Map--Seminole War]. Samuel Augustu Mitchell. MAP OF FLORIDA, ACCORDING TO THE LATEST AUTHORITIES. [On the same sheet with:] THE WEST INDIES, FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES. S. Augustus Mitchell, Philadelphia, 1836. Color lithographed pocket map folding into blindstamped, black morocco case with gilt titles (*Florida & West-Indies*). 20 1/2 x 16 in. (55 x 42 cm). Pinhole at central fold, about fine [F. Streeter 1227 for 1834 ed.].

8. **$4500**.

The Earliest Surviving Portrait of Bolívar Lithographed in South America

Apart from George Washington and the martyred Abraham Lincoln, perhaps no figure in the history of the Americas has so often been depicted in so many different artistic media as Simón Bolivar, *El Libertador de América*. Born into a wealthy *criollo* (or American-born Spanish) family at Caracas on July 24, 1783, Bolivar is credited with spearheading the independence movement in South America, leading to the overthrow of Spain's colonial yoke and the eventual founding of modern-day Venezuela, Columbia, Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Panama. During the period of his military and political activity, from about 1811 until to his death in 1830, Bolivar regularly sat for portraits, many of which--including several paintings now lost--were copied by artists throughout those parts of northern South America where his visage had attained iconic status. These portraits subsequently became the basis for dozens of engravings and lithographs published in places as far away as Paris, London, and Philadelphia. Indeed, Bolivar was among the most celebrated men in the Western world, during his own life and after. This lithograph was produced at Caracas in 1844 by the Danish-Venezuelan lithographer Torvaldo Aagaard, after a portrait painted by Gabriel José Aramburu, itself copied from a miniature on ivory that was copied from a full-length portrait by Roulin, painted from life at Bogotá in 1828. **Unrecorded, it is the earliest surviving lithograph portrait of Bolivar produced in South America**.

It is difficult to establish when South America acquired its first lithographers. The process was developed in 1798 by German actor and playright Aloys Senefelder, who had grown frustrated with delays in printing one of his plays. The technique spread, reaching London by 1803, Paris by 1816, and Philadelphia by 1819 (although the first commercial lithographic press in the United States was not established until 1825--and in Boston, not Philadelphia). British officer Thomas Cochrane set up a lithographic press for his private use at Quintero, modern Chile, in 1823. That same year, Colombia's plenipotentiary minister, Francisco Antonio Zea, residing in Paris, bought a lithographic press for the Colombian government and hired the Spanish engraver Carlos Casar de Molina to operate it. For the first few years in Bogatá, Molina printed little more than official documents, vouchers, and diplomas, but in 1830 he relocated to Cartagena and produced a series of lithographic political cartoons, the earliest in South America. Yet not until the following decade were commercial lithographers established more widely. About 1840, Germans Johann Heinrich Müller and Wilhelm Stapler partnered with Venezuela native Celestino Martínez Sánchez, opening the first lithograph shop in Caracas. They were joined shortly after by Danish immigrant Torvaldo (Thor) Aagaard, who had trained in Hamburg before moving to Venezuela.


SIMON BOLIVAR.
Lith T.Aagaard Caracas 1844

Unlike most of their contemporaries, Aagaard, Müller, and Stapler aimed to publish prints that were independent, stand-alone illustrations, rather than just producing vignettes to accompany newspaper articles and official documents. In 1842, Venezuela's government appointed a special commission to repatriate the remains of Simón Bolívar from Santa Marta, Columbia, an event that Venezuelan artist Carmelo Fernández recorded with about twenty drawings. Several of these were lithographed by Aagaard and published two years later in Simón Camacho's *Recuerdos de Santa Marta*, one of the earliest lithograph-illustrated books produced on the continent.

Seeing an opportunity in the festivities associated with Bolivar's repatriation, Aagaard may have timed the publication of this lithograph portrait to coincide with Camacho's book on the event. Indeed, one year earlier, Müller and Stapler had issued a lithograph print of a distant Bolívar standing atop Mt. Chimborazo, the highest peak in Ecuador. That print, in the Museo Bolivariano collection at Caracas, is the earliest surviving lithograph of any kind depicting Bolívar produced in South America. **The unique Aagard print that we offer here, later by only months, is South America's earliest surviving lithograph portrait of the General**. It is based on an original work by Venezuelan artist Gabriel José Aramburu (1826-1886) and is referenced by art historian Manuel Landaeta Rosales (Galería de Arte Nacional 2005:58). Rosales writes that Aramburu was a student of Müller and Stapler and that their workshop printed his portrait of Bolivar in 1844. Ours appears to be the only surviving copy of that print, but it was produced by Aagaard. The original painting is presumed lost, yet it is perhaps none other than the anonymous ivory miniature on which the lithograph itself is based, held today by the John Boulton Foundation.

In *Apuntes para la Iconografía del Libertador*, early 20th-century bibliographer Manuel Segundo Sánchez makes reference to a curiosity, "La litografía de Casar de Molina." Bolivar's friend and ally, Francisco de Paula Santander, wrote to the General on November 6, 1823, about a full-length lithograph of Bolivar just completed in Bogatá, noting that: "Los retratos adjuntos son hechos á mi presencia en el estableci miento litográfico de Bogotá el día 17 de setiembre de 1823 [The attached portraits were made in my presence at the lithographic establishment in Bogotá on September 17, 1823]" (Sanchez 1912:27); to this Santander added on December 16: "[Jose] Ortega unos retratos tirados en la litografía Es obra original del litógrafo Cárlos Casar de Molina [Ortega brings with him some portraits drawn in lithograph. It is an original work by lithographer Carlos Casar de Molina]" (1912:27). Sánchez hopefully observes that "conservarse algunos ejemplares en Colombia [some copies must be preserved in Columbia]" (1912:27), but none has been found in more than a century of scholarship into the iconography of Bolivar, and there is no record of it except for these letters from Santander. Otherwise, the print that we offer here, issued by Torvaldo

Detail, miniature portrait on ivory held by the John Boulton Foundation, Caracas (Anonymous)

Aagaard in 1844, is one of the two earliest surviving lithographs of Bolívar produced in South America. Despite extensive searches, including through the dozens of prints held in the Colección Bolivariana at the John Boulton Foundation in Caracas--perhaps the most extensive such collection in the world--we locate no earlier South American examples. **Given the scholarship devoted to representations of Bolivar, the discovery of any important new likeness is remarkable, much less a lithograph produced at such an early date and in the city of his birth**.

Relevant sources:

Boulton, Alfredo
1956 *Los Retratos de Bolivar*. Caracas.
Galería de Arte Nacional
2005 *Diccionario Biográfico de las Artes Visuales en Venezuela*, *Volume 1*. Fundación Galería de Arte Nacional, Caracas.
Pérez Vila, Manuel
1983 Colección Bolivariana: Año Bicentenario del Natalicio del Libertador Simón Bolívar 1783-1983. Arte Fundación John Boulton, Caracas.
Sánchez, Manuel Segundo
1916 *Apuntes para la Iconografía del Libertador*. Litografia del Comercio, Caracas.

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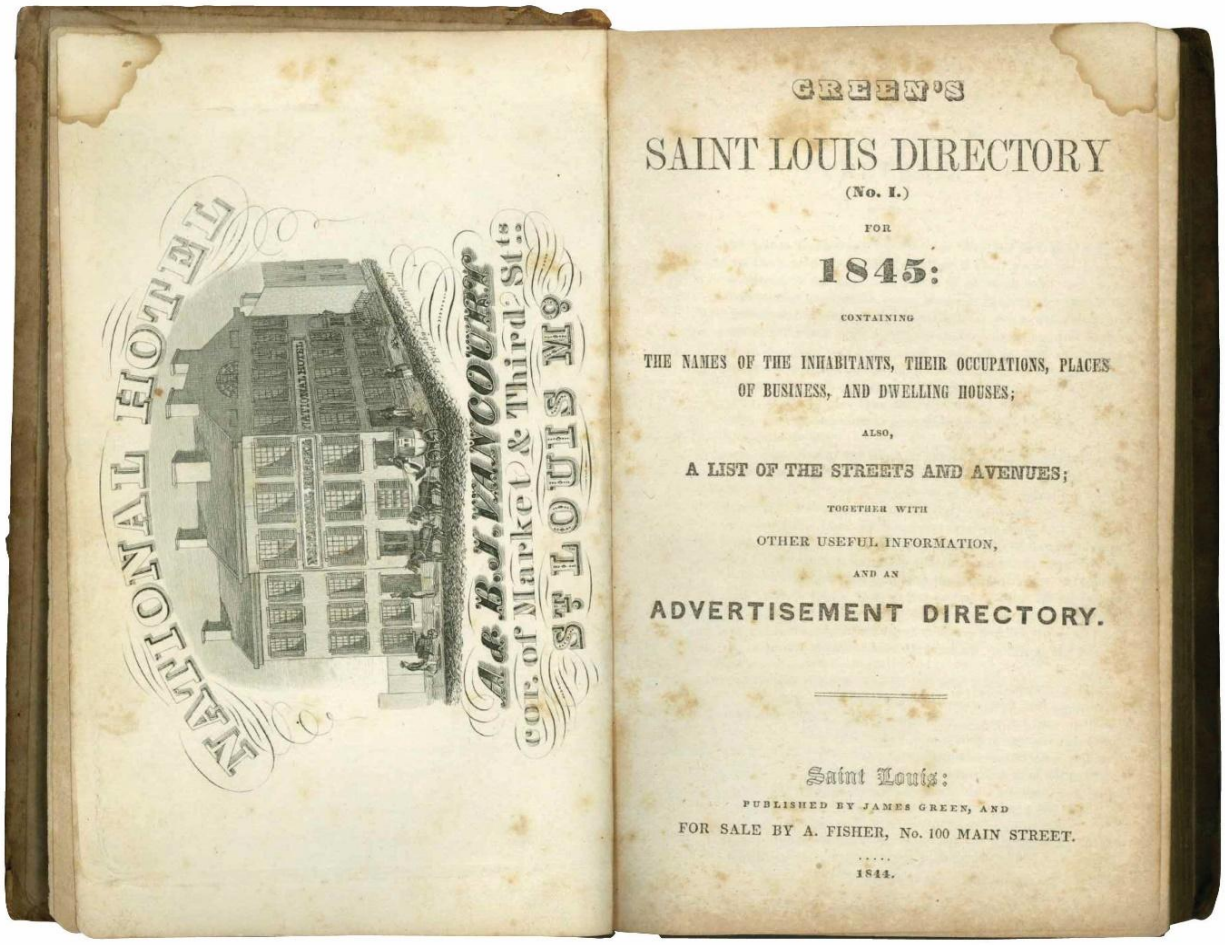
[Early Lithography--Venezuela]. SIMON BOLIVAR [caption title]. Lit. p. T. Aagaard, Caracas, 1844. Small folio, 13 1/2 x 10 1/2 in. (34 x 26.5 cm). Lithograph portrait with subtle handcoloring of the uniform in blue and red. Paper uniformly toned, edges untrimmed, numerous small worm holes scattered throughout but not detracting from image. Overall about very good.

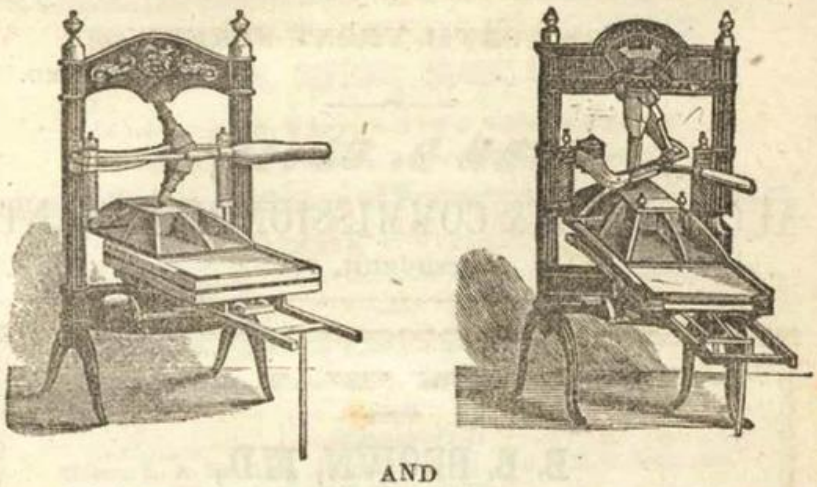
9. **$11,500**.

Green's 1845 *Saint Louis Directory*: The Earliest Offered Since Streeter

St. Louis was in the midst of a boom in 1845. Although established in 1764 by French fur traders Pierre Laclède and his stepson Auguste Chouteau, it was not actually incorporated as a city until 1822, only a year after Missouri was admitted to the union as the 24th state. Contemporary visitors such as Henry Schoolcraft and Timothy Flint were favorably impressed and agreed that its commercial potential appeared limitless. Such observations were based in large part on the city's ideal location. Spread along the western banks of the Mississippi River, just downstream from its confluence with the Missouri, St. Louis sat at the very heart of the continent. Manufactured goods arrived from eastern centers by way of the Ohio, or from the south by way of New Orleans, while raw materials like pelts, metals, and livestock entered from the Southwest, Plains, and Rockies for shipment to eastern markets. In 1840, St. Louis had a population of nearly 16,500. But by 1845 that number had more than doubled to 35,000, making it the largest city in the United States west of Pittsburgh. Incredibly, the city's population would explode over the next five years, tripling to more than 100,000, thanks in part to its new role as "the Gateway to the West," the beginning point for most major routes to California, Oregon, and Utah. This St. Louis directory for 1845, the first compiled by James Green, captures the city on the cusp of this moment. **No antebellum St. Louis directory has appeared at auction since the Streeter sale in 1967**.



SAINT LOUIS
TYPE FOUNDRY.



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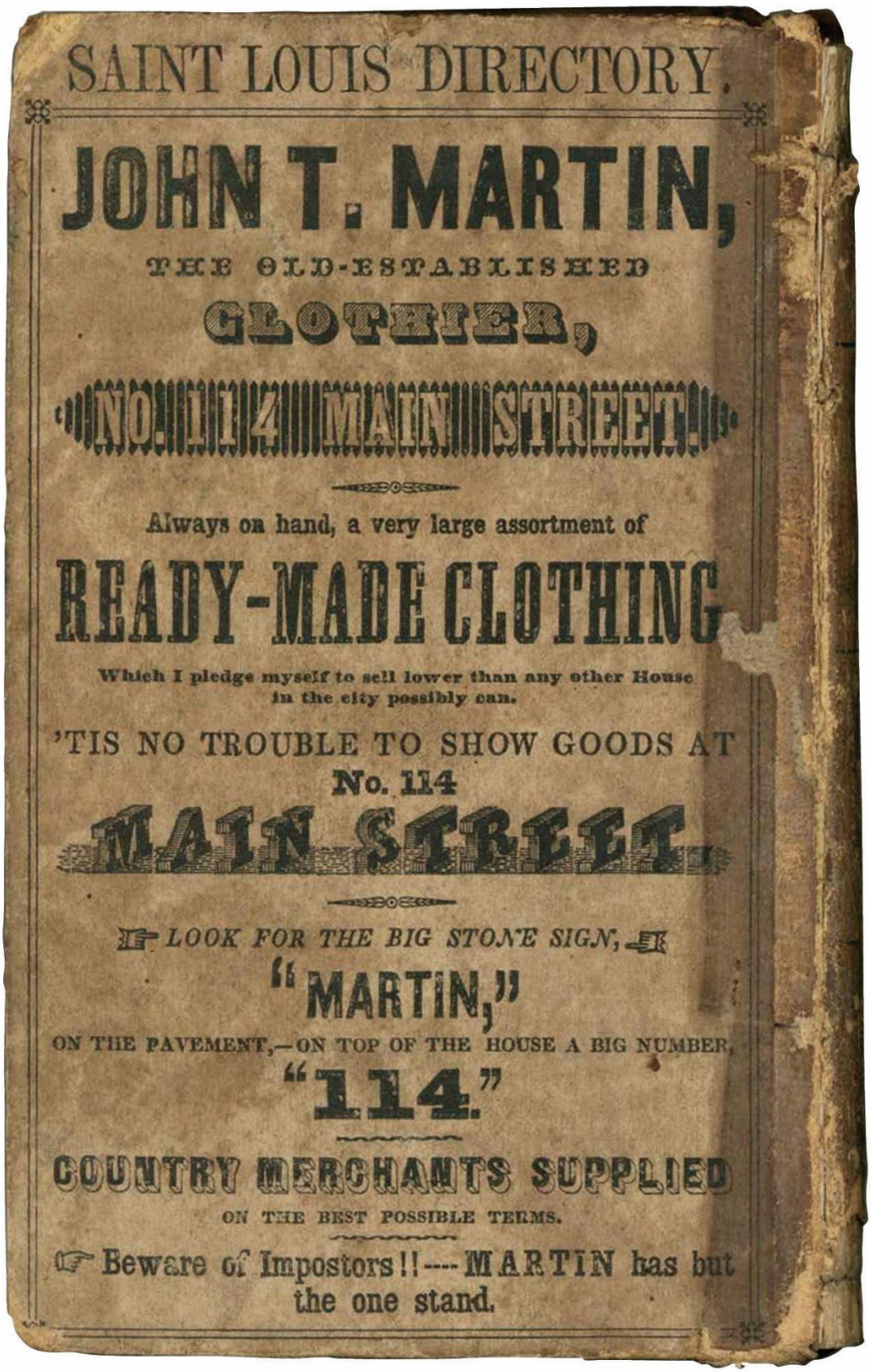

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ON THE PAVEMENT,—ON TOP OF THE HOUSE A BIG NUMBER,

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Green's Saint Louis Directory (No. 1) for 1845 opens with an extended Preface in which he points out to his readers that the volume represents his first effort of the kind and apologizes for any shortcomings. He also engages in a reasonable amount of boosterism: "I would here call the attention of the reader to the map of the city of St. Louis, as it hangs upon the wall, and ask him if he ever beheld a model of the hull of a steamboat of much more perfect proportions, drawn by the hands of the architect, than that map presents" (p. xii). This is followed by a 7-page description of the city in 1844, outlining its population, churches, schools, public works, city parks, mills, and recent flooding events, followed by the reprinting of a report titled "Mortality among Children in St. Louis" by Victor J. Fourgeaud. Next follows a comprehensive accounting of city officers and institutions, hotels and newspapers. The final sections preceding the directory itself are a sketch of the city and ward boundaries and a list of city streets and avenues. The directory provides an alphabetical list of residents, along with occupation and street address. Free Black residents are marked with the notation [c]. The residential directory extends from p. 9 to p. 192 and is followed by a 32-page "Advertisement Directory. An index concludes the volume.

We have had little success finding evidence pertaining to Green himself, apart from this directory and the others he issued in 1847, 1850, and 1851. He did identify himself in the directory as "editor and proprietor of the 'St. Louis Daily Summary and Gen. Adv,' 15 Olive--dwelling, 148 Carr" (p. 72). We can locate no other record of this paper. His 1845 directory is sixth overall in St. Louis's publishing history, with earlier editions appearing in 1821, 1836-37, 1838-1839, 1840-1841, and 1842, We trace no examples of any of these--nor of any antebellum issues--since the Streeter sale in 1967. The Streeter collection did not include an example of this 1845 edition, but did contain examples of five other issues, for 1821, 1838-1839, 1840-1841, 1842, and 1847 (the second of Green's three issues). The 1821 issue made $3250, while the other three brought from $200 to $700. **We trace no copies of this 1845 edition in commerce since a defective copy at Parke-Bernet in 1941**. OCLC lists six holdings, at Yale, LC, Cincinnati Public (def.), St. Louis Mercantile, SHSMO, and MHS. **An important directory, offering a glimpse of St. Louis just before history and geography made it the gateway for Manifest Destiny**.

Relevant sources:

Kaser, David
1961 *A Directory of the St. Louis Book and Printing Trades to 1850*. New York Public Library.
Primm, James Neal
1998 *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980*. Third edition. Missouri Historical Society Press, Columbia.

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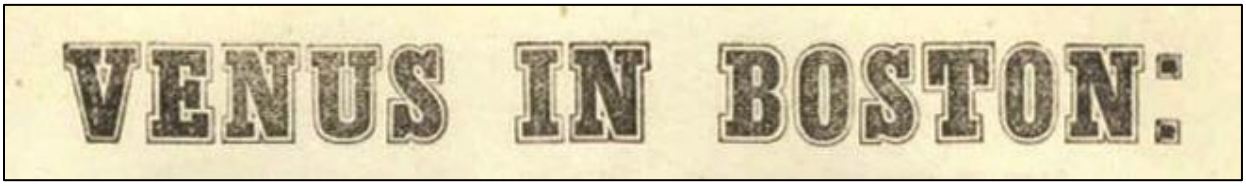
[St. Louis--Directories]. GREEN'S SAINT LOUIS DIRECTORY (NO. 1) FOR 1845. Published by James Green, and for sale by A. Fisher, No. 100 Main Street. Daniel Davies, Printer, Corner of Main and Olive Streets, 1844. xxxvi, 227 pp., frontis. Small 8vo (19 cm). Original 1/4 sheep over printed boards, loss to head and tail of spine, spine wear, binding tight; minor edge wear to boards; light corner stain to early leaves, otherwise text quite clean. Very good.

10. SOLD.

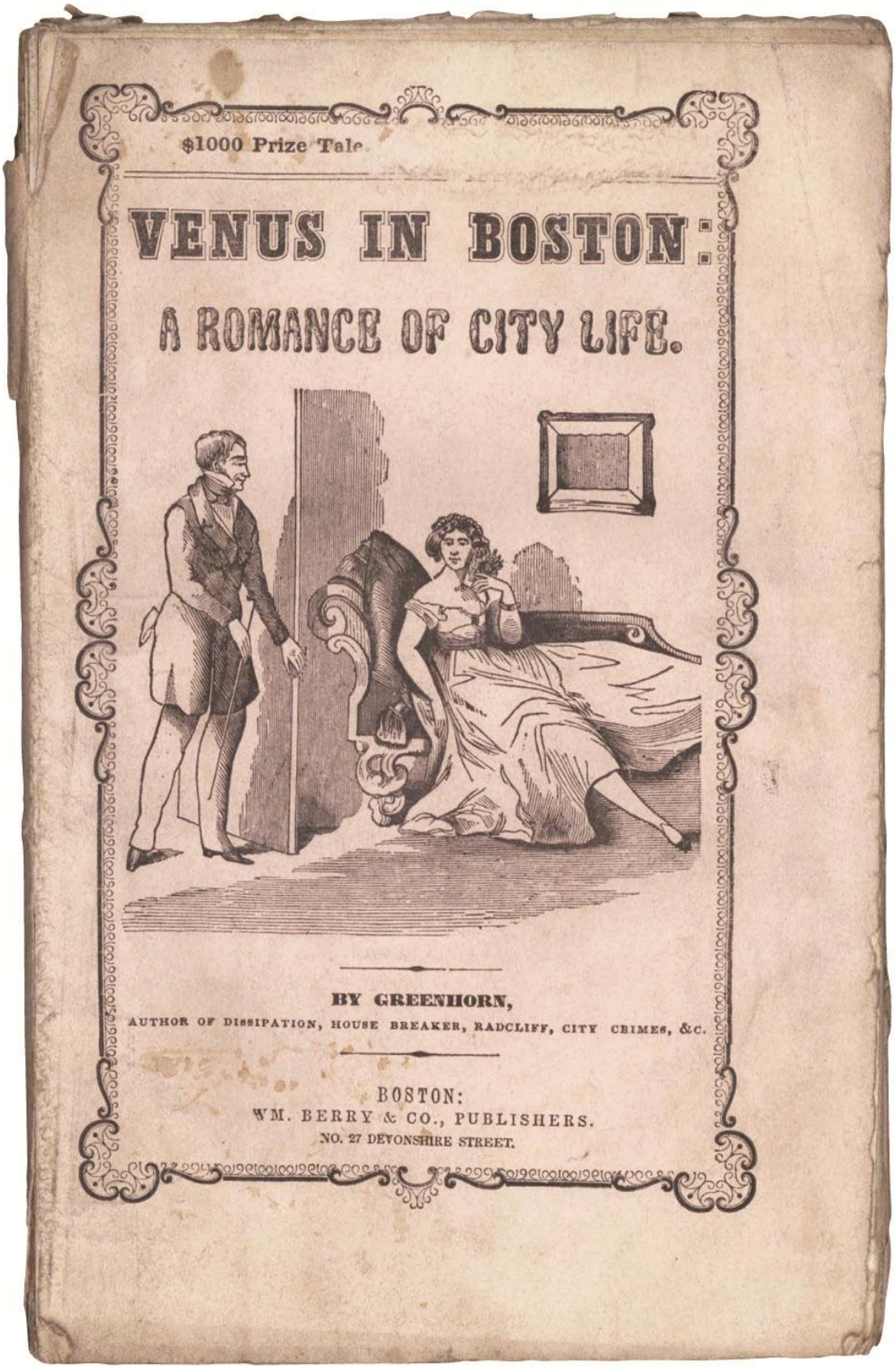
The Unrecorded First Edition of George Thompson's *Venus in Boston*

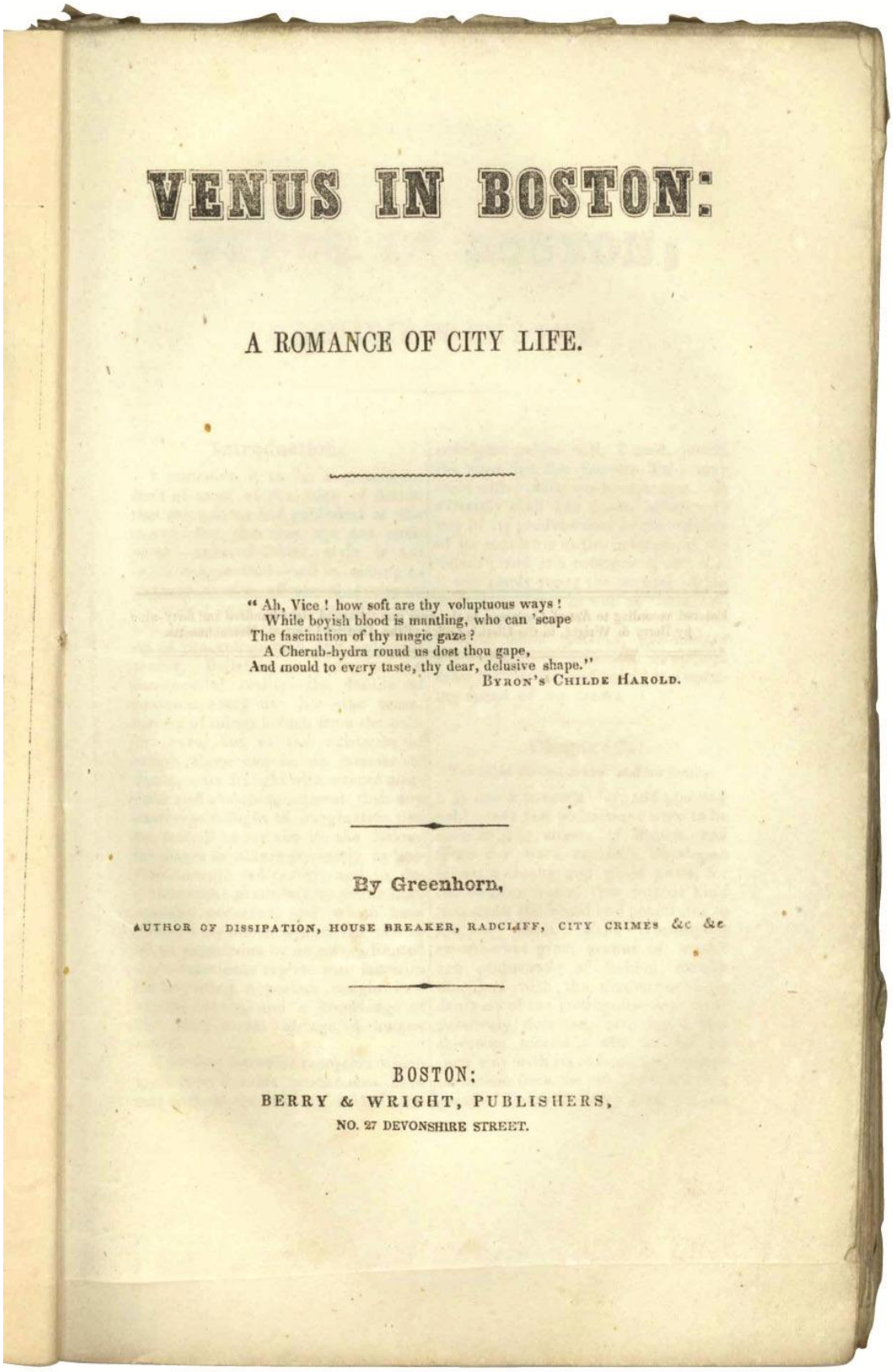
In June 1842, French novelist Marie-Joseph "Eugène" Sue published his first installment of *The Mysteries of Paris*, which over the next 17 months would run through 90 issues of the Paris weekly *Journal des débats* before its subsequent appearance in book form. It was an immediate sensation and more-or-less singlehandedly launched the so-called "city mysteries" literary genre; it was not long before Anglophone "mysteries" followed. With *The Mysteries of London*, serially published from 1844 to 1845, George W. M. Reynolds may have found more readers than Dickens or Trollope. In the United States, George Lippard wrote *The Quaker City; or, the Monks of Monks Hall* (1844-1845), set in the underbelly of a grimy, vicious, seamy, and violent Philadelphia. Like his European counterparts, Lippard enjoyed great success with his first work in the genre: *Quaker City* was the was the most popular work of American fiction prior to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Yet the works of Lippard and a handful of his contemporaries rise above mere sensationalism in their cogent critiques of the city, exposing the iniquities and inequities of industrial urbanism. As noted by Reynolds and Gladman, "city mysteries fiction was long dismissed by critics but can now be seen as a vital part of American literary and social history" (2002:ix). Between the publication of *Quaker City* and the start of the Civil War, American writers produced city mystery novels by the dozen, their dark plots exposing the vices of Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and San Francisco as well as the unexpected perils of Genessee and Catskill (Erickson 2005).



None of these writers was more fearless than George Thompson. Through no fewer than 60 books published in the 1840s and 1850s (and likely more, given his avid use of pennames), the prolific Thompson simultaneously assaulted and titillated the sensibilities of his readers. Literary historian David Reynolds believes that Thompson was "the first American novelist to deal openly with homosexuality, lesbianism, transvestism, group sex, and child pornography" (1988:220). The best known of his works today, and among the most studied of the genre, is *Venus in Boston: A Romance of City Life*. First appearing in 1849, it was attributed to Greenhorn, the most commonly used of Thompson's pseudonyms. Despite the cultural significance of city mystery fiction, most titles are now extremely rare, including all of Thompson's novels. Until recently only three copies of *Venus in Boston* were known to have survived, all bearing the New York imprint: "Printed for the Publishers." The novel's copyright, however, was held by William Berry, Boston's notorious publisher of licentious literature. Here we are pleased to present the only known copy of *Venus in Boston* in the true first edition, having the Boston imprint of publishers Berry and Wright. **Beyond its extraordinary condition, untrimmed in the original illustrated wraps, it contains a unique plate apparently deemed too racy for the New York edition**.

Most of the facts that we have about Thompson's life derive from either his output as writer and editor or from the not-altogether reliable autobiography he published in 1854, *My Life: or the Adventures of Geo. Thompson*. Reynolds and Gladman suggest that:


$1000 Prize Tale.
VENUS IN BOSTON:
A ROMANCE OF CITY LIFE.
BY GREENHORN,
AUTHOR OF DISSIPATION, HOUSE BREAKER, RADCLIFF, CITY CRIMES, &C.
BOSTON:
WM. BERRY & CO., PUBLISHERS.
NO. 27 DEVONSHIRE STREET.



VENUS IN BOSTON:

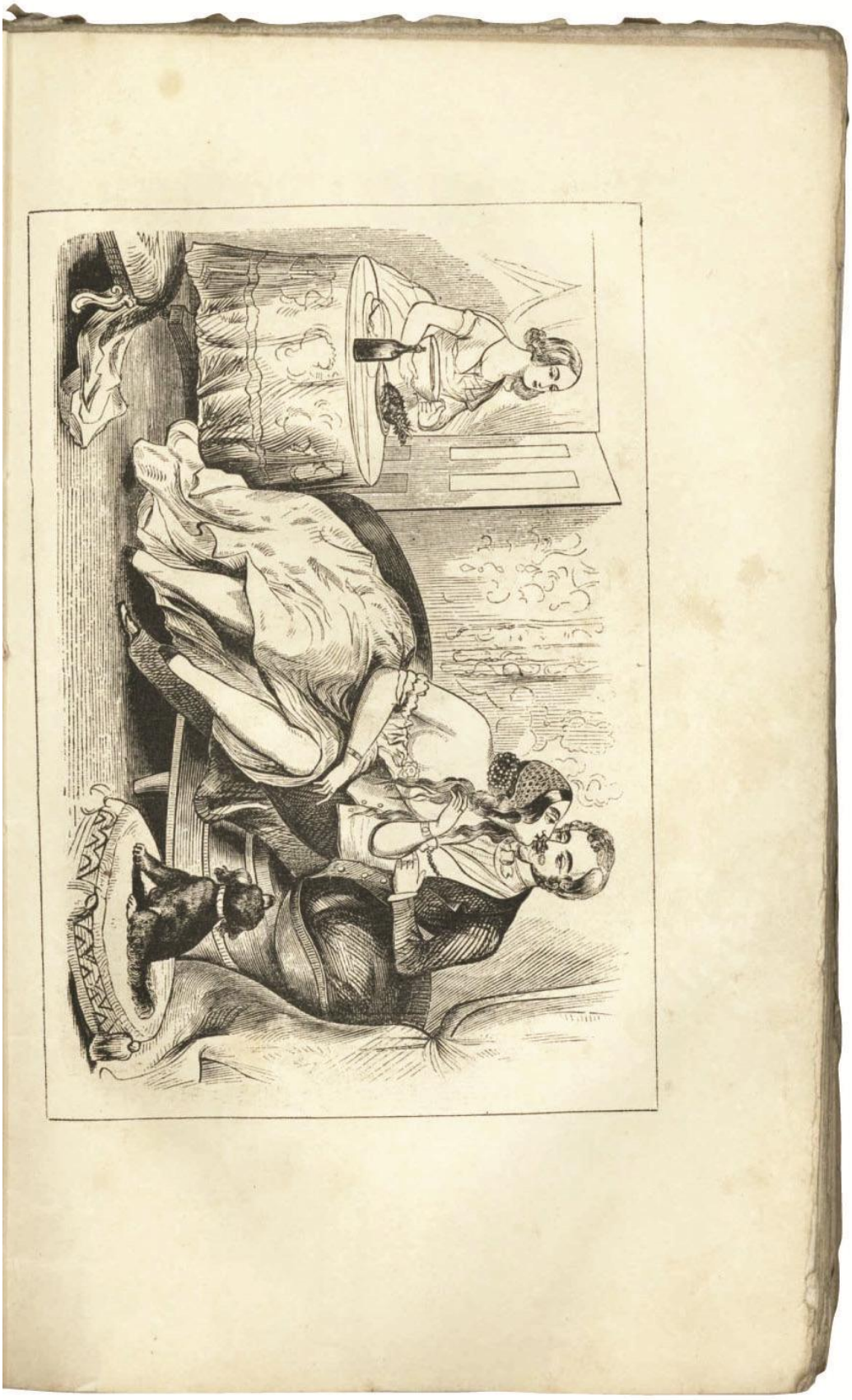
A ROMANCE OF CITY LIFE.

"Ah, Vice! how soft are thy voluptuous ways!
While boyish blood is mantling, who can 'scape
The fascination of thy magic gaze?
A Cherub-hydra round us dost thou gape,
And mould to every taste, thy dear, delusive shape."
BYRON'S CHILDE HAROLD.

By Greenhorn,

AUTHOR OF DISSIPATION, HOUSE BREAKER, RADCLIFF, CITY CRIMES &c &c

BOSTON:
BERRY & WRIGHT, PUBLISHERS,
NO. 27 DEVONSHIRE STREET.

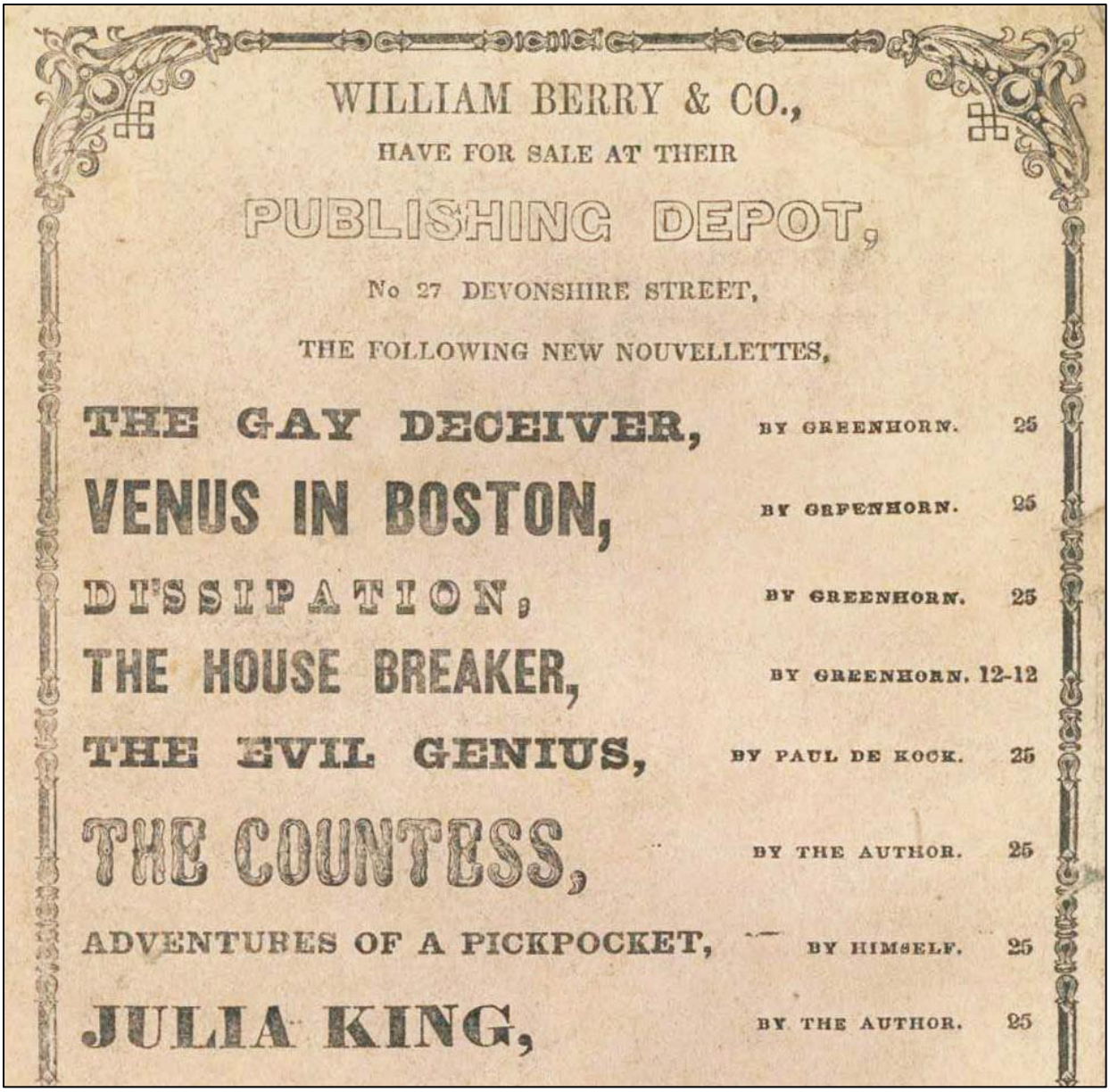


> Whether or not it is an accurate depiction of Thompson's private life..*My Life* is an invaluable source of information about the image of himself he sought to project to the reading public. The authorial persona constructed in these pages is that of a writer both entertaining and principled, who is aware of and in tune with both contemporary tastes and American history [2002:xii-xiii].

Thompson was born in New York in 1823, and although in the opening lines of *My Life* he refers to his parents as "certainly respectable people," they both died early in his childhood, leaving him with only "a few hundred dollars and a thickheaded uncle, to whom was attached an objectionable aunt" (2002:315). He grew up in what he describes as an abusive home, on Thomas Street near the infamous brothel of Rosina Townsend. In 1836, when Thompson was 12, one of Townsend's prostitutes, Ellen (or Helen) Jewett, was brutally murdered by one of her clients. Thompson claims to have skipped sabbath school the next morning to see the battered body, a viewing that probably contributed to his later fiction. The day had another important role: rather than take a beating from his uncle for missing Sunday school, he shoved his abuser down a steep set of stairs--breaking his leg--and fled the home. Not yet a teenager, he was a runaway alone in New York. Soon Thompson found work as a printer's apprentice, a job he held for three years, until his employer murdered his wife, her lover, and then killed himself before the young man's eyes. If true, then being witness to such a horror would undoubtedly have shaped his future writings.

Thompson states that he was a regular contributor to the *Knickerbocker Magazine* and other periodicals by the time he was 18. He seems to have been an itinerant writer throughout his early twenties, claiming to have resided at various times in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he worked for three years as editor of the *Bunker Hill Aurora and Boston Mirror*. By the penultimate chapter of *My Life* he had landed in Boston, where he "began to write a series of novels. These were well received by the public, as every Bostonian will recollect" (2002:369). He specifically notes two of these popular works, *The Gay Deceiver* and *Venus in Boston*, both of which he claims to have produced in the Leverett Street jail while serving a six-week sentence for assault. Thompson's friends saw that he was housed in a "private apartment," where he was "amply provided with good dinners, not prison fare, but from the outside, candles, newspapers, books, writing materials, etc." (2002:369). It was about this time that Thompson came to the attention of William Berry, who with William Bradbury was publishing a Boston scandal sheet called *The Boston Blade*. And for much of the next decade, from 1848 to about 1858, Thompson would become one of the most prolific novelists in America.

Bradbury, who began editing the *Blade* (previously the *Boston Satirist*) in 1843, had hired Berry in March 1848 to produce large woodcut engravings for the paper. That same year the *Blade* published some of Thompson's fiction, and Bradbury issued a separately printed novelette, *The House Breaker; or, the Mysteries of Crime*, attributed to Greenhorn. In September 1848, Bradbury and Berry launched a new periodical, titled *Life in Boston*, primarily as a vehicle for Thompson's increasingly transgressive fiction. Bradbury opted out of the partnership at some point during the winter, selling his interest to Berry, who immediately teamed up with printer Henry Wright. Berry and Wright continued the pattern of serially publishing Thompson's novels in *Life in Boston* before issuing the complete works separately, printed on cheap newsprint and bound in illustrated paper wraps. In October 1849, Berry and Wright obtained copyright on three novels--all attributed to Greenhorn or another of Thompson's known pseudonyms: *Venus in Boston*, *The Evil Genius*, and



Detail of advertisement on rear cover, *Venus in Boston*

Adventures of a Pickpocket. Yet just a month later, Wright sold his interest to Berry for the sum of one dollar, perhaps aware of a police investigation against *Life in Boston*. Berry was undeterred and over the next year claimed copyright on seven more novels, all by Thompson.

In 1852, Thompson stunned Berry by leaving for New York, where he continued to write and edit for such scandalous sheets as *The Broadway Belle* and *Venus' Miscellany*. And then, with the November 8, 1858 issue of the *Belle*, George Thompson disappeared from history: there is no new writing under his own name or any of his known pseudonyms after this date, and it is unknown when or how he met his end. Berry, meanwhile, married in 1855 and sold *Life in Boston* the next year, trading vice for Spiritualism as publisher of a new weekly, *Banner of Light*. He left the paper to volunteer for a Boston sharpshooter unit and died at Antietam in 1862.

Venus in Boston, which with *City Life* is probably the best known of the Thompson-Berry collaborations, follows the travails of its Venus--a chaste and orphaned fruit-vendor named Fanny Aubrey--through the fetid dens, alleyways, backstreets, and brothels of mid-century Boston, all the while exposing a devious upper-class gentleman, Timothy Tickels, as the greatest threat to her innocence. We locate three institutional copies: at Yale, Boston Public, and British Library. Each of these, however, is the later New York issue, and all known bibliographic and academic sources make reference only to the New York imprint.

Here, then, is the only known copy of the unrecorded Boston first issue, with the Berry & Wright imprint. Like the New York issue, it contains the lurid frontispiece of a partially nude young woman seducing a gentleman on a couch, while a maid or servant observes from the open doorway. Yet the Boston first edition contains a second, even more risqué illustration that might have been too scandalous--if not technically obscene--for the later New York edition. In this, the original Boston issue, there are facing frontispiece illustrations, one of the scene on the couch, and the other of several topless young women wearing short, diaphanous skirts, who dance and drink while being fondled and ogled by both gentlemen and sailors alike. At a time when women's skirts reached the ground and even piano legs required covers, this was shocking fare indeed! Our copy is also a remarkable survival, untrimmed with front and rear wrappers present. The only flaw of note, aside from usual wear, is that the price on the front wrapper (following "$1000 Prize Tale") was gently effaced at an early date, perhaps so that the vendor could offer it for a higher price than the printed "twenty-five cents" (per the BPL copy of the New York issue).

Relevant sources:

Erickson, Paul J.
2005 Welcome to Sodom: The Cultural Work of City-Mysteries Fiction in Antebellum America. PhD dissertation presented to the Graduate School of the University of Texas, Austin.
Hawley, E. Haven
2017 William Berry: Publisher, Scoundrel, and Spiritualist. *Printing History* 22:30-52.
Reynolds, David S.
1988 *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Reynolds, David S. and Kimberly K. Gladman, editors
2002 Introduction. In *Venus in Boston and Other Tales of Nineteenth-Century City Life*, by George Thompson, pp. ix-liv. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst and Boston.

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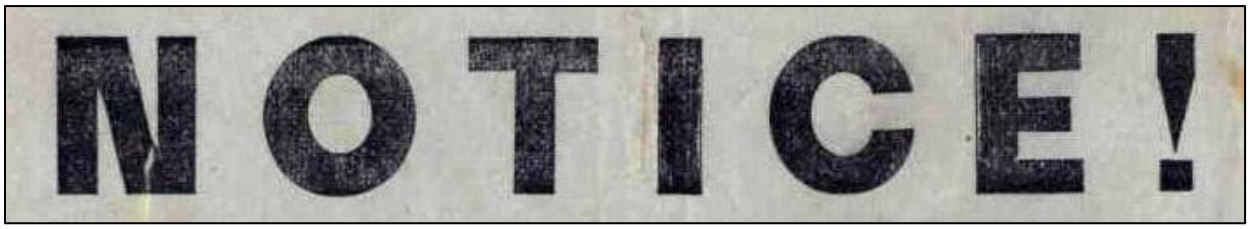
[American Fiction--City Mysteries]. Greenhorn [George Thompson]. VENUS IN BOSTON: A ROMANCE OF CITY LIFE. Berry & Wright, Publishers, No. 27 Devonshire Street, Boston, [1849]. First edition. [7]-100 pp., 2 full-page woodcut illus. 8vo (26 cm). Untrimmed in original illus. wrappers, publisher's ads on rear wrap. Light edge wear to spine and wraps, loss at head of spine, price lightly removed from front wrap, practically no foxing. Very good. [Wright *Fiction* I, 2585; McCorison *Risque Literature*, 378; Rose *Register Erotic Books*, 4681].

11. SOLD.

A Fair by the Ladies of Troy's AME Bethel Church

For much of the 19th century, the hosting of what were variously called ladies fairs, ladies sales, fancy fairs, boutiques, fetes, festivals, and church or charity bazaars gave American women opportunities for volunteerism, for building community, and for earning a profit to support civic projects or social causes. In her pathbreaking work on the subject, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair*, design historian Beverly Gordon suggests the generic term "fundraising fairs" as a catch-all for such events (1998:xx). Gordon limits use of the term to events that: 1) were based on the voluntary labor of women; 2) were held for the purpose of raising funds; and 3) included the sale of handmade crafts or goods. The earliest such fair that she traces in her exhaustive research was held in Baltimore on March 16, 1827, to support starving women and children in Greece. As the fair movement spread widely through groups of white Protestant women in the decades prior to the Civil War, it would likewise take root in Black communities by mid-century, often in the context of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. This small broadside or handbill is the only known documentation of a fair held by the Ladies of the AME Bethel Church of Troy, New York, on Thursday, December 23, 1852. **And if antebellum primary sources pertaining to fairs held by white women's groups are scarce today, then materials such as this associated with African American fairs are truly rare**.



The AME Church was established at Philadelphia in 1816, when sixteen Black delegates convened in response to ongoing discrimination in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in particular the practice of segregating Black churchgoers during services. Richard Allen, a master chimney sweep whose various business ventures had allowed him to create a significant degree of financial independence, was elected the new denomination's first bishop. Twenty years earlier, in 1794, he had founded what became known as Mother Bethel AME Church on Philadelphia's 6th Street, but had determined by 1816 that a general conference was needed to unite his Bethel Church with five other African American congregations across the Mid-Atlantic region. In joining together, Allen's conference created the first entirely independent Black denomination in the United States. Allen's wife, Sarah Bass Allen, was deeply involved in this work, both at Mother Bethel and in the wider AME Conference; she is still known as the Founding Mother. By the mid-1850s, the AME church served more than 17,500 members and 300 congregations, most located in northern states but with California congregations in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton.

Historian Jualynne E. Dodson (2002) has described three ways that women accrued power within the structure of the AME church. First, women helped to spread African Methodism and drew large numbers of new members, women and men, into the fold. Next, the church established a wide array of groups for women, beginning as early as 1828 with Sarah Allen's Daughters of the Conference. Finally, Dodson identifies "indispensable resources," material and non-material, that

NOTICE!

THE LADIES OF THE

African Methodist Episcopal

BETHEL CHURCH,

Intend holding their

FIRST FAIR,

ON SEVENTH STREET,

Between Albany and State Streets,

COMMENCING ON

Thursday, December 23,

In the said Church, formerly known as the Rev. Mr. Sheppard, for the purpose of paying for the said Church, which will be held during the Holidays, where may be had many **beautiful and**

FANCY ARTICLES

AND REFRESHMENTS OF ALL KINDS.

Ladies and Gentlemen of this City and vicinity, are respectfully solicited to give us a call. ☞ All Donations thankfully received at D. WILLIAMS, 35 Fifth Street, or at the Church on the days of the Fair..

COMMITTEE FOR THE FAIR:

MRS. MARY JANE CHEW, MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS,
MRS. E. GRIFFIN. MRS. S. MEADS, MISS E. SYLVA.

Troy, December 20, 1852.

women brought to the church organization, including education, community leadership, labor, and finances. Their financial prowess was especially noteworthy and made a significant impression on Black men in leadership positions. All of these paths came together in the context of fundraising fairs, which as Jon Butler notes for New York City, were becoming "as ubiquitous among Black congregations as...among white Catholics and Protestants" (2020:126).

Troy's antebellum African American community featured such renowned abolitionists as Henry Highland Garnet, David Payne, and Peter Baltimore. In October 1847, the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church, pastored by Garnet, hosted Frederick Douglass and the National Convention of Colored People and Their Friends. Troy's AME Zion Church was established in 1830, followed just three years later by its African Female Benevolent Society. This 1852 handbill announces the first fair to be held by the ladies of the AME Bethel Church, the proceeds of which were to support the cost of "paying for the said church." As with many such fairs, the date was scheduled near the Christmas holidays and included the sale of refreshments and "Fancy Articles," which typically included needlework, embroidery, knitting, and crochet, as well as shell and waxwork. One of the members of the fair committee was Mrs. Mary Jane Chew, the wife of prominent Troy abolitionist and restaurant owner Daniel Boston Chew. The Chews were both born in the South and may have arrived in Troy as fugitives; Daniel had worked as a waiter at Troy House hotel, owned by another Black abolitionist, William Rich, known for hiring freedom seekers as waitstaff. We find no other record of an AME Bethel Church in Troy, so it seems likely that its congregation folded into the AME Zion Church, where Daniel was named as a member in his 1892 obituary. **There are several examples of broadsides for anti-slavery fairs held by white abolitionists, but we locate only one comparable example issued by African American women, an 1847 handbill for a fair by the "ladies (of color)" of Frankfort (KY), held at the Clements Library**.

Relevant sources:

Butler, Jon
2020 *God in Gotham: The Miracle of Religion in Modern Manhattan*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Gordon, Beverly
1998 *Bazaars and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Dodson, Jualynne E.
2002 *Engendering Church: Women, Power, and the AME Church*. Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD.

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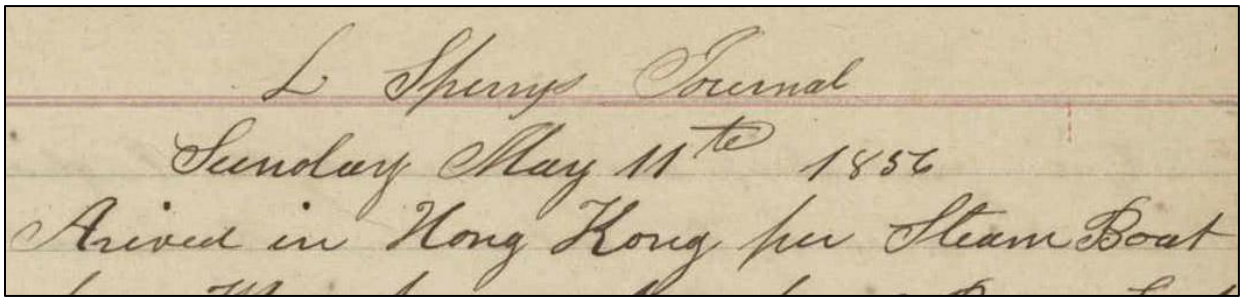
[African American—Ladies Fairs]. NOTICE! THE LADIES OF THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, INTEND HOLDING THEIR FIRST FAIR...[caption title]. Troy, New York, December 20, 1852. Small broadside or handbill. 8 1/4 x 5 in. (21 x 12.5 cm). Printed on very thin gray paper in multiple fonts, includes the names of the fair committee members. Light foxing, stain in lower left corner, mounting remnants on verso, very good.

12. SOLD.

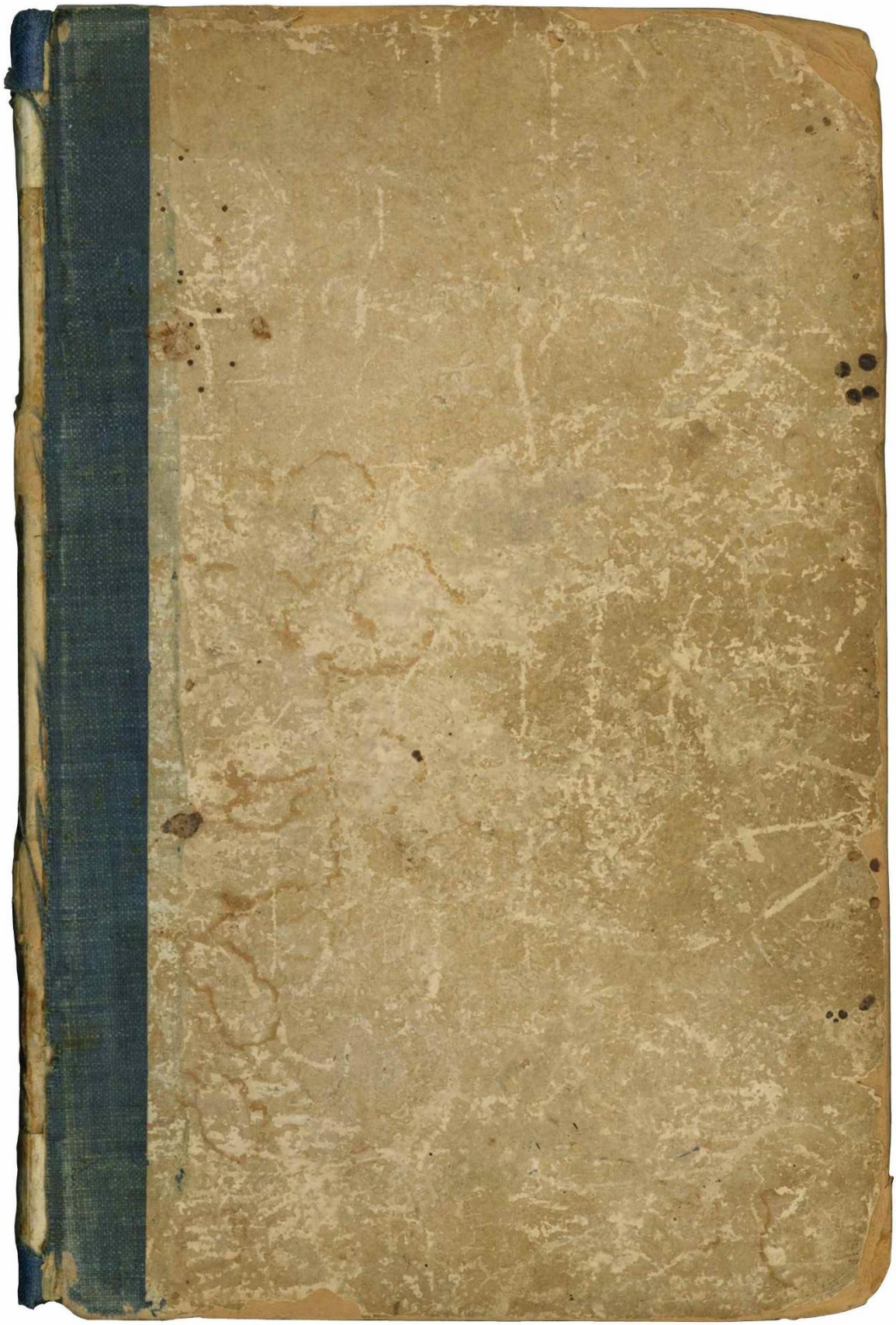
A Year in Los Angeles: Lewis Sperry's Journal, 1856-1857

With a population of nearly four million people, today's Los Angeles is the second largest city in the United States, trailing only New York. It is also the seat of Los Angeles County, which with ten million residents actually is the nation's largest. Yet the City of Angels was only founded in 1781, when its first 44 *pobladores del pueblo* (townspeople)--22 adults and 22 children--arrived from Sinaloa and Sonora at the site of the modern downtown and began laying out a community they called El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles. Auguring the city's present-day diversity, nine of those original 22 adults were Indios, eight were Mulattos, two were Negros, one was Mestizo, one was Criollo, and one was a Peninsular from Spain. By 1856, about a decade into California's American period, Los Angeles still had fewer than 2000 residents and only a hundred structures. San Francisco, meanwhile, was already home to more than 50,000 people. It is hardly surprising, then, that there are far more primary sources pertaining to 1850s San Francisco than to Los Angeles during this same period. While dozens of such San Francisco diaries have appeared in commerce over the past century, we trace only a single example from Los Angeles. Thus we are pleased to offer this journal kept by Massachusetts native Lewis Sperry from May 11, 1856, to June 19, 1857. **At 106 pages and nearly 25,000 words, it is among the best and most detailed unpublished accounts of Los Angeles during this formative decade**.


L Sperrys Journal
Sunday May 11th 1856
Arrived in Hong Kong per Steam Boat

Lewis Sperry was born at Russell, in western Massachusetts, in 1818. In 1861, President Abraham Lincoln appointed Sperry to the position of receiver in the Los Angeles Land Office, but we have no record of what specifically drew him to California, or when. He died two years later in 1863 and is buried in his family plot at Pine Hill Cemetery in Westfield, Massachusetts. Other than these few facts, we have discovered little of Sperry's life beyond what he documented in this exceptional diary. Sperry's manuscript opens on May 11, 1856, as he arrives in Hong Kong by steamboat from Whampoa, at the beginning of his return to California. In port he took passage on the bark *Sarah Warren*, bound for San Francisco and captained by A. B. Gore. On Friday, May 16--while still in Hong Kong--Sperry provides a summary of his trip thus far and a description of "Chinese peculiarities" he had observed:

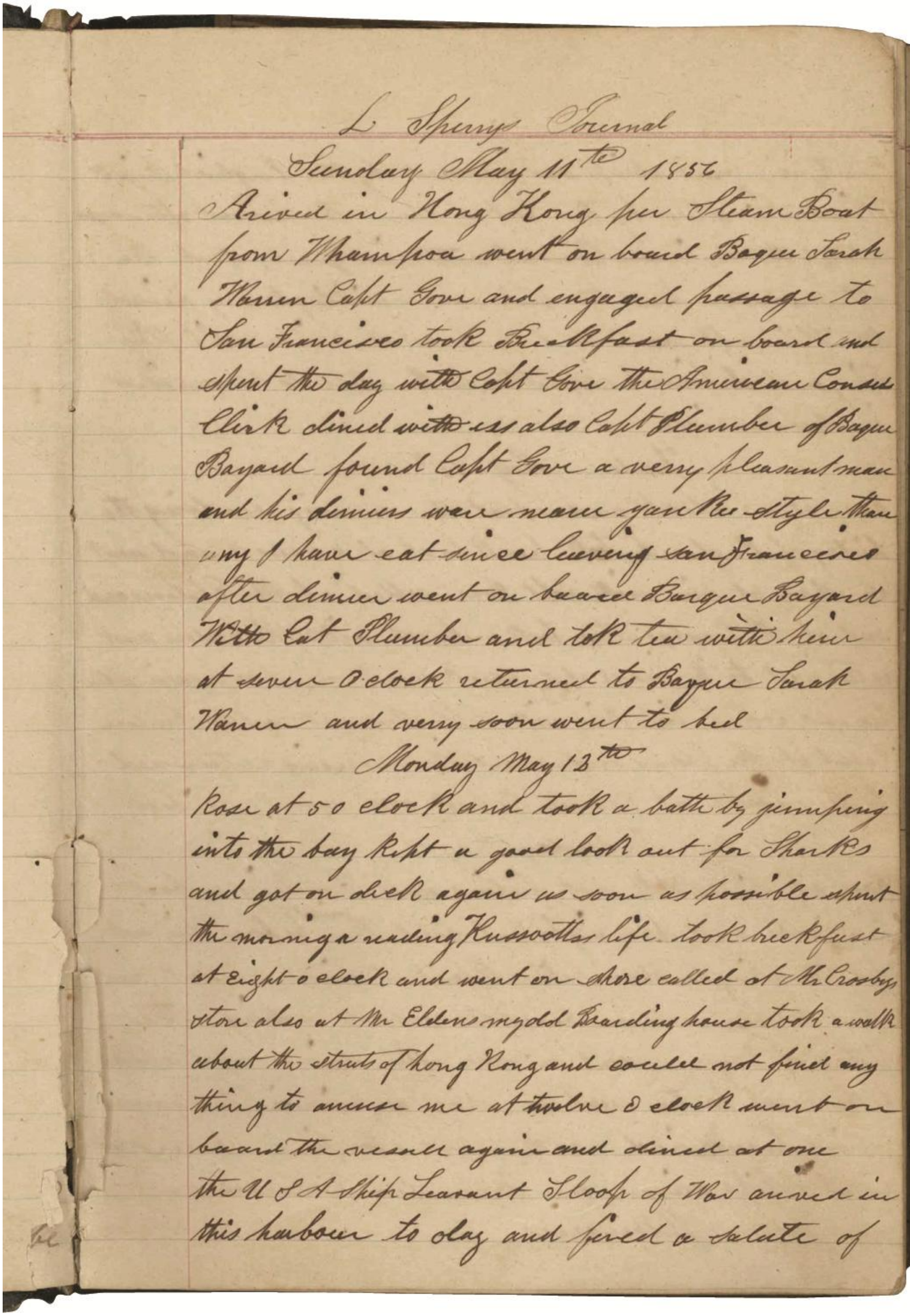
> I arrived in the Swedish ship Wilkingen Capt Classe in sight of the Ledone [Lantao] Islands...that portion of the China Sea...is literally covered with small vessels and sail boats in which the Chinese men and women live by fishing and by committing piracies upon the ships that get becalmed or otherwise distressed....and if a ship of war goes out in search of them they cannot be distinguished one from the other...



Sperry had next passed near Macao: "Mucou came in view about three miles distant, it is a Portuguese trading town and is said to be the finest place in China [I]t is situated on a high bluff of land, the buildings are mostly granite and have a very American like appearance." About fifty miles up the Canton or Pearl River, which Sperry refers to as the Tigress, they had passed beneath several imposing forts before arriving at Whampoa, "the head of navigation for large ships...the buildings are mostly set on piles the material of which they are built being bamboo [I]t is a dirty disagreeable place and very sickly." From there he and Capt. Classe hired a small rowboat to the nearby city of Canton, "a large city, the largest ib China except Pekin and the European portion of it is very handsome...[Europeans] are not allowed inside the walls of the old city and if they should venture there they are imediately [sic] murdered..." The next day they had returned to Hong Kong by steamer: "Hong Kong is an English town [I]t is situated on a small island taken from the Chinese during the Opium War and is probably a place of the greatest trade in China."

The *Sarah Warren* left Hong Kong for San Francisco early on the morning of Sunday, May 18. Sperry and his fellow passengers enjoyed an uneventful, two-month trip across the Pacific; he added a journal entry each day, noting weather, wind speed, and knots covered, as well as marine life (whales, dolphins, an albatross) and books he read (Bancroft's *Life of Washington*, Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, the *History of England*--he was disgusted by the *Mysteries of Paris*). Finally, on Wednesday, July 16, they sailed through the Golden Gate and arrived at San Francisco, where he and Capt. Gove took rooms at the Niantic Hotel, said in 1852 to be the finest in the city. The next day, Sperry "walked about the city but could not discover any improvements since I left two years before but I rather think San Francisco has the appearance of running down hill." On Sunday he went to the docks and "saw some fine clipper ships the Sierra Nevada and Young America—both just arrived the steam ship Sea Bird from San Diego arrived today and the steam ship Sierra Nevada from Niaugeroyer [Nicaragua] with passengers from the Atlantic states." Four days later, on July 24, Sperry attended a book auction and bought copies of Byron's Works, Life of Wellington, two books on travel in China, and one by Henry Ward Beecher, for a total of $8.00. He also decided to travel to San Pedro, then an autonomous pueblo but now a neighborhood in Los Angeles, buying a berth on the schooner *L. D. Bailey*. There was, he writes, "a great excitement...caused today by the vigilence committees arresting two men one of them for shooting another for returning after being sent away by the committee [Great] crowds gathered about the St Nicholas Hotel and about the committee rooms." The next day, as he placed his bags onboard the *Bailey*, news came of more violence: "a great excitement prevails in San Francisco on account of the murder yesterday of Doct [Andrew] Randall by [Joseph] Hetherington."

Sperry left for San Pedro on Saturday, July 26, reaching the Bay of Santa Barbara five days later on July 31. Coming ashore for the day, he writes that Santa Barbara "is an old Spanish town with a few Americans residing here [T]he building are burned shell adobas and the streets are very regular [T]ook dinner at a French hotel and a most miserable one." On Monday he and his fellow paasengers disembarked at San Pedro, "a place of little importance only as a port [I]t contains only three houses but is the shipping port for Los Angeles and San Bernadino counties and ships more produce than any other port in southern California." Here he took a stage, which "being drawn by four Spanish horses went off at a suffice rate and in one hour and a fourth we were halfway on our passage [T]he country thus far is one vast prairie not a tree to bee [sic] seen and scarce by a spear of grass." Along the route he saw "numerous herds of cattle and horses...and how they live is more than I can imagine..." Finally, after changing horses once, the stage neared its destination:



L Sperrys Journal

Sunday May 11th 1856

Arived in Hong Kong per Steam Boat
from Whampoa went on board Barque Sarah
Warren Capt Gove and engaged passage to
San Francisco took Breakfast on board and
spent the day with Capt Gove the American Consuls
Clerk dined with us also Capt Plumber of Barque
Bayard found Capt Gove a very pleasant man
and his dinners were nearer yankee style than
any I have eat since leaving San Francisco
after dinner went on board Barque Bayard
With Cat Plumber and tok tea with him
at seven O clock returned to Barque Sarah
Warren and very soon went to bed

Monday May 12th

Rose at 5 o clock and took a bath by jumping
into the bay kept a good look out for Sharks
and got on deck again as soon as possible spent
the morning a reading Kossuths life took breckfast
at Eight o clock and went on shore called at Mr Crosbys
store also at Mr Eldens my old boarding house took a walk
about the streets of hong Kong and could not find any
thing to amuse me at twelve O clock went on
board the vessell again and dined at one
the U S A Ship Levant Sloop of War arrived in
this harbour to day and fired a salute of

> [T]he country had not changed in appearance untill [sic] we came into the Valley of Los Angeles [There] there was a little vegetation visible but only weeds [F]or miles there was nothing but weeds untill [sic] we came within about three miles of the town then we began to see corn fields and peach orchards and vineyards [W]e passed as fine fields of corn as I ever saw and the finest vineyards I ever saw [T]he land is made productive by irrigation and is good for nothing without it [T]here is a fine stream of water here...
>
> [W]e arrived at the Bell[a] Union Hotel about 11 oclock in the City of Los Angeles [I]t is an old Spanish town [T]he buildings are of adoba except for a few that have been built by the Americans [T]hey are but one story high and are painted white in front and generally have but one window and have more the appearance of prisons than of houses [T]he Bell Union is the best hotel in the place but it is but one story high [I]t is a well kept hotel and gave the best fare I have ever had in California...
>
> [T]he Americans here are mostly from Texas and Missouri and most of them have the appearance of hard customers [T]hey swagger about with their revolver and knife slammed [?] to them [T]he population are mostly Mexicans but among the traders there is a goodly number of [?] [T]ogether with my friend and fellow passenger Mr Evans I took a pass about the town saw some beautiful vineyards and some houses built of timber that have a very American like appearance [I]t is a town of considerable business and I should think has full one hundred stores [T]he weather is warm and I should think this as good a climate as can be found in the world.

As best we can determine, Sperry would live out the rest of his life here.

On Friday, August 8, after noting a melee in the courthouse that resulted in pistols being drawn, Sperry writes that he:

> took a walk out of town to a vineyard owned by Mr Wolfscale [Wolfskill] an American from Kentucky [H]e has been in the country twenty years [H]e has the most beautiful vineyard I ever saw containing forty acres of ground [T]he vines are now full of grapes [H]e also has a large orchard of Pear Peach Apple Quince Orange fig English walnuts [H]is grounds are in the best state of cultivation [H]e has a farm of one hundred and sixty acres all a perfect garden I never saw a farm to compare with it in beauty [H]e has a very large field of Indian corn it grows immensely large I am now convinced that Calafornia [sic] will be a wine producing state [H]is price is fifty thousand dollars for his farm.

William Wolfskill was one of the most successful early pioneers in Los Angeles. A trapper who had become a Mexican citizen in Santa Fe, New Mexico, he came to California in 1831 and used his trapping profits to purchase land near the modern downtown. He established the region's citrus industry, and here Sperry offers a fine contemporary description of his estate.

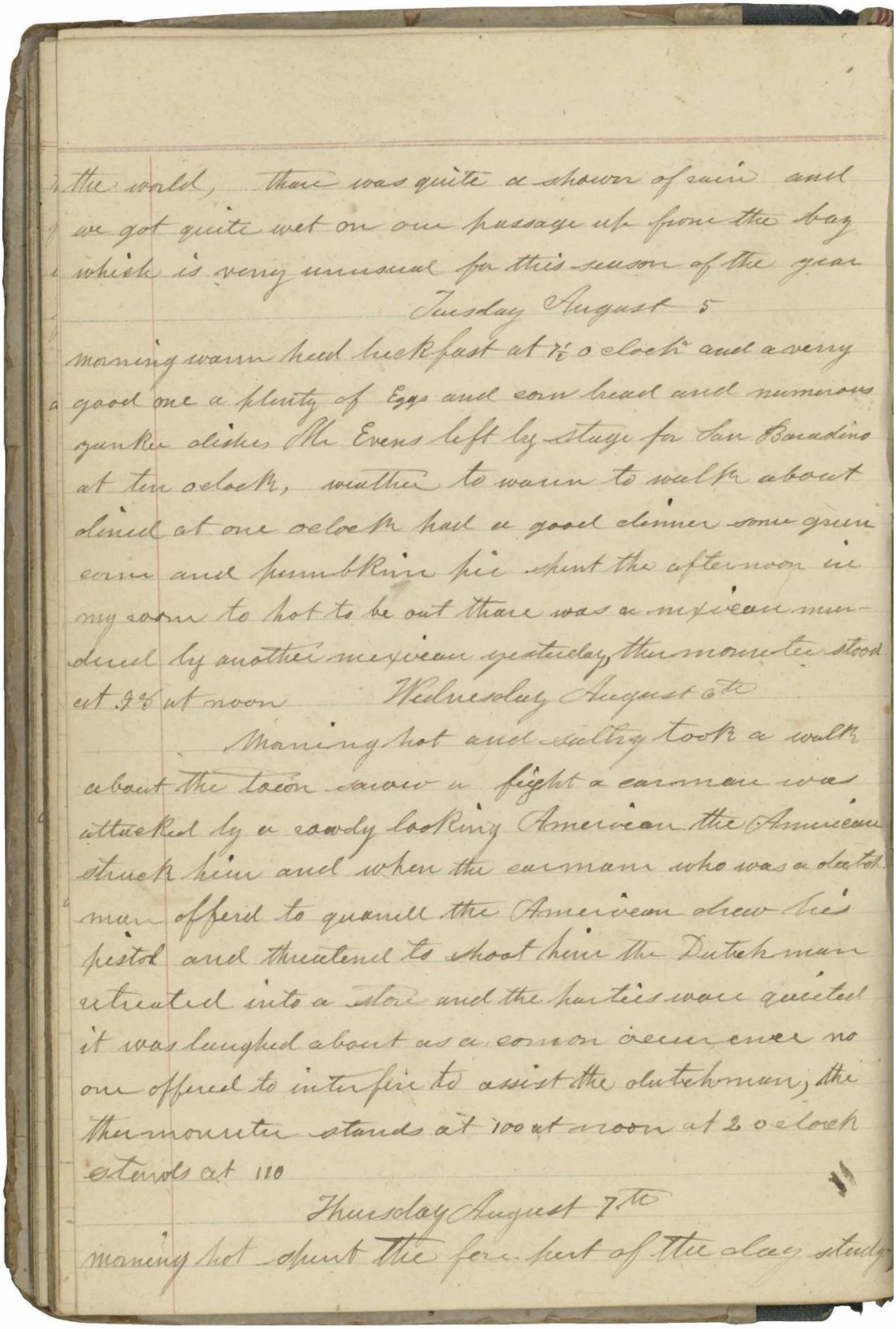
The incident at the courthouse that had led to the threat of gunplay was hardly an isolated event, and in his first few weeks Sperry documents several confrontations that clearly illustrate the everyday violence roiling the Los Angeles melting pot:

> August 6: [S]aw a fight [A] carman was attacked by a rowdy looking American [T]he American struck him and when the carman who was a [D]utch man offered to quarrel the American drew his pistol and threatened to shoot him [T]he Dutchman retreated into a store and the parties were quieted....no one offered to interfire [sic] to assist the [D]utchman.
>
> August 10: [A] row occurred at the hotel where I board this evening [A] disorderly man by the name of Allen cuffed the bar keeper's ears for refusing him liquor and afterwards struck an Indian and broke his skull.
>
> August 16: Jenkins is on trial today for the murder of a Mexican [H]is trial is closed and the verdict of the jury is not guilty the same as all cold blooded murderers escape in this country.

On August 16, he observed an important arrival: "a vessel arrived today packed with 400 Mormons from Sidney [sic] New South Wales [T]hey are bound for San Bernadino." This group (actually numbering about 130) was the largest to arrive in California during the gathering of the Australian saints, when Mormon faithful from Australia crossed the Pacific to join their brethren at Salt Lake City. Arriving aboard the schooner *Jenny Ford*, this was the only Mormon party to reach southern California in 1856, and they did indeed make their way to the newly founded Mormon community of San Bernadino, located about 60 miles west of Los Angeles.

The next day, Sperry "took a walk out to Mr Fralings [Frohling's] vineyard [H]e has a very pleasant place of about 20 acres spent the fore part of the day with him drank some California wine did not think it very nice." John Frohling and partner Charles Kohler, as Kohler & Frohling, were two of the most influential men in the development of California's wine industry. In 1854 they had sold their first cask, becoming the first commercial winery in the state. In 1857 they founded the town of Anaheim as a wine-making colony, settling 50 German-American families from San Francisco there to tend and manage 3000 vines of wine grapes.

Sperry continued to visit orchards and vineyards outside of Los Angeles, seemingly intent on buying one to develop himself. He was most interested in the property of a Mr. Williams--most likely the Williams whom Juan José Warner notes in *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County* arrived at Chino before 1850 (1876:38). Sperry described Williams's vineyards and orchards as being badly neglected, but even so he offered $2000 for the property on August 8. It is unclear whether Williams agreed to the offer at this time, but Sperry moved from his boarding house in town to Williams's farm and began laboring in the other man's fields. During the next few weeks he would visit a number of other vineyards, orchards, and nurseries outside Los Angeles, including those of Dr. John Leonce Hoover [nee Huber]--a Swiss military surgeon who as a young man had served in Napoleon's army before immigrating to the United States and moving to Los Angeles in 1849--and a Dr. Halsey, well known for having grown a citrus nursery that he later sold to William



the world, there was quite a shower of rain and we got quite wet on our passage up from the bay which is very unusual for this season of the year

Tuesday August 5

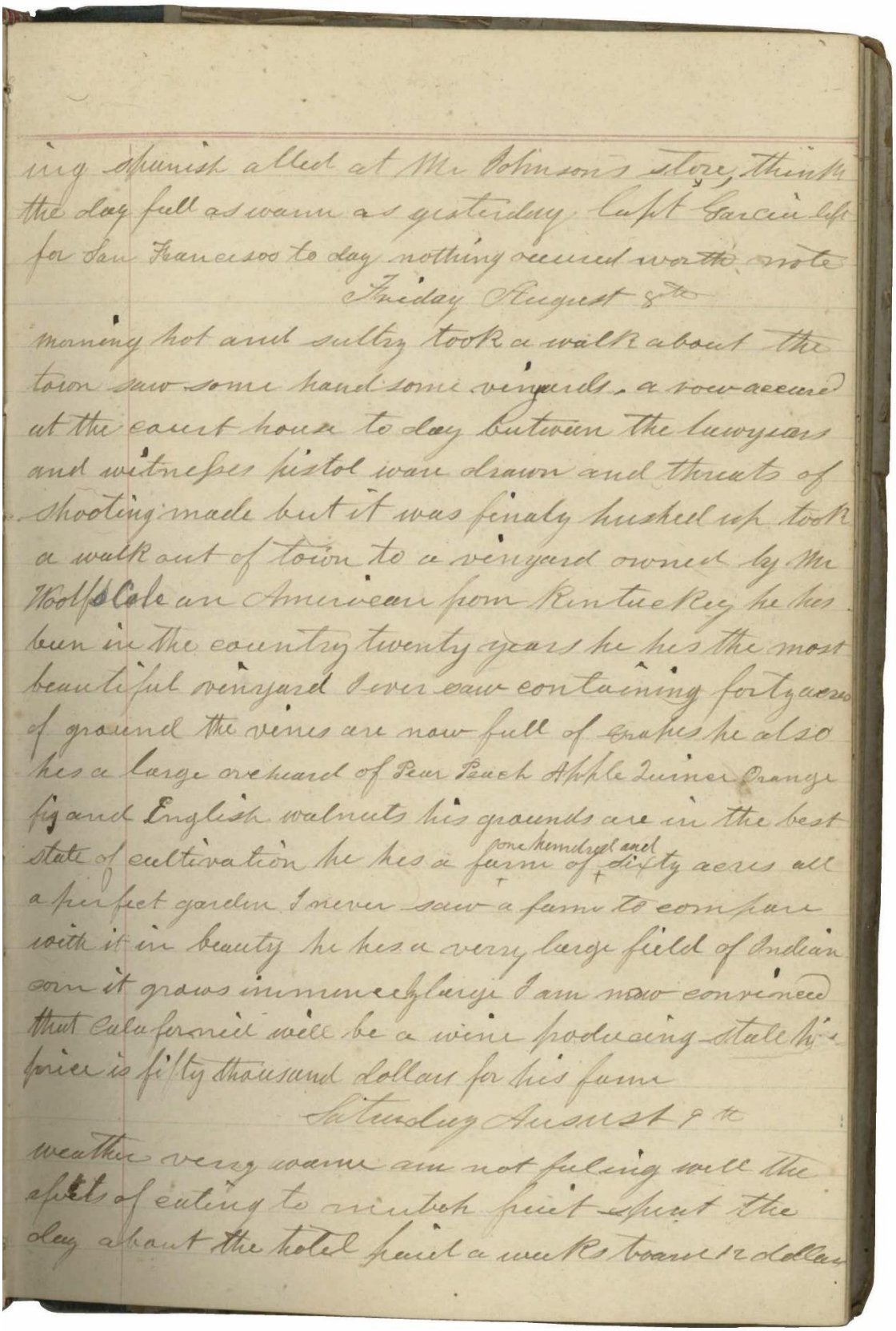
morning warm had breakfast at 7½ o clock and a very good one a plenty of Eggs and corn bread and numerous yankee dishes Mr Evens left by stage for San Bonadino at ten oclock, weather to warm to walk about dined at one oclock had a good dinner some green corn and pumbkin pie spent the afternoon in my room to hot to be out there was a mexican murdered by another mexican yesterday, thermometer stood at 95 at noon

Wednesday August 6th

Morning hot and sultry took a walk about the town saw a fight a carman was attacked by a rowdy looking American the American struck him and when the carman who was a dutch man offerd to quarrell the American drew his pistol and threatened to shoot him the Dutchman retreated into a store and the parties were quieted it was laughed about as a common occurrence no one offered to interfire to assist the dutchman, the thermometer stands at 100 at noon at 2 o clock stands at 110

Thursday August 7th

morning hot spent the fore part of the day study



ing Spanish allied at Mr Johnsons store, think the day full as warm as yesterday. Capt Garcia left for San Francisco to day nothing occured worth note

Friday August 8th

morning hot and sultry took a walk about the town saw some hand some vineyards. a row occured at the court house to day between the lawyers and witnesses pistol was drawn and threats of shooting made but it was finaly hushed up took a walk out of town to a vineyard owned by Mr Wolfskale an American from Kintuck Rey he has been in the country twenty years he has the most beautiful vineyard I ever saw containing forty acres of ground the vines are now full of Grapes he also has a large orchard of Pear Peach Apple Quince Orange fig and English walnuts his grounds are in the best state of cultivation he has a farm of one hundred and fifty acres all a perfect garden I never saw a farm to compare with it in beauty he has a very large field of Indian corn it grows immence large I am now convinced that Californii will be a wine producing State his price is fifty thousand dollars for his farm

Saturday August 9 th

weather very warm am not feeling well the effect of eating to much fruit spent the day about the hotel paid a week board 12 dollars

Wolfskill in 1857. On September 1, Sperry took a mortgage on the vineyard of Frenchman Leon Victor Prudhomme and loaned him a thousand dollars. Now, in addition to continuing his work for Williams, Sperry was also working a piece of land for himself, planting peaches and digging *zanjas*, a form of irrigation technology used throughout the Southwest. On Monday, September 8, he writes: "the day has been celebrated by the native Calafornians by firing guns ringing bells etc it is called Los Angeles day." Sperry remarks on several occasions that the only church in the town was Catholic, and as a Protestant socializing with other Protestants, he may not have known that September 8 is the feast day celebrating la Navidad de Nuestra Señora.

Throughout the fall months, Sperry was making connections among an impressive array of California pioneers in Los Angeles and neighboring communities such as El Monte. He dined and took horseback rides with Colonel Charles McClanahan, regularly called on Dr. Halsey and visited Mr. Wolfskill. He returned to John Frohling's home on October 25: "went uptown in the morning called at Mr Fralings [H]e is extensively engaged in making wine got some very pleasant wine to drink." The next week he visited at the ranch of famed Californio politician and ranchero Pio Pico and several days later attended a race featuring one of Pico's horses. Sperry's descriptions of early Los Angeles, with their emphasis on the growth of Southern California's orchard and viniculture industries, would alone make it an essential and largely unparalleled primary source. **Yet entries for January bring another dimension to the journal's significance, providing rare first-hand reports of both the Fort Tejon Earthquake--also known as the Great California Earthquake of 1857--and events surrounding the manhunt for Juan Flores, leader of the infamous *Las Manillas* gang (or the Handcuffs)**. Flores and *Las Manillas* terrorized Anglo communities across Southern California for several months from 1856 to 1857, gaining the young outlaw a folk hero's status among Mexican Americans throughout the region. In subsequent decades, he would take his place alongside legendary *banditos* Joaquin Murieta and Tiburcio Vásquez.

On the morning of January 9, a powerful earthquake with an estimated magnitude of 7.9 struck central and Southern California, rupturing the southern part of the San Andreas Fault for nearly 225 miles. It remains one of the largest recorded seismic events in American history. In 2006, Duncan Agnew at the Scripps Institute of Oceanography in San Diego compiled 77 known primary accounts of the quake. Of the 77, only 17 were from letters or journals. Agnew reported 10 accounts from Los Angeles County: 7 from Los Angeles newspapers, the *Star* and *El Clamor Público*; one in a letter written from the San Gabriel Valley; and two from reminiscences recorded in the early 20th century. **Sperry's journal thus offers one of two contemporaneous personal accounts from the Los Angeles area and is far more detailed than the noted letter**:

> January 9: [F]elt a severe shock of an earthquake about nine oclock this morning that caused the buildings to rock violently [W]e all ran out of doors for fear the buildings would fall upon us [W]e clung to posts to keep from falling down [T]he trees swung back and forth as if shook by a gale of wind [T]here was another shock about 15 minutes after quite slight and another in the afternoon at 4 oclock and two more in the evening one about nine and the other about ten [T]he one in the morning caused a peculiar sensation similar to sea sickness which lasted some people through the day....[T]he earthquake cracked some buildings badly the masons hall was considerably damaged and Mr Wells store.

A week later came a strong aftershock:

> January 16: [H]ad a severe shock of an earthquake at 5 oclock PM [T]he house shook violently and the bottels [sic] were thrown down in the stores and one building injured [A] gentleman arrived from Fort Tejon and gives an account of the earthquake of the 9th [L]arge oak trees ware [sic] broke down by the shock and the buildings at the fort ware all thrown down together with the fort [O]ne person was killed and others injured [T]housands of fish ware thrown out of the water at Lake Tutare [Tulare] and some small lakes emptied of thier [sic] water [I]t was the most violent shock since 1808 [T]he earth continued shaking for five days slightly and had not ceased when the gentleman left [T]he current of the river was stoped [sic] through the day.

Another kind of shock landed just one week later, as violence erupted at an unprecedented scale. Juan Flores was born about 1834, but almost nothing is known of his life before 1855, when he was arrested for stealing horses and imprisoned at San Quentin. He broke out in 1856 and made his way back south, joining with bandit Pancho Daniel and a dozen or so ranch hands, miners, and other *Angelinos* such as Anastasio García, Jesus Espinosa, Andrés Fontes, Chino Varelas, Faustino García, Juan Cartabo and "One-eyed" Piguinino. The gang, which may eventually have numbered as many as fifty men, is reputed to have stolen horses and cattle, committed several robberies and murders, and raided local Anglo towns and homesteads. Later accounts claimed that *Las Manillas* was motivated by revolutionary fervor, with the aim of ridding the country of gringos, but there is little to support such after the fact interpretations. The only contemporary printed sources are three Los Angeles newspapers: the *Star*, the *Southern Californian*, and the Spanish-language *El Clamor Público*. **Save for these and three brief letters by Andrés and Pío Pico, held in the Huntington Library's Abel Stearns Collection, we trace no other contemporary sources**.

In January 1857, *Las Manillas* struck the village of San Juan Capistrano, about fifty miles south of Los Angeles, and looted several shops. One of the shopkeepers, George Pflugardt, was shot and killed. When news of the murder reached Los Angeles, Sheriff James Barton formed a posse of five men and rode south to apprehend the attackers. On January 23, near the modern city of Irvine, they were ambushed and outgunned, with Barton and three of his constables killed. The two survivors fled back to Los Angeles and El Monte, known as a predominantly white community with a penchant for vigilante justice. Speery's diary takes over with news of the ambush:

> January 23: [C]alled at Mr Williams and at Mr Morris [G]reat excitement prevails on account of sheriff Barton and three of his posse being killed San Juan by a band of robbers Mexicans and Americans....[A] posse with Marshall Getman at thare [sic] head called at our house at one oclock night on thare way to San Juan to arrest the murderers of sheriff Barton at and his posse.
>
> January 25: [T]he citizens formed themselves into a vigilance committee for mutual protection [C]onsiderable excitement prevails on account of the murder of the sheriff.

January 26: [W]ent hunting in the afternoon...found my knife that I lost yesterday....[A] company is forming here to go in search of Robbers.

January 27: [T]he company started that formed yesterday in search of robbers [M]utch [sic] excitement prevails on account of the roberies [sic] and murders committed by the natives [C]ompanies are forming in Los Angeles and here [El Monte] to go in search of them Andrés Pico leaves today with about one hundred men in search of Robbers [A]n express has been sent to San Barnadino [sic] for men.

January 28: [G]reat excitement pervails [sic] on account of the late roberies [O]ne arrest was made to day but nothing proved [A] man reported having seen three robbers in town and all that could horses put out in search of them but could not ketch [sic] them....[R]eturned at sun down to the Monte [T]he excitement increases on account of the roberies [C]ommittees are forming to search the county tomorrow.

January 29: [A] company left for mission San Gabriel in search of robbers [M]utch excitement prevails among the people [T]he rangers don [sic] good service at the mission [T]hey caught one robber with a pack horse of goods suposed [sic] to be stolen at San Juan [H]e had with him sheriff Barton[‘s] pistol and Mr Littles coat and vest [Little was one of the three murdered constables] [T]hey shot him dead in taking him [T]hey also arrested and shot three others supposed to be concerned in the roberies [T]he excitement is on the increase [A] company has gone out from San Barnadino one from San tiago [Diego] one from San Juan one or two from Los Angeles and two from here.

January 30: [C]ompanies are going out again in search of robbers [A]bout twenty arrests have been made in Los Angeles [T]he justices have refused to try them and have given it up to the citizens [P]arties are out in all directions but little is done to day.

January 31: [F]orty men have been arrested in Los Angeles but none have been tried [C]ompanies are searching the country but little heard from them [O]ne company returned this evening that went out on Wednesday [T]hey report nothing but talk of being on track of robbers.

February 1: [W]ent to the field to feed my horse [C]ompanies are out in search of robbers but no news.

February 2: [S]tarted for Los Angeles at 6 o clock in company with Doct Sneed [A]rrived at Los Angeles at 9 o clock [E]xcitement pervails on account of the roberies [N]ews has just arrived that Picos party have taken Flores the leader of the gang after a severe fight and two of the gang that had been taken before were hung by Picos party.

> February 4: [S]tarted home with Mr Collins wagon met a party in search of robbers Marshall Getman with them [T]hey inform us that Flores has made his escape [A]rrived home at 5 o clock had a very pleasant trip of it [N]ews comes from Los Angeles that Flores is taken again by Thompsons party [James Thompson became sheriff after Barton's murder].
>
> February 7: [N]othing new concerning the robbers
>
> February 8: [T]wo more robbers have been caught by Thompsons party.
>
> February 9: [A] party went out in search of robbers today.
>
> February 14: Flores was hung to day in Los Angeles.

Although some of the details in Sperry's journal were also published in contemporaneous newspapers, it should noted that all of the Los Angeles papers were weeklies, with issues appearing on 1/24, 1/31, 2/7, and 2/14. For this entire period, during which Edward Escobar asserts that "an orgy of lynchings" (1983:273) claimed more Mexican lives in Southern California than fighting during the Mexican War, Sperry's journal may be the only surviving source that provides a daily record of events as they occurred.

All of the men who died in retaliation for the ambush of Barton and his constables, whether guilty or innocent of any involvement in the attack, met their fates at the hands of vigilantes or the mob. All were lynched, none received a fair trial, none met their accusers in court, and none had evidence presented against them. Immediately after the ambush, the editors of both the *Star* and the *Público* had called for justice and for the capture of the perpetrators. Yet as the days unfolded and it became clear that only extralegal justice awaited anyone accused of involvement--being shot in cold blood or strung from a post, beam, or tree--the editors diverged in their opinions about the pursuit. Henry Hamilton of the *Star*, who rode with some of the vigilante gangs himself and five years later would become an outspoken advocate for secession and the Confederacy, had no time for such niceties as the rule of law. But for *Angelino* Francisco Ramirez, the brilliant 19-year-old editor of the *Público*, the mob and vigilante violence perpetrated against Mexican Americans was a stain on the city, worse by far than the ambush that had set the bloodshed in motion. Historians will continue to debate whether Juan Flores and *Las Manillas* were simply criminal *banditos* or revolutionaries seeking to launch a social movement. What cannot be debated is that the resulting violence, rooted in race and class, was a miscarriage of justice.

We find it telling that Sperry seems not to have ridden along with any posses, and his brief notice of Flores' death--a mob of several hundred voted to hang him without trial, and thousands more attended the lynching--suggests that he was not in attendance. Perhaps this reflects on his New England sensibilities. On the day of November's presidential election, he wrote that he had cast his vote for John Frémont, the abolitionist Republican candidate. Likewise, his angry August 16 entry about the Jenkins trial--in which an Anglo constable, William Jenkins, had shot Antonio Ruiz in cold blood and yet was found innocent by an all-Anglo jury--suggests that racial animus did not direct his own sense of civic responsibility. As noted, Sperry was appointed by Lincoln to the land agent's office in 1861, and he died of unknown causes in 1863.

Any primary source materials related to pre-1860 Los Angeles are excessively rare. Only a few copies of the *Star* and the *Southern Californian* have ever appeared in commerce, along with a few job printed broadsides and pamphlets, and only a single billhead from Ramirez's *El Clamor Público*. RBH does not record a single manuscript journal or diary by a Los Angeles resident in the pre-Civil War period, and the only example we can find in institutional holdings also appears to be the only example ever offered in the trade: the two 1854-1858 William Wallace diaries held by Yale, purchased from Americana dealer Thomas Moebs in 1982 (Wallace lived in Los Angeles from about 1853 to 1857 and edited the *Star* before Hamilton took the reins in late 1856). **While hundreds of San Francisco-centered diaries and journals exist for this same period, we trace only two for Los Angeles--the diaries of William Wallace and this newly discovered diary of Lewis Sperry**. An exceptional manuscript, worthy of further research and publication.

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Spitzzeri, Paul
2008 Banditry in California, 1850-1875. In *Icons of the American West: From Cowgirls to Silicon Valley*, edited by Gordon Bakken, pp. 1-28. Greenwood Publishing, Westport, CT.

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[Southern California--Agriculture and Vigilantism]. Lewis Sperry. [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF LEWIS SPERRY, DOCUMENTING A YEAR IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY FROM 1856 TO 1857, INCLUDING DETAILS OF THE GREAT 1857 EARTHQUAKE AND THE JUAN FLORES MANHUNT]. [Various places, but mostly Los Angeles County, California, May 11, 1856-June 19, 1857]. 8vo (22 cm). 106 manuscript pp., approx. 25,000 words, all in ink and entirely legible. Original buff boards and blue cloth spine, spine covering mostly perished, edge and corner wear to boards, light spotting; lined paper, interior quite clean. Very good.

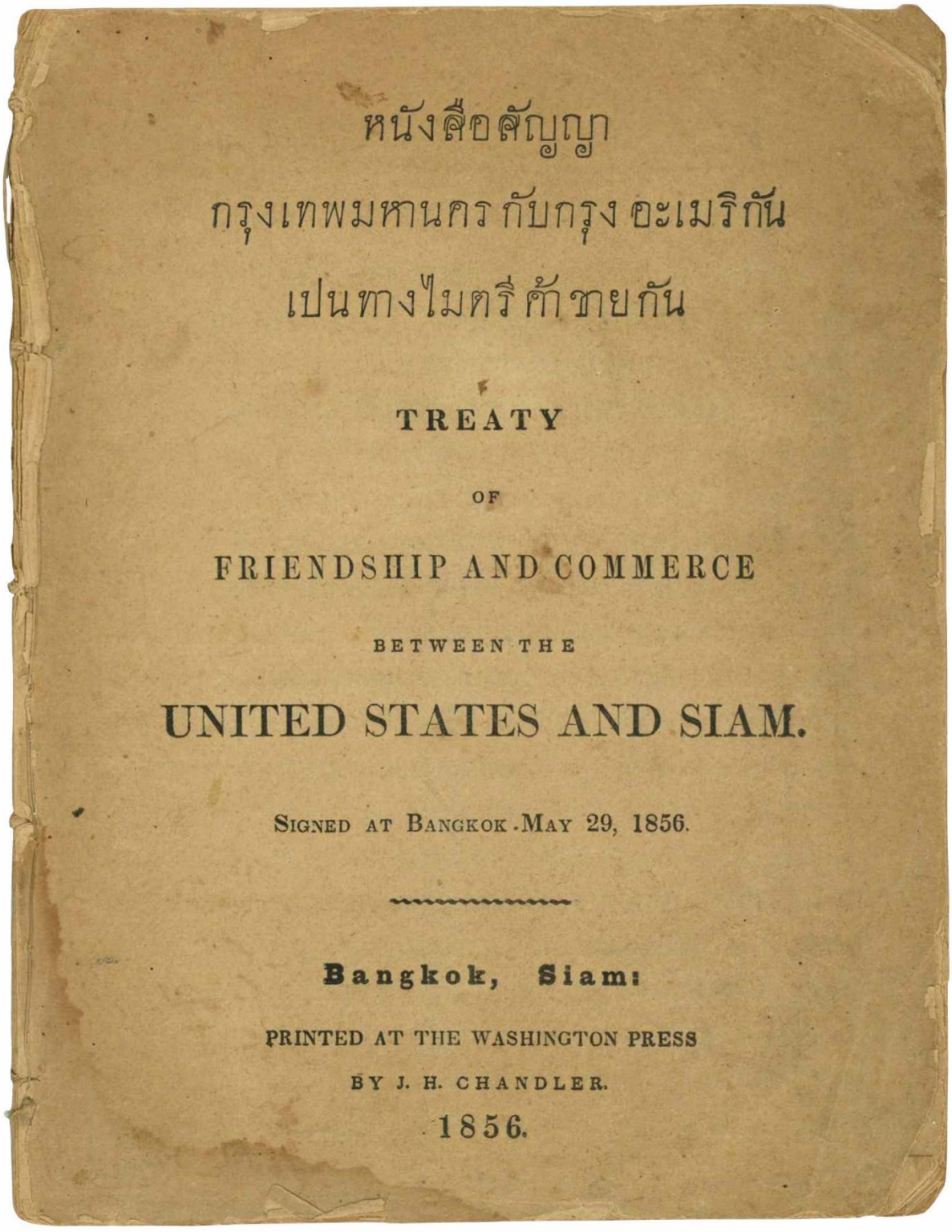
13. SOLD.

Treaty Between the United States and Siam, Published in Bangkok

On March 20, 1833, the United States signed A Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the Kingdom of Siam, its first with any Asian nation. The details of the treaty were negotiated between Edmund Roberts, as minister of the United States for Andrew Jackson, and Chau Phaya-Phraklang as Minister of State on behalf of the later King Rama III. Significantly, it offered better terms to the Americans than the Burney Treaty of 1826 had offered to Great Britain; while the latter focused almost exclusively on a military alliance against Burma, with no stipulations regarding trade, the Roberts Treaty promised free trade and most favored nation status to the United States. Just over twenty years later, in 1855, Sir John Bowring returned to Siam to negotiate a new treaty on behalf of Great Britan with the new Siamese ruler, King Mongkut, Rama IV. When American officials learned of Bowring's mission, they dispatched Townsend Harris--just appointed Consul General to Tokygawa, Japan, and then en route across the Pacific--to stop at Bangkok to negotiate a new treaty for the United States. Britain's treaty was signed on April 18, 1855. The American treaty was delayed during Bowring's negotiations, but was signed May 29, 1856. Each treaty was printed in both Thai and English by American missionary John H. Chandler at the Washington Press in Bangkok, and each is quite rare. **There are only two known copies of the Bowring Treaty, and this is the fourth known copy of the Harris Treaty, this example having descended through the family of Harris's translator, American missionary Stephen Mattoon**.


UNITED STATES AND SIAM.

Although is it standard practice in the United States and Great Britain to label these two agreements as Harris's and Bowring's treaties, respectively, it would be no less fitting to call them Mongkut's treaties. When Mongkut ascended to the throne of Siam (modern Thailand) in 1851 as King Rama IV, the kingdom had little engagement with the West and was focused instead on local conflicts with neighboring states, particularly Vietnam and Burma. Trade and diplomatic missions initiated by both the United States and Great Britain in 1850 had failed to achieve any substantive results, given the kingdom's increasingly conservative--if not actually antagonistic--policy toward Western powers. Instead, all foreign trade was monopolized by the royal household, and Siam's pre-capitalist subsistence economy remained rooted in local and regional exchange. The reign of Rama IV dramatically transformed this long-standing status quo. Mongkut was 47 when he took the throne on the death of his half-brother King Rama III, who had reigned since 1824. The new king had lived as a Buddhist monk for 27 years, since the time of Rama III's coronation. During these years he had sought a Western education, studying Latin, English, and astronomy, adopting modern geography and the concept of a round Earth (Buddhist scripture indicated a flat Earth). In 1862 King Mongkut hired an Anglo-Indian governess, Anna Leonowens, to teach his wives and children English and Western subjects. Leonowens remained at Mongkut's court until 1867, when she returned to England for what was supposed to be a short visit with her daughter. But Mongkut died of malaria while she was abroad, and Leonowens never returned to Siam. The story was later developed into the Broadway musical and subsequent film, *The King and I*.



หนังสือสัญญา

กรุงเทพมหานคร กับกรุง อะเมริกัน

เปนทางไมตรี ค้าขายกัน

TREATY

OF

FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND SIAM.

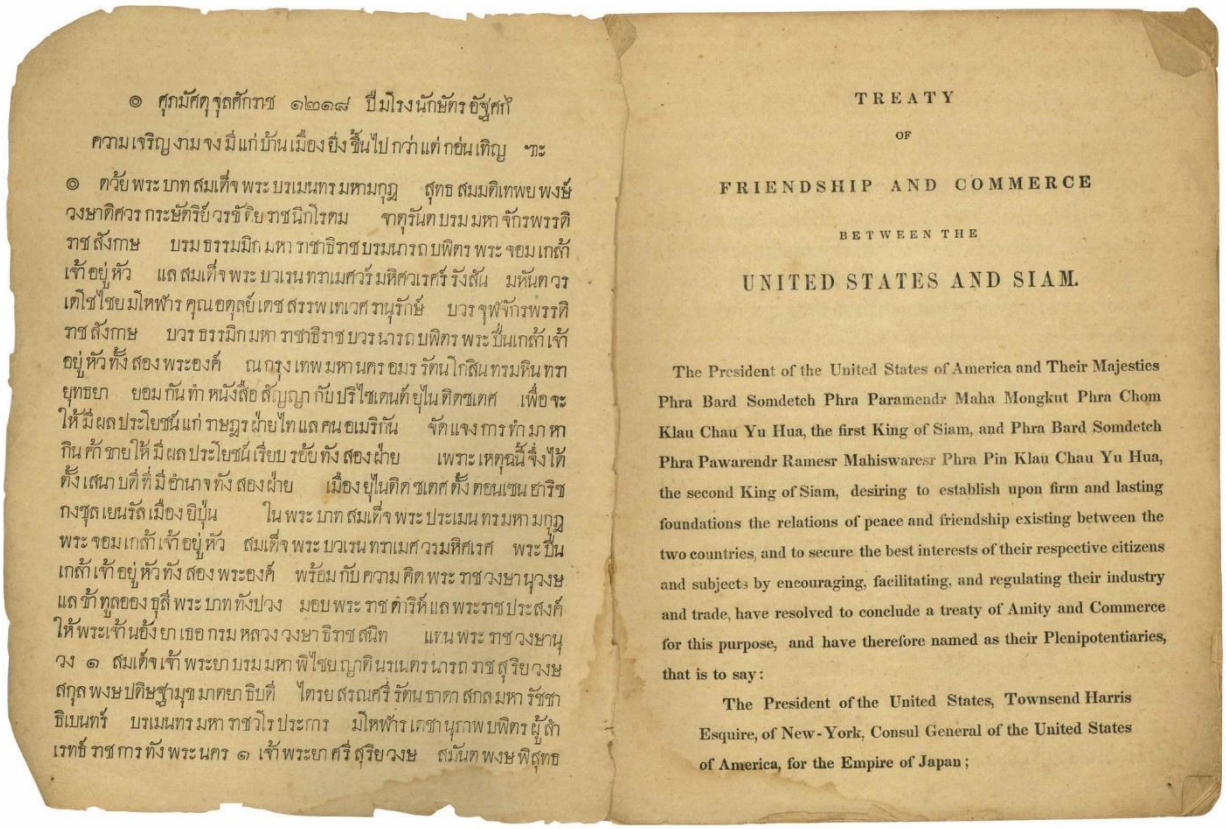
SIGNED AT BANGKOK, MAY 29, 1856.

Bangkok, Siam:

PRINTED AT THE WASHINGTON PRESS

BY J. H. CHANDLER.

1856.



TREATY

OF

FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE

BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND SIAM.

The President of the United States of America and Their Majesties Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Paramendr Maha Mongkut Phra Chom Klau Chau Yu Hua, the first King of Siam, and Phra Bard Somdetch Phra Pawarendr Ramesr Mahiswaresr Phra Pin Klau Chau Yu Hua, the second King of Siam, desiring to establish upon firm and lasting foundations the relations of peace and friendship existing between the two countries, and to secure the best interests of their respective citizens and subjects by encouraging, facilitating, and regulating their industry and trade, have resolved to conclude a treaty of Amity and Commerce for this purpose, and have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:

The President of the United States, Townsend Harris Esquire, of New-York, Consul General of the United States of America, for the Empire of Japan;

Two American missionaries played essential roles in the negotiation of Harris's Treaty and seeing it into print. Stephen Mattoon, born in 1816 on a farm in Champion, New York, graduated from Union College in Schenechtady in 1842 and from Princeton Theological Seminary four years later. In 1847 he and his new wife, Mary, traveled to Bangkok as part of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), which housed them in its compound for several years until the Presbyterian mission's compound was completed. Mattoon and several colleagues soon organized the first Presbyterian Church in Siam, then from 1851 to 1855 he completed new translations of the four Gospels and the Book of Acts into Thai, copies of which were printed on the press of the American Missionary Association (AMA) in Bangkok. When Townsend Harris and his diplomatic officials arrived in 1856, Mattoon served as Harris's translator, and afterward he was appointed the first U. S. consul to Siam. Shortly upon his final return to the United States in 1865, he became president of the Biddle Memorial Institute in Charlotte, North Carolina, where he remained until his death in 1889. This copy of the Harris Treaty descended through his family and is accompanied by an 1880 letter to his sister on Biddle Institute letterhead.

Both the American and British treaties with King Mongkut's government were printed by John Hassett Chandler. Born in 1813 at Pomfret, Connecticut, Chandler came to Bangkok with his wife, Helen, at the age of 30 in 1843. The Chandlers had resided in Burma for more than two years before moving to Siam, where he labored as a Baptist missionary and ran the first printing press in the kingdom to use Thai characters (it had originally been set up in Singapore, where the very first imprints in the Thai language were produced). Chandler would later assist Mongkut in setting up another press in the palace. In 1856, Harris chose Chandler and Mattoon to serve as his

advisors at the court, each of whom was already advising the king, as well. Chandler, indeed, had grown so close to the Mongkut and his family that he was one of two missionaries the king chose to join the procession at the ratification ceremony for Harris's Treaty (the other was not Mattoon but the Western physician to the court, Dr. Dan Beach Bradley). Harris appointed Chandler to the position of vice consul under Mattoon, and when Mattoon left Bangkok in 1859 for a furlough in the United States , Chandler was approved for the position of consul. And when Anna Leonowens left Bangkok for her trip to England, Mongkut turned to Chandler to tutor his son and heir, Prince Chulalongkorn. The Chandlers returned to the United States in 1880, and John Chandler died at Afton, Wisconsin, in 1891 at the age of 78. In his own autobiographical sketch written shortly after his return to the United States, Chandler described himself as: "Inventor, engineer, designer and engraver, punch-cutter and type-founder, printer and bookbinder....Amid all his varied duties and employments, he never gave up his missionary work" [Chandler 1883:942-943].

All early Thai imprints from western presses are extremely rare. Most of those that survive are religious in nature, particularly Bible translations, although there are also a handful of recorded almanacs, grammars, spellers, dictionaries, and newspapers for the period from 1830 to 1860. The Bowring and Harris treaties published by Chandler appear to be the only official documents issued by a pioneering Western press at Bangkok, nor do we trace any comparable imprints that are of a non-ephemeral (e.g., almanacks), non-religious, or non-educational nature. Chandler's edition of the Bowring Treaty is known in only two recorded copies, one at the British Museum and another at the State Library of South Australia. The Harris Treaty is equally rare: in addition to the example that we offer here, we trace three institutional copies at LOC, AAS, and Colgate. **This treaty is more than an early and important Thai imprint: it is also one of the earliest primary sources documenting American colonial interests in Asia**.

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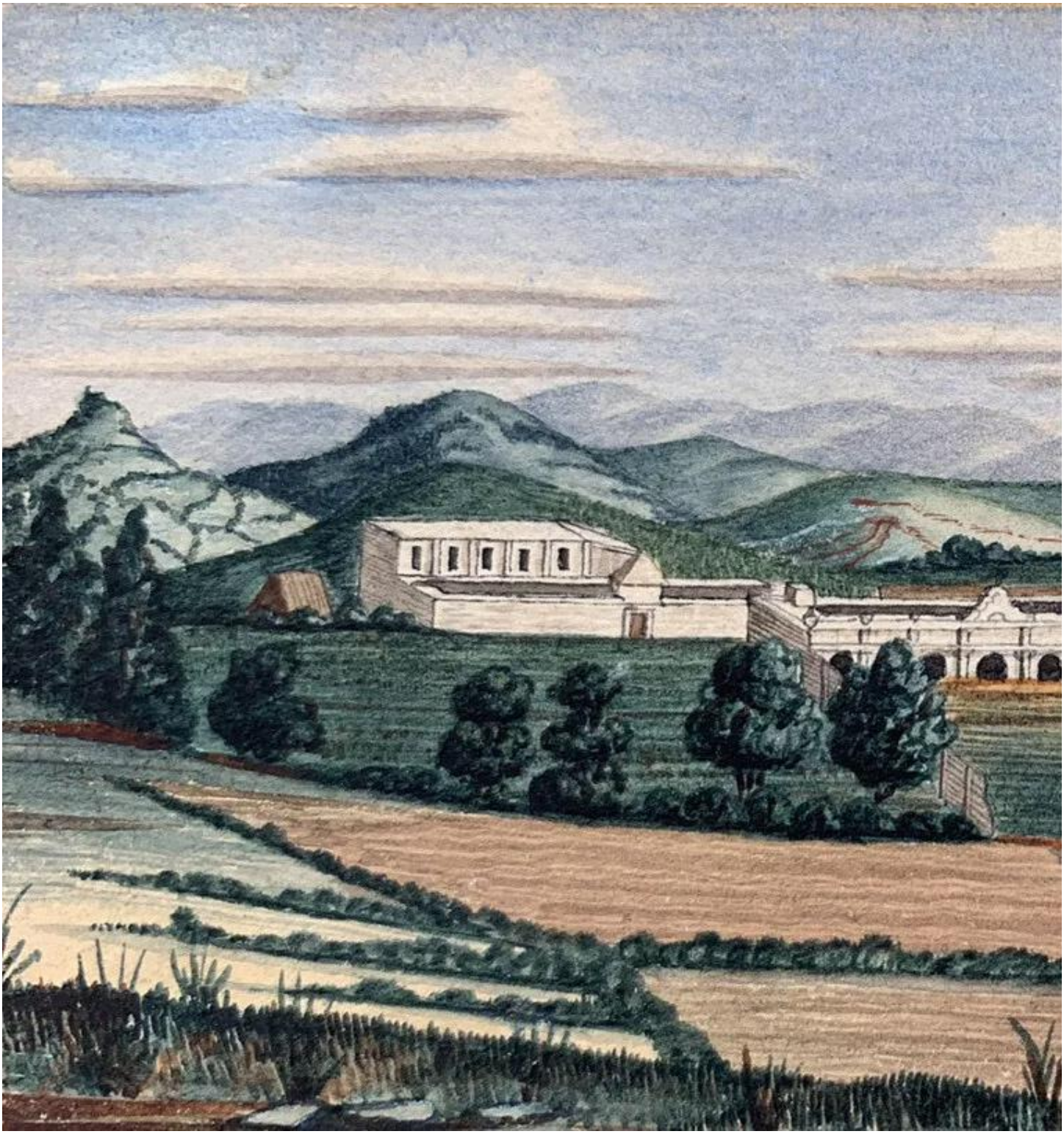
[American Treaties--Siam]. TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SIAM. SIGNED AT BANGKOK MAY 29, 1856. Printed at the Washington Press by J. H. Chandler, Bangkok, Siam, 1856. 25 pp. Squarish 8vo (22 cm). Stitched in self wraps as issued, title and text printed in English and Thai on facing pages. Edge wear and small chips to wraps, not affecting text, stitching a bit loose, old marginal dampstain along lower gutter; interior pages generally clean with edge wear. Good.

14. SOLD.

An Exiled Confederate: Artist-Surveyor James Dempsey Hutton in Oaxaca

In the months following Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865, as many as ten thousand former Confederates chose exile even farther south, opting to take their chances in Mexico rather than taste the fruits of defeat back home. Mexico itself was in a state of turmoil. The 31-year-old Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian, scion of the Hapsburg royal family, had claimed the Mexican throne in October 1863 and was desperately trying to hold onto it, faced with a determined opposition led by President Benito Juárez. Maximilian and his French benefactor, Emperor Napoleon III, had carefully supported the Confederacy in the American Civil War, and so the harried Archduke/Emperor of Mexico welcomed the exiles. Most chose to remain near the northern border, establishing enclaves in Coahuila, Tamaulipas, Chihuahua, and Nuevo Léon where they found familiar labor and class structures, despite slavery and caste having been abolished when Mexico gained independence in 1821. Other exiles struck out on their own, going deeper into Mexico's heartland. One of these was artist, surveyor, cartographer, and photographer James Dempsey Hutton, who had traveled across Southern California as a young man in the 1840s and later worked as a topographer on William Raynold's expedition to the Rocky Mountains. After serving throughout the Civil War as an engineer in the Confederate States Army, he migrated to Oaxaca in southern Mexico. **Near the town of San Mateo Etlatongo, he painted this charming miniature watercolor of the 17th-century Hacienda y Molenas de Rosario**.

Dempsey was born in Washington, D. C. about 1828. His mother, Salome Rich, was the sister of William Rich, botanist and explorer who joined the Scientific Corps of the United States Exploring Expedition of 1838 to 1842, notably as a member of the overland party that traveled the Siskiyou Trail from Oregon to upper California. When Rich was dispatched to California in 1846 as paymaster (with the rank of major) during the Mexican-American War, he took along both of nephews--James and older brother William, each of whom would become surveyors and artists themselves. Together they journeyed throughout California, and Hutton served as the county clerk for San Luis Obispo County from 1850 to 1852. He was hired as artist for an 1855 expedition to find a railroad route from San Francisco to the Columbia River, and then in 1859 he joined an expedition to the northern Rocky Mountains, commanded by Capt. William F. Raynolds of the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers. The Raynolds Expedition explored the region from Fort Pierre in modern-day South Dakota to the headwaters of the Yellowstone River in Wyoming, with Hutton as artist, photographer, and topographer. He and the expedition's Sioux interpreter would be the first recorded white men to see the Devil's Tower. Hutton was working as a cartographer in Washington, D. C., when the Civil War began in 1861, and he promptly joined the Confederate



Army, delivering war plans for the defense of Alexandria to Southern forces. As an engineer under CSA Generals Henry Wise and Sterling Price, Hutton saw action in Missouri. After the war, he moved to Oaxaca where he died of unknown causes just three years later in 1868.

Hutton's Civil War sketch of fortifications at Pilot Knob, Missouri, is held by the National Archives, and the Huntington Library holds 16 ink and pencil drawings that Hutton prepared in 1859 and 1860 while serving on the Raynolds Expedition. These works include landscape scenes throughout Idaho, Montana, the Dakotas, and Wyoming, including Bear Butte, the Bighorn River and Range, the Little Missouri River, the Powder River, the Wind River, the Tetons, and locations in the Yellowstone Valley. Hutton took a series of photographs of Native Americans during his time with the Raynolds Expedition, some of the earliest ever taken of Plains tribes; most are held at the National Anthropological Archives. Yale also holds a collection of Hutton materials: four salted paper prints and 17 drawings, most of western scenes and peoples. **This miniature is both his only recorded Oaxacan work and his only known watercolor**. It depicts the Hacienda y Molenas (i.e., mills) de Rosario near the town of San Mateo Etlatongo, located in the northern Cañada region of Oaxaca state. Established by the Dominican order in the 1700s, for two centuries it was the largest producer of wheat flour across the Mixteca region. Hutton's miniature is on thick cardstock and measures 5 1/4 by 3 inches; the colors remain sharp and vibrant. Hutton has signed it in the lower left corner, and a note in his hand in the verso's upper left corner reads: "Hacienda y Molinas del Rosario. Dept. Oajaca." Hutton addresses it to his mother: "Mrs. S. R. Hutton. 296 H. St. Washington, D. C., U. S." **A striking image by a talented artist, explorer, surveyor, and photographer who died in self-imposed exile**.

Relevant sources:

Merrill, Marlene Deahl and Daniel D. Merrill, editors
2012 *Up the Winds and Over the Tetons: Journal Entries and Images from the 1860 Raynolds Expedition*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

Wahlstrom, Todd W.
2015 *The Southern Exodus to Mexico: Migration across the Borderlands after the American Civil War*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

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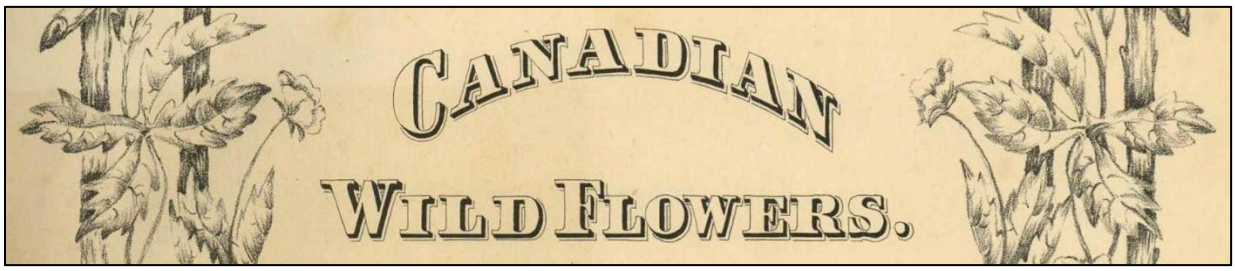
[Confederate Exile--Mexico]. James Dempsey Hutton. FINE WATERCOLOR MINIATURE OF HACIENDA Y MOLINAS DEL ROSARIO, OAXACA, MEXICO. Near San Mateo Etlatongo, northern Oaxaca, n.d., but 1865-1868. Watercolor miniature on card stock. 5 1/4 x 3 in. (13 x 7.5 cm). Fine. Matted and framed, mat with faint marginal stains not affecting watercolor, gilt frame with light edge wear, mat and frame very good.

15. **$2500**.

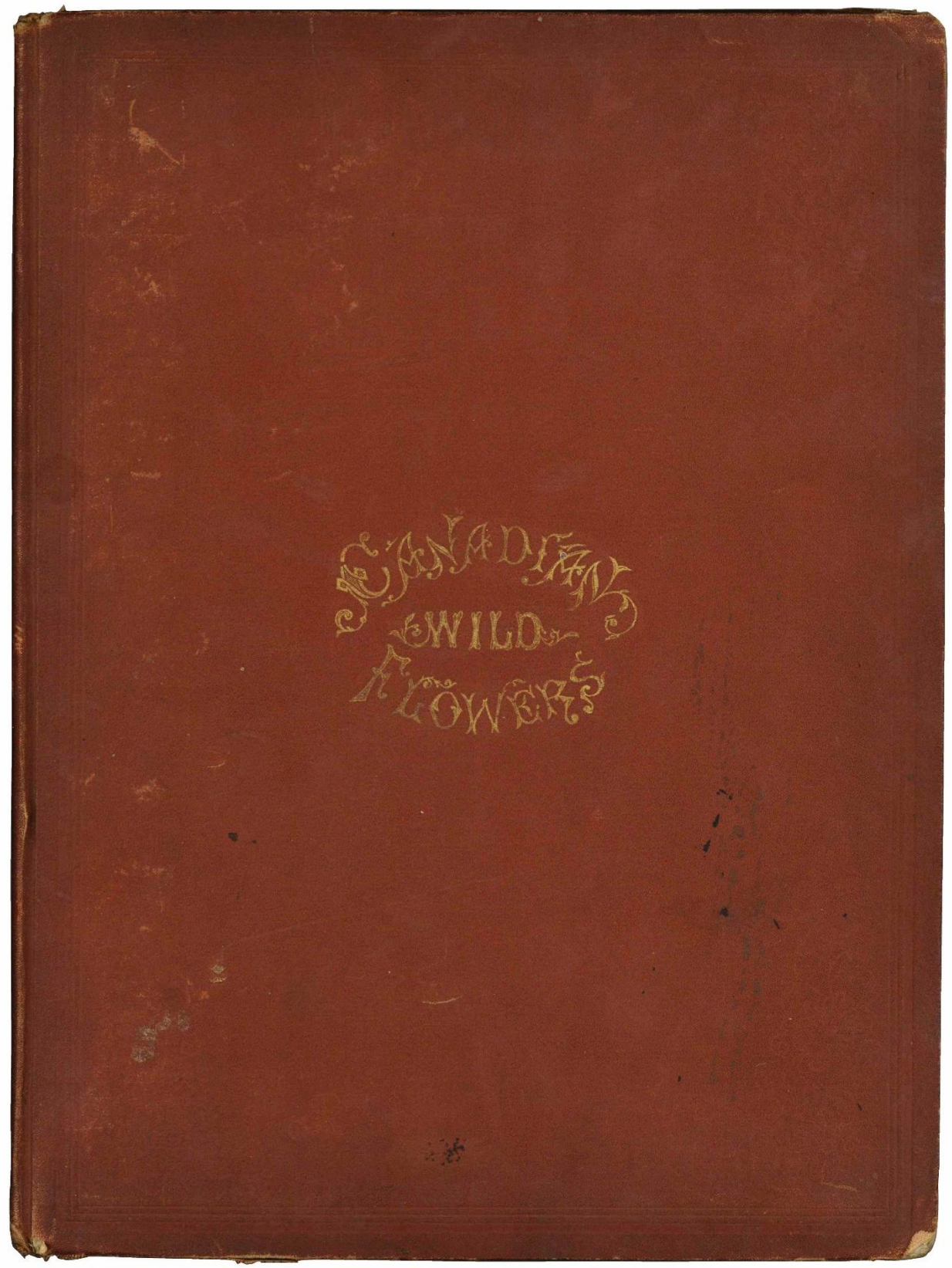
Traill and Fitzgibbon's *Wild Flowers*: Canada's First Botanical Plate Book

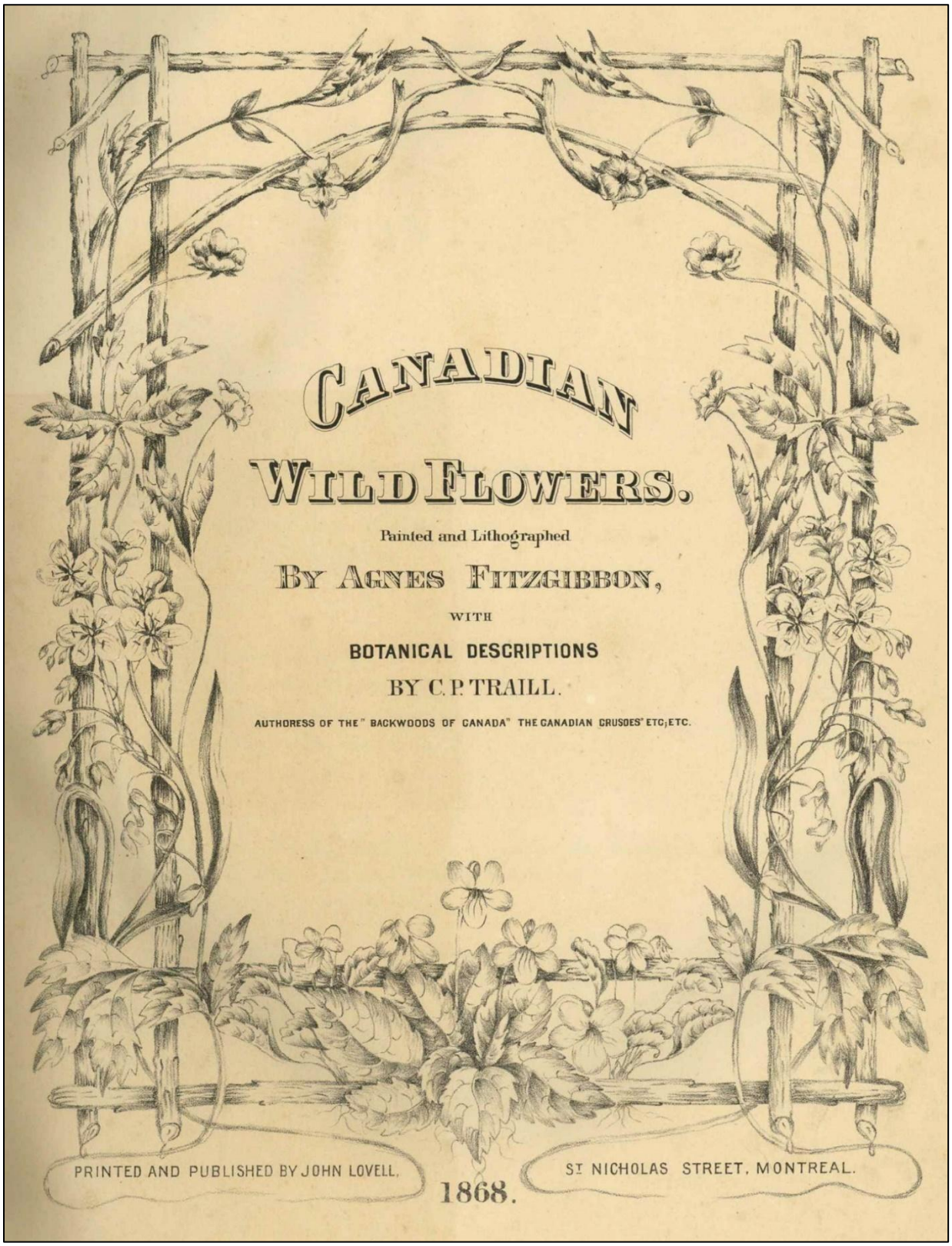
When Catherine Parr Traill sought assistance from her niece, Agnes Fitzgibbon, in creating illustrations for her long-planned work on Canadian botany, both were recently widowed women working to support themselves and their families in the region of Canada West. Traill had worked for decades writing the first substantial guide to Canada's flora, weaving indigenous knowledge and settler colonial folklore together with systematic botanical nomenclature. Her manuscript had grown too large, however, and no publisher was willing to assume such a risky undertaking. After several years with little success, she found an interested publisher in Montreal, but not without a catch--she would need to produce the artwork to accompany her text. Traill was not an artist, but Fitzgibbon was, and after the younger woman joined her aunt's project, the two together would accomplish a remarkable feat. ***Canadian Wild Flowers*** **was both the country's first botanical and the first large-format color plate book published entirely in Canada**. It was also a literary success, the first edition of 500 copies selling out completely in just three months.



Catherine Parr Strickland was born in Surrey, England, in 1802 and by the age of sixteen had begun writing children's books as a source of income. She averaged a book a year until her marriage to Thomas Traill in 1832. Soon after, Catherine and Thomas migrated to Upper Canada and settled near Peterborough, about 125 km northeast of Toronto. Catherine quickly established herself in Canadian literary circles, writing *The Backwoods of Canada* in 1836, a series of letters to family in England describing the harsh realities of domestic life on what was then the western frontier. *Backwoods* included detailed descriptions of flora, and Traill developed a reputation as an expert in local botany through a series of contributions to Montreal's *Literary Garland*, titled "Floral Sketches." Yet as she thrived as a writer in the rural environment, Thomas did not, and he died in 1859 after a long period of decline. By 1861, Catherine had finished a pathbreaking work on local plants, but could find no Toronto publisher willing to take the project. Finally, five years later, John Lovell of Montreal--publisher of the *Garland*--agreed to bring out a portion of Traill's manuscript if she produced illustrations and pre-sold 500 copies. Traill turned to Fitzgibbon, who had learned to paint floral watercolors by watching her mother, Susannah Moodie, Traill's sister and an established author in her own right. Fitzgibbon agreed to produce the illustrations, and in a matter of months the two women had collected more than 400 subscriptions.

Agnes Fitzgibbon was born in 1833 on a farm near Cobourg in Upper Canada, her parents John and Susannah Moodie having followed the Traills the previous year. In 1850 she married a Belleville barrister, Charles Thomas Fitzgibbon, who died in 1865, leaving Agnes with six children at home. Just one year later, aunt Catherine sought her assistance in the botanical project. Agnes soon took over seeing the book to publication, paying Traill $50 for the text. She attended classes


CANADIAN
WILD
FLOWERS


CANADIAN
WILD FLOWERS.
Painted and Lithographed
BY AGNES FITZGIBBON,
WITH
BOTANICAL DESCRIPTIONS
BY C. P. TRAILL.
AUTHORESS OF THE "BACKWOODS OF CANADA" THE CANADIAN CRUSOES" ETC; ETC.
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN LOVELL.
1868.
St NICHOLAS STREET, MONTREAL.


1. LILIUM PHILADELPHICUM.
(Wild orange Red lily)
2. CAMPANULA ROTUNDIFOLIA.
(Harebell)
3. CYPRIPEDIUM SPECTABILE.
(Showy Ladys Slipper)


1
2
3
4
1. DICENTRA CANADENSIS.
(Squirrel Corn)
2. TRILLIUM ERÉCTUM.
(Purple trillium)
3 GERÀNIUM MACULÀTUM.
(Wild Cranes bill)
4. TRIENTALIS AMERICANA.
(Star flower Chickweed)

on lithography and painting, then drew the title page and ten floral designs, each containing several flowers, on a borrowed stone. A Toronto firm, William Chewett, printed the lithographs, and for most of 1867 and 1868 Fitzgibbon labored with her three daughters and two young training school women to paint 5000 sheets in 16 colors. Traill completed her Preface to the text in December 1868, and the first edition appeared the following January. It was bound in green or reddish-brown cloth with an uncolored title dated 1868, 86 pages of text, and 10 hand-colored plates. It sold out by March. Second and third editions would appear in 1869 and 1870, respectively, and a numbered final fourth edition was printed at Toronto in 1895. Catherine Traill died just four years later, at the age of 97, in 1899; Agnes had ensured the publication of her aunt's full botanical manuscript at Ottawa in 1885 as *Studies of Plant Life in Canada*. Agnes herself died at Toronto in 1913. As Cynthia Sugars observes, *Canadian Wild Flowers*:

> [s]erved a variety of purposes—it was at once an illustrated compendium of Canadian botanical specimens intended for both scientifically literate readers and popular audiences...yet it also performed an act of national self assertion, archiving Canada's naturalist legacy through its merging of scientific and poetic traditions [2023:149].

This first edition copy of *Canadian Wild Flowers* is entirely unrestored in its original cloth binding, gilt titles on the front board, uncolored lithographed title page, and an 1868 publication date. Per RBH, we trace four copies of the first edition at auction in the past half century; the most recent example, in 2011, brought $780 at PBA despite significant loss and damage to the boards and end papers. And while it is well-represented in Canadian institutions, it is scarce in the United States, with 15 recorded holdings. **A lovely copy of a trailblazing work**.

Relevant sources:

Peterman, Michael
1889 Catherine Parr Traill: A Natural Historian in Changing Times. In *Flora's Fieldworkers: Women and Botany in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, edited by Ann Shteir, pp. 217-246. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal.

Sugars, Cynthia
2023 Settler Botanists, Nature's Gentlemen, and the Canadian Book of Nature: Catherine Parr Traill's *Canadian Wild Flowers*. In *Women, Collecting, and Cultures Beyond Europe*, edited by Arlene Leis, pp. 149-169. Routledge, New York.

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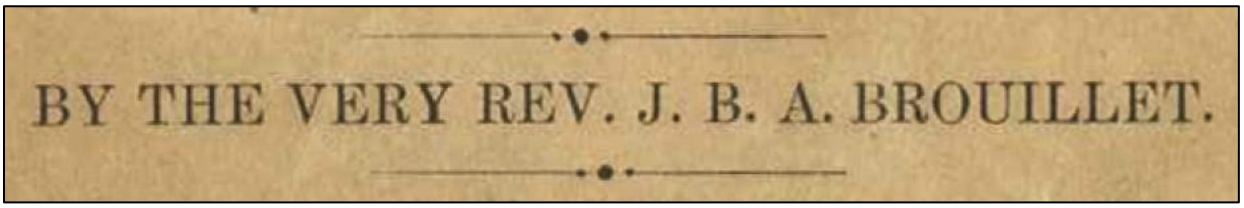
[Canada--Color Plate Books]. Catherine Parr Traill and Agnes Fitzgibbon. CANADIAN WILD FLOWERS. Painted and lithographed by Agnes Fitzgibbon, with botanical descriptions by C. P. Traill. Printed and published by John Lovell, Montreal, 1868. First Edition. 86 pp. with 10 color plates and tissue guards (one lacking). Folio (30 cm). Original cloth, title in gilt and blind on front board, in blind on back board, spine and boards with minor edgewear and spotting, text pages lightly toned with scattered foxing, plates fine. Very good. [Lande 1660]

16. **$2250**.

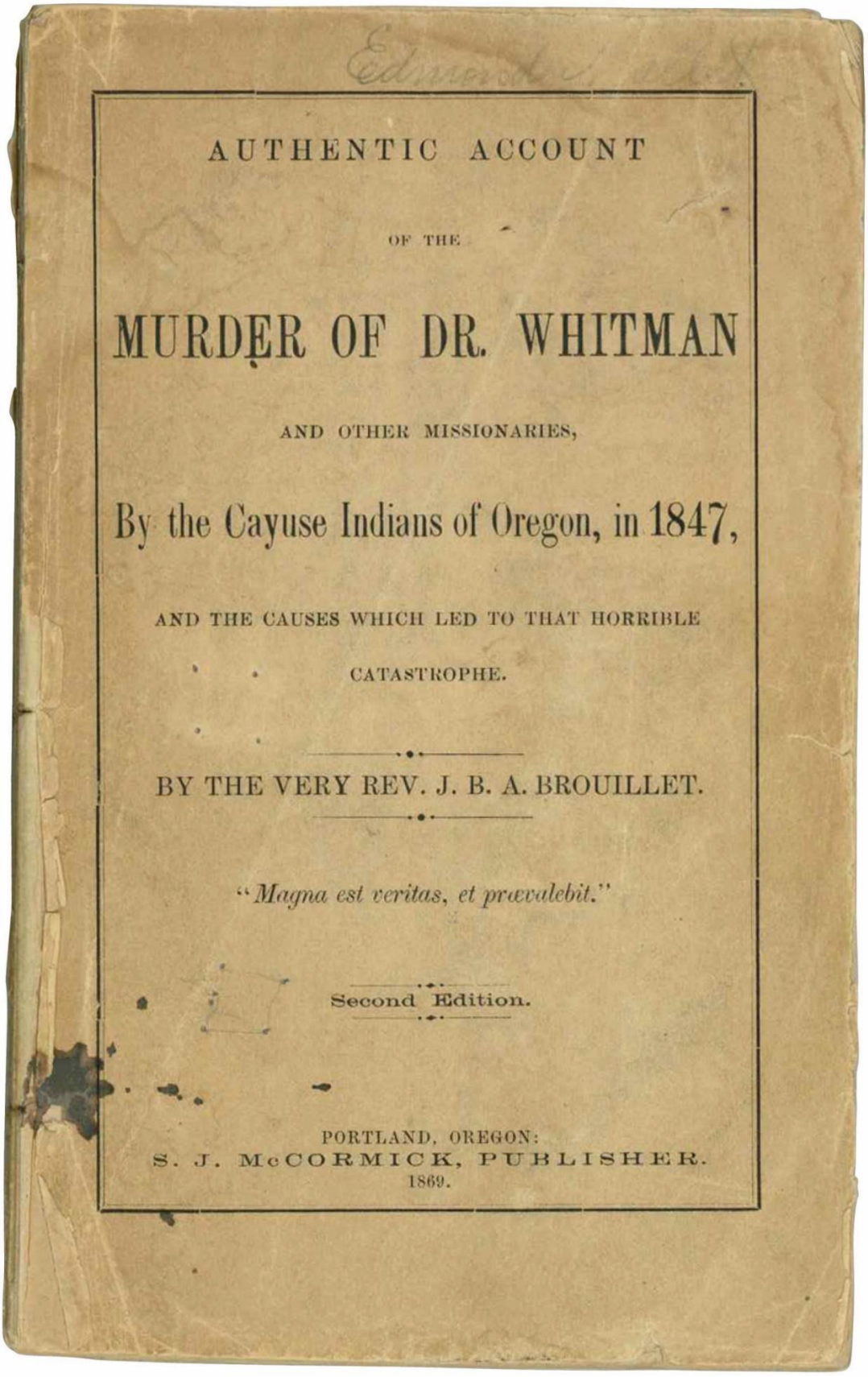
Brouillet's Account of the Whitman Tragedy: The Author's Signed Copy

On November 30, 1847, Father Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet arrived at the scene of a tragedy, among the most consequential in the history of the Oregon Country. The day before, a party of Cayuse Indians had struck the Protestant mission at Waiilatpu without warning, killing missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and twelve other white setters, while taking 54 more as captives. Brouillet helped to bury the dead, then at great risk to himself hurried back the way he had come to warn a Protestant colleague of the Whitmans, the Rev. Henry Spaulding, then on his way to Waiilatpu. The two men met just three miles from the site of the massacre, and with provisions supplied by Brouillet, who was vicar-general of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Walla Walla, Spaulding was able to safely cross the hundred miles to his own mission among the Nez Perce in present-day Idaho. Soon Spaulding turned from pleading for peace to calling for war on the Cayuse. He also came to publicly blame the Catholic Church--and Brouillet, in particular--for inciting the Cayuse to violence. Brouillet published a defense of himself and his church, titled *Protestantism in Oregon*, at New York in 1853. But when Spaulding began relitigating his claims in the Oregon press during the late 1860s, Brouillet had little choice but to respond. With the New York edition out of print, he issued a revised and expanded second edition in 1869, published in Portland by S. J. McCormick. **Long regarded as an essential Oregon imprint, this is perhaps the best possible example, Brouillet's signed personal copy in original wraps**.


BY THE VERY REV. J. B. A. BROUILLET.

The event that is still colloquially known as the Whitman Massacre shocked the nation, its consequences reaching far beyond the dead and captured. For the Cayuse, it launched them into a difficult war against a well-armed foe whose numbers kept growing. Of far more significance for the Pacific Northwest, it was the catalyst that prompted Congress to assert control over the Oregon Country, formally creating Oregon Territory just nine months later. Marcus Whitman, trained as a physician, had first traveled west in 1835 as a missionary with Samuel Parker, ministering among the Flathead and Nez Perce in Montana and Idaho. Returning east, he married a teacher, Narcissa Prentiss, in 1836, and united in a shared Calvinistic fervor, they soon after joined a party of Oregon settlers that included fellow missionary Henry Spaulding and his wife, Eliza. Narcissa and Eliza would become the first Euro-American women to make the overland journey. Ultimately, the Spauldings established their Nez Perce mission at Lapwai, near present-day Lewiston, Idaho, while the Whitmans continued west to Waiilatpu, near modern Walla Walla.

The Whitmans' mission did not go smoothly. The Cayuse were seasonally mobile, relying on a mix of hunting, fishing, gathering, and household-level horticulture to provide most of their food needs. They had developed their way of life over millennia, and they resisted the insistence of the Whitmans and other missionaries that they pick up the plow and become farmers. They were also deeply worried about the steady stream of Euro-American settlers onto their land, rightly



AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT

OF THE

MURDER OF DR. WHITMAN

AND OTHER MISSIONARIES,

By the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847,

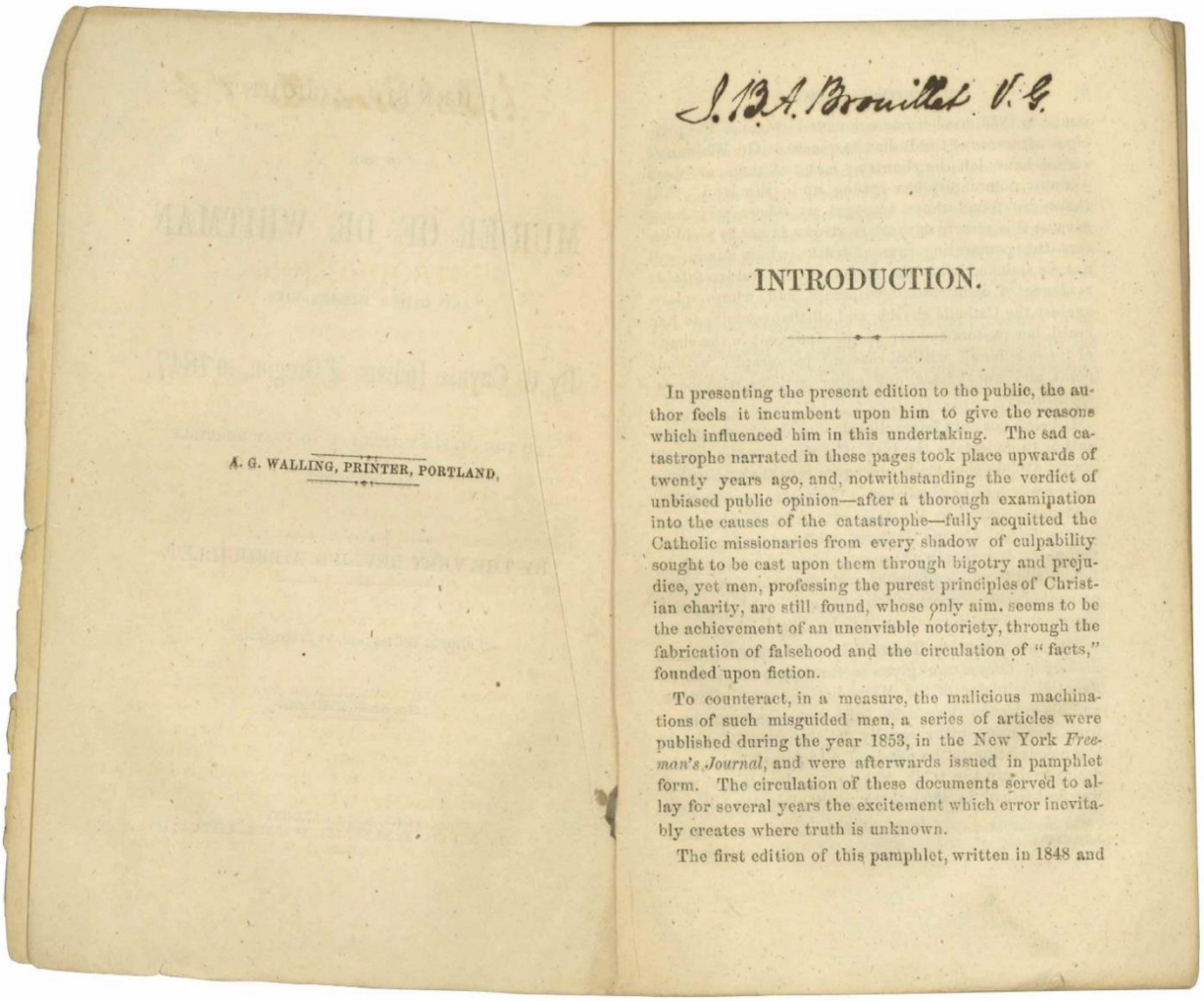
AND THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THAT HORRIBLE CATASTROPHE.

BY THE VERY REV. J. B. A. BROUILLET.

"Magna est veritas, et prævalebit."

Second Edition.

PORTLAND, OREGON:
S. J. McCORMICK, PUBLISHER.
1869.



A. G. WALLING, PRINTER, PORTLAND.

S. J. A. Brouillet V. G.

INTRODUCTION.

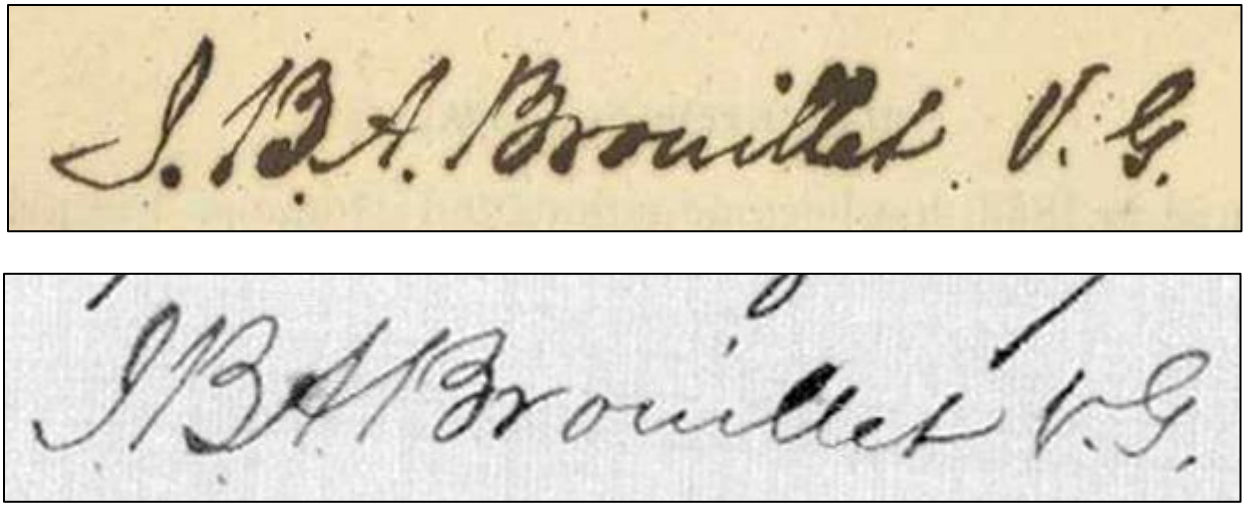
In presenting the present edition to the public, the author feels it incumbent upon him to give the reasons which influenced him in this undertaking. The sad catastrophe narrated in these pages took place upwards of twenty years ago, and, notwithstanding the verdict of unbiased public opinion—after a thorough examination into the causes of the catastrophe—fully acquitted the Catholic missionaries from every shadow of culpability sought to be cast upon them through bigotry and prejudice, yet men, professing the purest principles of Christian charity, are still found, whose only aim, seems to be the achievement of an unenviable notoriety, through the fabrication of falsehood and the circulation of "facts," founded upon fiction.

To counteract, in a measure, the malicious machinations of such misguided men, a series of articles were published during the year 1853, in the New York *Freeman's Journal*, and were afterwards issued in pamphlet form. The circulation of these documents served to allay for several years the excitement which error inevitably creates where truth is unknown.

The first edition of this pamphlet, written in 1848 and

viewing it as an existential threat to their way of life. Finally, most of the Cayuse appear to have been repulsed by the Whitman's severe and demanding brand of Calvinism. Indeed, after a decade of labor the missionaries had converted only two members of the tribe. As for the Whitmans, they were unprepared for the lack of privacy; located as it was on tribal lands, most Cayuse viewed the mission--including the Whitmans' home--as an extension of their own tribal spaces. Narcissa was especially unhappy with what she considered intrusions by Cayuse men, which contributed to her reputation among many of the tribe as haughty and aloof. By the mid-1840's, Marcus had even begun to suggest that they should shift their mission from the Cayuse to the conversion of white settlers and to the organization of churches among white settlements.

At every turn, the Whitmans' inability or unwillingness to view the Cayuse as equals ruined any hope of establishing trust with the people whose souls they would save. The resulting strains made the mission itself an unsustainable labor, and when crisis came, misunderstanding was likely to follow. That crisis arrived a decade into the Whitmans' mission, after a party of Walla Walla Indians returned to Waiilatpu in July 1847 from a trip to Sutter's Fort in California, bringing with them two thousand head of cattle and the region's first known case of measles. The disease spread quickly through Native communities and white settlers at the mission, both of which groups were



Brouillet's signature in this copy of *Account* (top), and from an 1878 letter to Bishop Salpointe (bottom)

treated by Dr. Whitman. The Cayuse could hardly help but observe that white settlers receiving care fared much better than their own people, many of whom died. Today we understand that the Euro-Americans at Waiilatpu had degrees of inherited immunity and thus were far more likely to recover than the Cayuse and neighboring tribes exposed for the first time. Some Cayuse believed that the Whitmans were administering poison rather than medicine, and among their people it was accepted practice to kill a doctor or shaman in retribution if patients died or were poisoned with bad medicine. A party of Cayuse warriors decided to act, and on November 29 they entered the mission grounds and killed 13, taking 54 women and children captive. Of those who died, only Marcus Whitman was killed with a traditional weapon, the tomahawk; all of the others, including Narcissa, were shot, and she was the only woman killed in the attack.

Among the first at the scene was Father Brouillet, who was on his way to Waiilatpu to visit Dr. Whitman. The two missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, had met just three days earlier when Whitman paid a visit to Brouillet and his superior, Bishop Blanchet, at St. Anne's, the new Catholic mission they were establishing on the Umatilla River 25 miles from Waiilatpu. Spaulding was at St. Anne's, too, and his decision to remain there for another day likely spared him from meeting Whitman's fate. After he and Brouillet separated on the trail to Waiilatpu, only a few miles from the site of the massacre, their careers likewise took quite different routes. Shortly after returning to Lapwai, Spaulding wrote to Blanchet asking that he use his influence to prevent miliary reprisals against the Cayuse. Even so, he pledged $500 of ABCFM funds to support a punitive expedition in which his brother-in-law participated. After the Hudson Bay Company negotiated the release of the 54 hostages, the ABCFM--against Spaulding's recommendation--chose to permanently end his Lapwai mission. He was embarrassed when his letter to Blanchet was published and came to believe that the Catholic Church was seeking to damage his reputation. In 1848 he began placing stories in the Oregon press that accused Brouillet and his fellow Catholics with complicity in the Waiilatpu killings. He continued to press his claims for the rest of his life, but never offered any supporting evidence. After many years of teaching and proselytizing in the Northwest, including a return to the Nez Perce in 1859, Spaulding died at Lapwai in 1874.

As for Brouillet, he would become perhaps the most vocal advocate for Catholic missions in the United States. Born in 1813 in the village of St. Jean-Baptiste de Rouville, Quebec, he had

entered the seminary at the age of 13. By the time he was 20, he was serving as professor of both grammar and literature while training for the priesthood. After his ordination at the Cathedral of Montreal in 1837, he taught school and pastored in Quebec until coming to the attention of Bishop François Norbert Blanchet in 1846. Blanchet recruited the younger priest to accompany him in establishing a mission at Walla Walla. Brouillet enthusiastically agreed, and the two men set off from Montreal with two volunteers on March 23, 1847. Arriving at Fort Walla Walla more than six months later, they were met by the Cayuse chief, Tauitau, who explained that his people were dissatisfied with the Whitmans and desired the Catholics to start a mission among them. Blanchet complied, assigning Brouillet to establish St. Anne's at Tauitau's village. In the aftermath of the Waiilatpu tragedy, Blanchet sent Brouillet to California to raise funds for the mission effort, and there in 1849 he built the first Catholic place of worship in San Francisco. In 1850 he followed Blanchet to Vancouver as vicar-general of the newly created Diocese of Nesqually. In 1862 he traveled to Washington, D. C., to advocate for the western missions, then returned ten years later to establish the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, for which he obtained Papal blessing in Rome in 1879. He would continue to lead BCIM activities, as well as minister to his diocese, until his death in 1884, due to the effects of having been caught in a blizzard two years earlier.

Brouillet wrote a response to Spaulding's accusations in 1848, but did not see it published until 1853. OCLC records nine copies of that New York edition and about two dozen copies of the 1869 Portland issue. Per RBH, only three copies of the latter--and none of the former--have appeared at auction in the past 50 years. This is Brouillet's own copy of the 1869 edition, signed at the top of the Introduction. **It is the only known signed example of this essential work**. It is also signed on the front cover by French-Canadian historian Edmund Mallet and contains several of Mallet's marginal notes within. A distinguished copy of a key Oregon imprint.

Relevant sources:

Belknap, George
1961 Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman: The History of a Pamphlet. *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 55(4):319-346.

Harden, Blaine
2021 *Murder at the Mission: A Frontier Killing, Its Legacy of Lies, and the Taking of the American West*. Penguin Books, New York.

Tate, Cassandra
2020 *Unsettled Ground: The Whitman Massacre and Its Shifting Legacy in the American West*. Sasquatch Books, Seattle, WA.

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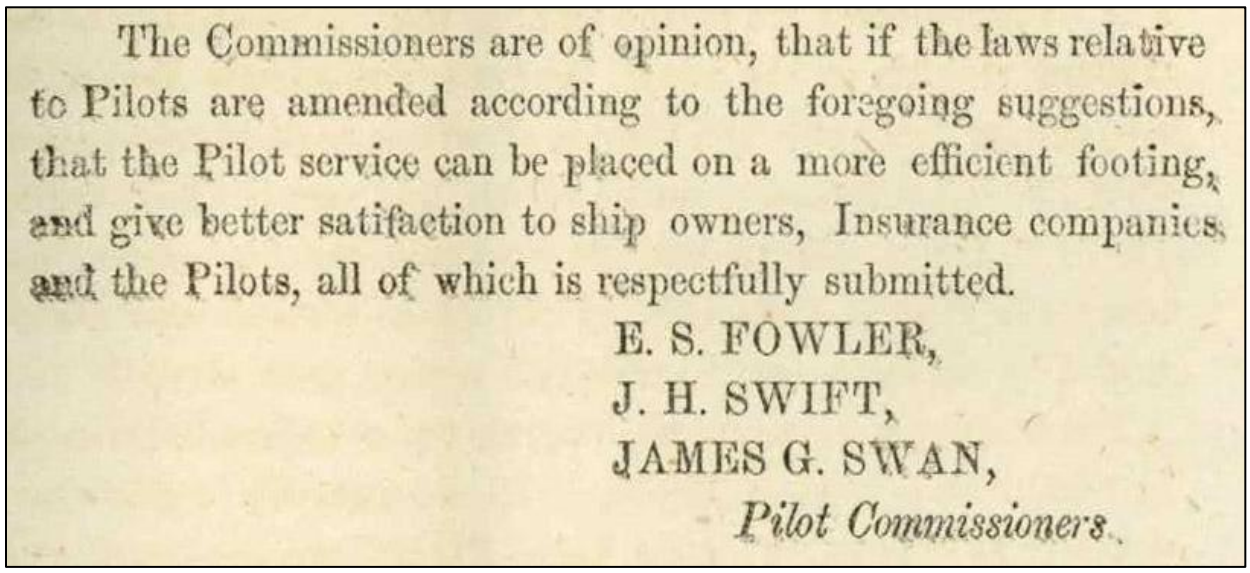
[Oregon Country--Whitman Murders]. Jean-Baptiste A. Brouillet. AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF DR. WHITMAN AND OTHER MISSIONARIES, BY THE CAYUSE INDIANS OF OREGON, IN 1847, AND THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE HORRIBLE CATASTROPHE. S. J. McCormick, Portland, Oregon 1869. 108 pp. Small 8vo (19 cm). Printed wraps, edges wear, old ink spot, front wrap separating, back wrap chipped. Very good.

17. SOLD.

A Unique Survival: The Puget Sound Pilot Commissioners' First Report

For American states and territories economically dependent on maritime commerce, few areas of the law are more important than those regulating the movement of ships and goods through ports. From the time of the nation's founding, laws for pilotage--the steering of ships into and out of harbors--have been left to the individual states and territories. Although Washington Territory was carved from Oregon in 1853, it was not until fifteen years later, in January 1868, that it passed the Puget Sound Pilotage Act, establishing maritime regulations for the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Puget Sound. Its very first provision was for a Board of Commissioners to license pilots, and four months later Governor Marshall Moore appointed three Puget Sound Pilot Commissioners: Enoch S. Fower, James H. Swift, and Indian agent James G. Swan. **This was Swan's personal copy of the commission's first report to the legislature; no other copy is known**.



The Commissioners are of opinion, that if the laws relative to Pilots are amended according to the foregoing suggestions, that the Pilot service can be placed on a more efficient footing, and give better satifaction to ship owners, Insurance companies and the Pilots, all of which is respectfully submitted.

E. S. FOWLER,
J. H. SWIFT,
JAMES G. SWAN,
Pilot Commissioners.

That American pilotage laws were never federalized is a product of the Lighthouse Act of 1789, one of the earliest pieces of legislation passed by the first United States Congress. Through the Lighthouse Act, Congress assumed federal control over all lighthouses under the terms of the Constitution's Commerce Clause. An earlier draft of the legislation had also declared that pilotage laws enacted by the states were subject to Congressional oversight, but South Carolina opposed this language. The final Senate version simply left control with the states "until further legislative provision shall be made by Congress" (in Kirchner and Diamond 2010:173). Local laws already enforced by states such as Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and South Carolina thus stood, and each new state or territory would be tasked with passing its own legislation.

The central tenet of most pilotage regulations, including those for Puget Sound, was the requirement that any ship entering or departing the body of water in question hire an experienced local pilot to guide the vessel along the safest available route. This created an additional expense for maritime commerce but ensured safe navigation. Although Puget Sound was not known as an especially dangerous waterway, it did pose challenges, including several narrow passages, strong currents, and a potential for rough seas. As the pilot commissioners note in this report:

James G Swan.
1869 from Puget

REPORT

OF THE

PUGET SOUND PILOT COMMISSIONERS,

TO THE

Governor of Washington Territory.

OCT. 13—250 COPIES ORDERED PRINTED BY THE HOUSE.

OLYMPIA:
JAMES RODGERS, PRINTER.
1869.

REPORT.

TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON,
EXECUTIVE OFFICE,
OLYMPIA, Oct. 11th, 1869.

SIR :—I have the honor to present to you herewith, the first annual report of the Board of Pilot Commissioners for Puget Sound.

Very Respectfully Your Obedient Servant,

ALVAN FLANDERS,

Governor W. T.

OFFICE OF PILOT COMMISSIONERS,
PORT TOWNSEND, W. T., May 3, 1869.

To HIS EXCELLENCY, MARSHALL F. MOORE,

Governor of Washington Territory :

The Commissioners appointed under an act of the Legislative Assembly of Washington Territory, passed June 29th, 1868, entitled an act to establish Pilots and pilot regulations for Juan de Fuca Strait, Puget Sound, and all American waters pertaining thereto, beg leave to present to your Excellency, this their first annual report of the proceedings under the law during the past fiscal year.

The first meeting of the Board of Pilot Commissioners was

> It is commonly believed, and asserted, that there is no need of Pilots on Puget Sound; that the waters of Fuca Strait are as easily navigated as the Pacific Ocean; that there are no hidden dangers, that a stranger can proceed to any port on the Sound by aid of his chart alone. But a knowledge of the tides and currents and proper places for anchorage is quite as essential as a knowledge of the course to be steered [pp. 3-4].

The commissioners then offer a summary of wrecks and other disasters that had already occurred within Puget Sound and the Strait of Juan de Fuca, as well as noting the locations where most of these had taken place. From 1852 to 1859, a period of relatively low commerce, there were a total of 12 disasters; from 1860 to 1869, with increased population and commerce, that number grew to 37, of which 14 were in 1867 alone. Most of these occurred near the entrance to the Strait between Dungeness Lighthouse and Cape Flattery, and along the coast from Barclay Sound and Clyoquot on the north to Quillehuyet on the south. The *Report* notes that pilot guides in these areas needed access to particularly sound boats, and it concludes with recommendations for amending some of the provisions in the Pilotage Act of the previous year.

This appears to be the only surviving example of the first *Report of the Puget Sound Pilot Commissioners*. OCLC lists no copies, nor do we locate any in the catalogue of the State Library of Washington. It is signed by James G. Swan of Port Townsend, the sole non-pilot among the first three commissioners and one of the most fascinating men in early Washington history. Swan was at various times an oysterman, a customs inspector, secretary to congressional delegate Isaac Stevens, a journalist, a reservation schoolteacher, lawyer, judge, school superintendent, railroad promoter, natural historian, and Smithsonian ethnographer. In 2018, the Washington State Senate honored the 150th anniversary of the Pilotage Act due to its many years of "successfully mitigating the risk of ships operating in Puget Sound waters while preserving Washington's position as an able competitor for waterborne commerce from other ports and nations of the world." **A splendid association and the only known copy of an important Washington Territory imprint**.

Relevant sources:

Kirchner, Pauk G. and Clayton L. Diamond
2010 Unique Institutions, Indispensable Cogs, and Hoary Figures: Understanding Pilotage Regulation in the United States. *University of San Francisco Maritime Law Journal* 23(1):168-205.

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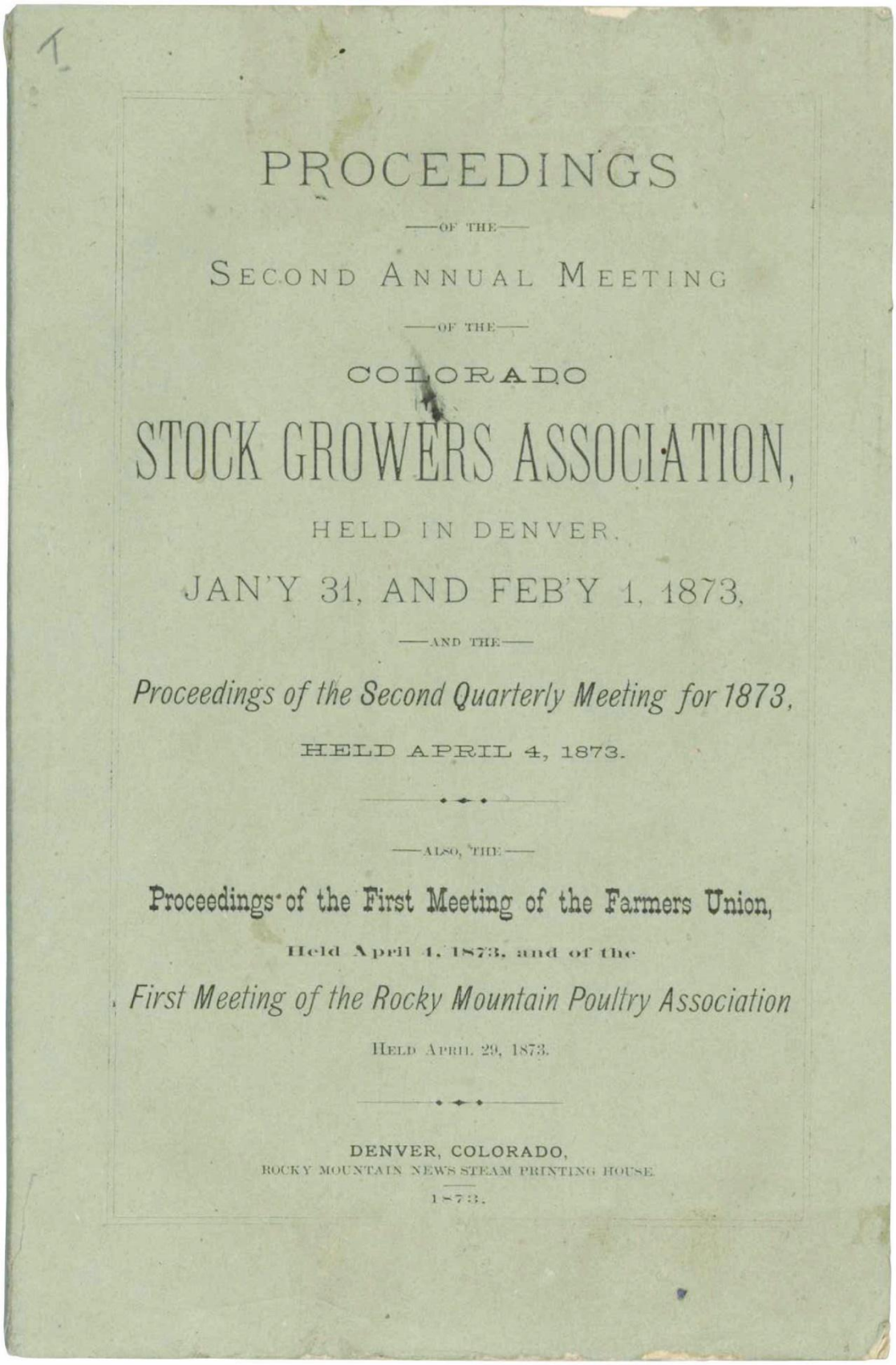
[Washington Territory--Pilotage]. E. H. Fowler, J. H. Swift, and James G. Swann. REPORT OF THE PUGET SOUND PILOT COMMISSIONERS TO THE GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON TERRITORY. Oct. 13--250 copies ordered printed by the House. James Rodgers, Printers, Olympia, 1869. 7 pp. 8vo (22 cm). Stitched in self wraps, old vertical fold, light edge wear, very light scattered foxing and spotting. Very good.

18. SOLD.

The First Colorado Imprint Devoted to the Range Cattle Industry

Tradition dates the origins of the American range cattle industry to about 1859, as hordes of prospectors strode their way across the High Plains toward the gold fields of Pike's Peak. On reaching eastern Colorado, some parties released their oxen with the expectation that the animals would struggle to survive in what had long been regarded as unbroken desert. Instead, these oxen thrived on the region's wild grasses. Yet it was not until after the Civil War that the potential of this vast grassland--unclaimed since the forced removal of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe during the mid-1860s--became apparent to would-be barons. The first significant cattle drive went north from Texas to Colorado in June 1866. Just one year later, on November 30, 1867, cattlemen from across the territory gathered in Denver to form the Colorado Stock Growers Association, the very first such organization in the United States. Formed in large part to counter widespread rustling on the open range, one of its first acts was to hire an investigator to name rustlers. When the worst of the culprits proved to be some of the principal officers and members, the organization was temporarily disbanded. In 1872, the passage of Colorado's first law requiring cattle brand registration spurred ranchers to reform the association, which met again in Denver on January 19, 1872. There seems to have been no published record of the 1867 or 1872 meetings, making this 1873 *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Colorado Stock Growers Association* the first Colorado imprint pertaining specifically to the booming cattle industry. **We locate one other copy**.

There were too many cattle in Texas at the end of the Civil War. After Federal forces had taken control of the Mississippi River in 1863, Texas ranchers were all but cut off from southern markets. In Texas, as the number of heads increased through the rest of the war years, the price of beef cattle plummeted. Meanwhile, beef prices were rising steadily in northern markets that were also cut off from Texas suppliers. The end of the war thus presented an opportunity: driving Texas cattle north along trails that intersected new train routes crossing the prairie would allow ranchers to reach eastern and northern markets via rail. Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving established the main trail from Texas to Colorado via New Mexico in 1866--a route known thereafter as the Goodnight-Loving Trail--and at Denver sold their first herd to retailer John Wesley Illif. Illif had come to Denver in 1859 from Ohio City, Kansas, and opened a dry goods store in Denver grandly called the Commercial Emporium of the Pike's Peak Gold Regions. With profits from his retail business, he had already begun buying cattle from new immigrants, letting them graze for free and fatten on prairie grass over the winter, then selling them for high profits in the spring. With this first of what would be several major herds purchased from Goodnight, Iliff put all of his energies into cattle, buying 15,500 acres (and water rights) for just $10,000. And when the railroad reached Denver in 1870, he was set, raising as many as 35,000 cattle each year to sell to the Union Pacific Railroad and earning the sobriquet "Cattle King of the Plains." But if Illif was the most successful of Colorado's early stock growers, he was hardly alone; many of those who entered the business in these early post-war years would make their fortunes on the open range.



PROCEEDINGS

—OF THE—

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

—OF THE—

COLORADO

STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION,

HELD IN DENVER,

JAN'Y 31, AND FEB'Y 1, 1873,

—AND THE—

Proceedings of the Second Quarterly Meeting for 1873,

HELD APRIL 4, 1873.

—ALSO, THE—

Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Farmers Union,

Held April 4, 1873, and of the

First Meeting of the Rocky Mountain Poultry Association

HELD APRIL 29, 1873.

DENVER, COLORADO,
ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS STEAM PRINTING HOUSE
1873.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Colorado Stock Growers Association,

HELD AT DENVER, COL.,

Friday, Jan. 31, and Saturday, Feb. 1, 1873.

[NOTE.—For the sake of economy, and to hasten the publication of the proceedings in pamphlet form to answer the great demand for them, this pamphlet was made up from the reports of the meetings as published in the Denver NEWS. By taking advantage of the "standing matter," twice the number of copies are published with the same amount of money.]

FIRST DAY.

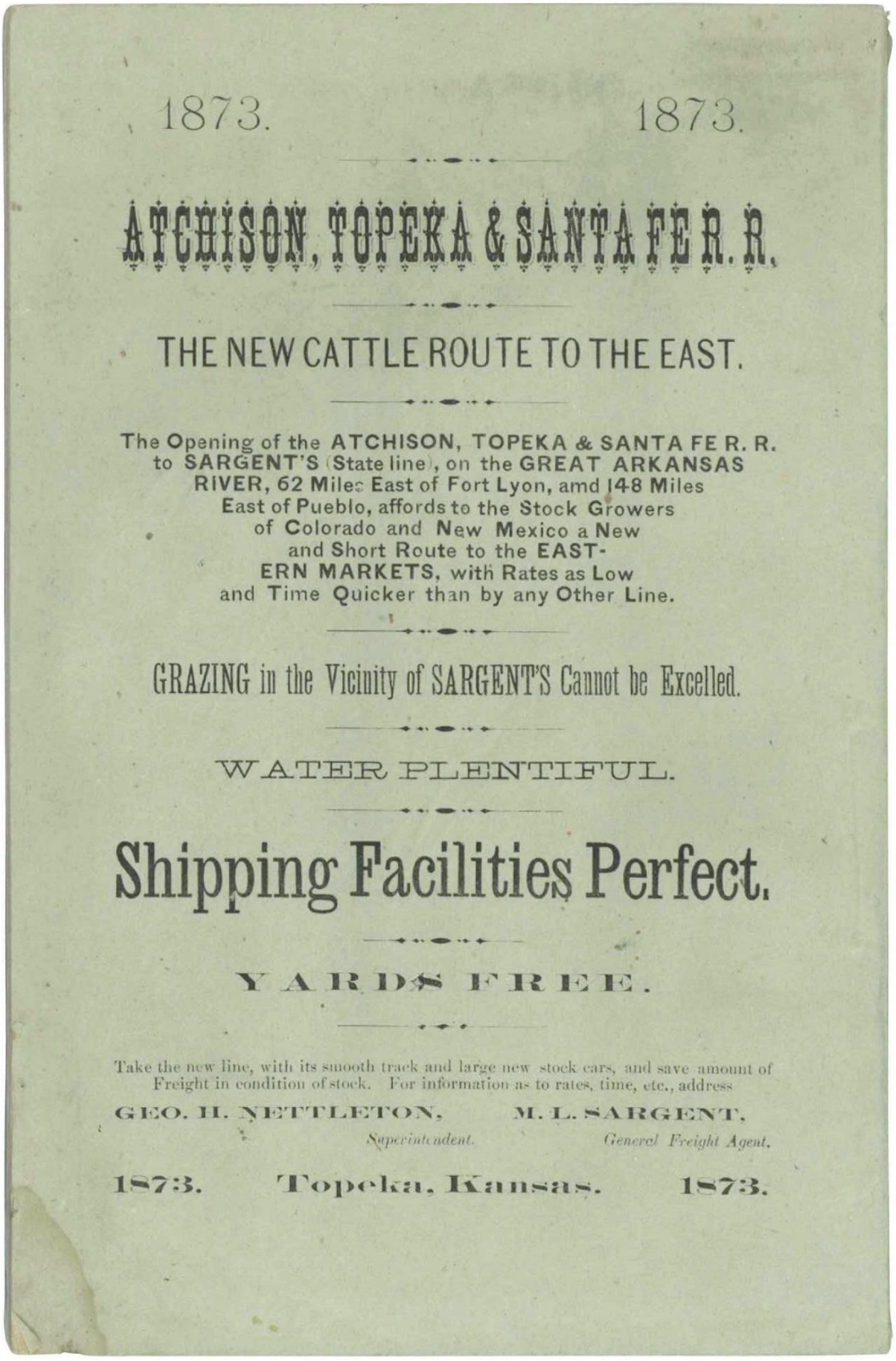
The sessions of the second annual meeting of the Stock-Growers' association commenced on Friday afternoon, in the district court room, at 2 o'clock. The chair was taken at that hour by Hon. John G. Lilley, who called the meeting to order in a few brief but pertinent remarks. The following report of the secretary was then read:

To the President of the Colorado Stock-Growers' Association.—SIR:—I have the honor to present the following report of the history and work of the Colorado Stock-Growers' association. The association had its origin in the necessity which seemed to exist for an organization for mutual benefit and protection, which should represent the interests of residents of the territory who were engaged in raising and handling stock. A call was made by J. L. Bailey, esq., for a meeting of stockmen, December 31, 1871, which meeting was held at the American house, January 6, 1872. At this meeting a committee was appointed to prepare a constitution and by-laws for a permanent organization, which was effected January 19, 1872. The association, through its committees, reported various suggestions, a portion of which were incorporated into the stock law passed at the last session of the territorial legislature.

During last winter unprecedented storms swept over Colorado, covering the range with snow and driving stock from their accustomed feeding places. The results have not proved as serious as at first expected. From the best information at command, it is thought that ten per cent. will cover the losses by death and five per cent. the depreciation in loss of flesh. Very general apprehensions were felt during the first months of winter, that the stock interests had received a death blow, but the counterbalancing effect of an open spring and remarkable growth of grass on the plains, has very nearly made the losses of the winter good. The association are under great obligations to Dr. Latham, of Wyoming, who prepared, at the request of A. J. Williams, esq., chairman of the temporary organization, an address, showing the real facts in the case. Slips of this document were printed and extensively published in eastern newspapers. The well known ability and extensive acquaintance of the author inspired confidence in his statements and aided materially in restoring confidence in Colorado as a stock country.

The results of the "round-ups" were not generally satisfactory to those engaged in them. It is to be hoped that experience will lessen some of the difficulties now experienced.

Considerable losses have been sustained by owners of stock from thieves. During last winter the skins of many cattle were taken off by unauthorized persons, thereby preventing the identification of the carcasses by those in search of estrays; this practice, doubly damaging in its effects, was checked and almost entirely stopped in notices published by the association, warning the parties engaged that steps would be taken for their prosecution and conviction. Other thefts have been perpetrated by men in charge of droves passing through the stock ranges



1873. 1873.

ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FE R. R.

THE NEW CATTLE ROUTE TO THE EAST.

The Opening of the ATCHISON, TOPEKA & SANTA FE R. R. to SARGENT'S (State line), on the GREAT ARKANSAS RIVER, 62 Miles East of Fort Lyon, amd 148 Miles East of Pueblo, affords to the Stock Growers of Colorado and New Mexico a New and Short Route to the EASTERN MARKETS, with Rates as Low and Time Quicker than by any Other Line.

GRAZING in the Vicinity of SARGENT'S Cannot be Excelled.

WATER PLENTIFUL.

Shipping Facilities Perfect.

YARDS FREE.

Take the new line, with its smooth track and large new stock cars, and save amount of Freight in condition of stock. For information as to rates, time, etc., address

GEO. H. NETTLETON, *Superintendent.*

M. L. SARGENT, *General Freight Agent.*

1873. Topeka, Kansas. 1873.

After the aborted meeting of 1867, these emerging cattle barons reorganized the Colorado Stock Growers Association in 1871, holding its first meeting the following January. The timing coincided both with new regulations passed by the territorial legislature and the 1870 arrival of the Denver Pacific Railway. We trace no publications pertaining to this first meeting of the renewed association. The following year, the association met for the second time, again in Denver, for two days from January 31 to February 1, 1873. **The *Proceedings* for this meeting, published by the Rocky Mountain News Steam Printing House, is the earliest recorded Colorado imprint on the range cattle industry**. In fact, we have located only two earlier imprints from any western territories that specifically relate to the open range industry: the *Record of Stock Brands and Marks of Montana Territory* (Montanian Steam Print, Virginia City, 1872), one copy of which is located at the Montana State Historical Society Library; and the *Articles of Agreement and By-Laws of the Rocky Mountain Live Stock Association* (Evanston, Wyoming, 1872), a single copy of which is at the University of Wyoming. **The only other recorded example of the Colorado *Proceedings* is at the Denver Public Library, and no copy has ever appeared in commerce**.

This copy of the *Proceedings* is in its original printed wraps, with 32 double-column text pages on newsprint recording the business of the meeting; there are eight pages of advertisements at the front and six pages at the rear, with ads on the inside front wrapper and both sides of the rear wrapper. The condition is exceptionally fine for such an ephemeral publication, with practically no foxing or toning, and the wraps are likewise in excellent condition. The contents include the minutes of each day's business, committee reports, letters submitted, and a detailed consideration of round-ups, as well as papers on "Southern Colorado as stock country, "Have we stock-growers enough," "A prosaic view of the poetry of cattle herding, and "Northern Colorado." Given that each of the two earlier imprints noted above exist in a single copy only and have never appeared for sale, we believe that this copy of the 1873 *Proceedings* is the earliest territorial imprint on the open range industry ever offered in commerce. **Very rare and quite significant**.

Relevant sources:
Athearn, Robert G.
1960 *High Country Empire: High Plains and Rockies*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
Hogan, Richard
1990 *Class and Community in Frontier Colorado*. University of Kansas Press, Lawrence.
Osgood, Ernest Stapes
1929 *The Day of the Cattleman*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

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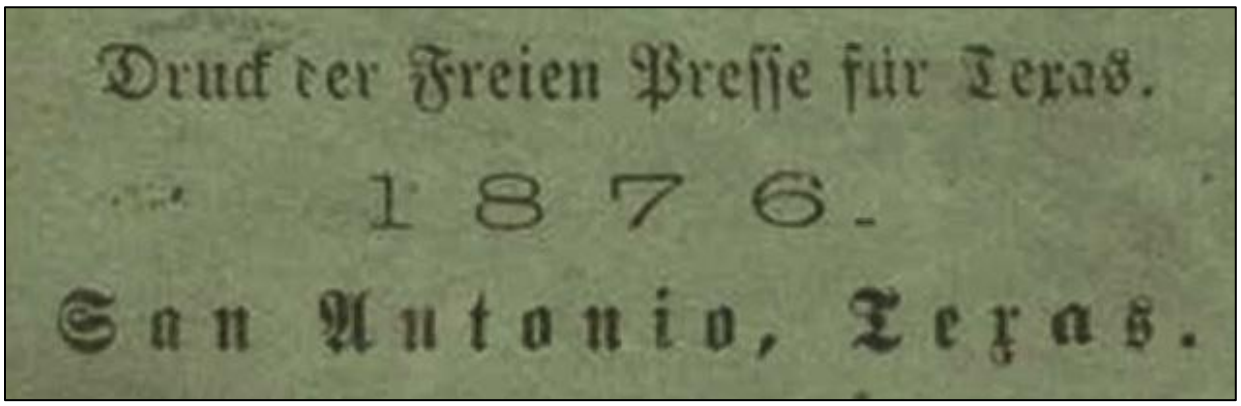
[Colorado--Range Cattle Industry]. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE COLORADO STOCK GROWERS ASSOCIATION, Held in Denver Jan'y 31, and Feb'y 1, 1873... Rocky Mountain News Steam Printing House, Denver, Colorado, 1873. [8], 32, [6] pp. 8vo (22 cm). Very pale green, original printed wrappers, light wrinkling, short tear at bottom of front wrap and spine. Text printed on newsprint, white pages. Very good.

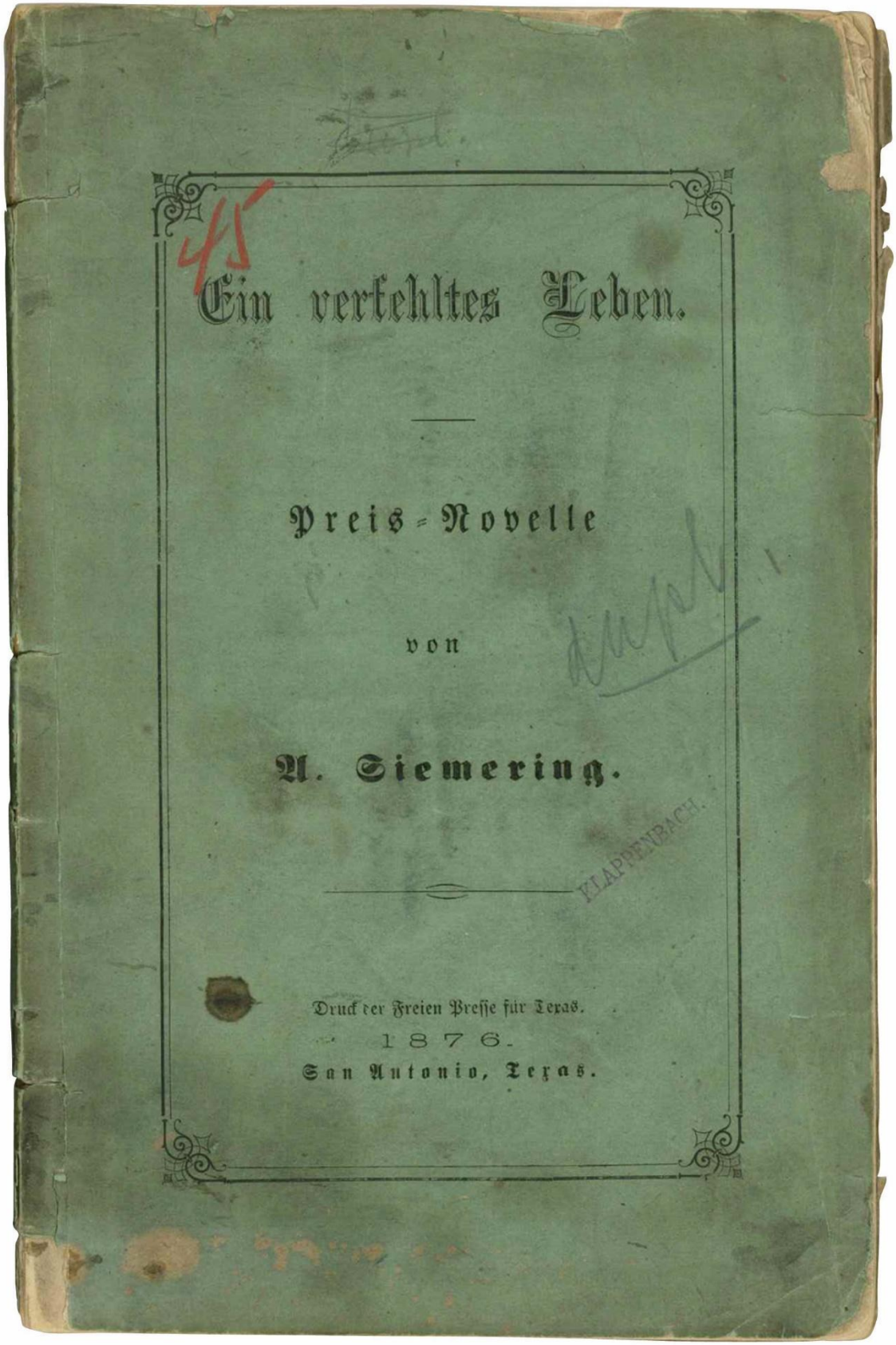
19. SOLD.

Ein Verfehltes Leben, A Scarce Texas Novel by August Siemering

The first Germans came to Texas prior to the War for Independence, with Johann Friedrich Ernst obtaining a league of land in Stephen Austin's fledgling colony in 1831. Ernst wrote a series of "America letters" aimed at recruiting additional immigrants, and during the early 1840s a group of German petty noblemen established the German Emigration Company, or *Adelsverein*, which sought to ease overpopulation in Germany by relocating proletariat to Texas. Thousands arrived by the end of the decade, such that Germans constituted five percent of the Texas population, and towns like New Braunfels and Fredericksburg became centers of German culture in the Texas Hill Country. After the failure of Germany's March Revolution from 1848 to 1849, about a hundred exiled revolutionaries, the so-called Forty-Eighters, made their way to Texas, too. Among these was writer, editor, and political leader August Siemering, who arrived at New Braunfels in 1851 before moving on to Fredericksburg and later San Antonio, where he founded a newspaper, *Die Freie Presse für Texas*, in 1865. In 1876, he submitted a story to a writing competition held by the Cincinnati German newspaper, *Volksblatt*. Titled *Ein verfehltes Leben* (A Misspent Life), his entry won the contest, and he published it later that year at his *Freie Presse* in San Antonio. **One of the first Texas novels published in Texas, we locate only seven copies**.


Druck der Freien Presse für Texas.
1876.
San Antonio, Texas.

August Siemering was born in Brandenburg, Germany, on February 8, 1830. Biographical sketches note that he graduated from Diestweg Seminary, but we have traced no record of such an institution having ever existed. We believe that "Diestweg" is a typographical error and suggest that Siemering was a student at the seminary--or training school for teaching masters--directed by noted educator and liberal politician Adolph Diesterweg in Berlin, a city that sat at the heart of the Province of Brandenburg. Such an education with Diesterweg would account for Siemering's own liberal politics, his exile following the failed 1848 uprising, and his first career as a schoolteacher in Texas, where he founded Fredericksburg's first public school in 1856. Siemering was an ardent anti-slavery advocate and early Republican, writing pieces for the abolitionist *San Antonio Zeitung* newspaper and serving as secretary for a German abolitionist organization, *Die Freie Verein* (Free Society). When Texas seceded from the Union in 1861, Siemering was marked as a Unionist by members of the Gillespie Rifles, which could have resulted in a quick hanging, but instead he was drafted by the Confederate Army. After having attained the rank of second lieutenant in 1862, he submitted his resignation as a soldier in 1864, claiming both myopia and a frail constitution. He would later describe his Confederate military service as a nightmare.



45

Ein verfehltes Leben.

Preis-Novelle

von

A. Siemering.

Druck der Freien Presse für Texas.
1876.
San Antonio, Texas.

After the war, Siemering returned to San Antonio and resumed teaching at a literary school while instructing dance classes in the evening. On July 15, 1865, he founded *Die Freie Presse für Texas*, then later that year partnered in the launching of the *San Antonio Express-News*. He would maintain his role with the *Freie Presse* for the rest of his life, and from its platform he became one of the most prominent German Americans in Texas, publishing numerous immigration tracts and works of local interest. In 1876 he produced his only novel, *Ein verfehltes Leben*, which tells the story of a German medical student who immigrated to the United States for love during the 1840s but arrived alone in the Texas Hill Country. Although he opened a clinic, he soon began spending much of his time on long, solitary walks through the natural landscape, during one of which he encountered a wounded Lipan Apache man. The young doctor carefully treated the man's injuries and restored him to health, an act of kindness that formed the basis of a friendship. On subsequent walks together, the Lipan man guided him to a remote cave--probably based on Cascade Caverns near modern-day Boerne. The young German grew obsessed with the cave, and after a Lipan chief gave it to him in appreciation for his medical assistance to the tribe, the doctor turned his back on society and made the cave his home, sleeping on a ledge in a deep vertical passage. Many years after, when the hermit was killed by a stray bullet during one of his brief forays above ground, his body was returned to the ledge with his only possessions, a rifle and a journal.

Siemering's tale won the *Volksblatt* writing contest, and he published it himself in German at his *Freie Presse* in San Antonio. It was all but forgotten until 1932, when writer, politician, and educator May Francis published a popular adaptation in San Antonio, translated into English and given a new title, *The Hermit of the Cavern*. Siemering's original edition is quite scarce, with only seven institutional copies at Newberry, UPenn, Rice, UWisconsin, UTexas, UT-Arlington, and the Amarillo Public Library. We trace no copies in commerce. **Just a importantly, we locate only two earlier Texas novels published in Texas**: *Carmine; or, The Trader at the Fort* (1872) and *The Sentinel at the Pass* (1873), both by Warren Baer and published at Galveston, neither of which survives in more than a single copy. A rare German contribution to Texas literature.

Relevant sources:

Honeck, Mischa
2017 *We Are the Revolutionists: German-speaking Immigrants and American Abolitionists after 1848*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Russell, Erin Melissa and Matt Gibson
2017 The Hermit: A Study of the Legend Central to Cascade Caverns in Boerne, Texas. In *Legends and Life in Texas: Folklore from the Lone Star State, in Story and Song*, edited by Kenneth L. Untiedt, pp. 85-98. Publications of the Texas Folklore Society LXXII, University of North Texas Press, Denton.

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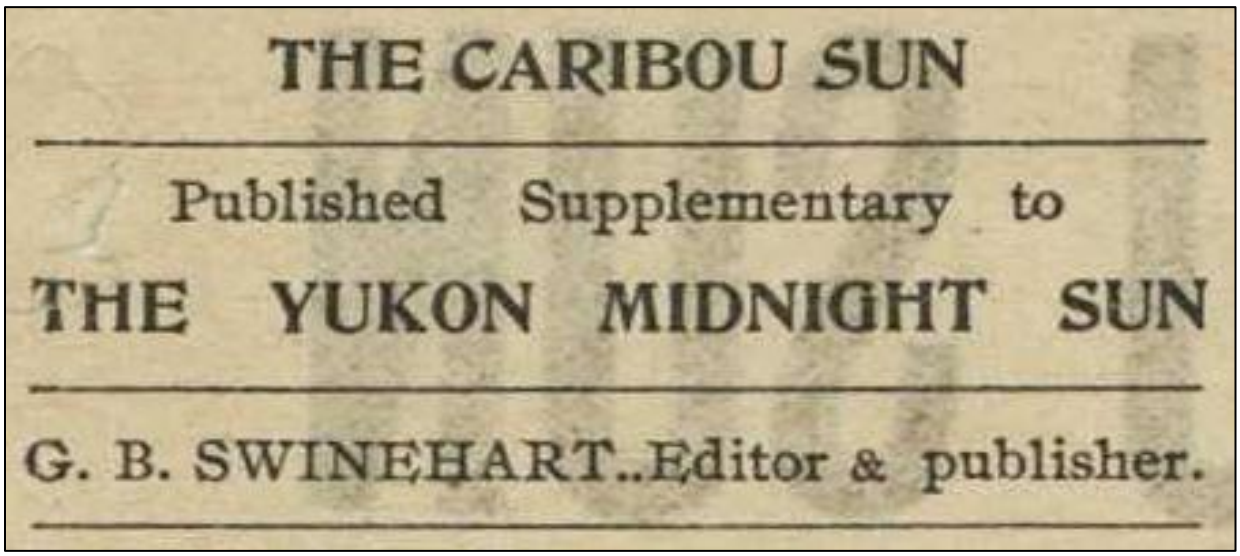
[Texas--German Immigrants]. August Siemering. EIN VERFEHLTES LEBEN. *Die Freie Presse für Texas*, San Antonio, 1876. 96 pp. 8vo (22 cm). Original printed wrappers, soiling, spine and edge wear, pencil notations, private owner stamp; pp. 35-46 detached but present. Good.

20. SOLD.

George B. Swinehart's *Caribou Sun*: The First Yukon Territory Imprint

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 quickly claimed all of Rabbit Creek, renamed Bonanza, and soon spread 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 Canada's largest city 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*. Neither, however, was the first newspaper published in Yukon Territory. That honor was already bestowed on the *Caribou Sun*, typeset and printed only a month before, on the ice at the base of Chilkoot Pass. **This is the second known copy**.


THE CARIBOU SUN

Published Supplementary to

THE YUKON MIDNIGHT SUN

G. B. SWINEHART..Editor & publisher.

Among the wave of hopefuls trekking toward Dawson in the spring of 1898 was George Swinehart of Juneau. Yet unlike most of the others 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 then printed a single issue of the *Caribou Sun*. **Not only**

THE CARIBOU SUN

VOL. I. CARIBOU CROSSING, (HEAD WATERS YUKON RIVER,) N. W. T., MONDAY, MAY 16TH, 1898. NO. 1.

A FABULOUSLY RICH STRIKE

ON McQUESTION CREEK.

The new Eldorado of the Northwest a Tributary of Stewart River.

DEATH OF SWIFT WATER BILL

News From the Yukon Valley and the Trail Leading Thereto.

The people of the Yukon valley have again been thrown into excitement reaching a fever heat, and a mad rush to the long known but little prospected Stewart river is now inevitable. Many of those who started last fall on a prospecting trip for the interior chose that river and its tributaries for their destination. It was then predicted that a new strike would take place before twelve months rolled around and the predictions were indeed correct.

Stewart river empties into the Yukon about seventy-five miles above the Klondike and for about a hundred miles distance from its mouth it flows nearly parallel with the latter river. The new strike was made seventy-five miles from its confluence with the Yukon on what is well known by all old time Yukoners as McQuestion Creek, taking its name from the old time post trader "Jack" McQuestion.

McQuestion creek is about sixty-five miles long and receives its source from the same mountain ranges which feed the yellow metal into the rich tributaries of the Klondike. It rises a little north of east of Too-Much-Gold creek or nearly due east of Dawson and flows a little west of south where it mingles with the Stewart river waters. Certainly no experienced miner could, after having knowledge of the gold belt and districts of the Yukon, question the favorable location which the stream has.

The creek was discovered and named soon after the discovery of gold on Forty Mile at which time several claims were staked out but subsequently abandoned before any thorough prospecting had been done. At that time it was pronounced the banner creek of Stewart river but owing to its remoteness from supplies and the fact that it is distinctly winter diggings about which little if any was then known, it was listed with the "no pay dirt"streams, though not until several specimen nuggets were taken out which established the existence of coarse gold.

For most of the distance the hills rise very abruptly from the waters and it is called a rapid stream. The gold taken out in 1891 was mainly taken from the bars which could be worked only in early spring or late summer owing to high waters. Many places exist in the creek bed where the gravel is several feet in depth and can be worked with profit only by drifting and then only when the winter frosts check the water from running into the workings. In the early spring of 1891 an old prospector from Colorado was drowned while attempting to wash the gravel from a bar by taking it out through a hole cut in the ice. The following fall two prospectors purchased winter supplies and while ascending the river with the intentions of doing winter development work on their claim their boat upset and their outfit was lost, they barely escaping with their lives. This was the only pretentions made at winter working until the past season when the claims yielded up abundently in coarse gold, some of the prospects going as high as $34 to the pan.

The presumably richest portion of the creek is already staked and the rush has fairly begun. "Bob" Henderson, an old time Yukoner, has located a quarter section of land at the mouth of the creek for townsite purposes and a new and prosperous camp is sure to spring up there the coming season. The site is a most favorable one since McQuestion creek is at the head of navigation for small steam crafts on the Stewart river. It is said that Mr. Henderson is joined in this adventure by Alex McDonald, the gold king of the Klondike; yea, of the Yukon valley.

New Creek Near Dawson.

Several new finds have been made on a small creek emptying into the Yukon on the West side about six miles above Dawson. It is about the size of Bonanza and is said to contain several handsome paying claims. A small camp is already established at its mouth and town lots will soon be demanding a good price.

Indian River Townsite.

The tributaries of Indian river have proven so prosperous as to call forth a townsite location at the mouth of the river and many are pushing forth to the New Chicago expecting to profit in lot locations.

SWIFTWATER BILL DROWNED

He With his Bride Sleep Beneath the Cold, Cruel Waters of Tagish Lake.

Just before going to press a report comes from the foot of Tagish Lake of the drowning of Wm. Gates, better known as Swift-water Bill, and wife while on their way to Dawson. He with his party consisting of about one dozen persons five of whom were women, passed by here several days ago post-haste in order to reach the foot of Lake LeBarge before the breaking up of the ice.

It is now reported that Bill and his wife, after quartering the others in the party on Tagish lake to wait the clearing of the lakes, put off with a canoe and sled to make a quick journey to Dawson. On reaching the foot of Tagish the ice gave way and both were drowned. Others who have come up the trail later say that they believe the report unfounded as they saw Swift-water and his bride in camp at Six Mile river.

U. S. Consul for Dawson.

Jas. C. McCook who was appointed by the president of the United States as consul from that country to be stationed at Dawson is said to be on the trail on the way to his post of duty. He comes from the state of Pennsylvania.

Charlie Anderson, owner of claim 29, Eldorado, and who has been ill at the Dawson hospital for some months, is reported as having gone slightly demented.

Billy Leak, an old time Juneau, Alaska, boy and who is heavily interested in claims in the Klondike went out last fall and is now on his way in with a handsome bride. The SUN extends its congratulations.

SPANISH FLEET ANNIHILATED

AND 300 MEN KILLED.

A United States Battle-Ship Shells a Cuban Town and the Inhabitants Flee for Their Lives.

MATANZAS TO BE BOMBARDED

Sampson's Fleet and Schley's Flying Squadron to Intercept Spain's Cape Verde Island Fleet

MURDERED BY BOLD INDIANS

Because They Would not Part With Their Provisions.

New York, May 5th.—(A special from Key West.)—Admiral Sampson's fleet sailed yesterday for the bombardment of Matanzas to secure a landing place for the troops now awaiting at Tampa. After reducing fortifications and establishing communication with Gomez the fleet will seize Porto Rico, the only available Spanish base of supplies in western waters. Sampson's fleet and Schley's flying squadron are to combine and intercept Spains fleet on the way from Cape Verde islands.

New York, May 4th.—(Key West special.)—Cienfuegos was bombarded on the afternoon of April 29th. The battle-ship Marblehead after destroying the forts shelled the town driving thousands of inhabitants to the interior.

New York May 7th, 5:30 a. m.—The World has just published a dispatch from Hongkong to the effect that news received here from Manila on the dispatch boat McCulloch is to the effect that the entire Spanish fleet of eleven vessels were destroyed. Three hundred Spaniards were killed and four hundred were wounded. No lives were lost on the United States boats, but six persons were injured. Not one of the American ships was injured.

New York, May 6th.—Rear Admiral Sampson, with a number of his ships, is rapidly sailing toward the Porto Rican coast. He is expected to arrive off Porto Rico, tomorrow evening. The Spanish Cape Verde fleet, which is believed to be making for San Juan, Porto Rico, should make its appearance sometime Sunday.

A dispatch from Washington City dated May 6th, says that the United States Consul at Hongkong has been instructed to charter the fastest boat he can secure and send it to Manila for the purpose of obtaining news of Dewey and his squadron.

Washington, May 7th.—The navy department has received a cable from Hongkong onnouncing the arrival there of the revenue cutter Hugh McCulloch. This is the only informatiom received, but the department expects advices within the next three or four hours.

Madrid, May 7th.—An official dispatch from Havana says: Since April 30th hostilities have been pursued against Gomez with the greatest activity and vigor. Several engagements have taken place. Thirty-two rebels have been killed and one Spanish officer and thirty-three soldiers have been wounded.

On the 6th instant, the Lafayette, of the French General Transatlantic company's line, bound from Corunna, Spain, April 23rd, for Havana, attempted to run the blockade. She was captured by the gunboat Annapolis and taken to Key West against emphatic protests on the part of her commander. She was immediately released, however, she having had permission from the United States government before sailing. The French are very indignant and bitter protests are being made by them against the actions of the Yankees.

The London daily Telegraph of May 7th says: All the reports that reach us from trustworthy quarters in Madrid agree that there is no doubt affairs in Spain are hurrying rapidly toward a crisis. The Carlists are increasing the difficulties of the situation even to a higher degree than the republicans.

On all sides it is thought here that the next few days will bring about events that may change the entire situation in the Spanish Capitol. However, regardless of the revolutionary movement, no uneasiness is expressed for the personal safety of the queen regent and her son.

Washington May 4th.—Two steamers with supplies and ammunition for Admiral Dewey's fleet will leave San Francisco in a few days. There will be a total of 20,000 projectiles sent.

Seattle, Wash. May 5th.—Company A, First regiment National Guard of Alaska, has been organizrd at Skaguay with Jefferson R. Smith, better know as "Soapy Smith," as captain.

Hongkong, May 4th.—No news yet heard from Dewey's fleet, as the cables have not been repaired.

Most Foully Murdered.

Probably the most foul and uncalled for murder ever committed in this country took place near Lake LeBarge the first of the week. Wm. Meehan and C. A. Fox, two prospectors from Juneau, Alaska, started up McClintosh creek to make a portage to Hootalinqua river. When but a short distance up the river they came to a small Indian villiage and were soon besieged with the inhabitants for provisions. The Indians' requests soon grew into demands and the men becoming alarmed, left the village. When they had proceeded but a short distance the Indians opened fire upon them with rifles killing Meehan instantly and wounding Fox. The ball passed completely through the latters right breast. After escaping from another shower of bullets from his assailants he traveled fifteen miles before receiving assistance.

As soon as possible the police at Tagish were notified and several arrests followed and although one who is directly implicated in the crime is still at large, more than a dozen of the savages are now held in custody. One of their number whom the Indians assert shot Fox is now in cnstody and is a lad of but sixteen. The police are in search of others who are said to be implicated.

When the arrest was made the village was thoroughly searched by the officers and a large amount of provisions and miners tools were found which beyond a doubt were obtained in the same manner thus showing that the bloody work has been going on for months.

At last reports Fox, it is believed, will recover. The prospectors in that section are much wrought up over the crime and a lynching bee may take place.

Drowned on Lake Marsh.

A party of four men left the sawmill at the head of Tagish lake this week with their outfit in a boat and the boat mounted on sleighs. Their intention like many others was to sled over the ice except where open water could be found where they would use their boat, and in turn use their sleighs when again coming to closed water.

When on Lake Marsh the ice suddenly gave way, the boat gave a sudden lunge forward going completely under the ice which was still in tact and seen no more. Three of the party succeeded in getting out but one, a young Englishman, was carried down with the boat. Thus they met the fate of several others who have attempted to continue their journey before the lakes and rivers are freed of ice.

The Yukon Midnight Sun.

When you reach Dawson remember that the YUKON MIDNIGHT SUN, of which this paper is a supplementary issue, extends an invitation to you to call at their office. Tell them who you are and where you are from and they will treat you well. All are welcome.

was it the first Yukon newspaper, but also the first Yukon imprint of any kind. OCLC lists a single institutional copy of the *Caribou Sun*, at Yale's Beinecke Library. In her autobiography of life in the Yukon during the gold rush years, Dr. Luella Day McConnell claimed to have bought the very first copy of Swinehart's paper:

> The enterprise of modern or yellow journalism was never better illustrated than at Caribou Crossing, when a printer named Swinehart, from some Canadian town, had set up on the ice, under canvas, a hand-press and font of type. It was newsy and whatever news came into camp was handed him by the recipients of letters and so the whole company had the benefit of the various items of impersonal gossip from the East. I bought the first copy and stood by the press and saw it come off, paying 25 cents for it. This being the first paper published in the Yukon, the editor, proprietor, compositor and proof-reader took my quarter, the first he received, and set it in a mortise in the feed-bed of the press [1906:42-43].

Unbeknownst to Swinehart as he was making his way along the Chilkoot, another team out of Seattle, led by Eugene C. Allen, was also striving to produce Dawson's first newspaper. When Allen heard of Swinehart's progress, he left the rest of his group with their own cumbersome press and hurried ahead to Dawson alone. Allen arrived first, in mid-April, and pounded out the first pages of the *Klondike Nugget* on a borrowed typewriter, posting each page as he finished it to a bulletin board he had set up in town. Allen would always insist that his *Nugget* won the race to Dawson, but few of his contemporaries or later historians considered these sheets 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*. His *Sun* beat Allen's *Nugget* by just five days. **A wonderful survival and a historically significant imprint**.

Relevant sources:

Bush, Edward F.
1979 The Dawson City News: Journalism in the Klondike. *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 21:71-127.

McConnell, Luella Day
1906 *The Tragedy of the Klondike*. Published for the author, New York.

Mitham, Peter
2000 History of the Book in Yukon: A Discussion Paper. *The Northern Review* 21:57-71.

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[Yukon Territory--Newspapers]. THE CARIBOU SUN. VOL. 1, NO. 1, MAY 16, 1898. Caribou Crossing, (Head Waters of Yukon River), Dawson City, N.W.T. Published supplementary to the Yukon Midnight Sun. G. B. Swinehart, Editor and publisher. [4] pp. 4to. Untrimmed and never bound. Toned, marginal soiling, old folds, archivally strengthened at the spine with small archival mends at margins; minor loss at the spine margin. Overall about very good.

21. SOLD.

An Album of Original Prints by Telluride Photographer Joe Byers

The town of Telluride sits near the southwest corner of Colorado, nestled into a box canyon of the San Miguel River at an elevation of 8750 feet, making it one of the 25 highest incorporated communities in the United States. Founded as Columbia in 1878 after nearby gold discoveries in the Marshall Basin, townspeople changed its name to Telluride in 1887, after the name for mineral ores that the rare element tellurium forms with gold and silver (ironically, no tellurides have ever been identified in the mines around Telluride). The town grew slowly due to its remoteness and reached its peak as a mining center soon after the arrival of the Rio Grande and Southern Railroad in 1890, when its population reached nearly five thousand people. But the Panic of 1893 brought the boom to an end, and over much of the next century Telluride's population gradually plummeted to a few hundred people. Its boomtown spirit, though, was not yet finished. In 1972, the opening of the Telluride Ski Resort brought new life to the town, which has since become one of the premier destinations for skiing in North America. Telluride's dramatic, high altitude backdrop has long made it a favorite--if challenging--locale for western photographers, among the most accomplished of whom was Joseph "Joe" E. Byers, a native of Virginia who opened a studio at Telluride in about 1900. This fine album, perhaps compiled by Byers himself, contains 27 large format, silver gelatin prints that date from about 1900 to 1910. **Apart from holdings at the American Heritage Center and the Denver Public Library it is the largest known collection of Byers' work**.


MAIN ST.


BRIDAL VEIL FALLS


TROUT LAKE

Little is known of Byers' life before he came to Telluride. He was born in the Appalachian Mountains at Callaghan, Virginia, in 1870 and was raised in Philadelphia, where his father worked as a railroad clerk. He is likely the Joseph E. Byers listed as a photographer in the 1894 Cincinnati directory. By 1895 he had married Mae Huddleston in St. Louis, where he was still identified as a photographer in the 1900 U. S. Census. Shortly after, the couple moved west to Colorado with Mae's mother, settling in Telluride, and it was here that Byers opened the studio he would operate for the rest of his life. Over the next 15 years he established himself as a pioneer photographer in southwestern Colorado, covering the Telluride mining strikes of 1903, as well as disasters such as floods and avalanches, all the while creating a stunning record of the region's cultural and natural landscapes. On July 9, 1916, when he failed to appear for meals at his regular places (Mae had died several years earlier and his two young sons had been residing with a friend in town), two of his friends entered his bedroom above the studio and found that he had died in his sleep during the night, probably from a heart attack. Byers was 46 years old.

This album holds 27 prints documenting Byers' photographic work in Telluride and nearby locations. Twenty-five of these measure 8 by 6 inches, one measures 11 by 4, and one is 9 1/2 by 3 1/2. All of the prints are center-mounted--one to a sheet, rectos only--in a contemporary black leatherette album with black leaves measuring 14 3/4 x 11 1/4. The album and all of the prints are in fine condition. Byers' subjects represented here include the town of Telluride itself from several vantages: the 365-foot Bridal Falls; Trout Lake; the Tomboy, Smuggler-Union, and Liberty gold mines; and various architectural and landscape views. As all of the prints are Byers', it is possible that he put the album together himself. It is also possible that the album was compiled by Telluride druggist Homer Reid, who made a collection of Byers' prints now held by the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming. The Denver Public Library also holds a group of 33 Byers prints. Other than the holdings at these two institutions, this album represents the most extensive known collection of Byers' photographic work. Two mounted Byers prints appeared at auction in 2024, making $437.50 and $500 at Holabird. **A photographic achievement**.

Relevant sources:

Barbour, Elizabeth and the Telluride Historical Museum
2006 *Images of America: Telluride*. Arcadia Publishing, Charleston, SC.
Martin, Maryjoy
2004 *The Corpse on Boomerang Road: Telluride's War on Labor 1899-1908*. Western Reflections Publishing, Lake City, CO.

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[Colorado--Telluride and Vicinity]. Joseph Elwood Byers. [ALBUM OF 27 SILVER-GELATIN PRINTS BY COLORADO PHOTOGRAPHER JOSEPH E. BYERS DOCUMENTING THE TOWN OF TELLURIDE, COLORADO, AND ITS VICINITY]. [Telluride, Colorado, about 1900-1910]. 27 silver gelatin prints, most measuring 8 x 6 in. (20 x 15 cm), signed or captioned in the negative. Album measures 14 3/4 x 11 1/4 in. (38.5 x 28.5 cm). Black leatherette album with black leaves, photographs mounted one to a page on rectos only. About fine.

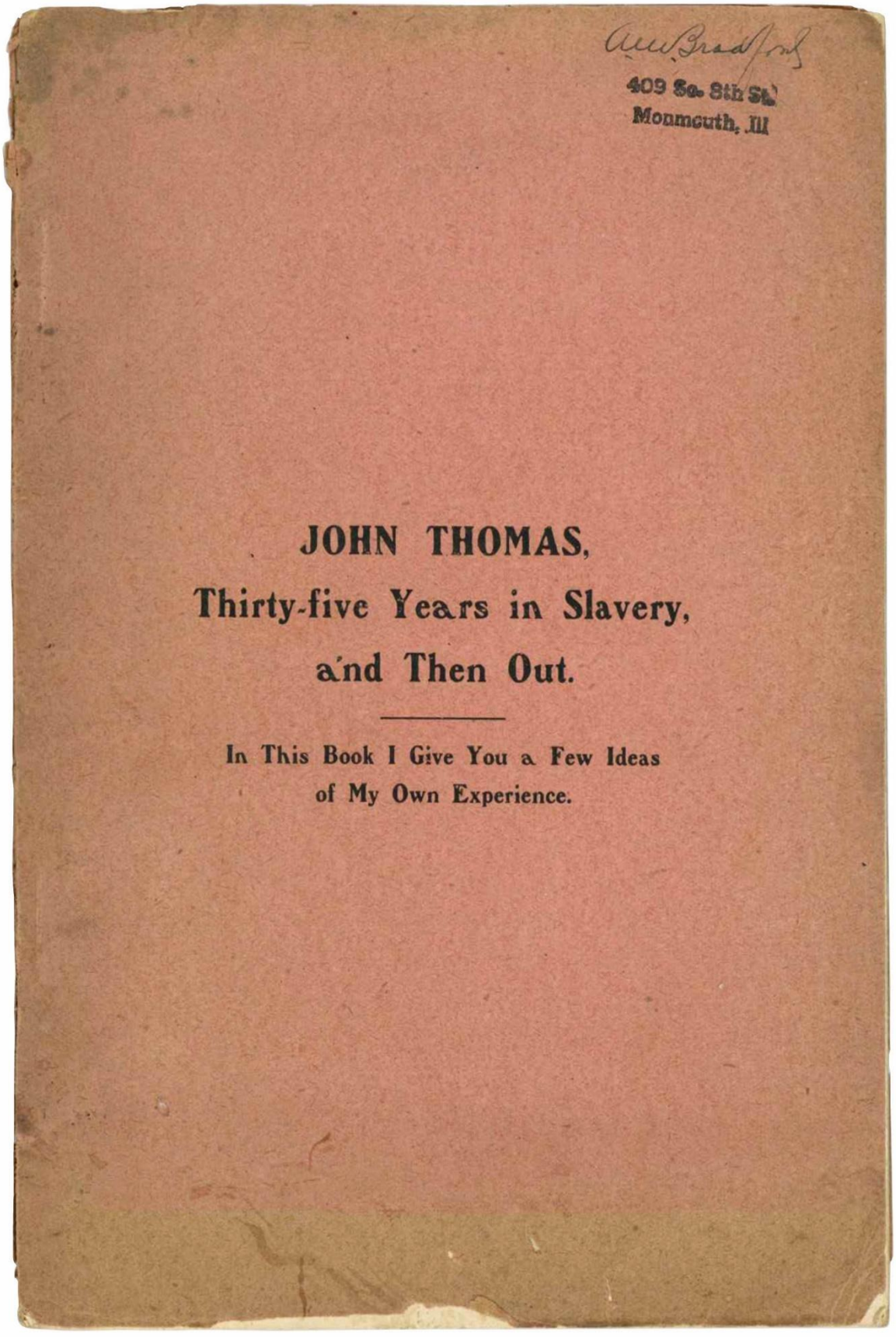
22. SOLD.

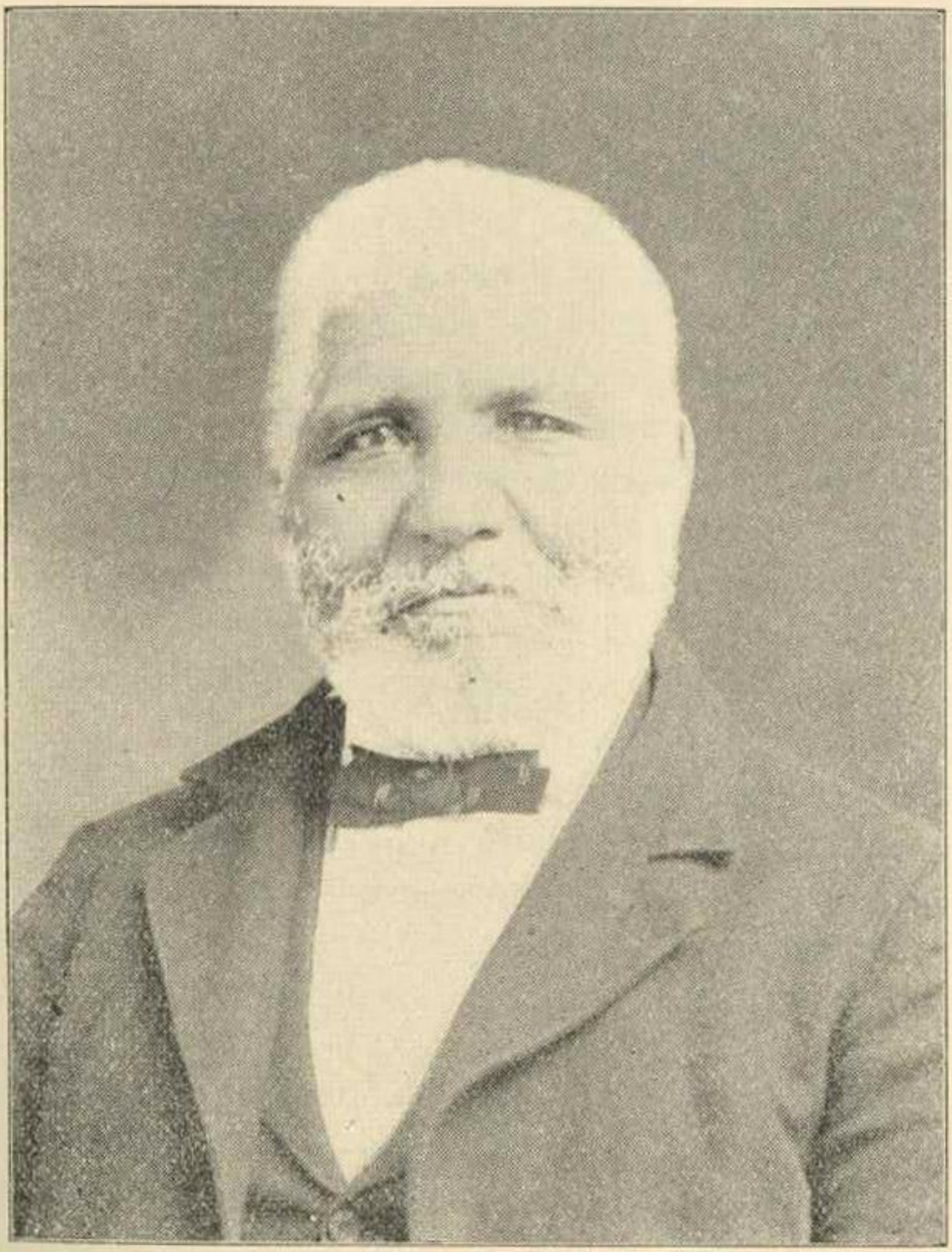
An Unrecorded Narrative: John Thomas's *Thirty-five Years in Slavery*

Few American literary genres have stimulated more scholarship in the past half-century than the autobiographical slavery narrative. It is a quintessentially American genre, born from the memories and experiences of those who had toiled themselves in the belly of what South Carolina enslaver John Calhoun euphemistically referred to as the peculiar institution. No copy is known to survive of the first slavery narrative, *Declaration and Confession of Jeffrey, a Negro, Who Was Executed at Worcester, Oct. 17, 1745, for the Murder of Mrs. Tabitha Sandford, at Mendon, the 12th of September Preceding*, published at Boston in 1745. Literary historian William E. Andrews has identified 204 such works published from that date until 1998, when the text of John McCline's narrative appeared in print for the first time. Precisely half of these narratives were written prior to 1866 by fugitives who had escaped slavery, and half by formerly enslaved authors after the Civil War. Bookseller Tom Congalton added another in 2006, the only known copy of William Goings's *Rambles of a Runaway from Southern Slavery*, published in Ontario in 1869 and now held by the University of Virginia. **Here we are pleased to offer what we believe is the first such discovery since, the only known copy of an unrecorded narrative, John Thomas's *Thirty-five Years in Slavery and Then Out*, published at Monmouth, Illinois, in 1902**.


Thirty-five Years in Slavery,
and Then Out.

Modern research on the slavery narrative begins with the groundbreaking work of African American scholar Marion Wilson Starling, whose 1946 dissertation, "The Slave Narrative: Its Place in American Literary History," was the first to treat the slavery narrative as a literary genre worthy of historical analysis. Her dissertation, not published until 1981, identified more than 6000 narratives across multiple media, including separately published books and pamphlets, newspaper articles, oral histories, and court records. Andrews, however, uses a narrower set of criteria in his definition of the slavery narrative, restricting his list to works that are: 1) separately published; 2) in English; and 3) by slaves or former slaves who either wrote or dictated their stories for publication (DocSouth 1999; Gates 2014). Among these published stories are some of the most iconic works of American literature: *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), *Narrative of William W. Brown, a Fugitive Slave* (1847), *Narrative of Sojourner Truth, a Northern Slave* (1850), Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853), *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* by Harriet Jabobs (1860), and Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery* (1903). Several, like those by Douglass, Brown, and Washington, reach great heights of oratory, as though the authors are rousing a crowded room to action. Others, such as William Goings's *Rambles* or Thomas's *Thirty-five Years*, seem far more conversational, as if the authors were sharing their respective stories with a small, trusted circle of family and friends. And indeed this range of style, voice, and experience is one of the remarkable features of the genre, its stance emphatically democratic.


409 So. 8th St.
Monmouth, Ill
JOHN THOMAS,
Thirty-five Years in Slavery,
and Then Out.
In This Book I Give You a Few Ideas
of My Own Experience.



JOHN THOMAS.

Aged 75 Years.

We know little of John Thomas, the author of this work, beyond what he writes of his own life before and after slavery. What we do find in contemporary sources, such as federal and state census and probate records, corroborates his written account. For example, federal census records for 1870, 1880, and 1900 identify John Thomas as a Black resident of Monmouth, Illinois, born about 1827 in Tennessee and variously employed as a drayman (1870), whitewasher (1880), and plasterer (1900). A 1905 will lists his daughter, Retta (or Rettie) Thomas Penny (1870-1941), as his executress and heir, and a ledger from the Monmouth Second Presbyterian Church records that he died in January 1907. *Thirty-five Years in Slavery and Then Out* was issued in printed wrappers with a full-page portrait of the author. No printer, date, or place of publication are included on the title page, but the last line of text is a partial colophon giving Monmouth, Illinois, as the place of publication and February 1902 as the date. We suspect, given its almost ephemeral quality, that only a small number of copies were printed for Thomas's family and friends.

Thomas begins his account with his birth in 1827, at a place he refers to as River's Mill in Tennessee: "think of a little babe that was lying at that time...lying there in his infancy. The whites would come in and talk about it the same as a man of this country would talk of his stock, of a horse or cow…They were figuring on the usefulness of it in the future" (p. 1). He names his owner as Jones Rivers, "who was a high grade lawyer at that day." Virginia native Robert Jones Rivers would go on to earn some reknown as an attorney and judge in south central Texas, but at the time of Thomas's birth he was living north of Nashville in Springfield, Tennessee, where he married in 1831. The "River's Mill" location that Thomas identifes as the place of his birth may thus have been a mill that Jones Rivers owned or operated. When Thomas was about eight years old, Rivers decided to move west to the Mississippi River. They traveled along the Cumberland River by steamboat to the Ohio, and from there past Cairo, Illinois, and onto the Mississippi toward Rivers's intended destination, Island Number Ten, located in a bend of the Mississippi near the point where Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri all meet. Most of the island has now eroded away. Thomas lived and labored for several years on No. 10, doing his part as a child and adolescent to help carve out a farm from the heavily timbered island:

> We cut down trees, and cane and more than once cut and burnt brush at night. When we come to ploughing you was not there. When we had to make smoke on our own horses to keep the mosquitos off of the teams that we were driving. There were mornings that you did not hear the noise of the mosquitos as they rose from the earth. I did not tell you about mosquitos. In going through the woods you would have to fight your way so you could see. They would fight you so [p. 7].

Thomas relates a story about Rivers that occurred during the time that he was enslaved at No. 10. Rivers's brother, Tom, who lived nearby at Hickman, Kentucky, was shot and killed by a man named Ferguson. A man on horseback brought news of his brother's death that night, and at once Rivers set out for Hickman in a skiff with two other men:

> After getting there and getting their breakfast, he had his gun cleaned up good and started out for his victim. He got him routed and followed out after him saying that "I have shot many a buck a running," fired and the man fell; come up to the man, the man ask to spare his life. The reply was, "you did

Thirty-five Years in Slavery, Then Out.

I JOHN THOMAS, at my advanced age, I thought I would write up a few ideas of my life.

First, in calling to my mind of 1827 and think of a little babe that was lying at that time north of River's Mill, upon the hill, above the mill-dam—a little darky babe, lying there in his infancy. The whites would come in and talk about it the same as a man of this country would talk of his stock, of a horse or cow. Good looking young darkey. They were figuring on the usefulness of it in the future. There was the mother, snug favorable young woman of good size, well proportioned, weighing about a hundred and forty or fifty pounds, half white.

On this hill round about where I lived until I was about six or eight years old, you did not see that little young darkey running around through the woods, over there. Long about that age of six or eight my master, Jones Rivers, who was a high grade lawyer at that day, moved from this place with the intention of moving down to Island No. 10, and went through Providence to Clarksville, Tennessee, in M ntgmoery county, for shipping; and he did not forget to take me along And now you don't know how bad the cholera was in Clarksville at that time, date about 1833.

Second, we started for Number Ten. See here, folks, didn't you know that steamboats was a new thing on the Cumberland river? had not been very long running up and down the Cumberland river. We waited for a boat to come and take shipping, and after a while came along a common looking old boat, and we got on it and I among the balance.

Down the Cumberland river we went,—I was a pretty fair looking boy at that time,—out of the Cumberland into the Ohio way we went, and I didn't feel bad at the time.

Now think a little. Passing from Cairo out of the Ohio into the Mississippi river way we went, down the Mississippi river, down we went to Miller's point, now called Hickman, county seat

> not spare my brother's life," and he killed him. He went to his brother and said, "that he had killed him" and his brother lying there dead....and that is the reason than I tell you that he was a high-strung, dangerous kind of man. Now you want to know that this was the man that I was living with [p. 7].

Thomas also recalls instances of Rivers badly beating men and boys whom he enslaved. After one such attack, Thomas writes that "There was a little seed planted in me that very morning, on that occasion, and that was if I got to be a man I did not intend for one man to whip me unless he be the best man, notwithstanding, what I knew what this man had done, and would do now" (p. 8). In the early 1840s, when Thomas was about 14 years old, Rivers decided to move again, this time to Texas. Thomas writes that Rivers usually sold slaves to finance his moves, and all were loaded onto boats headed south: "We started to Texas and got to New Orleans, but the trouble the countries were having we could not get to Texas. Spain, Mexico, and California was having trouble. Now then right back to Tennessee right close to where we started from" [p. 8].

Fortunately, Thomas managed not to be sold while Rivers was in New Orleans, but shortly after their return to Tennessee he was sold to an older man, named Thomas: "This man Jones sold me to him right from my mother. Then I was fourteen years old, never been able to speak to her since....Now I am in the hands of another man. Trouble ended and trouble begun again" [p. 9]. In just a few months, Thomas was back on the Mississippi River with his new enslaver, just south of Island No. 10 near New Madrid, Missouri. Then about 1849 they came back to Tennessee, settling in Bowling Green (now Cumberland City) along the Cumberland River near Dover. Thomas notes that "my old master Thomas called himself a good master, but we differed some:"

> You remember that little seed I was telling you about that was planted in me when I belonged to that Jones Rivers? It brought me into trouble, some any how. Now I had become to be a great big boy, only a boy, but not a man. Well one day my old boss got on one of his angry spells and worked off on me right where that little seed got me into trouble, some. I resisted to see if I could do anything with the old fellow but he was too much for me. Let me tell you that old man made me squirm when he got the best of me.... Two or three times this thing went on. Then it was when I become to be a man. Then I learned the old man that he could not travel over, he had to go around. Then it was that he was bucking against a man and he could go so far and then would have to go back [p. 10].

Thomas remembers 1856 as a particularly difficult year:

> That was the time the white folks had it on the darkies heavy, they were just pressing down. Fremont ran for president for the republican party and he come so near being elected the democrats got considerable uneasy. Then they claimed that the darkies were going to raise an insurrection against the whites. They whipped and slashed from this Dover for several miles around. This Cumberland iron works and Dover was a hard place for the darkies at that time, whipping to death and hanging. I know something about these things. They had me walking a narrow path long about that time [p. 11-12].

Conditions continued to deteriorate for enslaved peoples across Tennessee through the late 1850s, as Thomas notes that the legislature "was tightening up on the darkies right long, keeping on so till 1858, making the legislation so that they could go on and get slaves anywhere about the country" (p. 12). Even so, change was coming: "the republican party was at work checking up the extension of slave states, and weakening the power of holding states, all this time. In the meantime Miss Stowe was using her power in writing. At this time you want to know that I was not reading her book very much in 1858" (p. 12). But he was paying close attention:

> Ha! Ha! Ha! Another election was coming now. From 1858 to 1860 things was on a move. Ha! Ha! Ha!...I expected a change of some kind, but I could not tell what....I was peeping and listening around....I was listening and expecting something but I did not know how the darkies could ever be free....There was a workman on the railroad just about the time of the John Brown excitement. This man told me for to keep still and not run away. Said the next election that the Republicans would get in, then this union would split and the darkies would be free [p. 13].

Thomas took the man's advice and waited two years. In 1860,

> things went on till the fall of the election. After the election then there was a big old stir in the South. There was the republicans elected, great dissatisfaction in the south, wondering what to do. Some wanted to stay in the union and some wanted to go out, then the states went to election.... They voted themselves out of the union [p. 13].

Once the Confederate States declared war by firing on Fort Sumter, the Cumberland River quickly became a major scene of combat. In early 1862, Confederate forces built Fort Donelson on a bend in the river, "a little fort about 17 miles of where I lived" (p. 14). When General Grant's army (later the Army of the Tennessee) took Donelson on February 16, it gave Union forces nearly complete control of the Cumberland, and Nashville fell just one week later. Union troops began pouring into central Tennessee, with the 83rd Illinois Infantry from Monmouth arriving early in the fall. Nevertheless, Thomas and the thousands of others enslaved throughout the region were not yet free--Abraham Lincoln would not issue his Emancipation Proclamation until the following January. As Thomas recalls:

> From February up to this time my old boss had his eye on me, watching when I would run away, so he could get to shoot me. That is what he told the neighbors....Long about the first of October they was making it hard for the darkies around where I lived, which made me kind of uneasy. They were running the darkies farther South....so that the republicans could not get them, then they would call in a lot of these guerillas to run the darkies farther south, then they would not mind killing a darkie if he tried to get away than of killing a dog. And I did not care to risk myself in the hands of my old boss, so one week, about the middle of the week, I kind of thought it was time for me to be getting out of the hands of my old boss. Then I commenced fixing about going [p. 15].

Thomas had married a few years earlier, and he and his wife Harriet would eventually have 13 children together. Yet as with so many enslaved families across the South, he and Harriet lived on different plantations with different enslavers, and at the time he was unable to involve his family in plotting an escape (they had joined him in Illinois before the end of the war). Thomas undertook his usual labor so as not to arouse suspicion, working into Saturday night preparing the ground of a wheat field for sowing on Monday. Then it was time:

> My way of going to my wife's house was toward the fort [Donelson] five miles. My old boss kept watching me so long ever since February that he thought I was not going. I had been going and coming about 6 or 8 months the same way. When the old man got kind of slack I got anxious. Look there, that Saturday night about eight or nine o'clock see me packing my little old things in a canoe. I was in the habit of carrying a little some thing, but this time I loaded in my little craft to come no more
>
> Well I can tell you what, I did not run around and shake hands with the old boss, and tell him goodbye, as he said he was waiting for me to start so he could get a chance to shoot me....You haven't the least idea what I was thinking about that night, slipping down the hill to the canoe placing my little duds one thing and another such as I had. Think about it. Rounded my little canoe out; and down the river I went. Then I had five miles to go or more down the river and through the woods for about a mile.
>
> Now I am at the place I expected to go that night. With my plans laid for the next day, stayed till about evening here started soon enough to get to the fort about dark. I came up to the pickets and they let me in, then I had a chance to stay there that night [p. 15-16].

And with that Thomas was a free man. Over the pages that follow he details the challenges of life as a contraband behind Union lines, then describes his crossing into southern Illinois with a group of several other escapees and taking the Illinois Central Railroad to Monmouth. Initially he found work as a farmhand, but by 1864 he was working as a janitor at Monmouth College. At about the same time, in early 1864, he went to speak with a grocer and former member of the 83rd Illinois named N. A. Scott about his family's plight, left behind on the Cumberland. Scott returned to Tennessee and soon came back with Thomas's wife, Harriet, and their children. Thomas would later take a job as "roustabout" in Scott's general store, making deliveries and handling much of the general labor. In his "later days," he would find work "white washing and patching, making and fixing cisterns" (p. 23). He learned to read and write at a sabbath school run by the Second United Presbyterian Church, where he became a member about 1870; he later helped to establish a school for Black children in Monmouth. In 1896, Thomas went south to visit his old home in Tennessee, by then in ruins. He died at Monmouth less than a decade later in 1907.

In the introduction to their pathbreaking volume, *The Slave's Narrative*, Charles Twitchell Davis and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., describe such texts as the means "through which the black slave first proclaimed himself a human being" (1985:xii). Yet they reserve this powerful description for those narratives written prior to Emancipation, for "Once slavery was formally abolished, no need

existed for the slave to *write* himself into the human community through the action of first-person narration" (1985:xiii, italics in original). The abolition of slavery changed the context of writing and publishing the slavery narrative. This is not, however, cause to challenge the significance of those narratives, like John Thomas's, written after the Civil War, and particularly after the period of Reconstruction came to its premature end. White America, in the rush to repair its own festering divisions between South and North, was quick to forget the monstrous truth of slavery in the noble fiction of the Lost Cause. And a younger generation of Black Americans had not experienced that truth themselves. In *Slave Narratives after Slavery*, William Andrews describes these post-bellum works as "autobiographical statements by men and women who, having survived enslavement and pioneered the freedom struggle in the postwar South and North, were determined to leave their literary mark on the newly united nation" (2011:1). They did not let America forget.

Cataloguing *Thirty-five Years* is much like cataloguing an unpublished manuscript: as the only known copy of a published but unrecorded work, it is similarly unique. Any discovery of a new slavery narrative is cause for excitement. In 2024, when literary scholar Jonathan Schroeder discovered a narrative by fugitive John Jacobs in an 1855 Australian newspaper, it became a major story in the *New York Times*. Yet we trace no such discovery of a new slavery narrative, separately printed in book form, since that of William Goings's *Rambles* in 2006, which the University of Virginia acquired from Between the Covers Rare Books for $22,500. **Like *Rambles*, *Thirty-five Years* merits publication in a modern edition and should take its place alongside others of its kind, considered by many to be America's first home-grown literary genre**.

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[Slavery Narratives--Tennessee]. John Thomas. THIRTY-FIVE YEARS IN SLAVERY, AND THEN OUT. IN THIS BOOK I GIVE YOU A FEW IDEAS OF MY OWN EXPERIENCE. [No printer or publisher identified, n.p., n.d. on title, but partial colophon with Monmouth, Il., February 1902]. 29 pp., 8vo (22 cm). Textblock stapled and loose within original, salmon-colored printed wraps, light chipping around edges and at foot of spine, owner's signature at top outer corner of front wrap with handstamped address in Monmouth, IL; full-page frontis. of author, text clean with occasional spotting, overall very good.

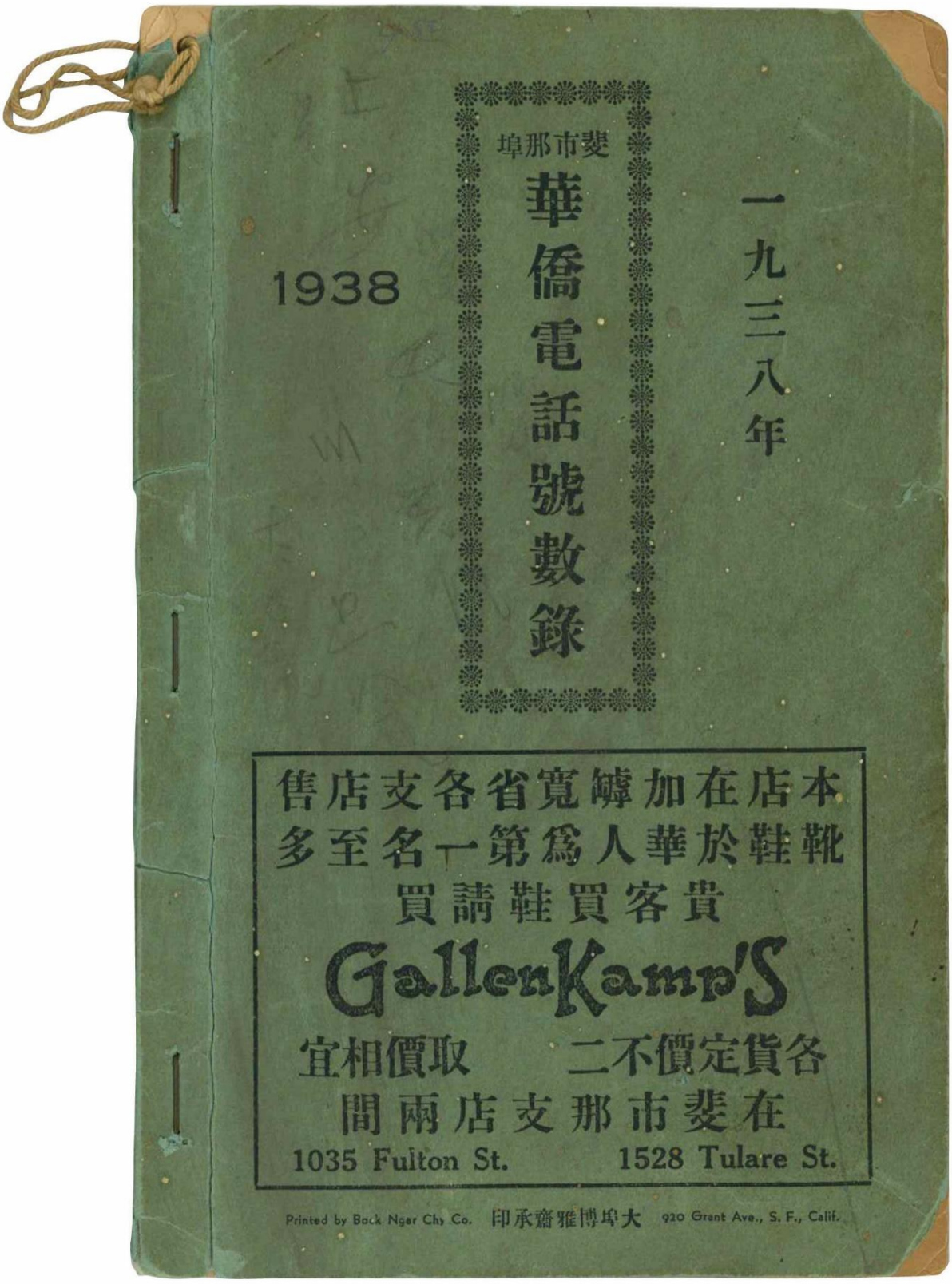
23. SOLD.

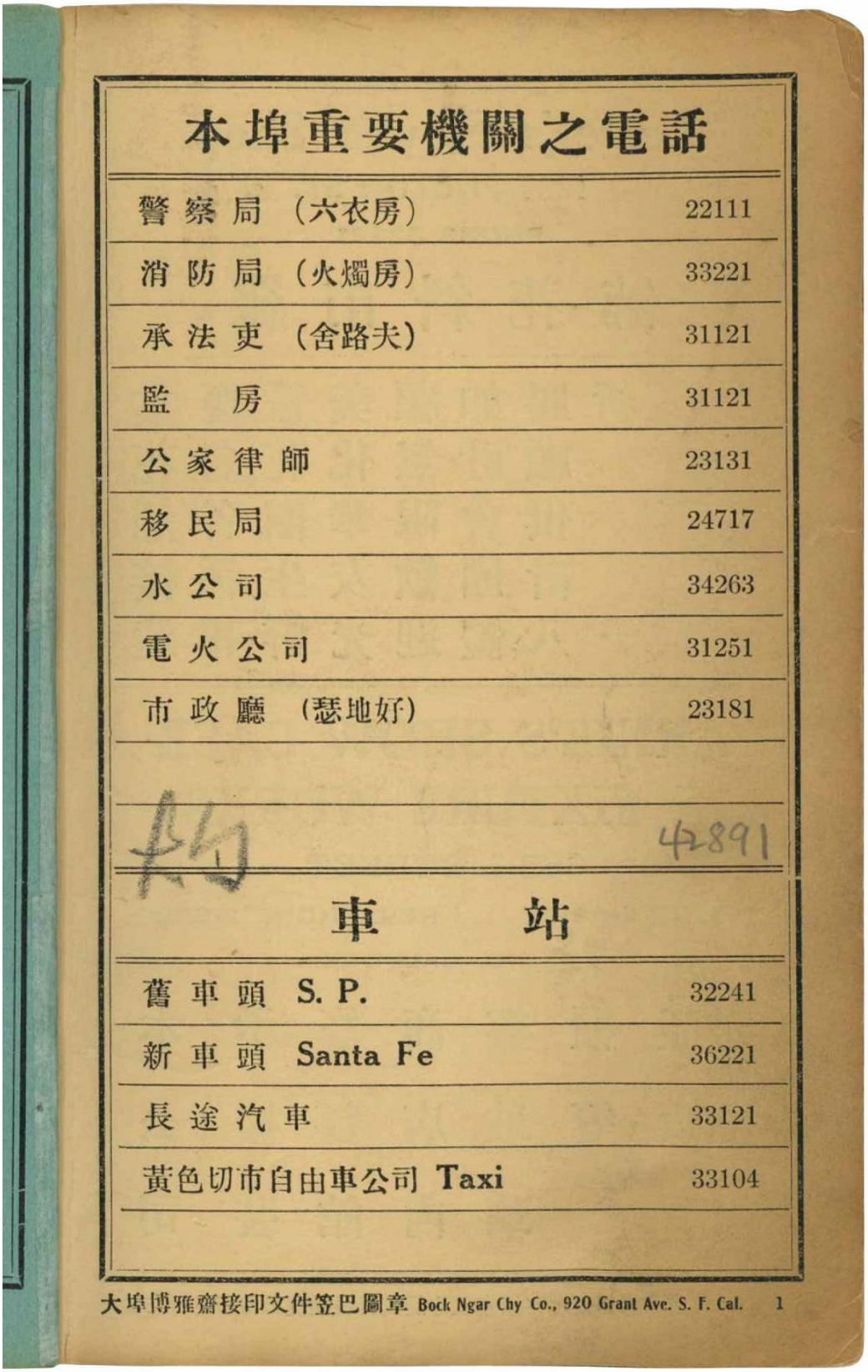
The Only Known Copy of Fresno's First Chinese Telephone Directory

From 1850 to 1880, the number of Chinese immigrants to California increased from only a few hundred people to more than 75,000, about nine percent of the state's population. Although today we usually associate this immigration with the California Gold Rush and the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, Chinese laborers made up 75% of the state's agricultural workforce by the 1890s, particularly in the Central Valley. In the Delta region, at the confluence of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, Chinese workers turned 88,000 acres of swamp into farmland by building more than a thousand miles of levees. Farther south along the central San Joaquin, they dug hundreds of miles of irrigation canals that turned the area around modern Fresno into one of the most arable in the state. Chinese immigrants throughout the Central Valley were pushed into racially segregated enclaves, with so-called Chinatowns developing quickly in communities such as Bakersfield, Hanford, Stockton, Locke, and Fresno. By 1890, Fresno's Chinatown was the third largest in the state, behind only San Francisco and Los Angeles. Established on the west side of the railroad tracks about 1872, it was a diverse and vibrant community into the 1950s, when urban renewal projects began to strip the community of its distinctive character. **This Chinese telephone directory, published in 1938, appears to be the the first and only such guide ever produced for the residents of Fresno's Chinatown**. We locate no other copy.

Fresno is the county seat of Fresno County, which was carved in 1856 from parts of three other counties--Mariposa, Merced, and Tulare. Named after the Spanish word for the scrubby ash that flourishes on the banks of the San Joaquin River, Fresno's first county seat was the town of Millerton, founded in 1853. Millerton's fate, however, was sealed by two disasters. In 1867, the San Joaquin flooded and washed away three out of every four structures in town. Then five years later, as its residents were trying to rebuild, the Central Pacific Railroad built a station on its new Southern Pacific line at a farm about 25 miles to the south. Called Fresno Station (later shortened to Fresno), it drew most of Millerton's remaining people. It also drew Chinese immigrants, many of whom had worked for the railroad and were master brickmakers, supplying many of the bricks for Fresno's structures. Yet soon the prejudice that met Chinese immigrants throughout California prevailed here, too, and Chinese residents were restricted to the west side of the Southern Pacific tracks. Fresno's Chinatown, as old as the city itself, grew as Fresno grew.

As in other parts of California, most of the Chinese immigrants who settled in Fresno were landless peasants from Kwangtung Province; the vast majority from eight districts: Toi-Shan, Hoi-Ping, Yan Ping, Sun-Wei, Shun-Tak, Nam-Hoi, Pun- Yu, and Chung-Shan. With the creation of Chinatown, West Fresno became a central region that attracted more Chinese. In 1880, Chinatown consisted of several blocks facing the railroad tracks, its central area defined by a four-block square that included China Alley and G Street between Kern and Mariposa. At this time, there were 171 Chinese inhabitants of Chinatown: 147 men, 19 prostitutes, 13 "respectable" women, and two sons


1938
一九三八年
斐市那埠
華僑電話號數錄
本店在加罅寬省各支店售
靴鞋於華人爲第一名至多
貴客買鞋請買
GallenKamp's
各貨定價不二　取價相宜
在斐市那支店兩間
1035 Fulton St.
1528 Tulare St.
Printed by Back Ngar Chy Co. 印承齋雅博埠大 920 Grant Ave., S. F., Calif.



本埠重要機關之電話

警察局（六衣房）	22111
消防局（火燭房）	33221
承法吏（舍路夫）	31121
監房	31121
公家律師	23131
移民局	24717
水公司	34263
電火公司	31251
市政廳（瑟地好）	23181

42891

車站

舊車頭 S. P.	32241
新車頭 Santa Fe	36221
長途汽車	33121
黃色切市自由車公司 Taxi	33104

of the pioneer settler, Ah Kit (Chacon 1988:374). While most of the Chinese in Fresno were farm workers, they also found work as gardeners, cooks, irrigation ditch diggers, and general domestic workers. Others owned and operated businesses, including laundries, herb and grocery stores, and restaurants. Only a small number of Chinese residents were of this merchant class, but they were the ruling elites of Chinatown. Controlling the distribution of goods consumed within the Chinese community and extending credit to those in need of support, they dominated political and social structures by dominating the Chinese associations. Fresno's Chinatown also developed a red light district that became a haven for vice: prostitution, gambling, and opium.

During the 1920s, West Fresno drew African Americans and immigrants from a range of other countries--Japan, Italy, Russia, Armenia, and Mexico. The Chinese population fell as these others grew in numbers, from 1104 in 1900 to 617 in 1920, and in the process, Fresno's Chinatown lost some of its Chinese character but thrived as a multicultural enclave. This 1938 directory, titled 埠那市年侨电话号码数录, or *Telephone Number List of Overseas Chinese in Fresno*, dates to this later period of Chinatown's development. All of the listings are in Chinese with English numbers, and the 24 pages are divided into sections including government and emergency contacts, social groups and civic organizations, businesses, and private residences; several of the pages have manuscript additions in spaces provided. The directory was published by the Bock Ngar Chy Company, one of the most successful printing and stationery firms in San Francisco's Chinatown. We trace no other copies of this directory, nor of any other Chinese directories for Fresno. Indeed, a focused search of OCLC reveals few surviving publications of any kind related to Fresno's Chinatown during the period from 1870 to 1950**. A rare and important survival from what was once the third largest Chinatown in California**.

Relevant sources:

Chacon, Ramon D.
1988 The Beginning of Racial Segregation: The Chinese in West Fresno and Chinatown's Role as Red Light District, 1870s-1920s. *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 70(4):371-398.

Lai, Him Mark
2004 *Becoming Chinese American: A History of Communities and Institutions*. AltaMira Press, Walnut Creek, CA.

Street, Richard Steven
2004 *Beasts of the Field: A Narrative History of California Farmworkers, 1769-1913*. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

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[Fresno, California--Chinese Directory]. 埠那市年侨电话号码数录. [TELEPHONE NUMBER LIST OF OVERSEAS CHINESE IN FRESNO]. Bock Ngar Chy Co., 920 Grand Ave., San Francisco, 1938. 24 pp. 8vo (21 cm). Original printed green wraps, stapled at spine, edgewear and light chipping to corners, string tie in upper left corner for hanging. Interior clean with advertisements in Chinese and English; directory text in Chinese with manuscript additions. Very good.

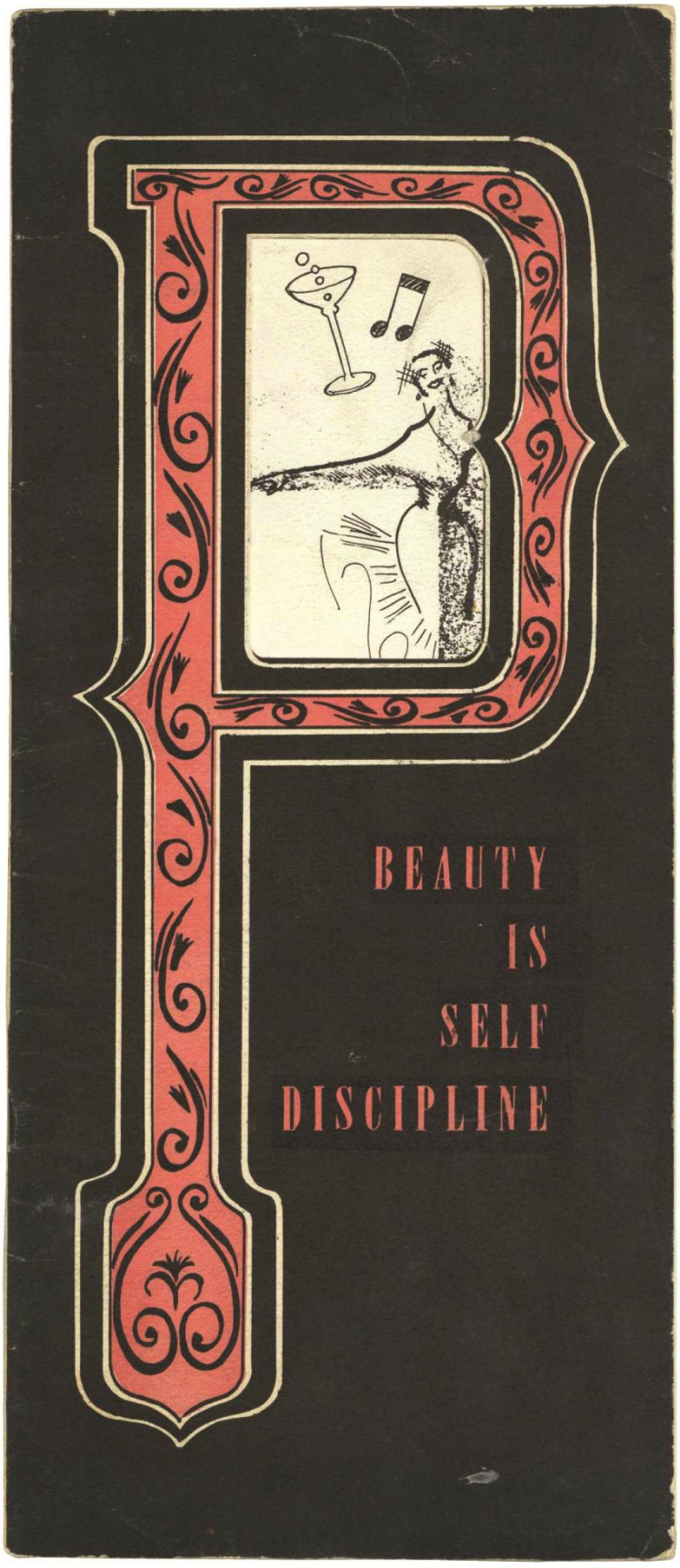
24. SOLD.

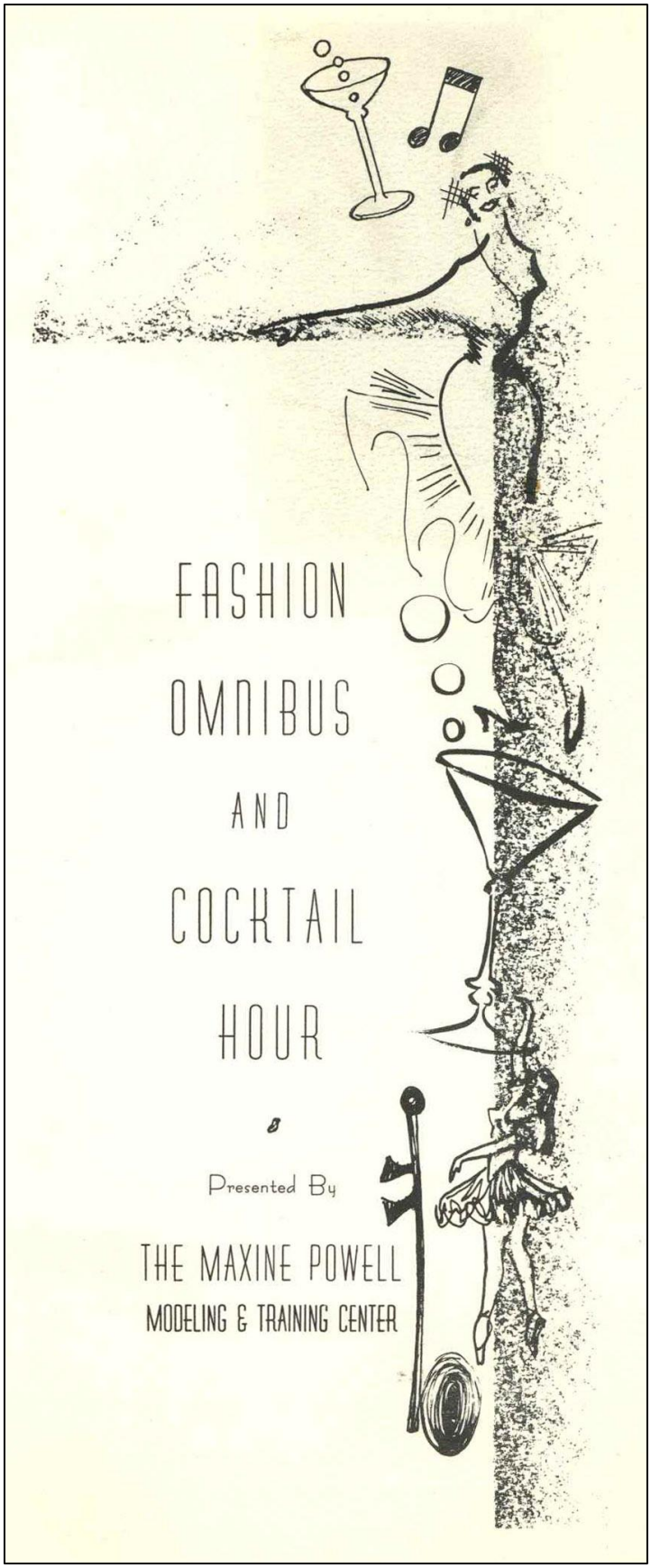
Motor City Style: Maxine Powell and the Making of Motown

Launched in Detroit as Tamla Records on January 12, 1959, but renamed just over a year later, Motown was more than a record label. Motown changed the national culture, perhaps more thoroughly than any such enterprise in the history of popular entertainment. Before Motown, most music by Black artists was shunted into the category of R&B, effectively segregating it from white audiences and the Billboard pop charts. But founder Berry Gordy, Jr., envisioned a label built on the idea of the crossover, of selling records across these predefined, race-based genres. Doing so meant marketing the artists, as much as their music, to millions of young white listeners who would ultimately determine chart success. For this--the process of turning Motown artists into American icons--Gordy turned to fellow Detroit entrepreneur Maxine Powell, who had opened the city's first Black finishing and modeling school in 1951. The Gordy family's printing company, operated by Berry's siblings Esther and Fuller, had printed a program for Powell, while younger sister Gwen was one of her models. In 1964, at Gwen's urging, Berry hired Powell to create a finishing school for Motown. Over the next five years, Powell would shape the Motown style. She taught Marvin Gaye to perform with his eyes open, Diana Ross to smile when she sang. Martha Reeves later recalled that "Our introduction to Maxine Powell was the best thing that ever happened to us" (in Aquila 2022:82). **This program for Powell's 1955 Fashion Omnibus and Cocktail Hour is the print job that introduced her to the Gordy family**. It appears to be the only surviving printed material of any kind from the Maxine Powell Modeling & Training Center.

Born Maxine Blair in Texarkana, Texas, on May 30, 1915, Powell was brought up by her aunt in Chicago, Illinois, where she graduated from Hyde Park High School in 1933. After high school she attended Madame C. J. Walker's School of Beauty Culture, completing coursework in acting, dance, and elocution while working as a manicurist to support her studies. She found work as a model and personal maid in the early 1940s, during which time she performed with the Negro Drama League, a Black reperatory company, and created a one-woman show, An Evening with Maxine Powell, that she staged at the Chicago Theater. By this time she had married a man named James Powell, and although the marriage ended in divorce, she kept Powell's name for the rest of her life. Powell moved to Detroit in 1948, where she offered courses on modeling, etiquette, and self-improvement for several years before opening her own modeling school in 1951. Two years later she bought a large house that she converted to an event and banquet space for the school, the largest such facility for African American events in the city. Then about 1955, while planning a Las Vegas-style fashion show, Powell sought a printer who could produce the elaborate souvenir brochure she had designed to commemorate the event. As Powell recalled years later:

> I had an annual show once a year. And I did a souvenir booklet and I wanted to find someone that did offset work and because I had worked with three artists; one for the cover...and two other artists, they did the inside, the ads. And someone said to me that...the Gordy Printing Company was the best and they did excellent work. So...in Detroit here, there's a street called Farnesworth and St. Antoine. So I went over and I met the delightful Mrs. Esther Edwards


BEAUTY
IS
SELF
DISCIPLINE


FASHION
OMNIBUS
AND
COCKTAIL
HOUR
Presented By
THE MAXINE POWELL
MODELING & TRAINING CENTER

Maxine Powell

Miss Powell, Founder and Directress of the Powell Modeling and Training Center, comes to us from Chicago...where she was active in cultural and civic affairs. She has a background of Charm instruction from several Chicago schools and the famed John Robert Powers School. Her wide experience in the fields of dancing and dramatics, and her excellent training, makes her well qualified for her present position.

> and...she and her brother Fuller Gordy were in the printing business together. And they were elated over this job, they had never seen anything like it before. And that's how I got to know the Gordys....And I invited them as my guests for the show [1995 Interview with Maxine Powell, *Rock & Roll*].

The Gordy family had moved to Detroit from Oconee, Georgia, in 1922 as part of the Great Migration, drawn north like so many other Black families by the opportunities of the automotive industry and the fear of violence in the Jim Crow South. In Detroit, Berry and Bertha Fuller Gordy opened a grocery store, owned a carpentry and plastering business, and started the print shop that their two eldest children, Fuller and Esther, would later operate. Berry, Jr., was born in Detroit in 1929, the seventh of eight Gordy children, and while his siblings all took positions managing or operating the family's existing businesses, Berry insisted on carving his own path. After returning from active service in the Korean War in 1953, he pursued his interest in music, writing songs and opening a record store. Although the store was unsuccessful, his songwriting brought him to the attention of a local talent club owner who introduced him to singer Jackie Wilson. With help from his sister Gwen, Berry wrote several songs that Wilson recorded, including the R&B chart-topper "Lonely Teardrops" (which also went to #7 on the pop chart). In 1957 he discovered a band named the Matadors, led by a singer named Smokey Robinson, and convinced Robinson to change their name to the Miracles. After founding the Tamla label in 1959 and releasing two records, Gordy changed its name to Motown in 1960. Its first release was "Bad Girl" by the Miracles, which they quickly followed up with the crossover smashes "Shop Around" and "You've Really Got a Hold of Me," both of which are Grammy Hall of Fame recordings.

Despite these auspicious beginnings, Gordy knew that the key to maintaining the crossover success achieved by the Miracles' first records was to increase their appeal to white audiences. As he continued to sign new artists, including the Marvelettes (who broke out later in 1960 with their hit "Please Mr. Postman") and unknown singer Mary Wells, he turned his attention more sharply to the issue of public image. Gordy had met Maxine Powell through the family's printing business and through Gwen's connection to Powell's modeling school, and he began seeking her opinions about the young artists he was signing. In 1964, at Gwen's recommendation, he asked Powell to create a finishing school for Motown. Powell closed her Modeling & Training Center later that year and joined the Motown family, becoming head of its Artistic Development department. From 1964 to 1969, she worked with every artist and group that Gordy signed. Indeed, it was mandatory to attend her classes, even for those like Marvin Gaye who initially resisted. **Powell shaped the Motown style not by making its artists safe, but by making them cool**. Smokey Robinson later stated that "Maxine Powell taught us fundamental social graces, giving us the confidence to walk into any situation with our heads held high" (in Williams 2013). Diana Ross called Powell "the woman who taught me everything I know" (Kurlansky 2013:145). In 1969, when Gordy moved Motown to Los Angeles, Powell chose to remain in Detroit, where she taught courses in personal development at Wayne County Community College from 1971 to 1985. While much of her work with Motown artists had unfolded behind the scenes, her contributions became much more widely known in her later years, and when she died in 2013 at the age of 98, her obituary in the *New York Times* referred to her as "Motown's Maven of Style."

This large and impressive program, produced by the Gordy Printing Company, was given to patrons of the 1955 Fashion Omnibus and Cocktail Hour hosted by the Maxine Powell Modeling

& Training Center. **We trace no other surviving print items associated with Powell's finishing school**. The program measures 13 by 5 1/2 inches and is 28 pages in length. Its die cut cover is emblazoned with the phrase "Beauty Is Self Discipline" and opens onto a stylishly illustrated title page. The brochure includes: photographs of Powell and all of her models; articles titled "What is Beauty! What is Charm!," "Lovely Hair is Feminine," and "Beauty Hints"; the detailed program of the fashion show; a full-page list of patrons; a list of designers, models, staff, and judges; and dozens of advertisements for Black-owned Detroit businesses.

A unique survival heralding the style that transformed American culture.

Relevant sources:

Aquila, Richard
2022 *Rock & Roll in Kennedy's America: A Cultural History of the Early 1960s*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Kurlansky, Mark
2013 *Ready for a Brand New Beat: How "Dancing in the Street" Became the Anthem for a Changing America*. Riverhead Books, Penguin Group, New York.

Rock and Roll
1995 Interview with Maxine Powell [Part 1 of 2]. American Archive of Public Broadcasting (GBH and the Library of Congress), Boston, MA and Washington, D. C.

Sykes, Charles E.
2017 The Motown Legacy: Hometown Sound, Mass Appeal. In *Issues in African American Music: Power, Gender, Race, Representation*, edited by Portia Maultsby and Mellonee Burnim. Routledge, New York

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[African American--Entertainment]. Maxine Powell. FASHION OMNIBUS AND COCKTAIL HOUR. Presented by the Maxine Powell Modeling & Training Center. Gordy Printing Co., 5135 S. Antoine Street, Detroit. [1955]. 28 pp. Oblong 4to, 13 x 5 1/2 in (33 x 14 cm). Stapled in die cut, illustrated self wraps, wraps and contents on stiff paper, illustrated throughout. Minor edge wear, occasional light foxing. Very good.

25. **$2500**.