PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 10

Fall 2026

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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On the covers: 1. *Arte de Construccion*, Havana, 1767 (detail).

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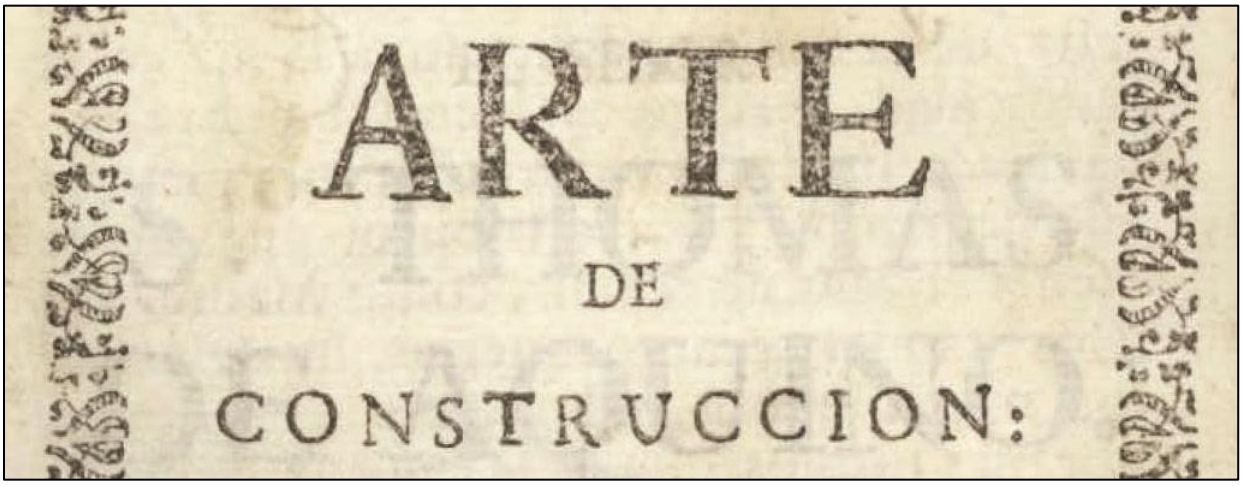
Catalogue 10, Fall 2026

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A Cuban Incunable: The First Substantial Book Printed in Havana

Printing came late to the island of Cuba. Despite both the early date of its colonization by Spain (San Cristóbal de la Habana was established in 1514) and the significance of its military and economic role in Spain's American ambitions, there is no evidence for any printing at Havana or elsewhere on the island before the 1720s. In contrast, the first printing house was established at Mexico City in 1539, at Lima in 1581, at Puebla in 1642, and in Guatemala by 1660. Even on a frontier as remote as Paraguay, Jesuit missionaries were printing religious tracts by 1700. Some combination of colonial government censorship, low population density, and a limited intellectual infrastructure acted to keep Cuban demand for locally printed works low. Indeed, bibliographers have identified only two journeymen printers in Cuba prior to 1750, Carlos Habré and Francisco José de Paula, who produced no more than half-a-dozen surviving works between them. Not until 1754, with the arrival of Blas de los Olivos from Sevilla, is there any record of a full-time printer on the island. And of the 14 surviving Cuban imprints from 1722 to 1765, not one is a book-length work, defined by UNESCO as a non-periodical, printed work of at least 49 pages. This work, the first item in our Catalogue 10, is the earliest such Cuban imprint. *Arte de Construccion*, a grammar for correctly building and translating Latin phrases, was composed by a South American friar and first published at Sevilla in 1734. Here in a contemporary, gilt-tooled binding of speckled calf, it is a remarkable discovery and represents a true milestone in the history of Cuban and Caribbean printing. **Previously unrecorded, this is the only known copy**.


ARTE
DE
CONSTRUCCION:

Although bibliographers in the 19th- and early 20th-centuries suggested the existence of Cuban imprints from 1707 and 1720, later research has concluded that these are all but certainly ghosts (Brown 2016). Little is known of Cuba's first printer, Carlos Habré of Ghent, neither the date when he arrived in Havana nor details of how he learned the printer's art. For many years the earliest known Habré imprint was the *Tarifa general de precios de medicinas*, an official 30-page price list of medicines produced at Havana in January 1723. Then in 2016, Kenneth Ward--then Curator of Latin American Books at the John Carter Brown Library--announced his discovery of a previously unrecorded religious tract, *Novena en devoción, y gloria de N.P. San Augustin*, among the collections of the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid. Appearing from Habré's press in 1722, this 43-page devotional, a reprint itself, is recognized as the earliest known Cuban imprint. Habré produced the

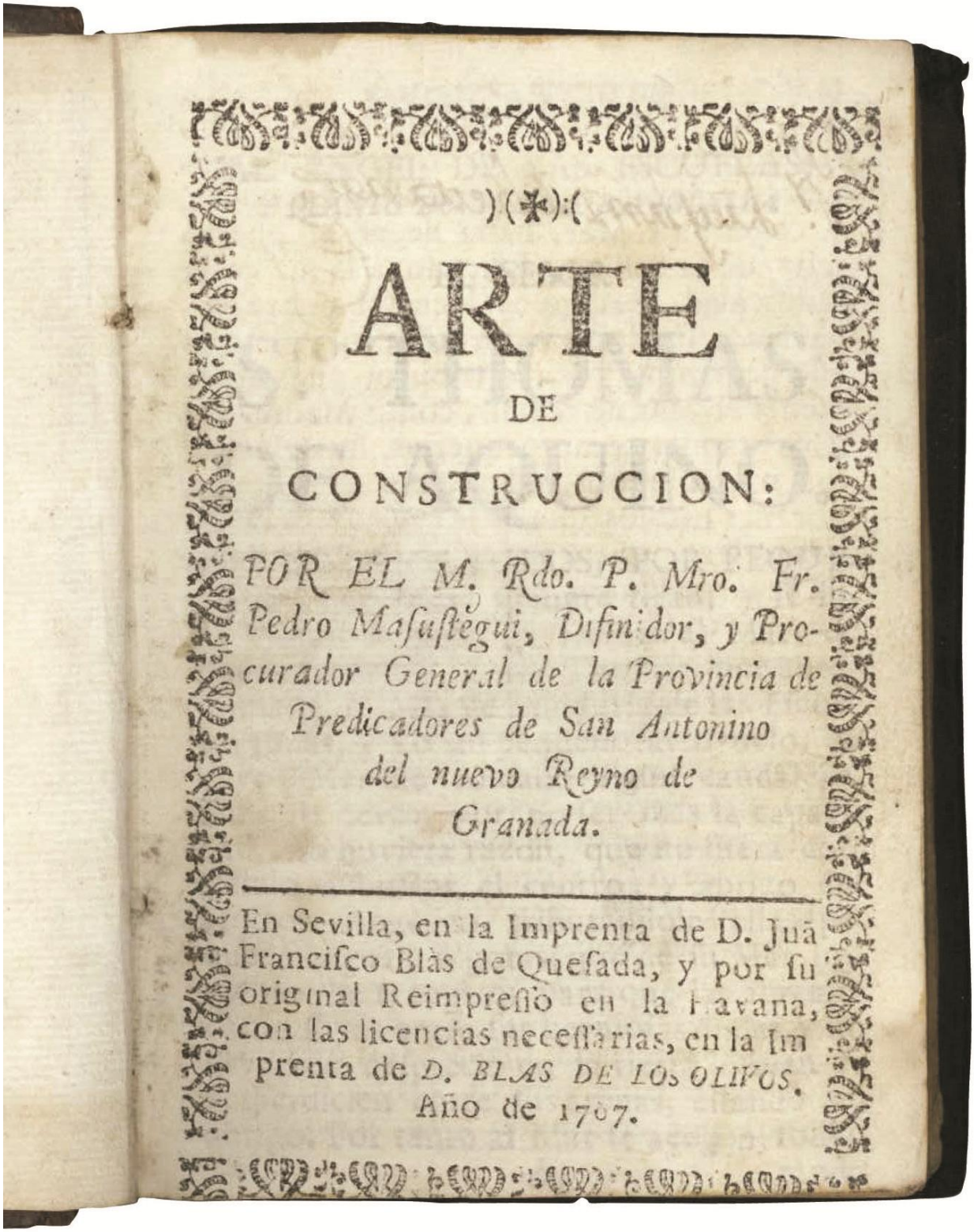




last of his three surviving works in 1727. A period of nearly a decade followed before the island's next imprint came from the press of its second printer, Francisco José de Paula, in 1736. As with Habré, only three of Paula's works survive, the last two both appearing in 1741.

This so-called "pre-history" of printing in Havana came to an end with the arrival of Blas de los Olivos about 1754 (Fornet 2002; Ward 2016). Olivos likely trained in Sevilla, and unlike both of his predecessors in Havana--who seem to have worked on binding presses, explaining in part their limited output--Olivos brought a true printing press with him to the island. His earliest known imprint, a thesis defended at the Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús en La Habana, appeared in 1754, though no copy is currently known to exist. His earliest surviving imprint is a religious tract published in 1756, *Exercicio de la Via Crucis* (18mo, 14 leaves), composed by Manuel de Santa Maria, comissario visitador de la venerable Ordẽ tercera de penitẽcia de este Convento de N. padre San Francisco de la Havana. When Anderson Galleries offered the only known copy in 1924, they hailed it as "the earliest known book printed in Havana." The volume was remargined throughout with some words repaired in facsimile, and was in a later mosaic fine binding of pink morocco (gilt extra), with pink morocco doublures, all mosaicked with black, olive, cream, and brown morocco and tooled in gold, safeguarded in a wadded morocco jacket and held in a slip-in case. It went for $310, a bit more than $25,000 today, to the firm of Bernard Quaritch, which in 1926 listed it in their Catalogue 403 at £105, or about $35,000 today. The Olivos *Exercicio* is held in the Maitland Collection of the New York Public Library.

Cuba's hot, humid, climate--as with all other centers of Caribbean printing--is notoriously poor for the preservation of books and paper. Thus, despite the fact that Olivos produced a range



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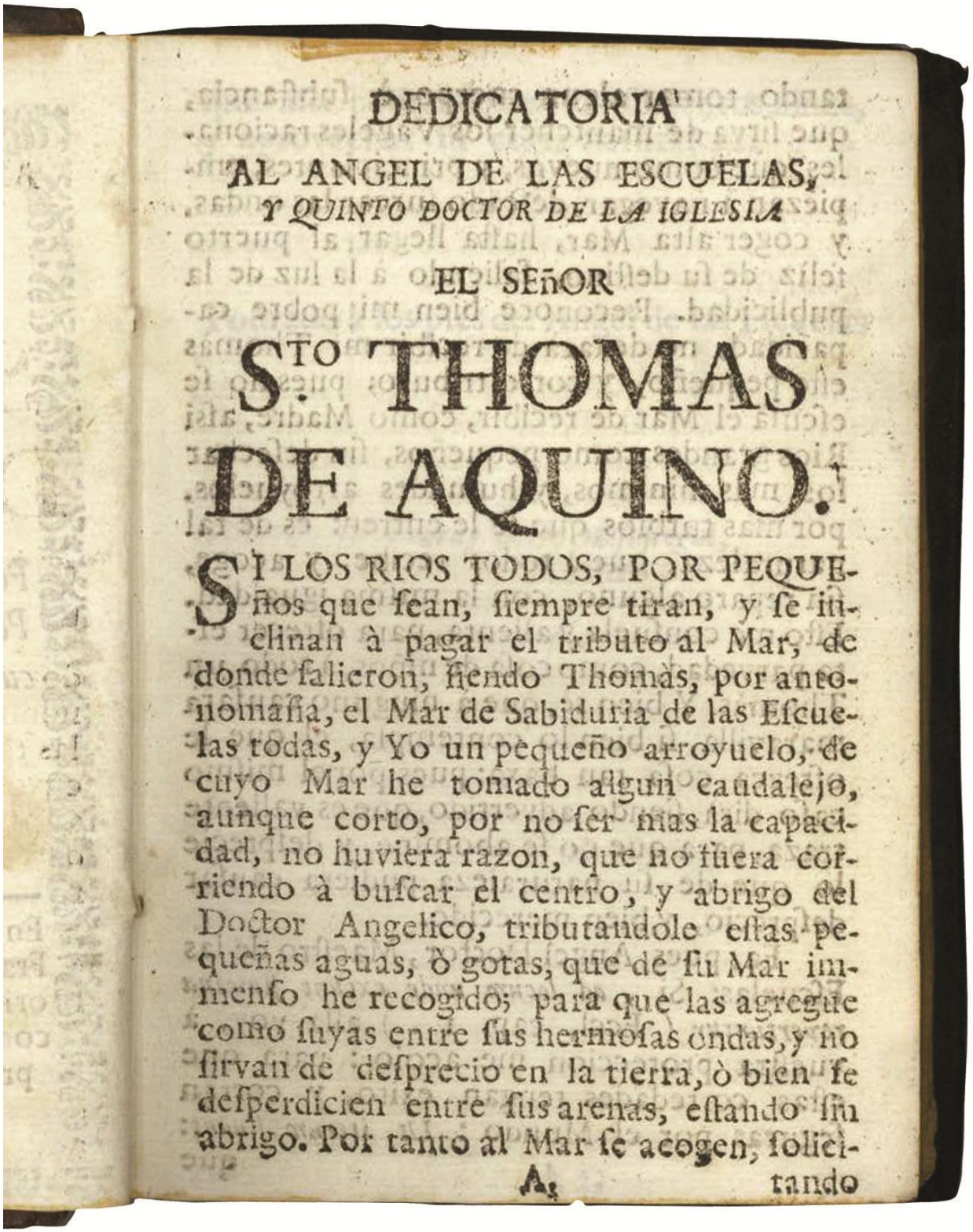
ARTE

DE

CONSTRUCCION:

POR EL M. Rdo. P. Mro. Fr. Pedro Maſuſtegui, Difinidor, y Procurador General de la Provincia de Predicadores de San Antonino del nuevo Reyno de Granada.

En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de D. Juã Franciſco Blàs de Queſada, y por ſu original Reimpreſſò en la Havana, con las licencias neceſſarias, en la Imprenta de *D. BLAS DE LOS OLIVOS.* Año de 1707.



DEDICATORIA

AL ANGEL DE LAS ESCUELAS,

Y QUINTO DOCTOR DE LA IGLESIA

EL SEñOR

S.TO THOMAS DE AQUINO.

SI LOS RIOS TODOS, POR PEQUEños que sean, siempre tiran, y se inclinan à pagar el tributo al Mar, de donde salieron, siendo Thomàs, por antonomasia, el Mar de Sabiduria de las Escuelas todas, y Yo un pequeño arroyuelo, de cuyo Mar he tomado algun caudalejo, aunque corto, por no ser mas la capacidad, no huviera razon, que no fuera corriendo à buscar el centro, y abrigo del Doctor Angelico, tributandole estas pequeñas aguas, ò gotas, que de su Mar immenso he recogido; para que las agregue como suyas entre sus hermosas ondas, y no sirvan de desprecio en la tierra, ò bien se desperdicien entre sus arenas, estando sin abrigo. Por tanto al Mar se acogen, solici-

of printed materials for more than two decades (his last known imprint is dated 1775), OCLC lists only 14 surviving works from his press, all but three of which exist today in a single copy. Cuban bibliographies add nothing more to this meager total. Most are examples of job printing containing fewer than 50 pages: eight are 20 pages or fewer, and six are *reglamentos* (regulations) printed for government, religious, or civic organizations. Much of his surviving output, that is, differs little from that of his predecessors, Habré and Paula, neither of whom is known to have printed a work of more than 47 pages (Habré's 1722 *Novena*).

At least two recorded Olivos imprints are much more substantial, however, surpassing the UNESCO threshold for printed books. One, in the California State Library's Sutro Collection, is a 1771 devotional work in Latin and Spanish pertaining to the Pentacost, *Exercicios Sagrados para la Octava y Novena de Pentecostes* (18mo, 156 pp.). The other, published in 1775 and held in the Kislak Collection at the Library of Congress, is a volume of military philosophy, *Compendio de Reflexiones Militares: que Facilita el Mas Perfecto, y Claro Conocimiento del Arte, Extractadas de las Obras del Sr. Visconde del Puerto, Marquès de Santa Cruz* (16mo, viii, 263 pp.). The only known copy of this *Compendio* is in a modern binding of mottled blue calf with gilt trim and was sold at Swann Galleries in 1978 for $2500, just over $13,000 today. Apart from this work and the 1756 *Exercicio*, we trace only one other Olivos imprint in commerce, a 1773 report on a proposed plaza in one of Havana's forts, Castillo de Santo Domingo de Atarés. Titled *Bloqueo, y Sitio de Atarès, Plaza Supuesta: Verificado en la Havana el dia 12. de Abril de 1773* (8vo, 13 pp), it was sold by Sotheby's in 1951 for £17 ($2500) as part of the auction of Sir. R. Leicester Harmsworth's massive library. No works printed by Habré or Paula have ever been offered in commerce, nor have any materials from the press of Cuba's fourth printing concern, Computo Ecclesiastico, which was exclusively producing religious imprints by 1763.

The recent discovery of this previously unknown Olivos imprint, *Arte de Construccion*, is thus significant for several reasons. It is the earliest known proper *book* published in Cuba, and unlike most other surviving 18th-century imprints from the island, it retains its original (or at least a contemporaneous) binding of speckled calf with gilt tooling on the boards and spine. While it thus adds an impressive new item to the group of previously recorded works from the shop of Blas de los Olivos, additional research may further contribute to our knowledge of 18th-century Havana bindings. Beyond Cuba, it is among the first substantial books printed anywhere in the Caribbean world, whether on Spanish, English, or French colonial presses. And the condition of its binding and paper are nothing short of remarkable, given how badly such early works typically fare in the tropics. **We think it is no exaggeration to suggest that it is among the most bibliographically important Cuban or even Caribbean imprints ever offered in the trade**.

Both the text itself and the author are also of considerable interest. *Arte de Constuccion* was written by Father Pedro Masústegui, a prominent Dominican friar based in the city of Santafé (modern Bogotá), capital of what was then known as the New Kingdom of Grenada, a group of Spanish colonial provinces that encompassed most of present-day Columbia. Father Masústegui was the son of a Captain Masústegui who settled in Ibagué in the mid-17th century. He was born about 1681 and as a young man entered the Dominican Order. In 1714, he was elected vicar-prior of the convent in Ibagué, and by 1717 he was a friar and regent of studies at the main convent in Santafé. Masústegui twice served as Rector of the University of St. Thomas Aquinas, from 1718 to 1719 and again from 1725 to 1726. He was present in Rome for the general election chapter of

v. g. El Rey me darà licencia: *Per Regem licebit mih. Licet, ebat*, como todos los verbos impersonales, solo tienen las terceras personas de singular de cada tiempo.

El fin ha sido, dar al Estudiante, en la forma mas breve, que ha sido posible, la explicacion de las Oraciones, que communmente se enseñan en las Escuelas, dexando lo que falta, al cuydado del zeloso Maestro.

LAUS DEO.



1721 and served as Procurator of the Province before the Courts of Madrid and Rome. He resided in Spain between 1733 and 1737, where he oversaw the printing of his own *Arte de Constuccion* and a novena for praying to New Grenada's Lady of Chiquinquirá, both published at Sevilla in 1734, and the second edition of Tobar's history of the Lady, published at Madrid in 1735. In 1760 he was noted as senior member of the Provincial Council, and he died about 1770.

Masústegui's Arte de Construccion is a didactic work that teaches the proper construction of Latin sentences and their translation into Spanish. It is, in short, an exercise in Latin syntax. It was intended as a schoolbook, as he addresses its prologue to "los niños lectores" [i.e., the reading children, (p. xi)] and notes at the beginning of the text that it is "para que el Estudiante sepa traducir a la Lengua Española las Oraciones Latinas, las quales le ayudaran también, para sabir construir las Reglas de todo el Arte" [i.e., so that the student will know how to translate Latin sentences into the Spanish language, which will likewise help him to know how to construct the rules of the entire art (p. 13)]. Arte de Construccion must have been quite a popular work: it was reprinted no fewer than six times, including this Havana edition of 1767, at Málaga in 1773, at Sevilla in 1777 and 1792, at Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1784, and at Guatemala City in 1786. Interestingly, the imprint of the Guatamala edition references this Havana edition of Blas de los Olivos, no copy of which was known to have survived until now. **A remarkable discovery, and the earliest Havana imprint offered at auction or in the trade for more than a century**.

Relevant sources:

Calvo, Hortensia
2003 The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America. *Book History* 6:277-305.
Fornet, Ambrosio
1994 *El Libro en Cuba*. Editorial Letras Cubana, Havana, Cuba.
Olmedo, Beatriz Valverde
2018 *Arte de Construcción* de Fray Pedro Masústegui. *In La Traducción en la Orden de Predicadores*, Vol. 2, edited by Antonio Bueno García, pp. 743-750. Interlingua, Comares Editorial, Grenada, Spain.
Woodbridge, Hensley C. and Lawrence S. Thompson
1976 *Printing in Colonial Spanish America*. Whitston Publishing Company, Troy, NY.

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[Spanish America--Cuban Imprints]. Fr. Pedro Masústegui. ARTE DE CONSTRUCCION. En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de D. Juã Francisco Blas de Quesada, y por su original Reimpresso en la Habana, con las licencias necessarias, en la Imprenta de *D. Blas de los Olivos*. Año de 1767. [xii, 13-229 pp. 18mo (14 x 10 cm). Bound in contemporary (Cuban?) speckled calf with gilt-tooled border on front and back boards and gilt tooling on spine, light edge wear and bumping to boards and spine; edges dyed yellow; pages supple and clean with very little foxing or toning, no worming (all of which are nearly ubiquitous with early Caribbean imprints). Contemporary (?) signature of Fr. Luis De Rettana on verso of title page. Very good.

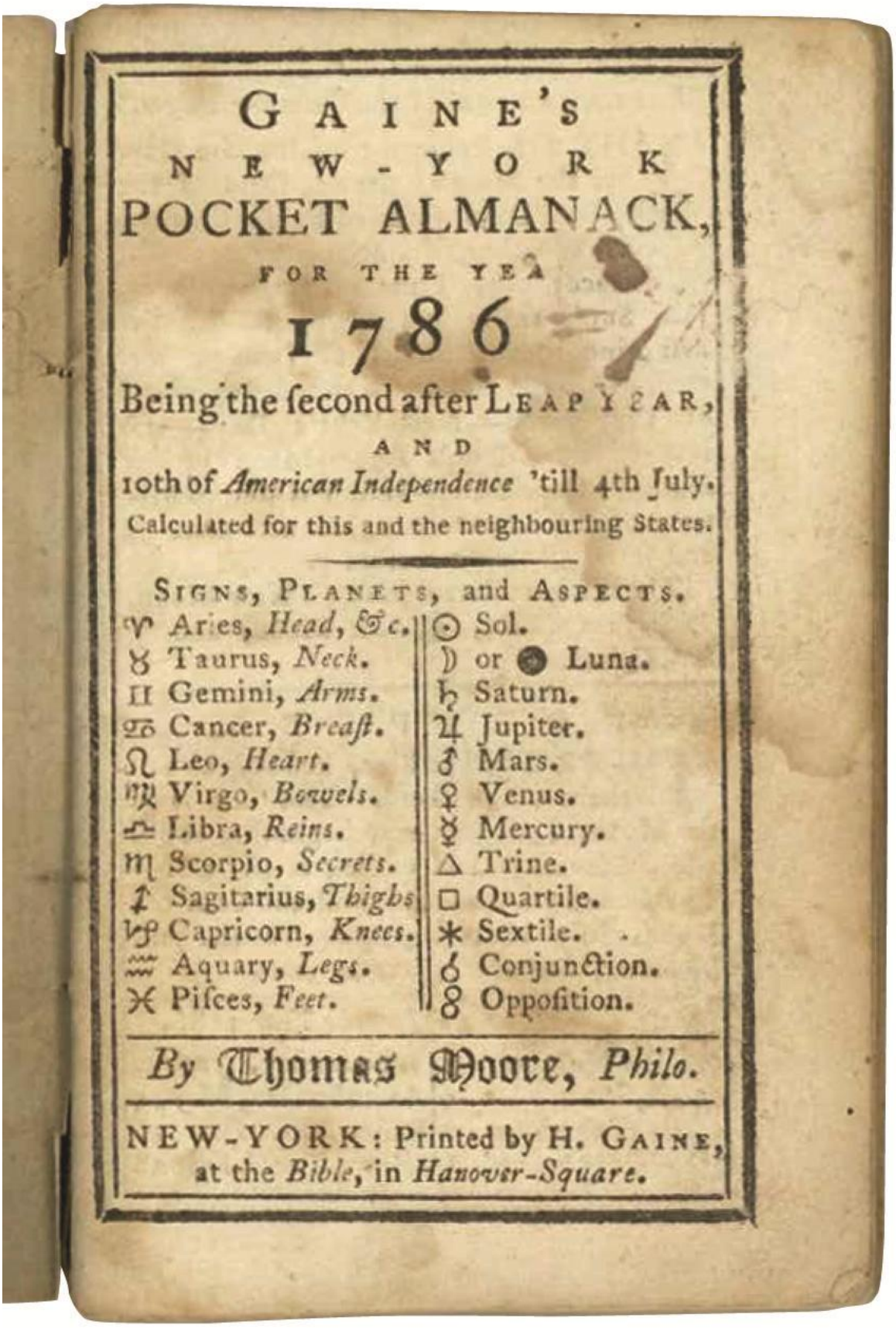
1. **$22,500**.

Gaine's New-York Pocket Almanack for 1786, in Contemporary Wraps

In early America, the humble, pocket-sized almanac was as ubiquitous--and as essential a source of everyday information--as the smartphone is today (McCarthy 2010). Almanacks, like smartphones, were meant to be portable, easily slipped into a gentleman's coat pocket or a lady's handbag. Beyond predicting the weather, they contained monthly calendars and tide tables; lists of holidays and religious observances; astrological charts for predicting one's health; equations for calculating local time; tables showing the moon's phases and the rising and setting of the sun and moon; lists of major roads and the distances between cities; interest tables; and even extras such as advice, puzzles, poetry, and trivia. It is no coincidence that the second item printed in English America, appearing about a year before the famed Bay Psalm Book, was a 1639 almanac written expressly for Massachusetts Colony by William Pierce. No copies of that almanac have survived today, but in little more than a century there were tens of thousands of almanacs published annually by more than a dozen printers across the colonies. Among the most successful of these was *The New-York Pocket Almanack*, published by renowned printer Hugh Gaine beginning in 1755. **Here we are pleased to offer only the fifth known copy of his *Almanack* for 1786, still retaining its vibrant and contemporary wallpaper wraps**.

Hugh Gaine was born in Belfast, Ireland, about 1726 and at the age of 14 began a six-year term as apprentice to printers Samuel Wilson and James Magee. But Wilson and Magee dissolved the partnership before his apprenticeship had ended, and with few prospects in Belfast, he boarded





GAINE'S
NEW-YORK
POCKET ALMANACK,
FOR THE YEA
1786
Being the ſecond after LEAP YEAR,
AND
10th of *American Independence* 'till 4th July.
Calculated for this and the neighbouring States.

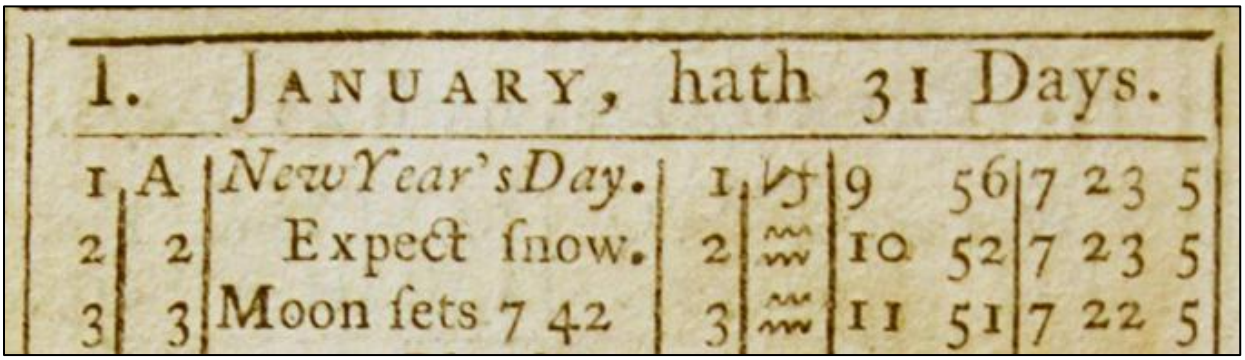
SIGNS, PLANETS, and ASPECTS.

♈ Aries, *Head*, &c.	☉ Sol.
♉ Taurus, *Neck*.	☽ or ● Luna.
♊ Gemini, *Arms*.	♄ Saturn.
♋ Cancer, *Breaſt*.	♃ Jupiter.
♌ Leo, *Heart*.	♂ Mars.
♍ Virgo, *Bowels*.	♀ Venus.
♎ Libra, *Reins*.	☿ Mercury.
♏ Scorpio, *Secrets*.	△ Trine.
♐ Sagitarius, *Thighs*	□ Quartile.
♑ Capricorn, *Knees*.	✶ Sextile.
♒ Aquary, *Legs*.	☌ Conjunction.
♓ Piſces, *Feet*.	☍ Oppoſition.

By Thomas Moore, *Philo.*

NEW-YORK: Printed by H. GAINE,
at the *Bible*, in *Hanover-Square*.

a ship for New York City in 1745. For the next six years he worked as a journeyman printer under the city's official printer, James Parker, then struck out on his own. In June 1752 he opened a print office and bookshop from which he soon launched a newspaper, *The New York Mercury*. Gaine also printed his first almanac that year, *Hutchins Almanack for 1753*, of which only a single copy exists (at NYPL). In 1755 he published the first issue of his *New-York Pocket Almanack*, although the earliest surviving issue of this title is an incomplete copy of the almanac for 1756 held by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; no example of the issue for 1757 is known.



1. JANUARY, hath 31 Days.

1	A	New Year's Day.	1	♑	9	56	7	23	5
2	2	Expect ſnow.	2	♒	10	52	7	23	5
3	3	Moon ſets 7 42	3	♒	11	51	7	22	5

Gaine's printing and bookselling business thrived in the decade after he issued the first of his pocket almanacs. Indeed, with these, his continued printing of *Hutchins Almanack*, an almanac in English and Dutch by George Christopher, the *New York Royal Sheet Almanack*, a *Gentleman's New Memorandum Book*, the *Universal Register, or American and British Kalender*, the *Mercury* newspaper, and dozens of primers, juveniles, hymn books, and other imprints, Gaine was by 1765 one of the most prolific and prosperous printers in New York. In January 1768 he was appointed the public printer of the colony, a position once held by his former master, James Parker. During the Revolution, his printing of both patriot and loyalist articles--including accounts that appeared highly favorable to the British--led many to believe that his support for the cause of independence was only half-hearted. He was consequentially prohibited from publishing his newspaper after the war, though his publishing and bookselling operations were no less successful. He died a wealthy man on April 21, 1807, having labored half a century in the American trade. His uncertain loyalties were not quickly forgotten, however. As Isaiah Thomas acerbically observed soon after, "Gaine's political creed, it seems, was to join the strongest party" (1810:103).

The example that we offer here is the fifth known copy of the edition for 1786. This issue is noted to exist with two states of gathering B. In the first, Philip Henry Lee is erroneously listed as the president of the Continental Congress on leaf B7 recto (p. [37]). In the second, this has been corrected to Richard Henry Lee. The copy that we offer here--complete in its original decorated wallpaper wrappers featuring a fruit and foliage design in green, purple, orange, and yellow on a cream background--is in the second state. The American Antiquarian Society holds an incomplete copy in the first state, lacking leaf A[8], while the New-York Historical Society has two complete copies in the second state; the state of the fourth recorded example, a rebound copy held by the Clements Library, is not noted in their online catalogue.

Like many other almanacs of the era, this example is interspersed with blank leaves, here unused. This edition also contains--after the almanac--a table of interest, a gauging table, a "Ready

Reckoner" for measuring timber and boards, a list of the members of Congress from all 13 states for 1785, lists of officers for each of the federal departments, a list of governors, lists of New York state and county office holders, and information on the state courts in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. The almanac closes with tables on currency and road distances. All of the New York pocket almanacs that Gaine published during the colonial and Early Republic eras (through 1805) are rare today, and most are known in fewer than three or four institutional copies. We trace only five examples offered at auction since 1943. The most recent examples, for 1758 and 1759, were sold at Sotheby's in 2022 and brought $3780 and $2520, respectively. An incomplete copy of his 1765 almanac, which contains an early printing of the Stamp Act, was offered by Freeman's with an estimate of $3000-5000 in 2025 but failed to sell (likely due to its condition). We have located no record of this 1786 issue having ever appeared at auction or in the trade.

Despite its pocket size, an interesting and ephemeral early American imprint.

Chopra, Ruma
2011 *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.
Ford, Paul Leceister, editor
1902 *The Journals of Hugh Gaine, Printer. Volume I: Biography and Bibliography*. Dodd, Mead, & Co., New York.
McCarthy, Molly
2010 Appreciate the IPhone of Early America. *Commonplace: The Journal of Early American Life* 11.1 (http://commonplace.online/article/redeeming-the-almanac/)
2013 *The Accidental Diarist: A History of the Daily Planner in America*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
Thomas, Isaiah
1810 *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers*. Volume II. From the Press of Isaiah Thomas, Jun., Worcester, MA.
Wall, Alexander J.
1920 A List of New York Almanacs, 1694-1850. Part II. *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 24(6):335-355.

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[New York City--Almanacs]. GAINE'S NEW-YORK POCKET ALMANACK FOR THE YEAR 1786, BEING THE SECOND AFTER LEAP YEAR, AND 10TH OF *AMERICAN INDEDPENCE* 'TILL 4TH JULY. By Thomas Moore, Philo [John Nathan Hutchins]. Printed by H. Gaine, at the Bible, in Hanover-Square, [1785]. [72] pp. with interleaved blanks. 24mo (11 cm). Decorated wallpaper wraps with design in green, orange, purple, and yellow on a cream background. Light edge wear and loss to center of spine; old interior dampstain. Overall about very good.

2. **SOLD**.

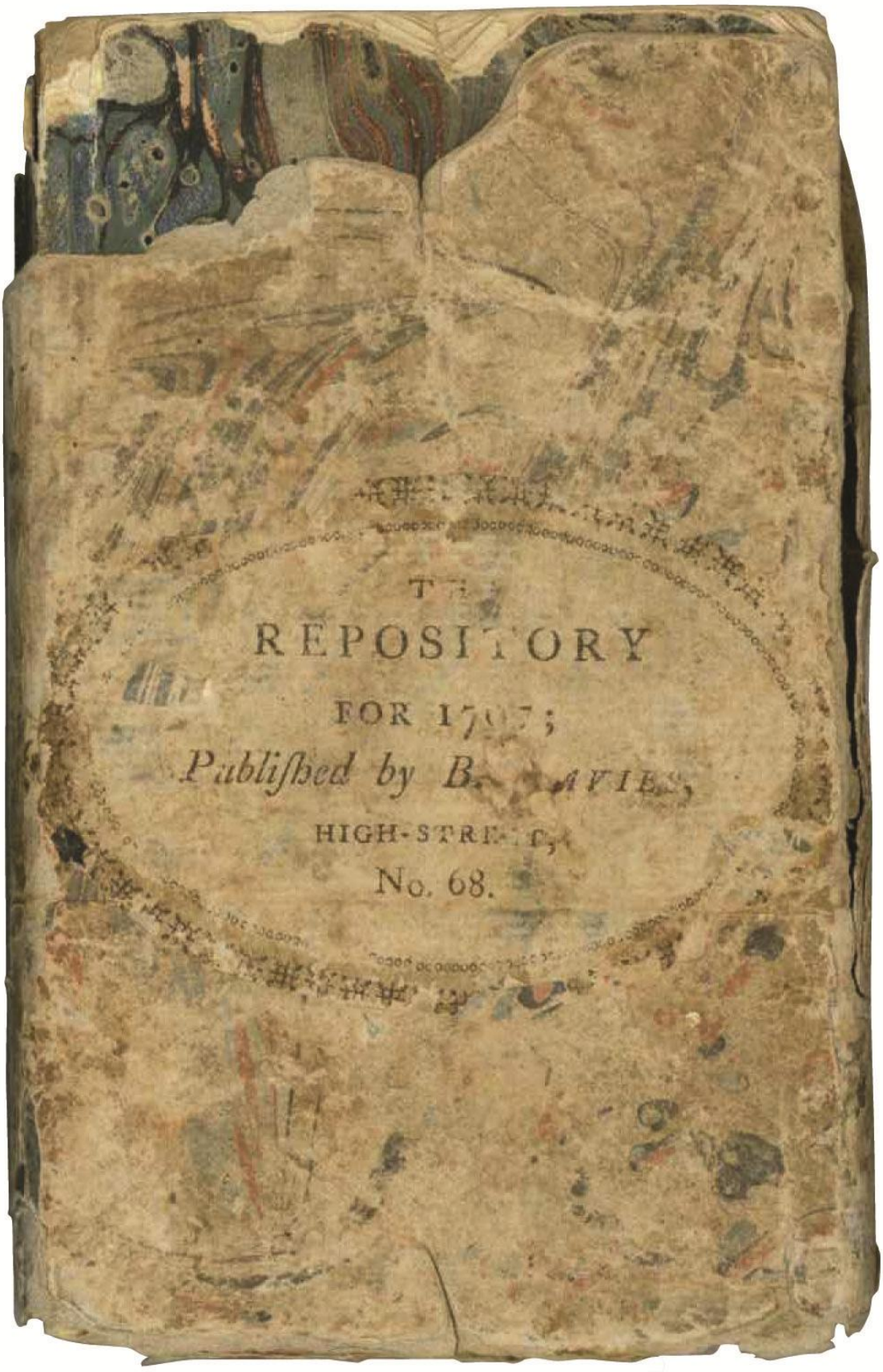
Davies' 1797 *American Repository*, in an Extremely Early American Sheath

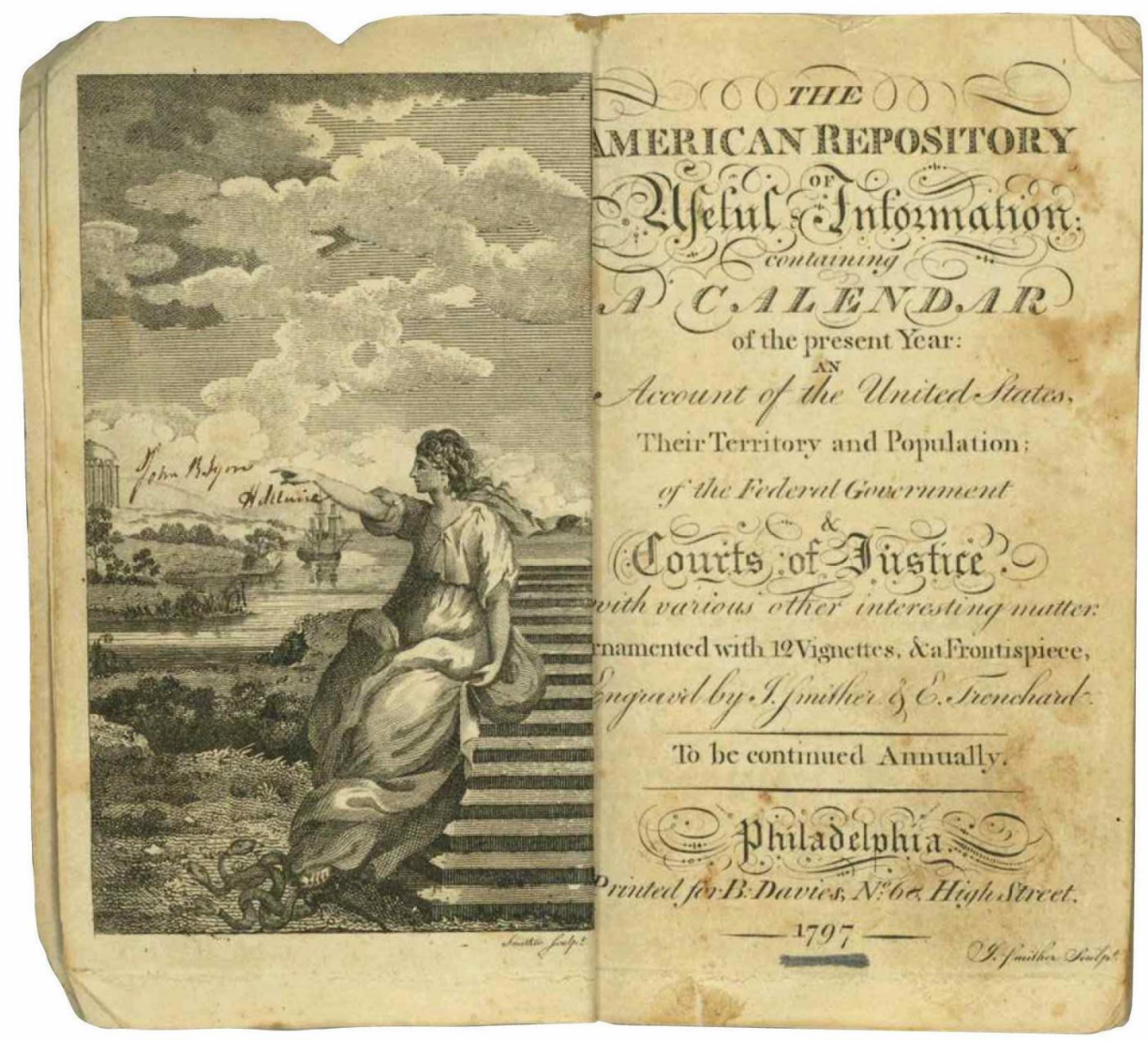
When publishers in Great Britain and the United States first began to issue pocket diaries with protective paper coverings in the late 18th century, none could have imagined what an outsized role the eventual offspring of these humble, disposable sheaths--the dust jacket--would acquire in both the production and valuation of modern books. Today the dust jacket is among the most carefully vetted aspects of any book's design and marketing, while the presence of an original and unrestored jacket on a collectible book might increase its value a hundred fold. It comes as no surprise, then, that the origin and development of such jackets has become an important topic for scholars focused on the history of the book. After 35-years of extensive research, American bibliographer G. Thomas Tanselle published a list of nearly 400 British or American publishers' jackets, slipcases, sheaths, and other "detachable coverings" issued prior to 1891 (2003/2004). Of the 16 surviving sheaths from 1795 to 1815, all save one were issued by London publishers. The only American example was a labeled pasteboard sheath protecting the *American Ladies & Gentlemens Pocket Almanac and Belles Lettres Repository for 1802*, published in New York by David Longworth. **Here we are pleased to offer the only known example of what is among the earliest recorded American sheaths, accompanying a rare copy of *The American Repository of Useful Information* issued at Philadelphia in 1797**.

Philadelphia bookseller and publisher Benjamin Davies introduced his first annual issue of *The American Repository* for 1795, and its run appears to have come to an end with the edition for 1797. Each issue contained an almanac and calendar; meteorological, baptism, and mortality data for Philadelphia; an account of the United States; and a description of the federal government, its territories, populations, and courts of justice. Each was also embellished with a lavishly engraved title page, a frontispiece, and two facing leaves for each month--one with a vignette depicting a scene suitable to the month, the other with a decorative headpiece labeled "Memorandums." The engravings were produced by James Smither and Edward Trenchard, both with pre-Revolutionary roots in the city's publishing community. English-born Smither had immigrated to Philadelphia about 1768, announcing his arrival in the *Pennsylvania Journal* of April 21:

> James Smither, *Engraver, at the first house in Third-Street, from the Cross-Keys, corner of Chestnut-street, Philadelphia,* PERFORMS *all manner of* ENGRAVING *in*




REPOSITORY
FOR 1707;
Publiſhed by B.
HIGH-STREET,
No. 68.


THE
AMERICAN REPOSITORY
OF
Useful Information:
containing
A CALENDAR
of the present Year:
AN
Account of the United States,
Their Territory and Population:
of the Federal Government
&
Courts of Justice.
with various other interesting matter:
ornamented with 12 Vignettes, & a Frontispiece,
Engraved by J. Smither & E. Trenchard.
To be continued Annually.
Philadelphia.
Printed for B. Davies, N.o 60 High Street.
1797
J. Smither Sculp.t

gold, silver, copper, steel, and all other metals; coats of arms, and seals, done in the neatest manner. Likewise cuts stamps, brands, and metal cuts for printers, and ornamental tools for bookbinders. He also ornaments guns and pistols, both engraving and inlaying silver, at the most reasonable rates [in Munsing 1973:6].

During the American Revolution, Smither sided with the Loyalists and in 1778 was accused of high treason by the Pennsylvania legislature for engraving plates to help British forces produce counterfeit currency. He accompanied British troops to New York to escape the noose, where hr continued to advertise his services throughout the war. After the American victory, Smither fled with his family to Nova Scotia, only returning to Philadelphia in 1786 when it became clear that former Loyalists would not face violent punishment there.

Edward Trenchard, on the other hand, came from a family of ardent Patriots. He learned the engraver's trade under the tutelage of his uncle, James Trenchard, publisher of the eminent *Columbian Magazine*; who had learned the trade himself under none other than James Smither. It

is unclear how long Smither and the younger Trenchard worked together in Philadelphia, the latter likely apprenticed to the former, but about 1800 Trenchard traveled to London to study with the English engraver Gilbert Fox. It was during his two ocean crossings that Trenchard discovered his love for the sea and turned instead to a naval career. He would serve aboard the *Adams* in the West Indies and at Tripoli, then later held the rank of Master Commandant over the *Madison* on Lake Ontario during the War of 1812; his later service would include commands in the Second Barbary War of 1815 and anti-slavery operations off the west coast of Africa.

All editions of the *American Repository* are exceedingly rare today, both in commerce and in institutional holdings. OCLC locates two copies of the 1795 edition, at the Huntington and AAS (lacking the August vignette); a single copy of the 1796 edition at AAS (lacking the December plates), to which we add a copy at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; and four copies of the 1797 edition, at Yale, Clements, John Carter Brown (disbound with some of the vignette plates removed), and AAS (lacking four leaves and 11 plates). We trace only two copies of any edition at auction since 1908, one of which was a fine example of this 1797 edition that sold at Park Bernet in 1952, the other George Washington's copy of the 1796 edition, which last sold in 1947. Our example of the 1797 issue--in its original marbled wrappers--is complete with all engravings and memoranda plates, with manuscript entries on several leaves. The protective pasteboard sheath is worn but intact with a faded marbled paper covering and a printed label. Until its discovery, only one other edition was known to have been issued in a sheath, a 1795 example offered several years ago by James Cummins. No other 18th-century American examples have ever been recorded, the nearest being the sheath for an 1801 issue of Longworth's *American Ladies & Gentlemans Pocket Almanac and Belles Lettres Repository* (in the collection of G. Thomas Tanselle; see e.g., Tanselle 2003/2004:96). **Of significant bibliographic interest.**

Relevant sources:

Munsing, Stefanie A.
1973 *Made in America: Printmaking 1760-1860. An Exhibition of Original Prints from the Collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April-June* 1973. The Library Company, Philadelphia.
Tanselle, G. Thomas
2003/2004 Dust-Jackets, Dealers, and Documentation. *Studies in Bibliography* 56:45-140.

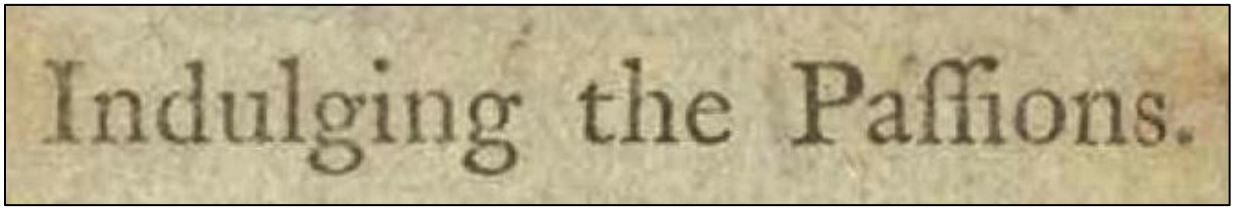
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[Philadelphia--Almanacs and Pocket Diaries]. THE AMERICAN REPOSITORY OF USEFUL INFORMATION [...] Printed for B. Davies, No. 68 High Street, Philadelphia, 1797. 84 pp., [26] leaves of plates. 12mo (13 cm). Engraved frontis., title page, and two facing leaves for each month with vignettes and headpieces. Original marbled wraps with wear and light chipping, interior clean and complete. Original pasteboard sheath, covered in marbled paper with printed label; wear and splitting to sheath with small pieces missing, but intact and functional. Very good.

3. **SOLD**.

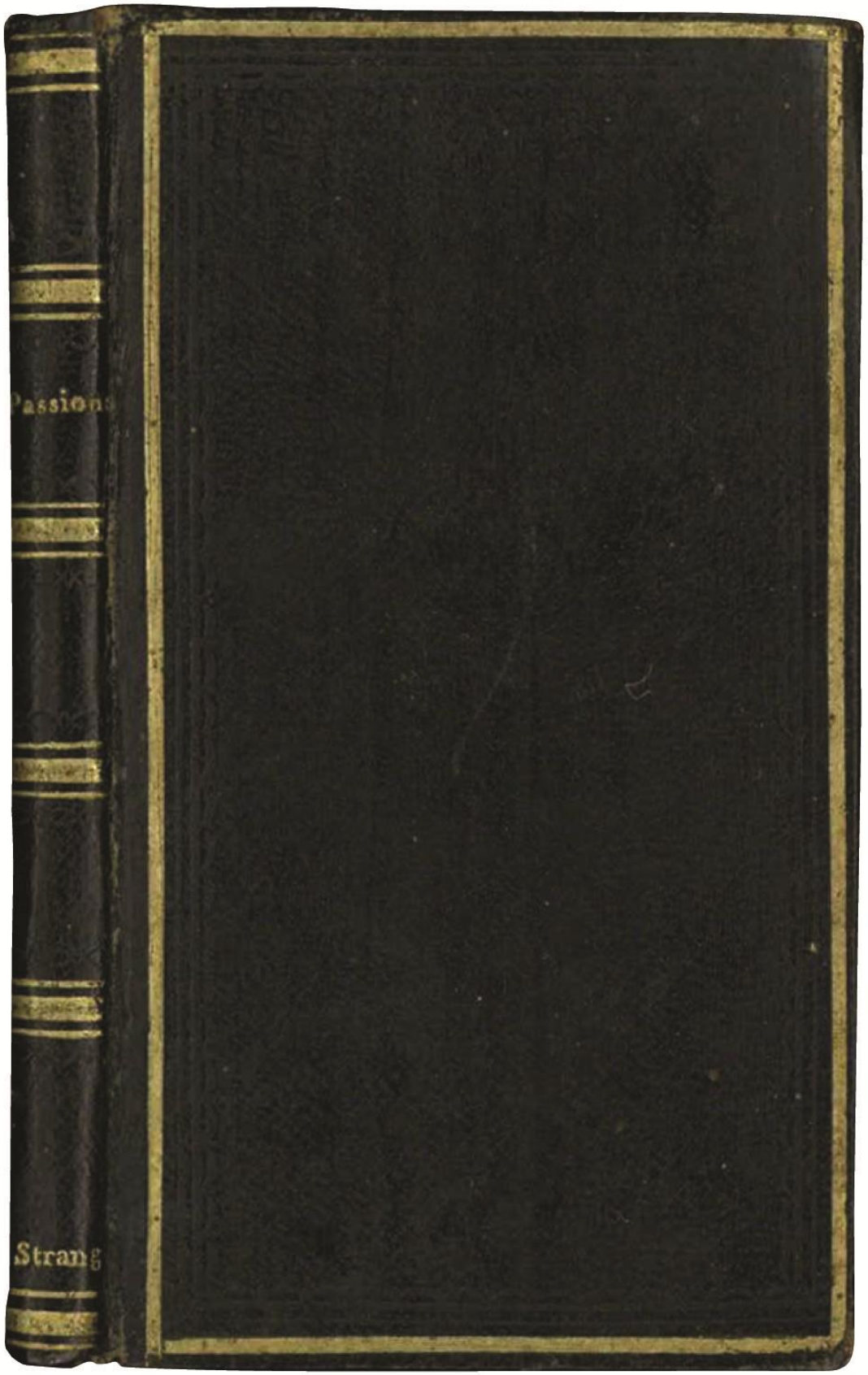
From the Library of "King" James Jesse Strang, Mormon Apostate

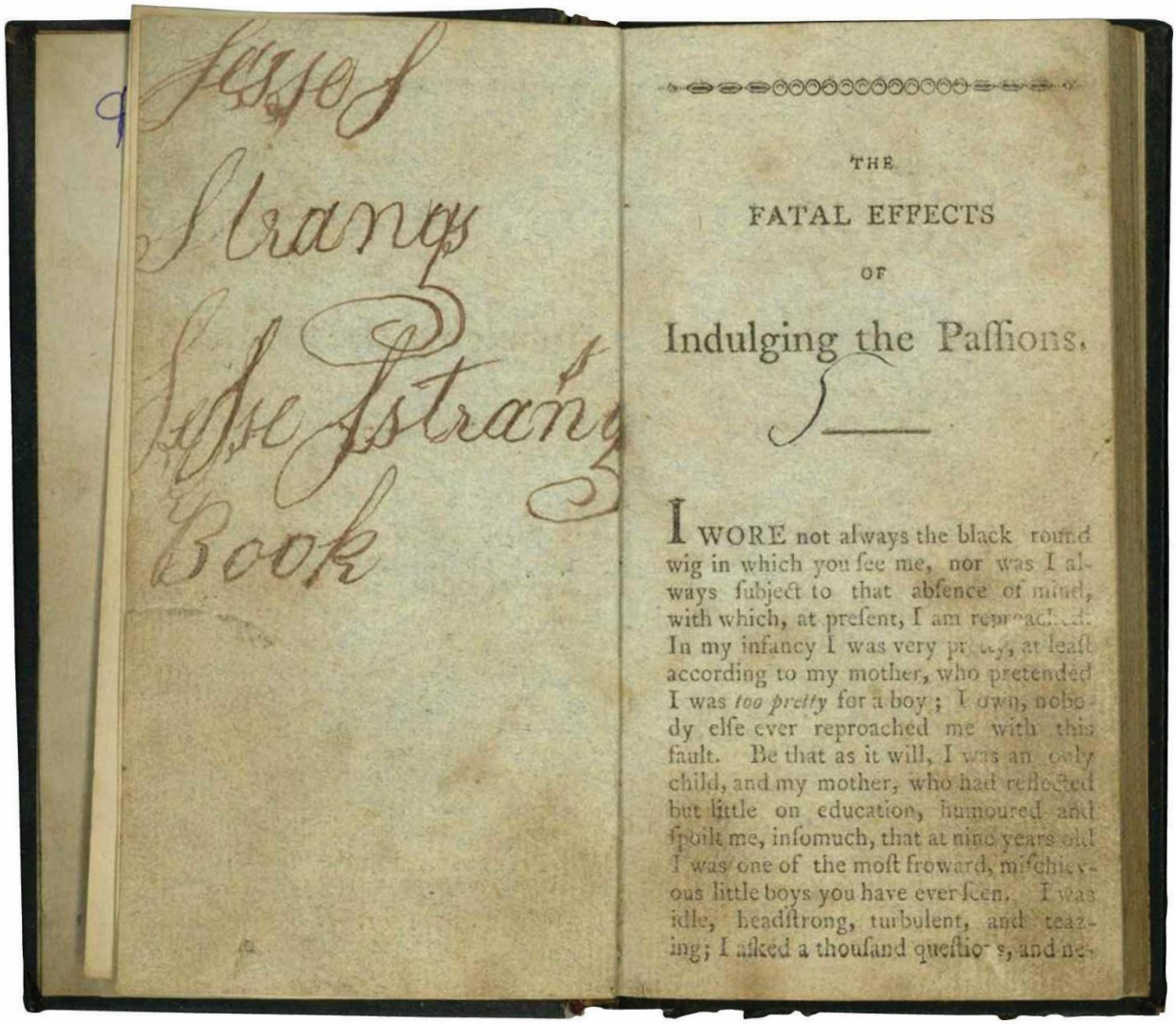
Of all the charismatics, prophets, and seers to have bubbled up from the roiling cauldron of mid-19th century American religious fervor, few ever managed to orchestrate so improbable an ascent as James Jesse Strang. Born the second of three children on a family farm in upstate New York, he received by his own estimation little more than six months of classroom education, yet nevertheless developed a keen intellect and a love of books. As a young man Strang was ambitious and yearned for more than life on the farm. He practiced law, served as postmaster, and edited a local newspaper, but none of these met his high expectations. He married in 1836 and in 1843 moved west to Wisconsin and converted to Mormonism. Soon after he traveled to Nauvoo in Illinois and there was baptized by Joseph Smith himself on February 25, 1844. Less than a week later Smith's brother, Hyrum, ordained him an Elder and sent him back to Wisconsin to spread the faith. When the Smiths were murdered by a mob at Carthage, Illinois, on June 27, Strang returned and mounted a serious challenge to Brigham Young for control of the church. Failing this, he led a large group of followers north, eventually settling on Beaver Island in Lake Michigan. Six years later, on July 8, 1850, his followers--by now known as Strangites--crowned him king. **This 1801 translation of a French didactic tale, *The Fatal Effects of Indulging the Passions*, is the only known book to have survived from Strang's once impressive library**. The rest were scattered after some of those same followers murdered their king just six years into his reign.


Indulging the Paffions.

James Jesse Strang was born Jesse James Strang (named after his maternal grandfather) on March 21, 1813, in Cayuga County, New York. He would only reverse his first and middle names about 1832, due perhaps to the notoriety of Providence, Rhode Island, native Jesse L. Strang, who was hung for the shocking murder of John Whipple at Albany in 1827. Strang would note in later years that he was largely neglected in school, and that left to himself he spent much of his time in contemplation of weighty matters. Far from hyperbole, the manuscript diary that he kept for about five years, from the ages of 18 to 23, is that of an introspective and philosophical young man. He preserved the diary--much of it written in code and deciphered by his grandson in the 1960s--and carried it with him through all of his moves; today it is among the James Strang papers at Yale's Beinecke Library. In it, Strang confides his ambitions and his fears of failing to attain them. On his 19th birthday, for example, he regretted that "I am 19 years old and yet no more than a common farmer. 'Tis too bad. I ought to have been a member of Assembly or a Brigadier General before this time if I am ever to rival Caesar or Napoleon which I have sworn to" (1961:71).

By 1843, Strang had grown restless and sought new opportunities in the west. He and his wife, Mary, moved to Wisconsin Territory and settled with Mary's brother in the new community of Burlington, founded in 1836 on the Fox River. Several members of Mary's family, including her brother, Benjamin Perce, had converted to Mormonism while in New York; Moses Smith, her


Passions
Strang



brother-in-law, was Wisconsin's first Latter-Day Saint. Strang himself seems to have entered the territory as an avowed agnostic, but as he grew closer to his extended family he became drawn to the new religion and its charismatic apostles. Soon Strang began regularly traveling the 300 miles between Burlington and Nauvoo, then the Mormon capitol in Illinois. After a series of meetings with Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Joseph personally baptized Strang on February 25, 1844. In early March, Hyrum ordained him an Elder and sent him back to Wisconsin to establish a new colony along the White River at a place called Voree, near what is now Spring Prairie.

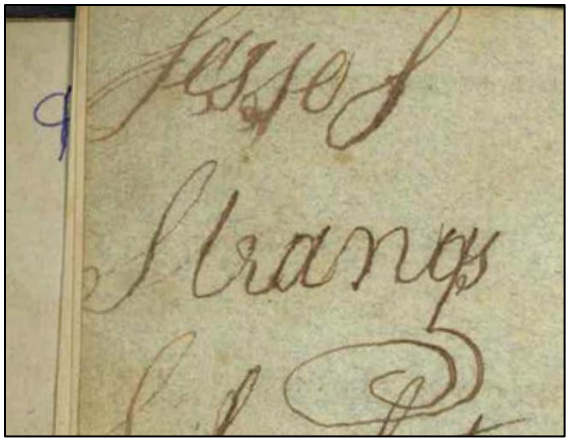
Just four months later, Joseph and Hyrum Smith were dead, shot to death by a mob while jailed and awaiting trial on a host of specious charges. As far as anyone knew, Joseph Smith had never named a successor. Now the church that united 20,000 Mormons in and around Nauvoo--at the time the largest city in Illinois--was without a leader. Smith's younger brother, Samuel, had the strongest claim on succession, but he died of an unexplained illness less than a month after his brothers. This left more than half a dozen men (and a boy, Joseph Smith's 11-year-old son, Joseph III) with valid claims to lead the church, among them Brigham Young, Sidney Rigdon, and another Smith brother, William. Into this moment of confusion and uncertainty stepped James Strang, who

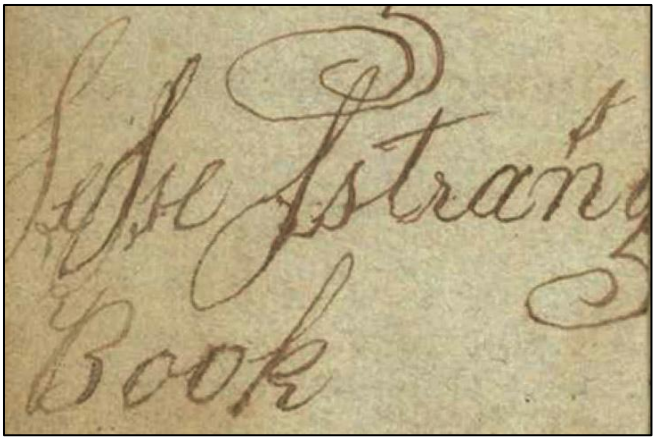
returned to Nauvoo from Wisconsin bearing what he claimed was a handwritten letter from Joseph Smith, signed and dated nine days before his martyrdom, naming Strang as his successor. What was more, an angel had come to Strang in a vision on the very day of Smith's murder, appointing him to prophetic office. It may seem preposterous that a man who had served the church for hardly four months could have seriously contended for its leadership, or that his 'evidence' would have offered any traction at all, but a remarkable number of people accepted Strang's claims, even for a time Smith's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, and his surviving brother, William.

In the end, of course, the great majority of Mormons--more than 12,000 men, women, and children--lined up behind Young, and in February 1846 they began the long trek from Nauvoo to the Great Salt Lake. Yet several hundred others followed Strang back to Voree, where they would establish a separate Mormon community in the East. At Voree, Strang and his sect opened a quarry to build sturdy stone houses. They founded a blacksmith's shop, a school, a tavern where guests were expected to stay during visits, and two papers, the *Voree Herald* and *Zion's Reveille*. They engaged in commerce with neighboring communities through tombstone carving, raising English fox terriers, and manufacturing plows. At a small rise near town that would come to be known as the "Hill of Promise," Strang even found his own set of metal plates to mirror those that Joseph Smith purportedly discovered on the hill of Cumorah at the guidance of the angel Moroni. At the urging of an Angel of God, Strang was directed to the hill and told where to dig. He returned to Voree and led four witnesses to a large oak, and after digging three feet they recovered three gold plates, covered in unknown characters, in a box of fired clay. Strang deciphered the script as the record of an ancient Native American named Rajah Manchou of Vorito, and he claimed that the discovery of the plates proved his status as the true heir to Smith. He published facsimiles of the plates in the *Herald* (unlike Smith), but their current whereabouts is unknown.

Strang continued to draw new adherents to Voree, but the rapid influx of both New England and European immigrants had driven up the price of land and limited his opportunity to expand the community. In 1846 he learned that the federal government intended to sell parcels of land on Beaver Island, which at 58 mi^2 was the largest in Lake Michigan. It was also located more than 30 miles off the coast, in the northernmost part of the lake, offering distance from neighbors and a safeguard against persecution. The first Strangite groups began arriving in 1847, and in little more than a year most of the Voree community had completed the move. The island's size and relatively small local population also gave the Strangite faction room to grow, and over the next several years the community attracted more than 2000 new followers from across the Midwest. It was during this period of phenomenal growth that James Strang began to fully exert his autocratic tendencies and to reframe the laws that governed his followers. Perhaps the most controversial tenet of Joseph Smith's own gospel, even among Mormons, was polygamy. At the time of Smith's murder and the subsequent contest for succession, Strang was vehemently opposed to the practice, and indeed his strong public stance against it drew many Mormons to his side. Yet once ensconced at Beaver Island, Strang quickly reversed his position, eventually taking five wives with whom he fathered 14 children. It may have been the beginning of the end.

In 1850, Strang told his followers that he had translated the message embossed on the metal plates they had discovered, which he would publish on the community's press as *The Book of Law of the Lord* in 1856. The text, he claimed, required him--as the holder of prophetic office--to be their king. At a coronation ceremony on July 8, 1850, he was according crowned by his counselor







and prime minister, George J. Adams. For the event, Strang wore a red flannel robe replete with a black-speckled white collar; his crown, fashioned of tin, was "a plain metal circlet with a cluster of stars projecting in front" (Legler 1897:138). For many of the sect's neighbors, already alarmed at the growing power of the sect and its leader, the crowning of a Mormon king on Beaver Island was a step too far. Their pleas for action reached as far as the White House, and Millard Fillmore personally ordered the U. S. district attorney in Detroit to prosecute Strang on charges of treason and murder. Strang and of his 32 followers were arrested and brought to Detroit onboard the *USS Michigan* to stand trial. Strang, representing himself and his followers, claimed to be the victim of religious persecution, and his eloquent defense resulted in a full acquittal. Two years later, in 1853, he was elected to the state legislature, and then reelected in 1855. By all appearances, Strang and his people were thriving. But much was unwell on Beaver Island.

Strang had decreed that all women in the sect were to wear loose dresses over pantaloons for their public activities. When some refused to comply, Strang had their husbands flogged. Two of the men, one of whom was also angry at Strang's supposed philandering, partnered with two outsiders from a neighboring community of Irish fishermen and procured several pistols. On June 16, 1856, they surprised the King on his dock at the harbor of St. James, the main town on Beaver Island. In full sight of witnesses, including the captain of the *USS Michigan*, they shot Strang three times. One of the bullets grazed his head, and another hit him in the cheek. But the third lodged in Strang's spine, paralyzing him from the waist down. He lingered in pain for three weeks before finally succumbing to his wounds on July 9; none of his attackers was ever punished. The Strangite kingdom was undone before the king was even dead. On July 5, while Strang lay dying, an armed party of non-Mormons from Mackinac and neighboring areas arrived at Beaver Island by boat and

forced all of the prophet's followers onto steamers. The Strangites, robbed of their valuables and property, were expelled from their homes carrying only what the mob would allow. The tabernacle was burned to the ground, and both Strang's home and the printing office were sacked, the books from his extensive library dispersed to the crowd or tossed into the street and trampled. Most of his followers scattered, blending into communities across the Midwest; others made their way to Salt Lake City. A few, however, returned to Voree, where a small community of about a hundred people continue to practice the faith of King James Strang.

This small volume, *The Fatal Effects of Indulging the Passions*, translated from the French and printed at Hartford in 1801, is the only known surviving book from Strang's library. Strang must have acquired it in his youth, since it is signed "Jesse J. Strang" twice on the verso of the title page, as were several early pages in the diary that he kept from age 18 to 23. Both of the signatures in this book (see previous page, top) and the signatures from his authenticated journal (previous page, bottom) have the appearance of a youth or adolescent experimenting with stylistic flourishes in signing their name. But the overall forms are remarkably similar. Strang must have carried the book with him throughout his various journeys, and at some point he even had it rebound in black morocco with gilt tooling, along with his surname embossed in gilt at the base of the spine. We cannot know, of course, whether it influenced his teachings or beliefs, but the terms "passion" and "passions" appear nine times in his juvenile diary. Three shorter didactic works are included with continuous pagination. None of Strang's manuscripts or personal belongings have appeared in commerce since Eberstadt sold the holograph manuscript of his local history, *Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac* (1854), to Yale for $7500 in 1964 ($95,000 today). **A unique and personal link to one of the most enigmatic religious figures in American history**.

Relevant sources:

Faber, Don
2016 *James Jesse Strang: The Rise and Fall of Michigan's Mormon King.* The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.

Legler, Henry
1897 *A Moses of the Mormons. Strang's City of Refuge and Island Kingdom*. Printed for the Parkman Club by Edward Keogh. [N.p.]:[publisher not identified].

Strang, Mark, editor
1961 *The Diary of Jesse Strang*. Michigan State University Press, Lansing.

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[American Religion--Mormonism]. [James Jesse Strang, autograph]. THE FATAL EFFECT OF INDULGING THE PASSIONS...[with] THE REWARD OF VIRTUE, A TALE...[with] TRUE RELIGION...[with] THE REPENTANT PROSTITUTE. John Babcock, Hartford, 1801. pp. [3], 4-95. 16mo (12.5 cm). Four didactic works, continuous pagination, *Passions* extending though p. 76. Bound in mid-19th-century black morocco with gilt titles and bands on spine and gilt trim on boards, former owner's name "Strang" in gilt at base of spine. Printed on bluish paper; signed "Jesse J Strang" and "Jesse J. Strang[s] book," on verso of title page. Very good.

4. **SOLD**.

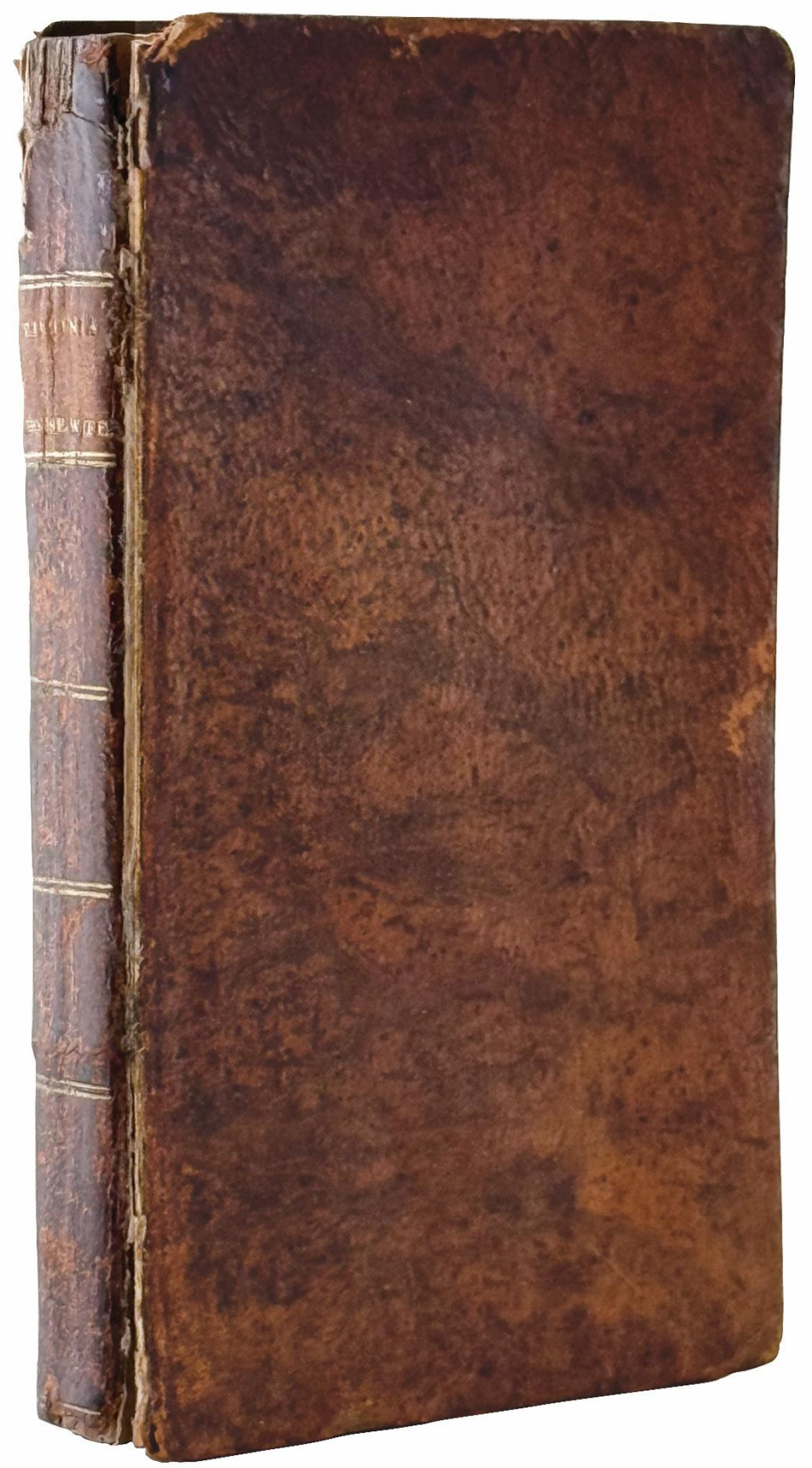
The First Cookbook by an American Author with Lithographed Plates

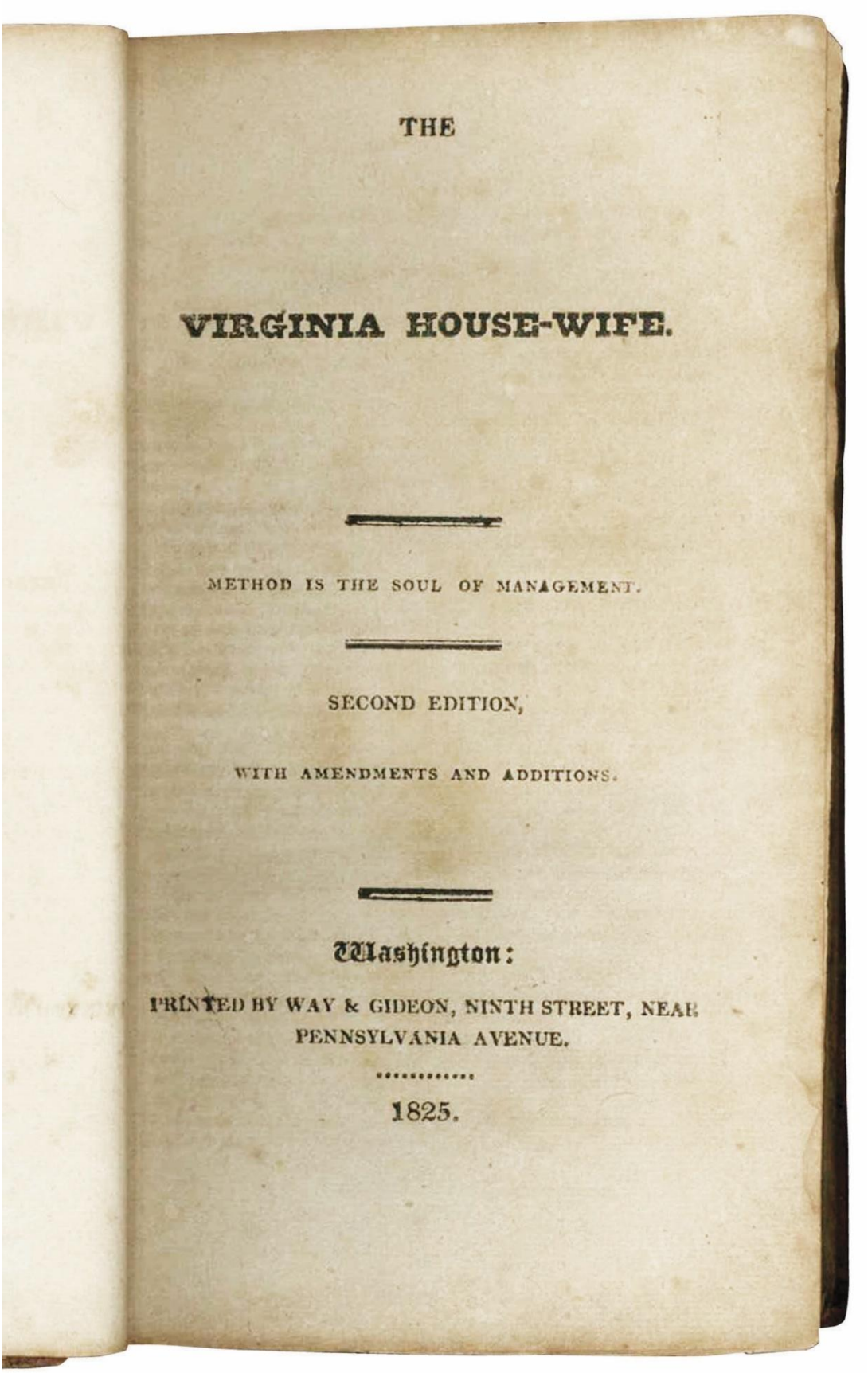
Few American cookbooks are as genuinely iconic as *The Virginia House-Wife: Method is the Soul of Management*. Few earlier works had so creatively presented a region's cuisine. Fewer had so epitomized the political and economic tensions of its era. And fewer still had featured as unlikely an author as Mary Randolph, its titular Virginia housewife. Randolph's work is the first of what are widely recognized as the first three regional American cookbooks, along with Lettice Bryan's *Kentucky Housewife* (1839) and Sarah Rutledge's *Carolina Housewife* (1847). It was the very first cookbook to focus on the foodways of the American South--and the Tidewater Country in particular--as Bryan's would cover Kentucky's Bluegrass region and Rutledge's would cover the Carolina Low Country. First published at Washington in 1824 and reprinted nearly 20 times in the decades prior to the Civil War, all antebellum editions of *The Virginia House-Wife* are quite scarce in attractive, original condition. Likewise published at Washington, this unrestored copy of the 1825 second edition is especially desirable: alone among all other editions of Randolph's work, it was issued with three folding lithographed plates by Henry Stone, here remarkably well preserved. **Indeed, it was the first American cookbook illustrated with lithography, and we trace no other copies ever offered in commerce**.



Mary Randolph was a daugher of Virginia aristocracy, born in 1762 at Ampthill Plantation to one ot its wealthiest and most powerful extended families. Her father, Thomas Randolph, was raised by Thomas Jefferson's parents and would eventually hold important offices in Virginia's Revolutionary and Federalist era governments. In 1780 she married David Meade Randolph, her first cousin once removed, and togethr they settled down to raise a family at the 750-acre Presquile Plantation. After George Washington named David the U. S. Marshall for Virginia in 1795, they moved to Richmond and built a fine mansion, Moldavia, where Mary became known as one of the most esteemed hostesses in the city. But the political winds shifted soon after. David, an ardent Federalist, lost his appointment, and their financial prospects plummeted. Relying on her business skills and enslaved labor, Mary opened a successful boardinghouse in 1808, which she and David would operate until 1820, when they sold it and moved to be near their son in Washington. It was there, at age 57, that Mary began preparing her cookbook. Karen Hess observes that:

> [N]othing in the history of early American cookbooks quite prepares us for the sumptuous cuisine presented by Mary Randolph in the *Virginia House-Wife*...She brought her personal flair to everything she did but her reputation as the best cook in Virginia and the early success of her work indicate that her cookery was solidly based on Virginia produce and Virginia practice....A certain eclecticism has continued to mark American cookery, but never again with such eclat [1984:xxi].





THE

VIRGINIA HOUSE-WIFE.

METHOD IS THE SOUL OF MANAGEMENT.

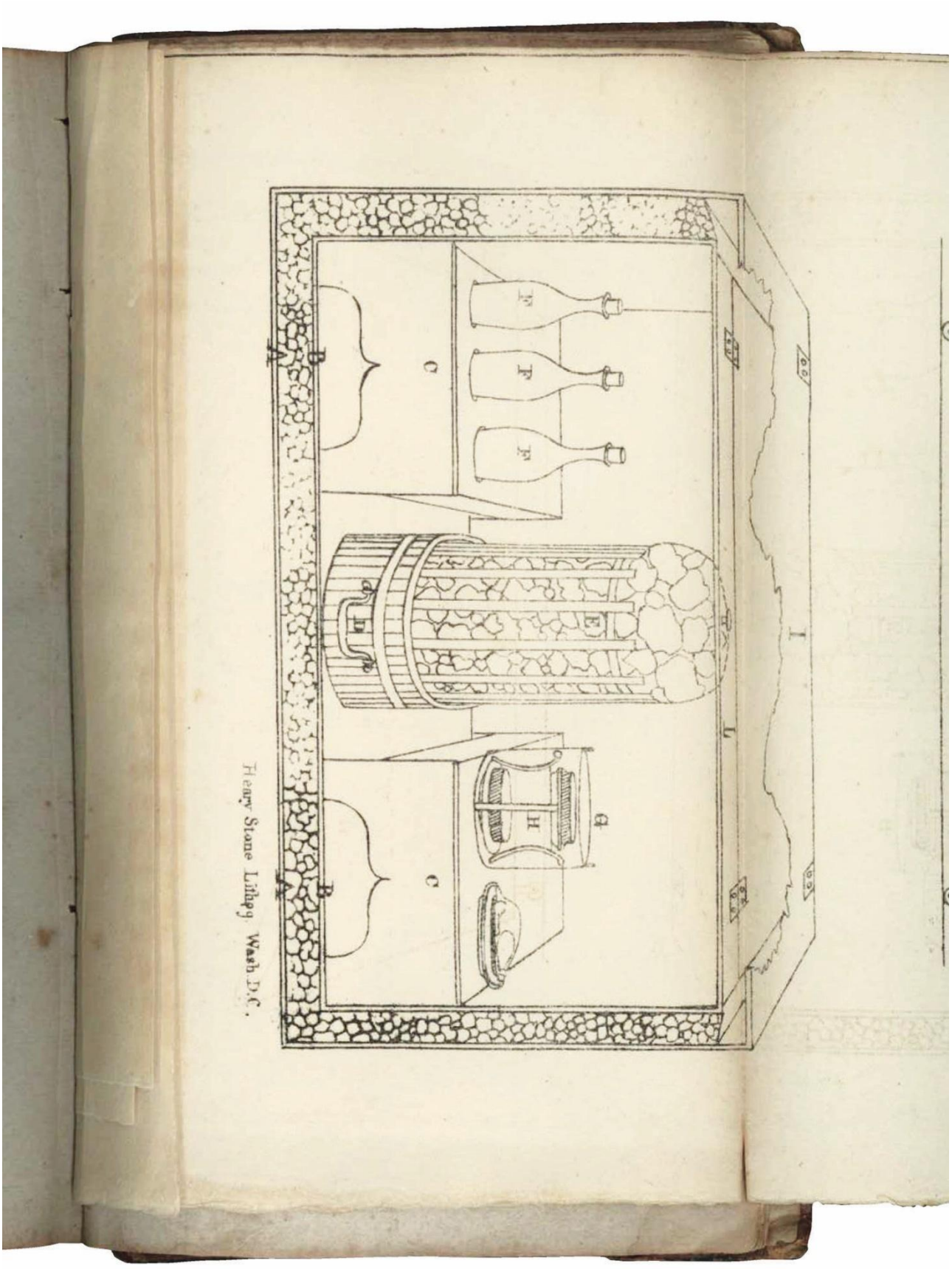
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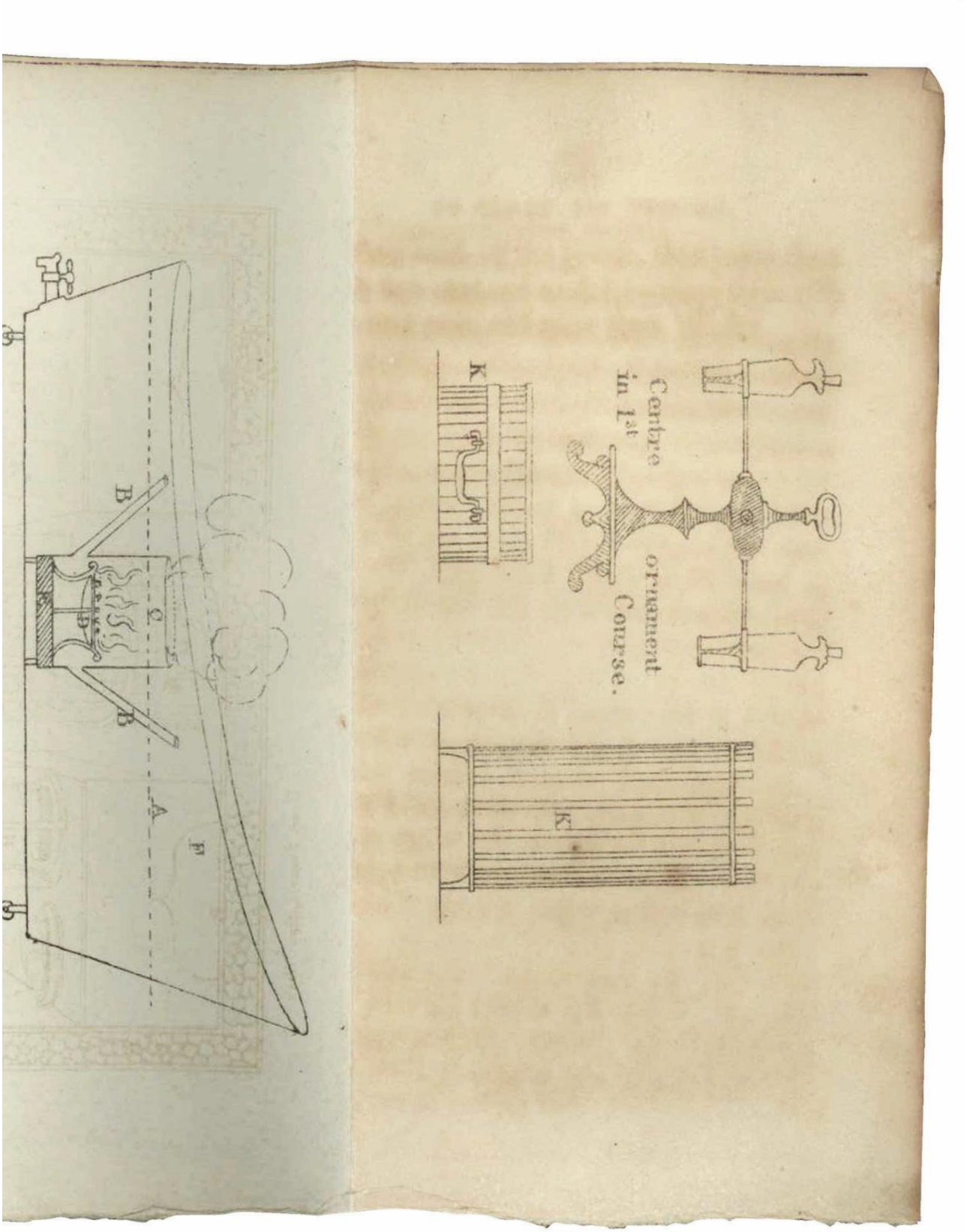
WITH AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS.

Washington:

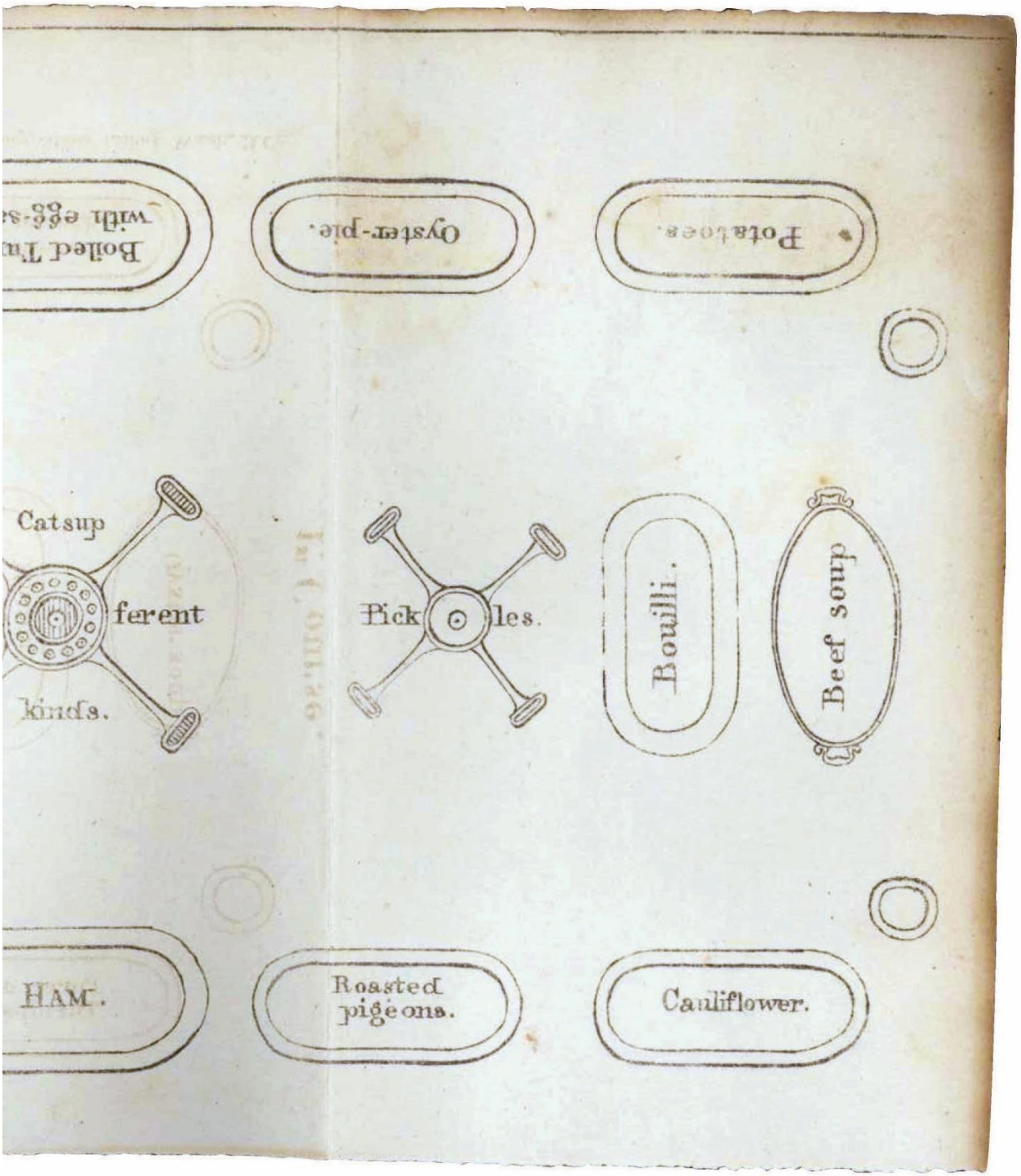
PRINTED BY WAY & GIDEON, NINTH STREET, NEAR PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

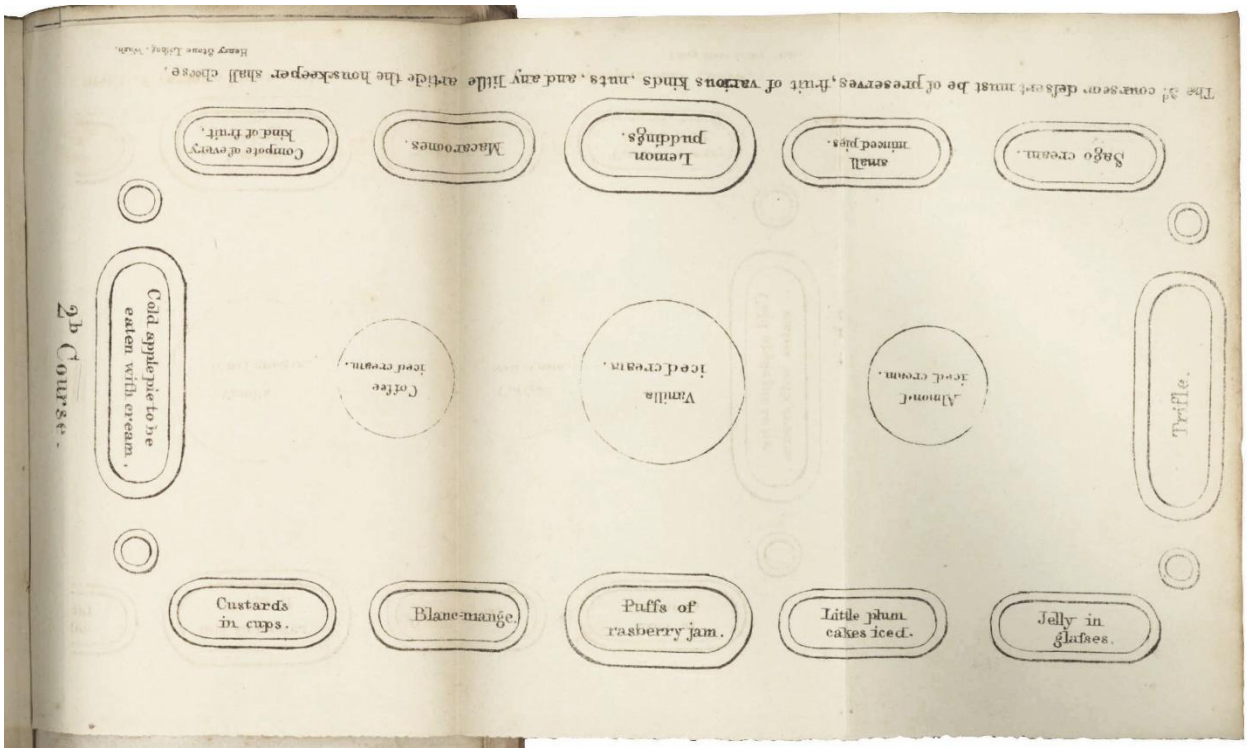
1825.


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Henry Stone Lithog. Wash. D.C.


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Henry Stone lithog. Wash. D.C.
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Fish.
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Oyster soup.
Saddle of Mutton.
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Breast of Veal ragout.


Beef soup
Bouilli.
Pickles.
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kinds.
Cauliflower.
Roasted pigeons.
HAM.



Yet Randolph likely prepared few of these Tidewater dishes herself, and certainly not on a regular basis. Rather, most all of the meals that her family and guests enjoyed, as ranking members of Virginia's elite, would have been prepared by enslaved women. The great majority of enslaved domestic workers could neither read nor write. As such, *The Virginia House-Wife* was written not for them, but for their mistresses, genteel white women for whom they labored as property. And many of the recipes described in its pages were West African in origin, including those for field pea cakes (akara), ochra (okra) soup and gumbo, curry of catfish and other curried dishes, and even fried chicken. Randolph's cookbook, famous for its original presentation of southern cuisine, thus documents the shaping of that cuisine by African ingredients and tastes. Such is true for each of the southern "Housewife" texts: the African recipes they recorded ironically came to define what it meant to be southern. According to Sarah Walden, "The physical and intellectual labor of slaves made possible the observable tastes of the white slaveholding elite" (2018:96).

Yet acknowledging Randolph's debt to the enslaved women in her kitchen does not undo her accomplishment with *The Virginia House-Wife*. Not only was it the first regional American cookbook, but many scholars consider it the first truly American cookbook. Its only rival is Amelia Simmons' *American Cookery*, first published at Hartford, Connecticut in 1796, but most of her recipes were copied directly from English cookbooks. Randolph published the first edition of her *Virginia House-Wife* in 1824 with Davis and Force of Washington, and it proved so popular, so quickly, that a second edition appeared the following year under the imprint of Washington's Way & Gideon. While the first edition contained 224 pages and nearly 500 recipes, Randolph expanded the second edition to 261 pages and more than 100 additional dishes. She also prepared three impressive folding plates for this edition, two displaying first and second course table settings, and the third with diagrams of a heated bath for bathing and a very early refrigerator. The refrigerator is particularly interesting, consisting of a wooden box (roughly 4 by 3.5 feet) fitted with a smaller

inner box. The space between them was packed with powdered charcoal for insulation, and the unit was filled daily with ice to keep perishable items like meat and butter cold. Randolph's plate offers one of the first depictions of refrigeration in any American book.

This 1825 edition is also the first American cookbook with illustrations produced by the novel process of lithography, and indeed, this is among the first uses of lithography in an American book of any genre, period. Lithography was developed in 1798 by German actor and playwright 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 in Boston, not Philadelphia). The lithographs in *Virginia House-Wife* were produced by the appropriately named Henry Stone, a Washington and Baltimore printmaker, lithographer, engraver, etcher, and portrait painter, active from about 1822 to 1849. Stone had earlier produced the lithographs for the *Timber Merchant's Guide* (Baltimore, 1823), the second American book to feature lithography.

Each of the southern "housewife" cookbooks is rare, especially in early editions. We trace no auction records for firsts of either *The Kentucky Housewife* or *The Carolina Housewife*. Four copies of the 1824 first edition of *The Virginia House-Wife* have appeared in commerce in the past 50 years, but the two most recent examples (2011 and 2016) were badly worn and lacking either the front or rear boards; very good examples sold by Charles Wood in 1984 and by Sotheby Park Bernet in 1981 brought $1750 and £415, respectively ($7925 and $4150 today). We can trace no copies of this 1825 second edition, with its remarkably early lithographed plates, either at auction or in the trade. OCLC lists 14 copies of this edition, but at least eight of these are missing one or more plates and/or text pages. **An important book in complete, original condition**.

Relevant sources:

Ferris, Marcie Cohen
2014 *The Edible South: The Power of Food and the Making of an American Region*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Hess, Karen
1984 Historical Notes and Commentaries on *The Virginia House-Wife*. In *The Virginia House-Wife, by Mary Randolph, with Historical Notes and Commentaries*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Walden, Sarah W.
2018 *Tasteful Domesticity: Women's Rhetoric and the American Cookbook, 1790-1940*. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh.

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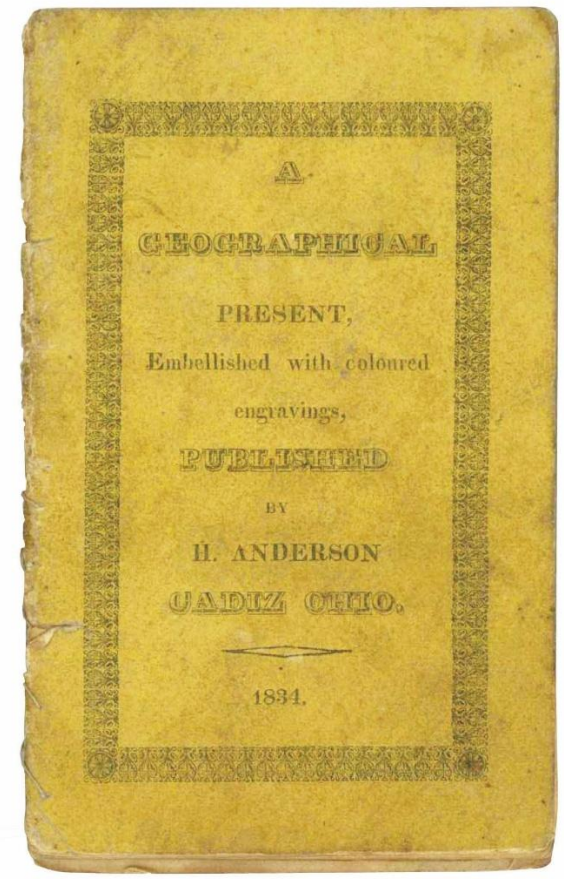
[Virginia--Southern Foodways]. [Sarah Rutledge]. THE VIRGINIA HOUSE-WIFE: METHOD IS THE SOUL OF MANAGEMENT. Second edition, with amendments and additions. Printed by Way & Gideon, Ninth Street, near Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, 1825. xiv, [1], 12-261, [1] pp. 12mo (19 cm). Original tree calf with red morocco label, gilt title and rules on spine. front board loose but holding, text and plates very good or better with only light toning and foxing. Very good.

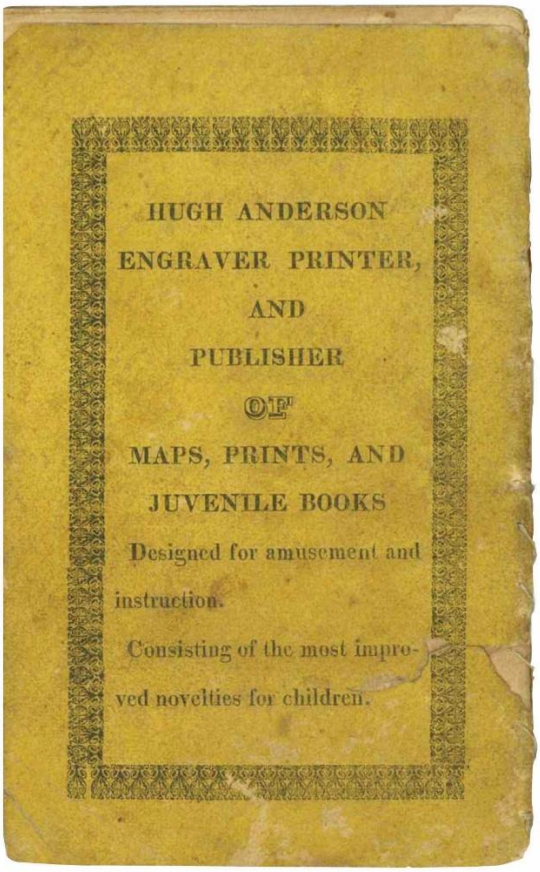
5. **$4500**.

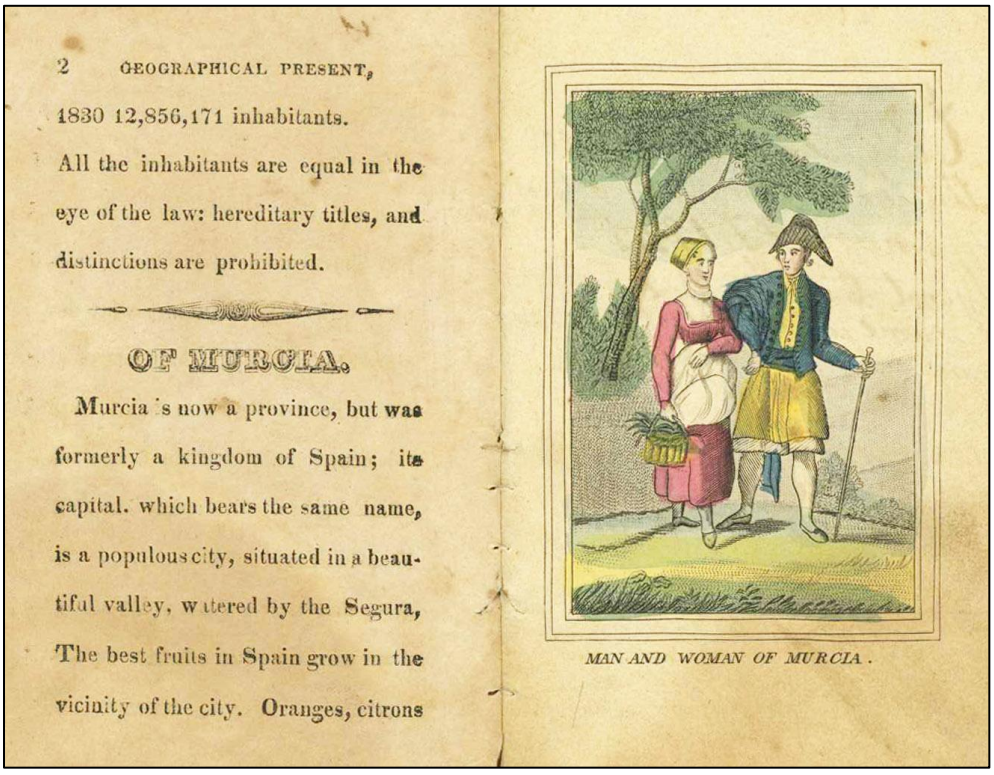
A Geographical Present, with Illustrations by Ohio Engraver Hugh Anderson

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, *A Geographical Present*, is the fourth known copy, complete in its original printed yellow wraps**.




A
GEOGRAPHICAL
PRESENT,
Embellished with coloured
engravings,
PUBLISHED
BY
H. ANDERSON
CADIZ OHIO.
1834.


HUGH ANDERSON
ENGRAVER PRINTER,
AND
PUBLISHER
OF
MAPS, PRINTS, AND
JUVENILE BOOKS
Designed for amusement and
instruction.
Consisting of the most impro-
ved novelties for children.


2 GEOGRAPHICAL PRESENT,

1830 12,856,171 inhabitants.

All the inhabitants are equal in the eye of the law: hereditary titles, and distinctions are prohibited.

OF MURCIA.

Murcia is now a province, but was formerly a kingdom of Spain; its capital. which bears the same name, is a populous city, situated in a beautiful valley, watered by the Segura, The best fruits in Spain grow in the vicinity of the city. Oranges, citrons

MAN AND WOMAN OF MURCIA.

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 Anderson's *Geographical Present*, printed at Cadiz in 1834, is an exceptional survival. It retains its original golden yellow wrappers, with title and imprint printed on the front wrap and an advertisement for Anderson's shop on the back, the latter noting that he specialized in maps, prints, and juvenile books, "Designed for amusement and instruction. Consisting of the most improved novelties for children." The front wrapper also serves as a title page, as the first text page launches immediately into the subject of world geographies, beginning with the United States and continuing into short sections on Murcia, Black Forest, Ceylon, Hamburgh, Arabia, and Cochin China. Not including the United States, each of these more exotic world areas is illustrated with a hand-colored, engraved scene that highlights the style of clothing among its native men and women, for six total plates in all. Plate leaves are printed on a single side only, and there are a total of 24 numbered text pages. Like all of Anderson's children's books, *A Geographical Present* is excessively rare, in any condition. Anderson also seems to have published it twice, in 1832 and 1834. **We locate three institutional copies in total--Ohio History Connection (1834), Clarke Historical (1832), and the Huntington (1832)--and none has ever appeared in commerce**. 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 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.

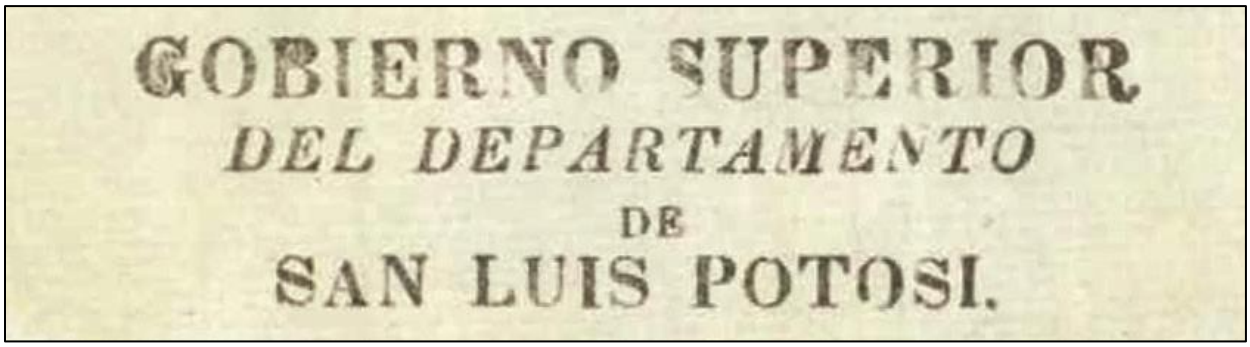
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[Illustrated Children's Books--Ohio]. A GEOGRAPHICAL PRESENT, EMBELLISHED WITH COLORED ENGRAVINGS. Published by H. Anderson, Cadiz, Ohio. 1834. 16mo (14 cm). 24 pp., illus. Original printed yellow covers, decorative border around title and imprint. Spine cover mostly perished, old hand-stitching; light edge wear and finger soiling, light wear and scuffing to wrappers, old owner's signature on verso of first plate. About very good [Morgan 7845].

6. **SOLD**.

Portending the Alamo: Tornel Decrees No Quarter for Texian Rebels

On January 2, 1836, when President and General of the Mexican Army Antonio López de Santa Anna marched north to confront the burgeoning Texas rebellion, few cities in Mexico were more invested in the outcome, both literally and figuratively, than San Luis Potosí. Not only was it Santa Anna's staging ground--the place where he would launch his invasion of Texas--but it was here that he had gathered, equipped, and organized his force of more than 6000 troops. Thus it is little surprise that the people of San Luis followed the unfolding events in Texas so closely. **This broadside, issued on January 4 by the Gobierno Superior, is the earliest known printing of the infamous Tornel Decree of December 30, which declared that any foreigners engaged in war against the Mexican government would be treated as pirates and given no quarter**. It was under the authority of this decree that Santa Anna would launch his total war against Texian defenders at the Alamo just weeks after its publication.


GOBIERNO SUPERIOR
DEL DEPARTAMENTO
DE
SAN LUIS POTOSI.

The first American citizen granted permission to settle a colony in Texas was Connecticut native Moses Austin, whose son Stephen would come to be known as the Father of Texas. During most of the 1830s, Stephen would work to maintain a fragile peace between the Mexican state and his Texas colonists, who chafed under the thumb of the First Republic and its succession of failed governments. In January 1834, with the mistaken belief that Austin was pressing for independence and stirring his colonists to rebellion, government authorities had him arrested in Saltillo and taken to Mexico City, where he would remain in prison or under house arrest until August 1835. Shortly after Austin's arrest, former president and military general Antonio López de Santa Anna staged a coup that overthrew the First Mexican Republic, replacing it and its federalist Constitution of 1824 with the conservative Centralist Republic of Mexico. Choosing to rule from behind the scenes, he had his ally and fellow soldier-politician Miguel Barragán installed as interim president in January 1835. During the next several months, federalist rebellions and separatist movements would break out across Mexico, including in Yucatan, Tabasco, Zacatecas, and Coahila y Tejas.

On October 2, a detachment of Mexican soldiers marched on Gonzales, Texas, to reclaim a cannon loaned to its colonists four years earlier to assist in their defense against Comanche Indian raids. As word spread, more than 140 members of the Texas militia gathered to resist. Shots were exchanged throughout the night and into the following day, resulting in the deaths of two Mexican soldiers. Outgunned and outnumbered, the government troops eventually withdrew--without the cannon--to San Antonio de Béxar, about 70 miles to the west. Although the skirmish was of little practical significance, its symbolic power can hardly be overstated. As Austin himself would write

just two days later, "War is declared against military despotism. Public opinion has proclaimed it with one united voice. The campaign has opened" (in Paddock 1922: 122). After receiving news of the fight at Gonzales, the brother-in-law of Santa Anna, General Martín Perfecto de Cos, moved with 500 troops from Goliad to San Antonio. Austin followed with his militia, and on October 11 laid siege to Cos and his forces there. Meanwhile, colonists from across Texas met at San Felípe de Austin to form a political gathering, known as the Consultation, charged with organizing a new government. Sam Houston was appointed commander of the Texian Army, while Henry Smith was elected governor. Over the objections of the pro-independence Smith, the delegates voted to remain a part of Mexico, but only under the 1824 Constitution. The Texians' siege at Béxar held until December 9, when Cos and his men surrendered; Austin let them withdraw on condition that they not further oppose the Constitution. Following Cos's retreat, there was not a single Mexican garrison left in Texas, leading many colonists to think the war was over.

Santa Anna thought differently. Having taken on dictatorial powers with the overthrow of the 1824 Constitution, he had begun styling himself the Napoleon of the West, and having nothing but contempt for the rebels, he resolved to personally deliver a punishing blow. He stepped down as president and assumed command of the army, leaving Mexico City on November 28 for San Luis Potosí. Here he gathered more than 6000 troops and prepared to march them north, in the dead of winter, across 800 miles of the Chihuahuan desert to Béxar**. On December 30, only a week before Santa Anna left from San Luis, his defense minister--José Maria Tornel--issued a proclamation that all foreigners fighting against the Mexican Republic would be treated as pirates and shown no mercy if captured: "extranjeros que desembarcaran en algún puerto de la República o penetraran en ella, armados y con objeto de atacar nuestro territorio, serán tratados y castigados como piratas."** Intended to dampen the Texians' fervor, the now infamous Tornel Decree was instead a fuel that turned the spark at Gonzales into a conflagration.

Santa Anna led his army out of San Luis Potosí on January 2. After a grueling march of more than six weeks, during which the Mexican force--now numbering perhaps 8000 men--faced brutal winter storms and half-rations, they finally began crossing the Rio Grande into South Texas by February 15. Eight days later, the first of Santa Anna's troops reached Béxar and discovered the Texian rebels barricaded behind the walls of its old Alamo mission, which with its adjoining fortified compound sprawled across three acres. In the weeks since General Cos had relinquished Béxar to Austin's militia, the Texians had labored steadily to improve the compound's ramshackle defenses, including building a catwalk along the walls. Even so, the Alamo was only intended to withstand short attacks from Native American raids, not an assault by a large force equipped with artillery. Moreover, the Texians barely numbered 250 men, and were perhaps as few as 180, far from what was needed to adequately defend the Alamo's 1300-foot perimeter.

The Texians realized neither how rapidly Santa Anna was approaching nor the size of his force until February 23, when Mexican troops were nearly within sight of the garrison. Santa Anna immediately laid in a siege and began bombarding the Alamo with long guns and howitzers placed well beyond the reach of Texian volleys. Things were progressing well for Santa Anna's campaign beyond his own siege, as well. At San Patricio, halfway between Béxar and Matamoros, General José Urrea twice launched devastating surprise attacks on a Texian force under Dr. James Grant and Frank Johnson that was charging south in an ill-advised attempt to take Matamoros (a strategy

GOBIERNO SUPERIOR
DEL DEPARTAMENTO
DE
SAN LUIS POTOSI.

Circulár.

Numero 15.

El Ecsmo. Sr. Secretario de Guerra y Marina con fecha 30 de Diciembre me dice lo que sigue:

Secretaria de Guerra y Marina.—Seccion Central.—Mesa 1.ª—Circular.—Exmo. Sr.—El Supremo Gobierno tiene noticias positivas de que en los Estados Unidos del Norte se reunen juntas públicas con el fin descubierto de armar espediciones contra la Nacion Mejicana, auxiliar á los que se han revelado contra su gobierno, fomentar la guerra civil y hacer venir sobre nuestro territorio todos los males que ella promete. En aquella Republica nuestra antigua amiga, se han havilitado de hecho algunas espediciones como la que condujo á Santa-Anna de Tamaulipas el traidor José Antonio Mejia, y otras que se han dirigido á desembarcar en las costas de Tejas. A la misma se ha remitido toda clase de pertrechos de guerra, y por estos reprobados medios se han encontrado los colonos sublevados en aptitud de hacer la guerra á la nacion que les ha dispensado tantos bienes.

El Gobierno Supremo tiene las seguridades mas positivas de que estos actos reprobados por las sabias leyes de los Estados Unidos del Norte han merecido la consiguiente desaprobacion de su Gobierno con el que mantenemos la mejor inteligencia y una armonia inalterable. Pero como los especuladores y aventureros han logrado evadirse del castigo que en aquella Republica se les esperaba, y no será remoto que lo consigan en adelante, el Exmo. Sr Presidente interino que no puede ser indiferente á estas agresiones, en que se ataca no menos á la soberania de la nacion mejicana, que al derecho de gentes universalmente reconocido, se ha servido mandar que se observe lo prevenido en los articulos siguientes.

1.° Los extrangeros que desembarcaren en algun Puerto de la República, ó penetraren por tierra en ella, armados y con objeto de atacar nuestro territorio, serán tratados y castigados como Piratas, en consideracion á que no pertenecen á nacion con la que está en guerra la República, y á que no militan bajo de vandera conocida.

2.° En los mismos terminos serán tratados y castigados los extrangeros que desembarcaren en algun Puerto ó introdujeren por tierra, armas y municiones, siendo por algun punto sublevado contra el Gobierno de la nacion y con objeto provado de poner estos útiles de guerra en manos de los enemigos de ella.

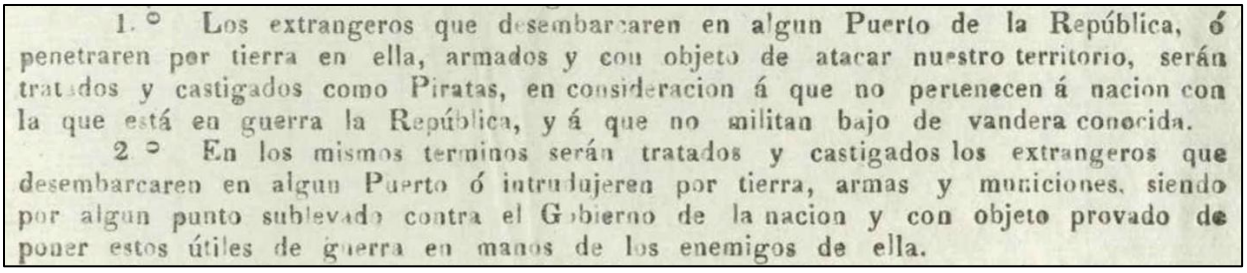
Y tengo el honor de decirlo á V. E. para su publicacion y cumplimiento.

Lo traslado á V. para su inteligencia y efectos correspondientes.

Dios y libertad. San Luis Potosi Enero 4. de 1836.

Juan José Dominguez,

Manuel Lozano,
Secretario.



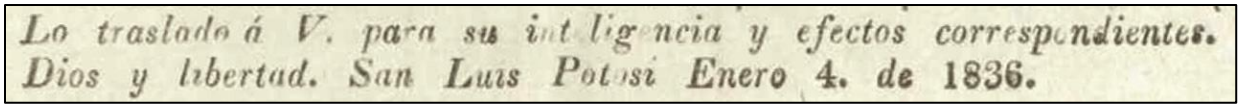
1.º Los extrangeros que desembarcaren en algun Puerto de la República, ó penetraren por tierra en ella, armados y con objeto de atacar nuestro territorio, serán tratados y castigados como Piratas, en consideracion á que no pertenecen á nacion con la que está en guerra la República, y á que no militan bajo de vandera conocida.

2.º En los mismos terminos serán tratados y castigados los extrangeros que desembarcaren en algun Puerto ó intrudujeren por tierra, armas y municiones, siendo por algun punto sublevado contra el Gobierno de la nacion y con objeto provado de poner estos útiles de guerra en manos de los enemigos de ella.

opposed by Sam Houston himself). Urrea surprised Johnson's half of the force, about 40 men, as they slept at San Patricio on February 27, killing 16 and taking 21 captive, though Johnson escaped toward Refugio. Then three days later Urrea caught Grant's detachment as they were returning to San Patricio, killing 40--including Grant--and taking six more as prisoners, as well as all of their munitions, supplies, and horses. Urrea sent notice of his victories to Santa Anna and asked what he should do with his prisoners. Foreshadowing what was to come, the commander replied that Tornel's decree and thus Mexican law was clear: there were to be no prisoners, they would make an example of the Texians for other would-be rebels. Urrea should kill them all.

On the night of March 4, Santa Anna held a council of war with his staff where he declared his intention to end the siege and storm the fort. Several officers meekly questioned the timing of this shift in strategy, but opposition was short lived. Soldiers received their orders the following afternoon: at four o'clock the next morning, March 6, the army would make its move. Inside the Alamo, some Texians were pressing William Travis to seek terms of surrender. James Bowie, his co-commander, had fallen ill a few days earlier and was confined to his bed with raging fever and delirium, leaving Travis to make such decisions alone. In his earlier letters to Sam Houston and the provisional government he had famously proclaimed "Victory or Death!," so it is unlikely that the young officer would have seriously considered the possibility of surrender. Moreover, he knew well enough that Santa Anna would surely reject any terms that spared their lives. So instead he placed his hope in the possibility that reinforcements might arrive in time, for if not, his men had little chance of holding back a full assault. The Texians slept as Santa Anna's four columns slipped silently into their positions on each side of the fort--east, west, north, and south. Then a bugle call sounded at dawn, and with roars of "Viva Santa Anna! Viva Mexico!" the Mexican army launched itself against the garrison and its unsuspecting sentries.

It should have been a massacre, a total rout. That it was something more is testament to the Texians' remarkable tenacity and fervor in the face of their own destruction. Santa Anna hurled hundreds of his poorly trained, forced conscripts against the battlements of the Alamo, and scores were cut down by its cannon and artillery, which the quickly roused colonists had leapt to at the sound of that first bugle blast. But the numbers were overwhelming--at least 2000 Mexican troops against what was probably fewer than 200 defenders. In less than an hour the attackers breached the outer walls. What followed was thirty minutes of almost unimaginable hand-to-hand combat from building to building, room to room, all the way to the doors of the mission chapel itself, that part of the Alamo that still maintains an iconic place in Texans' history. Inside, the last defenders were cut down, and Santa Anna could claim his victory. Travis had died early in the melee, killed instantly by a shot to the head during fierce fighting on the northern parapet. Bowie was felled in his bed, though accounts vary as to whether he was capable of defending himself. The facts of Davy Crockett's death have long been the subject of debate. Some reports claim that he was killed


Lo traslado á V. para su int ligencia y efectos correspondientes.
Dios y libertad. San Luis Potosi Enero 4. de 1836.

in fighting between the chapel and a barracks; others claim that he was captured with several others with their swords. What is known with near certainty is that there were no survivors among the Texians. Yet Santa Anna's attack on the Alamo cost him dearly, nearly 600 soldiers either dead or wounded. At the time such losses might have seemed worth the glory of having defeated the Texians in such dramatic fashion. Yet in little more than six weeks, Santa Anna's decisions at San Antonio de Béxar would play no small part in determining his own fate, when his slaughter of the Alamo's defenders became the Texians' battle cry at San Jacinto.

The Tornel Decree was issued on December 30, 1835, but Streeter (1956:134) could find no surviving copy of its presumed Mexico City printing. **This San Luis Potosí printing, dated January 4, is the earliest known example and was issued a full week before Streeter's copy of a Ciudad Victoria printing dated January 11 (now at Yale's Beinecke Library)**. We trace only one other copy of this San Luis printing, held by the DeGolyer Library at SMU, and only one auction record for any issue of the decree, a second copy of the Ciudad Victoria printing that sold for $4000 at Simpson Galleries (Houston, Texas) in 2024. A copy of José Justo Corro's repeal of the decree (*La Opinion* No. 132, April 29) brought $10,625 at Heritage in 2024, but issues of the Tornel Decree itself are truly rare. **An exceptional Texas document**.

Relevant sources:

Barr, Alwyn
1990 *Texans in Revolt: The Battle for San Antonio, 1835*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
Costeloe, Michael P.
1988 The Mexican Press of 1836 and the Battle of the Alamo. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 91(4):533-543.
Paddock, Buckley B.
1922 History of Texas, Fort Worth and the Texas Northwest Edition. Vol. 1. Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago.
Winders, Richard Bruce
2004 *Sacrificed at the Alamo: Tragedy and Triumph in the Texas Revolution*. Texas A&M University Press.

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[Texas--War of Independence]. [José Maria Tornel]. CIRCULAR, NUMERO 15. GOBIERNO SUPERIOR DEL DEPARTAMENTO DE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ. Circular from the secretary of war publishing a decree of the president ad interim that all foreigners who enter the republic to attack its territory or to aid the rebels will be treated as pirates. Signed Juan José Dominguez and Manuel Lozano, Secretary. 12 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (31 x 22 cm). On laid paper, untrimmed; old minor crease along right edge, old waterstain. Overall very good [see Streeter 836.].

7. **$12,500**.

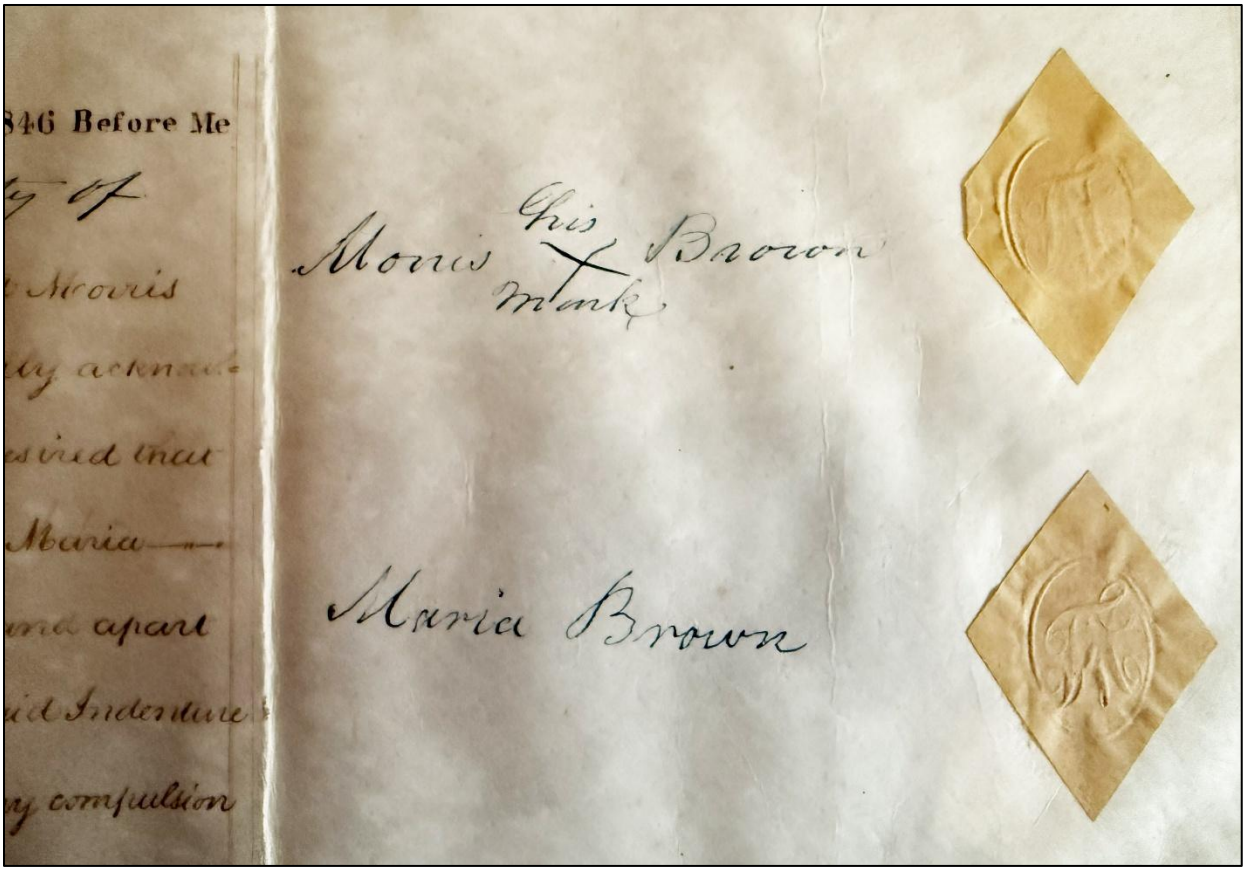
AME Presiding Bishop Morris Brown Signs His Mark in Philadelphia

By 1823, when the Rev. Morris Brown fled from South Carolina with his wife, Maria, and their two sons, Morris, Jr., and Malcolm, he had lived for more than 50 years as part of Charleston's tiny free Black community. Although he had never learned to read or write, he was a prosperous and well-regarded craftsman, a shoemaker, and had long served as a religious leader, having been licensed to preach and to organize a Black congregation in the early 1810s. In 1817 he established what was likely the first independent African church in the American South. But when a member of his church was arrested for spearheading what would have been the largest slave revolt in South Carolina history, Brown was implicated in the plot and spent nearly a year in prison. Taking no chances upon his release, he and his family left Charleston at once for Philadelphia, where he ministered as an assistant to AME church founder Richard Allen. When Allen died in 1831, Brown became the church's second presiding bishop, a position he would hold for the rest of his life. This deed for the sale of a Philadelphia property that he owned with his wife, Maria, was completed in 1846, two years after he had suffered a debilitating stroke and three years before his death. **Given his inability to read or write, there are no recorded manuscripts in Brown's hand or bearing his signature; this is one of only two known documents bearing his mark**.



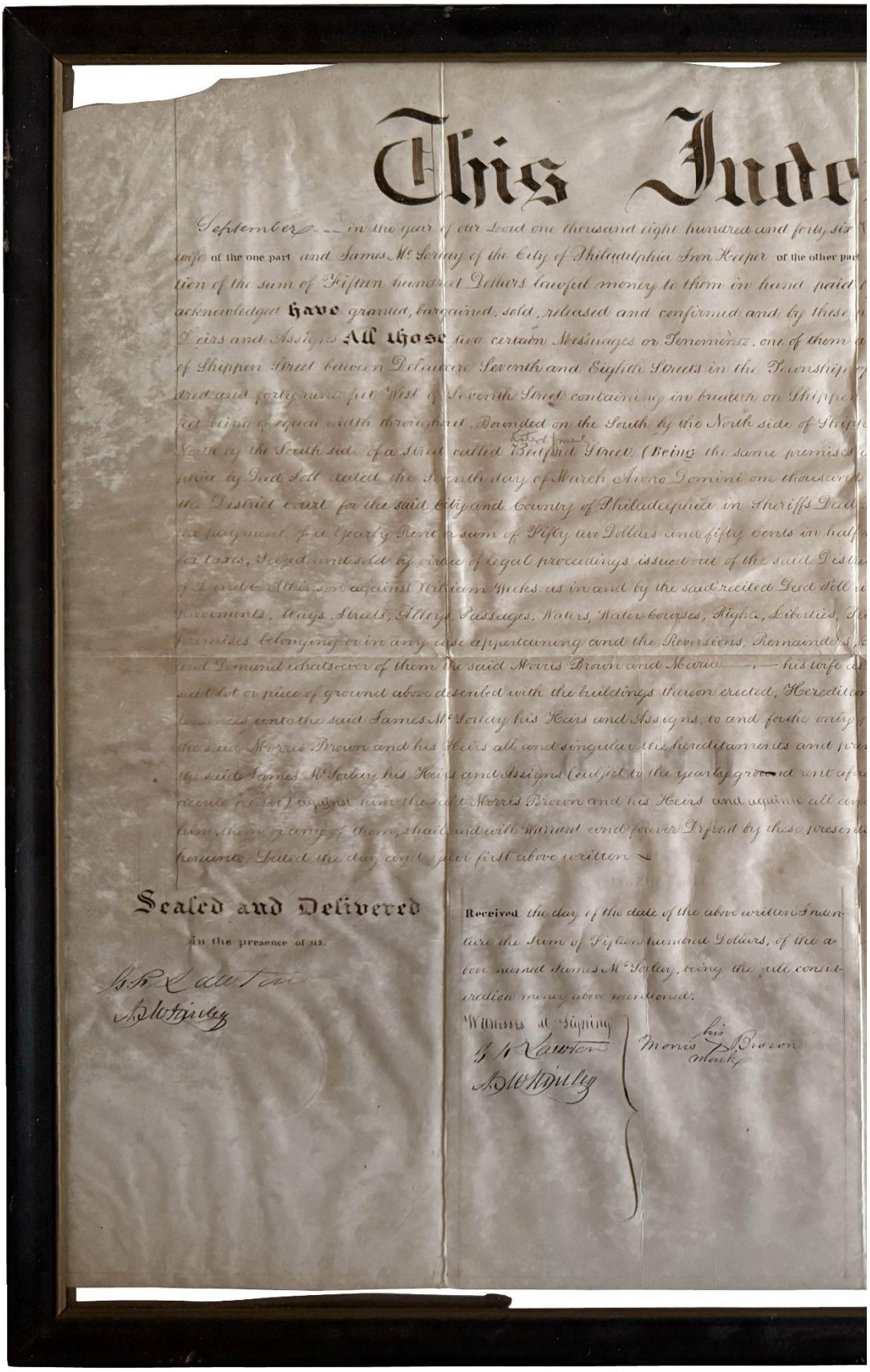
The AME Church was established at Philadelphia in 1816, when sixteen Black delegates convened in response to ongoing discrimination in the Methodist Episcopal Church, in particular the practice of segregating Black churchgoers during services. Richard Allen, a master chimney sweep whose various business 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 he 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.

While Allen was building his reputation in Philadelphia, Morris Brown had emerged as the leader of Black Methodists in coastal South Carolina. Brown was born in 1770, when Charleston's enslaved Black residents outnumbered whites 5800 to 5000. His own family were counted among



the city's free persons of color, who numbered little more than two dozen people. In 1800, Brown married an enslaved woman, Maria, and together they had six children, all born into slavery. As a free person of color, Brown could petition the South Carolina legislature to purchase his family's freedom, and he labored for years before saving enough money to liberate them all. Soon after, in 1816, he sailed north to Philadelphia to confer with Richard Allen, whose Mother Bethel had just launched its new denomination. Black Methodists in Charleston, free and enslaved alike, had for some time enjoyed a degree of control over their own services and the funds from their collection plate. Indeed, in 1797, when the Charleston Methodist congregation had built their new meeting house, Bethel Church, farther away from the city center, its membership had included 280 Black worshippers and just 65 whites. Yet when Allen returned from his meeting with Allen, he found that in his absence the white members of the church had not only assumed control of the Black congregants' own collection plate, they had also announced plans to place a storage building for hearses atop the church's Black burial ground. Brown responded to these blatant acts of disrespect by withdrawing from the Charleston church, and--much to the surprise of white leaders--more than 4000 Black Methodists left with him.

Brown and his followers established a new congregation, which its members simply called the African Church. Although Brown returned to Philadelphia in 1818 and was ordained by Allen as an Itinerant Elder in the new AME Church, his Charleston church appears to have maintained its independence from the smaller denomination based in Philadelphia. Brown's church continued to grow and thrive during the next several years, but disaster would strike in May 1822. A member of the congregation named Denmark Vesey, or Telemaque, a formerly enslaved carpenter who had



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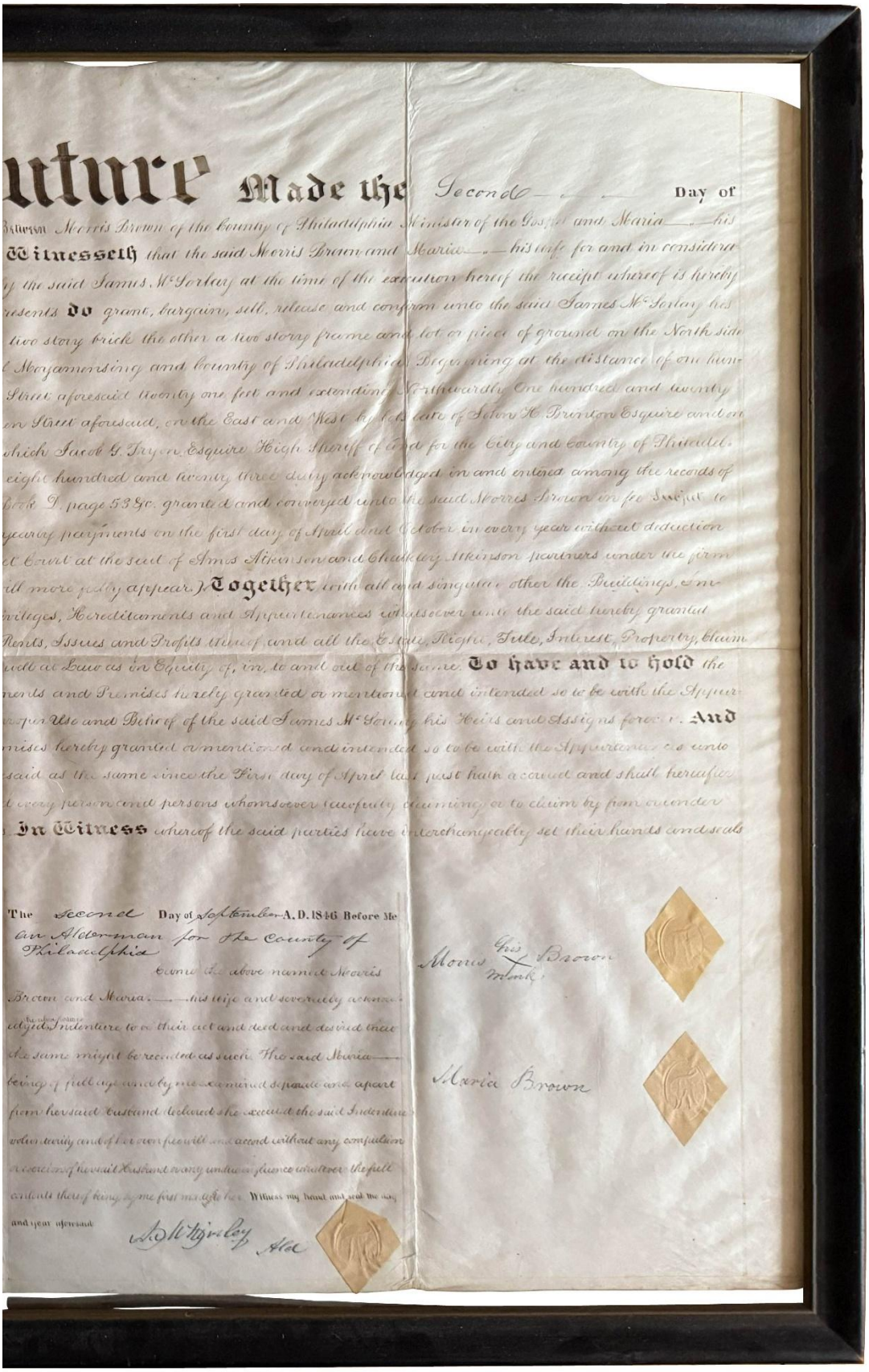
September — in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty six
wife of the one part and James M.c Sorley of the City of Philadelphia Iron Keeper of the other part
tion of the sum of Fifteen hundred Dollars lawful money to them in hand paid
acknowledged have granted, bargained, sold, released and confirmed and by these
Heirs and Assigns All those two certain Messuages or Tenements, one of them
of Shippen Street between Delaware Seventh and Eighth Streets in the Township
third and forty nine feet West of Seventh Street containing in breadth on Shippen
at that of equal width throughout, Bounded on the South by the North side of Shippen
North by the South side of a Street called Buttonwood Bedford Street (Being the same premises
given by Deed Poll dated the Seventh day of March Anno Domini one thousand
the District Court for the said City and County of Philadelphia in Sheriffs Deed
the payment of a Yearly Rent a sum of Fifty two Dollars and fifty Cents in half
for taxes, Seized and sold by virtue of legal proceedings issued out of the said Dist
of Execution at the suit against William Wickes as in and by the said recited Deed Poll
Tenements, Ways Streets, Alleys Passages, Waters, Water courses, Rights, Liberties,
Premises belonging or in any wise appertaining and the Reversions, Remainders,
and Demand whatsoever of them the said Morris Brown and Mercia — his wife
said lot or piece of ground above described with the buildings thereon erected, Hereditam
Premises unto the said James M.c Sorley his Heirs and Assigns, to and for the only
the said Morris Brown and his Heirs all and singular the hereditaments and pre
the said James M.c Sorley his Heirs and Assigns (subject to the yearly ground rent af
rieure (viz) against him the said Morris Brown and his Heirs and against all
them, them or any of them, shall and will Warrant and forever Defend by these presents
hereunto Sealed the day and year first above written

Sealed and Delivered
in the presence of us.

Received the day of the date of the above written Indentu
ture the Sum of Fifteen hundred Dollars, of the a
bove named James M.c Sorley, being the full consi
deration money above mentioned.

Witness at Signing

his
Morris Brown
Mark



uture **Made the** Second Day of

Morris Brown of the County of Philadelphia Minister of the Gospel and Maria his

Witnesseth that the said Morris Brown and Maria his wife for and in consideration

of the said James McSorley at the time of the execution hereof the receipt whereof is hereby

resents **Do** grant, bargain, sell, release and confirm unto the said James McSorley his

two story brick the other a two story frame and lot or piece of ground on the North side

Moyamensing and County of Philadelphia Beginning at the distance of one hun-

Street aforesaid twenty one feet and extending Northwardly One hundred and twenty

on Street aforesaid, on the East and West by lots late of Selon H. Brinton Esquire and on

which Jacob G. Leyden Esquire High Sheriff of said for the City and County of Philadel-

eight hundred and twenty three duly acknowledged in and entered among the records of

Book D. page 538 &c. granted and conveyed unto the said Morris Brown in fee Subject to

yearly payments on the first day of April and October in every year without deduction

Court at the suit of Amos Atkinson and Chalkley Atkinson partners under the firm

all more fully appear. **Together** with all and singular other the Buildings, Im-

vileges, Hereditaments and Appurtenances whatsoever unto the said hereby granted

Rents, Issues and Profits thereof and all the Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Property, Claim

well at Law as in Equity of, in, to and out of the same. **To have and to hold** the

nents and Premises hereby granted or mentioned and intended so to be with the Appur-

upon Use and Behoof of the said James McSorley his Heirs and Assigns forever. **And**

mises hereby granted or mentioned and intended so to be with the Appurtenances unto

said as the same since the First day of April last past hath accrued and shall hereafter

every person and persons whomsoever lawfully claiming or to claim by from or under

In Witness whereof the said parties have interchangeably set their hands and seals

The Second Day of November A.D. 1846 Before Me

an Alderman for the County of

Philadelphia

came the above named Morris

Brown and Maria his wife and severally acknow-

ledged this Indenture to be their act and deed and desired that

the same might be recorded as such. The said Maria

being of full age severally examined separate and apart

from her said husband declared she executed the said Indenture

voluntarily and of her own free will and accord without any compulsion

coercion of her said husband any undue influence whatever the full

contents thereof being at one first made known to her. Witness my hand and seal the day

and year aforesaid

A. McKinley Ald

Morris (his mark) Brown

Maria Brown

purchased his freedom after winning a lottery in 1799, was arrested by the city militia and charged with plotting a slave revolt that would have involved thousands of slaves in Charleston and along the Carolina coast. In the weeks that followed, Charleston authorities swept up dozens of Black residents--both enslaved and free, more than 130 in all--determined to root out every vestige of the alleged plot. They encouraged prisoners to report on the actions of others in exchange for more lenient sentences; they used coercion, abuse, and torture to obtain confessions; they denied accused men the right to face their accusers. Brown was among those taken up in the tumult, and he would remain in custody for nearly a year. In the end, 35 of the men, including Vessey, were convicted of treason and hanged, while another 31 were convicted and deported. Brown was among the 65 men acquitted or released after questioning. Yet at the height of the panic a white mob had razed his African Church to the ground, even burning its foundations. On the advice of friends, he and Maria gathered a few possessions and then with two of their sons boarded a ship bound north to Philadelphia. There they would seek refuge with Allen and his AME Church.

Almost immediately, Brown became Allen's closest assistant, and by 1825 he was serving as assistant pastor at Mother Bethel. The following year Allen appointed him assistant bishop. On May 25, 1828, Brown was consecrated as bishop at the AME General Conference, all but ensuring his place as Allen's successor. Census records indicate that he had resumed his shoemaking craft shortly after arriving in Philadelphia, but he was also able to transfer much of the wealth he had earned in Charleston to his family's new life in the north. This financial security enabled Brown and his sons to acquire several real estate properties--besides their own home--in the city's Seventh Ward, the heart of its free Black community. Brown soon began traveling widely to organize new congregations for the AME Church. In August 1830 he journeyed to Hillsboro, Ohio, where he formed all of the denomination's churches in the territory between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi--15 ministers and nearly 1200 members--into the AME Western Conference (Bess and Davis 2019:32). On March 26, 1831, Richard Allen died of heart failure at his home on Spruce Street. He was 71 years old. Allen was buried at Mother Bethel, with Brown delivering the funeral sermon. Just two months later, on May 21, the AME Annual Conference met in Philadelphia and elected Brown to chair the conference. Before adjourning, it formally elected Brown to take over as Allen's successor, both to assume the pastorate of Mother Bethel AME Church and to serve the broader denomination as only its second Presiding Bishop.

Despite the expansion of his duties both to Mother Bethel and to the AME Church offices in Philadelphia, Brown continued to travel widely. He presided over the meetings of the Western (Pittsburgh) Conference and the Baltimore Conference, while likewise personally organizing the Indiana Conference. And as more African Americans made their way into Canada following the widespread adoption of racist Black Codes in northern states, Brown traveled there, too, organizing the Canada Conference at Toronto in 1840. He did not, however, expand his own evangelization mission into the South, where even free Blacks could be taken and sold into slavery. Although he never learned to read or write himself, Brown recognized the importance of literacy and education for AME clergy and laity alike, throwing his full support behind the efforts of his protégé, Daniel Payne, to require a full course of academic study for church ministers, including courses in English grammar, geography, arithmetic, ancient and modern history, church history, and theology. By about 1840, AME membership had doubled to more than 17,000 congregants, with congregations established in Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Washington, Detroit, Cincinnati, New York, and Chicago, and even into the slave states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Louisiana. Yet this

frequent travel and the pressures of his position had taken a toll on Brown's health. In 1844, while presiding over the Annual Conference in Canada, Brown suffered a stroke that would leave him partially paralyzed for the rest of his life. He died on May 9, 1849, at the age of 74. He is buried together with Richard Allen within Mother Bethel Church. In recognition of his service and his support for Black education, Morris Brown College in Atlanta--one of the first historically Black colleges in the South--was named in his honor at its founding in 1885.

The year after Brown had suffered his debilitating stroke, the church began providing him with an annual $200 pension, worth about $8800 today, but hardly enough to sustain himself and Maria, much less their children still residing at home. It comes as little surprise, then, that Brown decided to sell some of the real estate he had acquired since coming to Philadelphia, including a lot with two houses located several blocks from his own home. This large parchment deed, dated September 2, 1846, transfers full ownership of "two messuages or tenements, one of them a two story brick the other a two story frame...on the North side of Shippen Street between...Seventh and Eighth," from "Morris Brown of the County of Philadelphia Minister of the Gospel and Maria, his wife" to an innkeeper, James McSorley, for the price of $1500. Morris Brown signs twice with his X in two different sections of the document. **We find reference to only one other document so signed by Brown**. Bess and Davis, discussing the end of Brown's life, describe his last will and testament thus: "Bishop Morris Brown was uneducated; therefore, he used an 'X' to sign his name in order to legitimize his will" (2019:47). Its current location is unknown, and we trace no comparable archival materials, whether in institutional holdings or in commerce. This impressive deed thus offers a rare and perhaps unique direct link to one of the most consequential leaders in the history of the AME Church and Philadelphia's Black community.

Relevant sources:

Bess, Rev. Dr. Thomas L. and Rev. Garland D. Davis
2019 *Bishop Morris Brown: The Invisible Man of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. Jewell Jordan Publishing, Midwest City, Oklahoma.

Sack, Kevin
2025 *Mother Emanuel: Two Centuries of Race, Resistance, and Forgiveness in One Charleston Church*. Crown Publishing, New York.

Wright, Richard Robert
1963 The Bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. A.M.E. Sunday School Union, Nashville.

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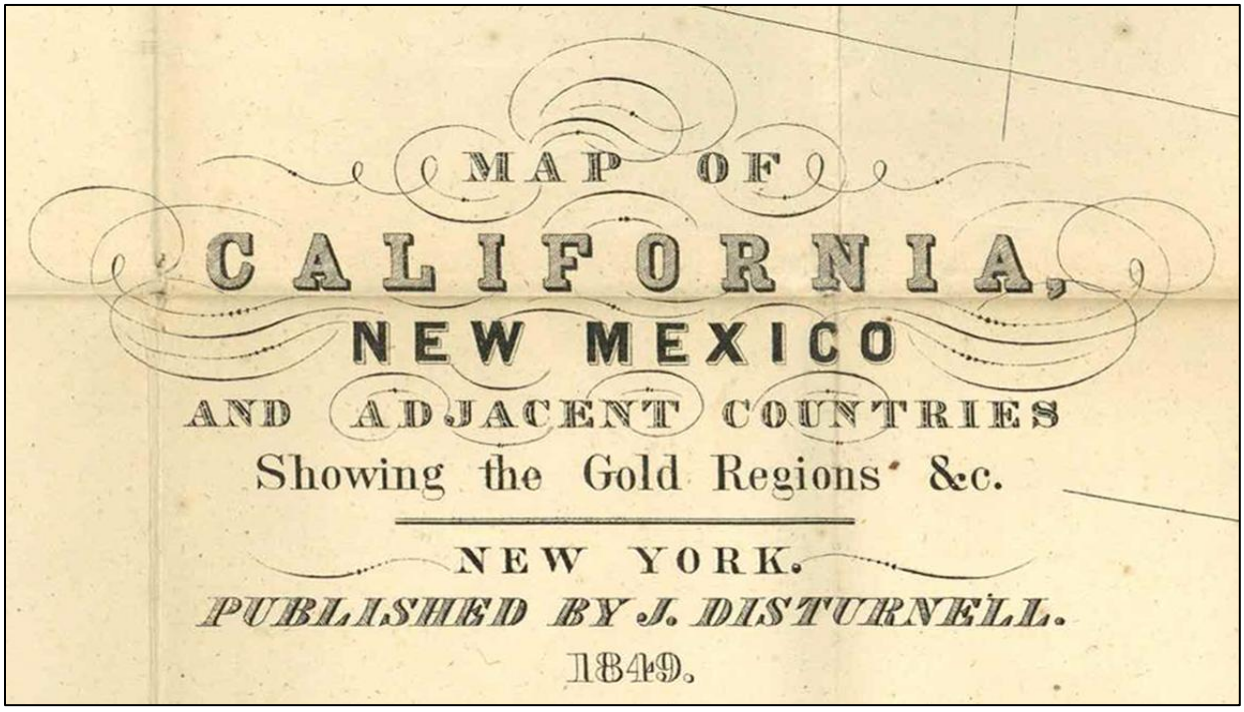
[Philadelphia--African Americans]. [Rev. Morris Brown]. MANUSCRIPT DEED ON VELLUM SIGNED WITH THE MARK OF REV. MORRIS BROWN WHILE SERVING AS SECOND PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE AME CHURCH]. Philadelphia, September 2, 1846. Large folio measuring approx. 22 x 17 in. (56 x 43 cm), in a double paned glass and wood frame. Relatively mild wrinkling and discoloration, old folds, not affecting legibility. Embossed yellow paper seals intact, docketed on verso. Not examined outside frame, but overall very good.

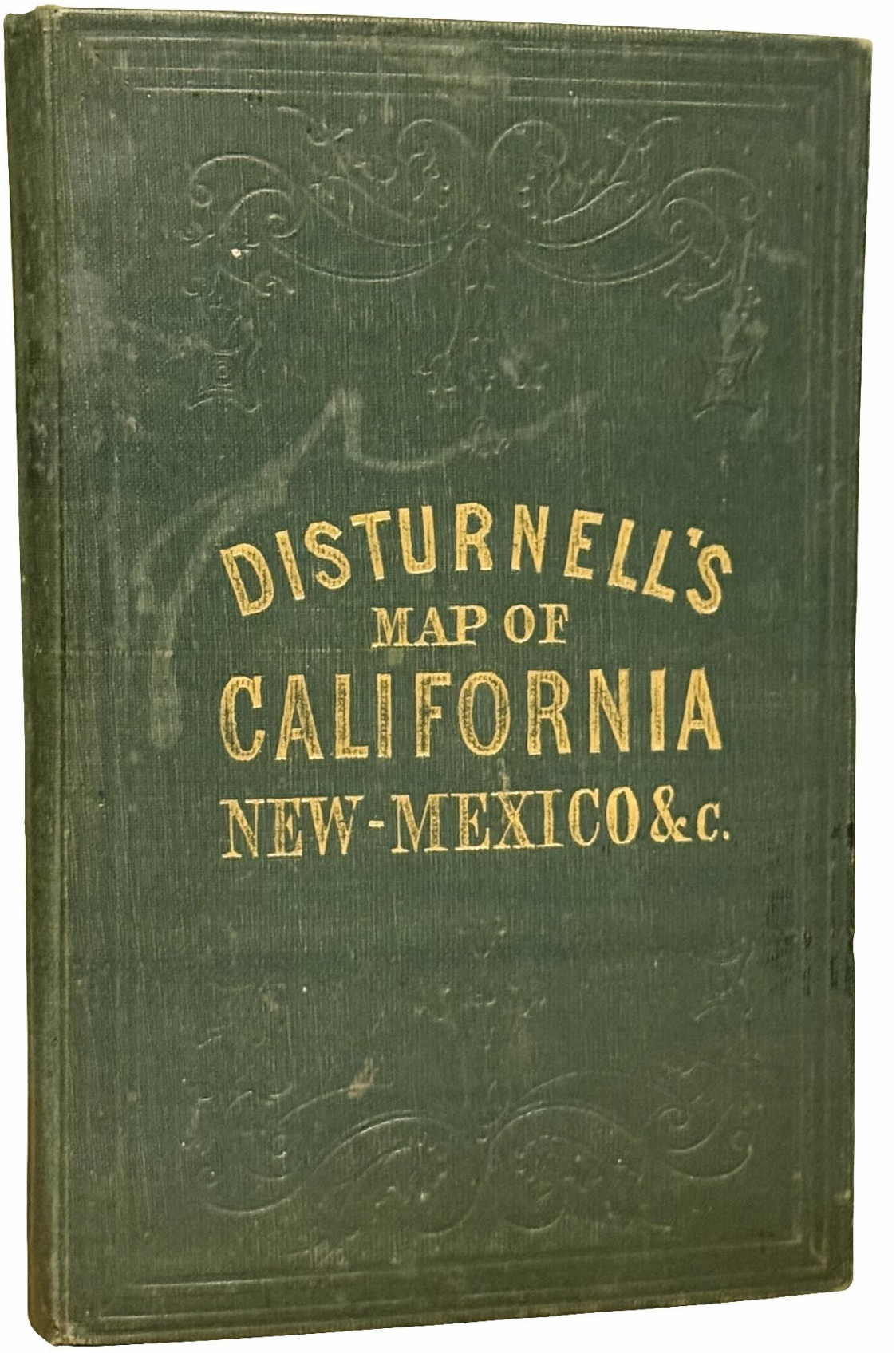
8. **$8500**.

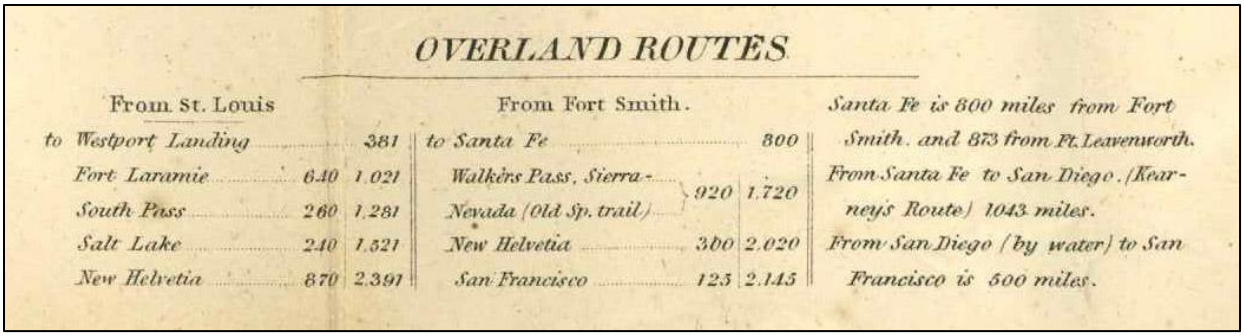
Disturnell's 1849 *Emigrant's Guide to New Mexico, California, and Oregon*

When President James K. Polk formally announced the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill during his State of the Union address on December 5, 1848, it set off what is still the largest mass migration in American history. Prospective immigrants could choose among three general routes to California and the gold fields. One of the most popular routes, and the most direct, was overland by any of several paths. While never taking travelers out of sight of land, it was a long and grinding journey of three to six months by wagon or on foot across plains, mountains, and deserts, and many tens of thousands of people took it. Another popular route was south by sea to Panama, across the Isthmus on foot or by coach through steamy, disease infested jungle, and north by sea again along the Pacific Coast to San Francisco. The longest route of all, one which lost favor after 1849, was by ship around Cape Horn and up the Pacific Coast. The journey was expensive, required passage through some of the most dangerous seas in the world, and could take six to eight months. Even so, at least 25,000 people risked this voyage of more than 14,000 miles.

Beginning in late 1848 and continuing through most of the following decade, publishers in the east issued dozens of gold rush guides--some quite good, others downright dangerous--to meet the demand of would-be emigrants. Among the earliest and most popular, first issued about March 1849 and reprinted twice, was John Disturnell's *Emigrant's Guide to New Mexico, California, and Oregon*. Like all such guides, it was meant to be carried along the trail, across the Isthmus, or for months at sea, such that few copies have survived despite the large number published. This copy of the preferred second edition, issued about a month after the first, is rarer still for retaining its handcolored map. **No copy of any edition has appeared at auction since 1999, and none of this edition since Warren Howell offered the Streeter copy in Part I of his monumental *Catalogue 50: California* in 1979; we trace only six institutional holdings**.




DISTURNELL'S
MAP OF
CALIFORNIA
NEW-MEXICO &c.



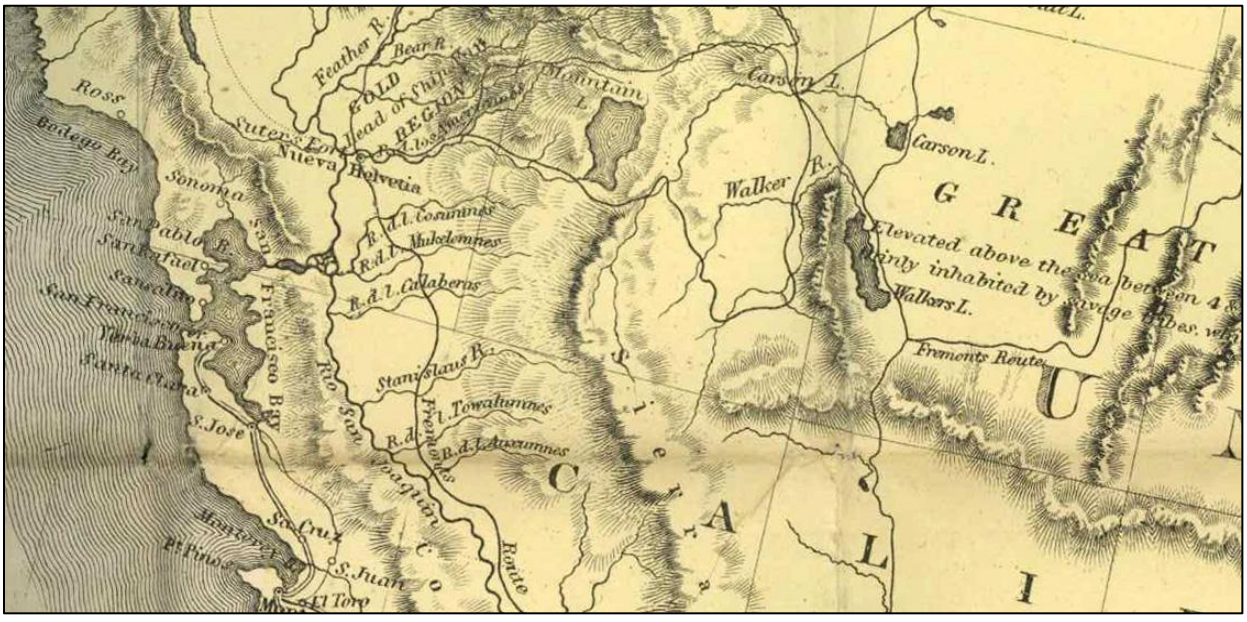
OVERLAND ROUTES

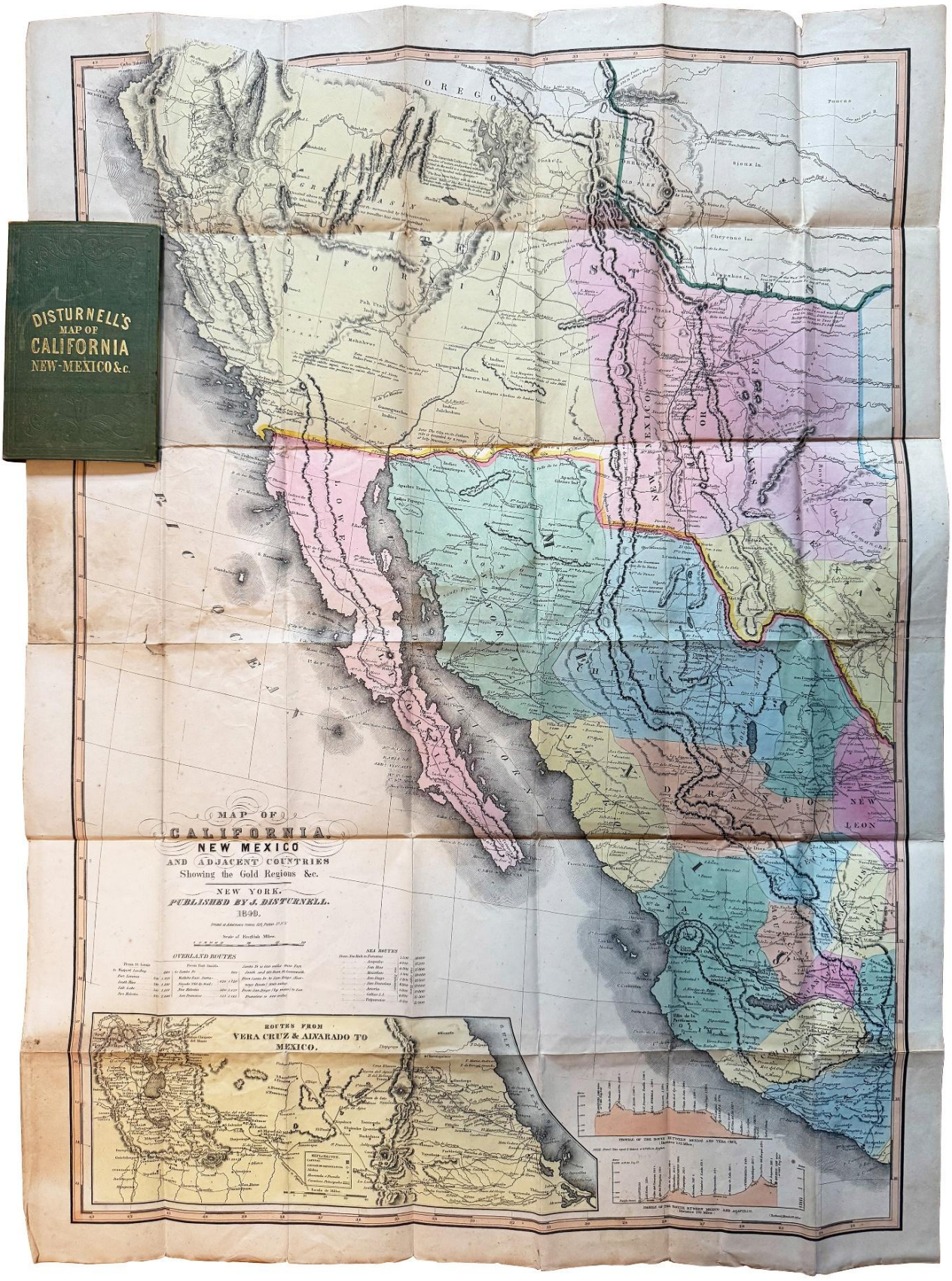
From St. Louis			From Fort Smith.		
to Westport Landing		381	to Santa Fe		800
Fort Laramie	640	1.021	Walkers Pass, Sierra-Nevada (Old Sp. trail)	920	1.720
South Pass	260	1.281			
Salt Lake	240	1.521	New Helvetia	300	2.020
New Helvetia	870	2.391	San Francisco	125	2.145

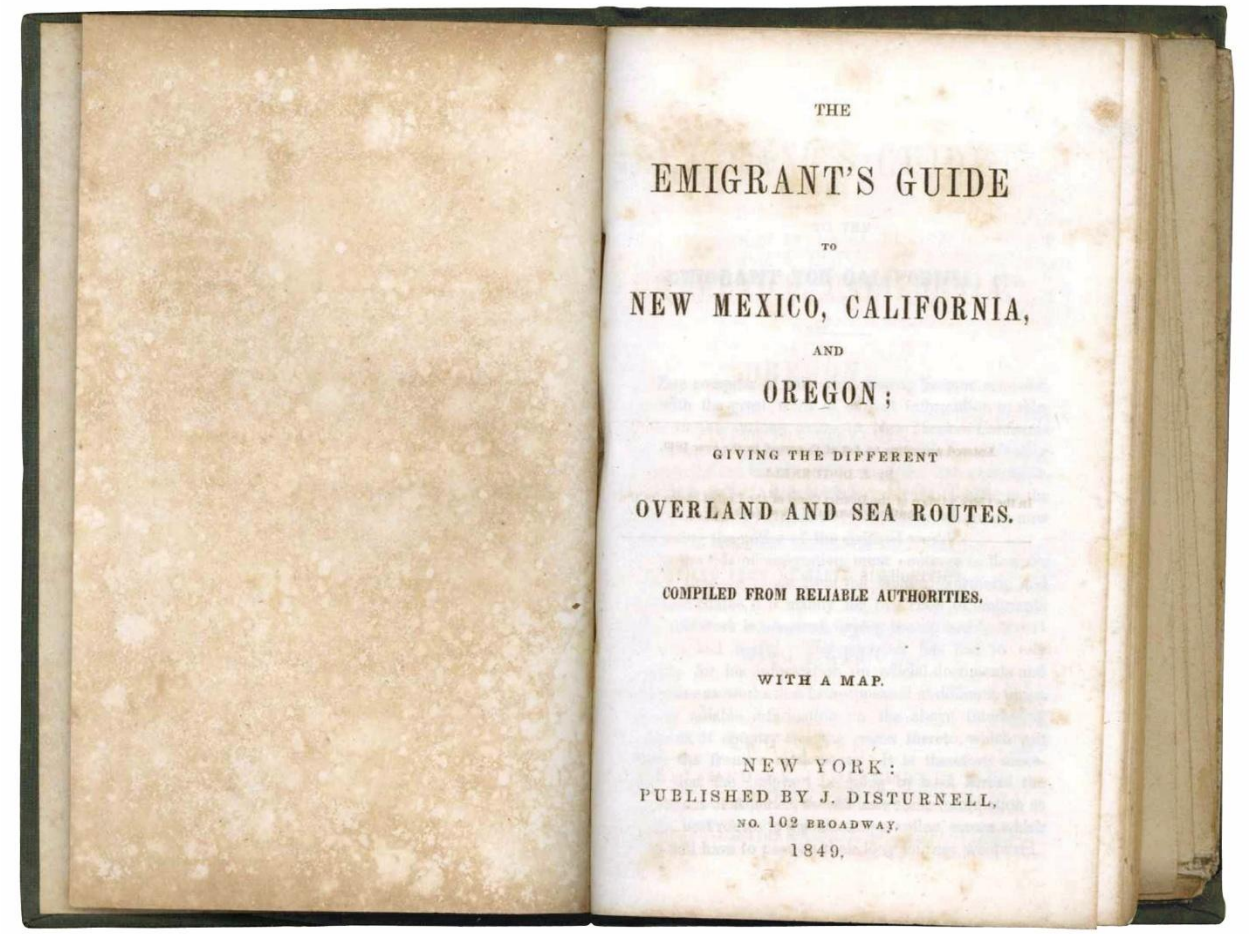
Santa Fe is 800 miles from Fort Smith, and 873 from Ft. Leavenworth.
From Santa Fe to San Diego, (Kearneys Route) 1043 miles.
From San Diego (by water) to San Francisco is 500 miles.

By the time of the California Gold Rush, John Disturnell had already established himself among the most successful writers and publishers of American guide books and maps. Born in Lansingburgh, New York--just up the road from Troy--in 1801, he appears to have learned the printing trade in Albany, and his first published work was likely the series of Troy directories he launched in 1829. But shortly after 1830 he moved to New York City and opened the bookstore and printing firm that would make his reputation, beginning with 1833's *New-York As It Is*, a work he continuously updated and reissued for more than a decade. American geographer John Kirtland Wright described Disturnell as "a good salesman, industrious and aggressive, who was a prolific publisher," (in Ristow 1985:318), although fellow geographer Lawrence Martin noted that he "had no personal competence in mapmaking" (1972:210). Rather, Disturnell worked with a wide range of skilled cartographers and engravers to produce his maps, and like all of his contemporaries in the business of publishing maps and guide books, he often plagiarized and pirated an equally wide range of both published and unpublished sources.

Nowhere are these practices better displayed than in the production history of the work for which he is best known today, his *Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico*. Issued for the first time in 1846, Disturnell would release at least 23 separate and variant editions by 1858--including seven in 1847 alone--and he would revise the western half of the map to accompany this second edition of his 1849 *Emigrant's Guide*. Consulted by the United States and Mexico throughout negotiations




DISTURNELL'S
MAP OF
CALIFORNIA
NEW-MEXICO &c.
MAP OF
CALIFORNIA,
NEW MEXICO
AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES
Showing the Gold Regions &c.
NEW YORK.
PUBLISHED BY J. DISTURNELL.
1849.
OVERLAND ROUTES
SEA ROUTES
ROUTES FROM
VERA CRUZ & ALVARADO TO
MEXICO.
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
NEW LEON



THE

EMIGRANT'S GUIDE

TO

NEW MEXICO, CALIFORNIA,

AND

OREGON;

GIVING THE DIFFERENT

OVERLAND AND SEA ROUTES.

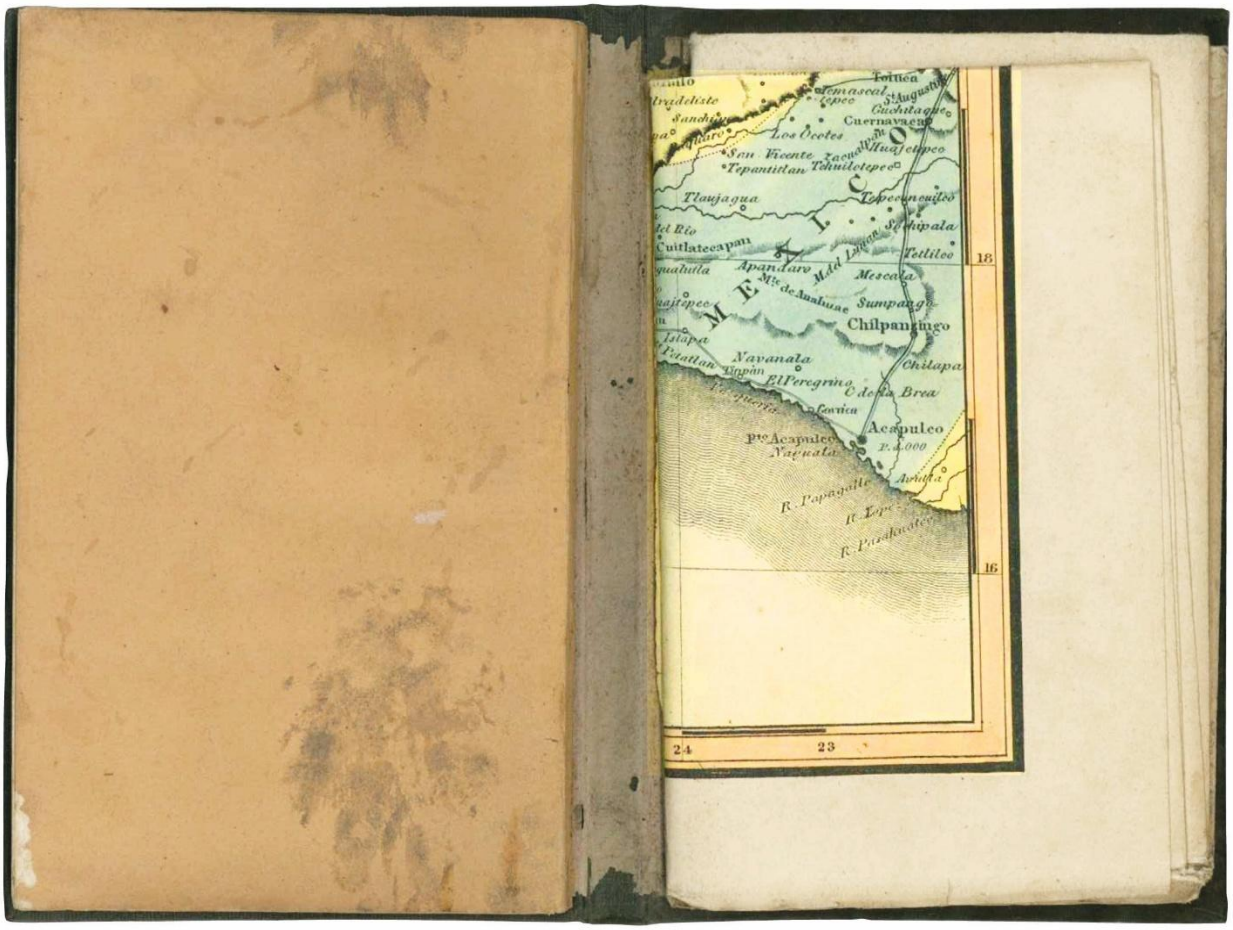
COMPILED FROM RELIABLE AUTHORITIES.

WITH A MAP.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY J. DISTURNELL,
NO. 102 BROADWAY.
1849.

over the Treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo (but with each nation inadvertently using a different variant of the 1847 issue), this map of the Mexican states is undoubtedly among the most significant ever produced of the American West. Yet its reputation derives not from its great accuracy, but from the catalogue of *inaccuracies* that prolonged border disputes between the two countries, leading the United States to acquire additional land with the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. The map has been the subject of numerous academic articles and even a short monograph, the details of which are beyond the scope of this description. Suffice it to say that Disturnell's so-called Treaty Map is a reprint of an earlier 1828 map by White, Gallaher & White, which itself was a plagiarism of H. S. Tanner's 1825 map of Mexico, which itself reproduces almost precisely the southwestern portion of Tanner's 1822 map of North America. Then in 1849, with exploding demand for guides to California and the West, Disturnell found yet another use for the Treaty Map.

Disturnell likely issued the first edition of his Emigrant's Guide in March 1849. Warren Howell identifies it as "The first guide to the routes from the East to New Mexico, California, and Oregon, published in response to the great interest in he California gold discoveries" (1979:27). It contained a 46 pp. compilation of the various overland and oversea routes to these three territories for all would-be immigrants. These include: Fremont's route to California and Oregon; the route from Fort Hall to the Columbia River; Kearny's route from Leavenworth to San Diego; Cooke's route across the Sonora; the route from Fort Smith, Arkansas; the route via El Paso; and numerous sea routes, among them those through Nicaragua, Chagres, and Panama. Included with this edition



was a large folding map of North America engraved by J. Calvin Smith. Originally produced as an insert on Sherman and Smith's colossal 1843 map of the United States, Canada, and Texas, it contained little information regarding the West, save for a small inset "Map of the Gold Region of California" based on Fremont's 1848 map of Oregon and Upper California.

Despite the shortcomings of the map, the first edition of Disturnell's *Guide* proved quite popular, as a second edition appeared about a month after the first. This new issue, which no less an authority than Wright Howes referred to as the "best edition," is significantly expanded from the first and contains an altogether different map. The opening 46 [2] pp. are taken from the same sheets as the first edition, but this section is followed in the second edition by a new "Description of New Mexico, California, &c" [49-80], containing a wealth of information for emigrants on life in the new western territories. The map, which Martin (1972:213) identifies as the 18th edition of *Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico*, consists of the western half of the Treaty Map, with the title and many of the legends, tables, and place names in English rather than Spanish. It provides distance tables both for overland and sea routes to the West, as well as additional details about the gold region around New Helvetia and an inset map titled "Routes from Veracruz and Alvarado to Mexico." In 1850, Disturnell issued the third and final edition of the Guide, which contained the full 80 pp. of the second edition but used a revised version of Smith's North America map, updated with a small inset map of California featuring gold region additions and new information about the southern routes to California across Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

All three editions of Disturnell's *Emigrant's Guide* are quite rare, whether institutionally or in commerce. Of the three, the first edition is most frequently held in library collections, with 13 copies listed in OCLC; nine libraries hold copies of the third edition. **Only six libraries hold examples of the second edition with the preferred Disturnell map**: Newberry (Graff copy, map detached and mounted), BYU (lacks map), Huntington, Denver Public (map filed separately), LOC (map detached and mounted, filed in Map Division), and AAS. Ours is thus only the third known copy of this edition with the map still attached to the *Guide* itself**. We trace only one copy of any edition at auction or in the trade in more than a quarter-century**: an example of the 1850 third edition with hinges repaired and map reinforced along fold lines offered in Reese Catalogue 319 for $20,000. We trace no copies of the second edition in commerce since Howell offered Streeter's copy (in wraps) in 1979. The copy that we are pleased to offer here is bound in the original dark green, blind-stamped boards, the front board with gilt titles, and four blind-stamped rosettes along the spine There is an old dampstain and spotting on the rear board, and a relatively light dampstain along the lower edge of the map. Two 2.5- to 3-inch tears extend into the neatline from each side of the centerfold, but otherwise the map is well preserved with attractive hand-coloring.

A legendary gold rush rarity and one of the most significant of all overland guides.

Relevant sources:

Cohen, Paul E.
2002 Mapping the West: America's Westward Movement 1524-1890. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Martin, Lawrence
1972 John Disturnell's Map of the United Mexican States. In *A La Carte: Selected Papers on Maps and Atlases*, edited by Walter W. Ristow, pp. 204-221. Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Ristow, Walter W.
1985 American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century. Wayne State University Press, Detroit, MI.

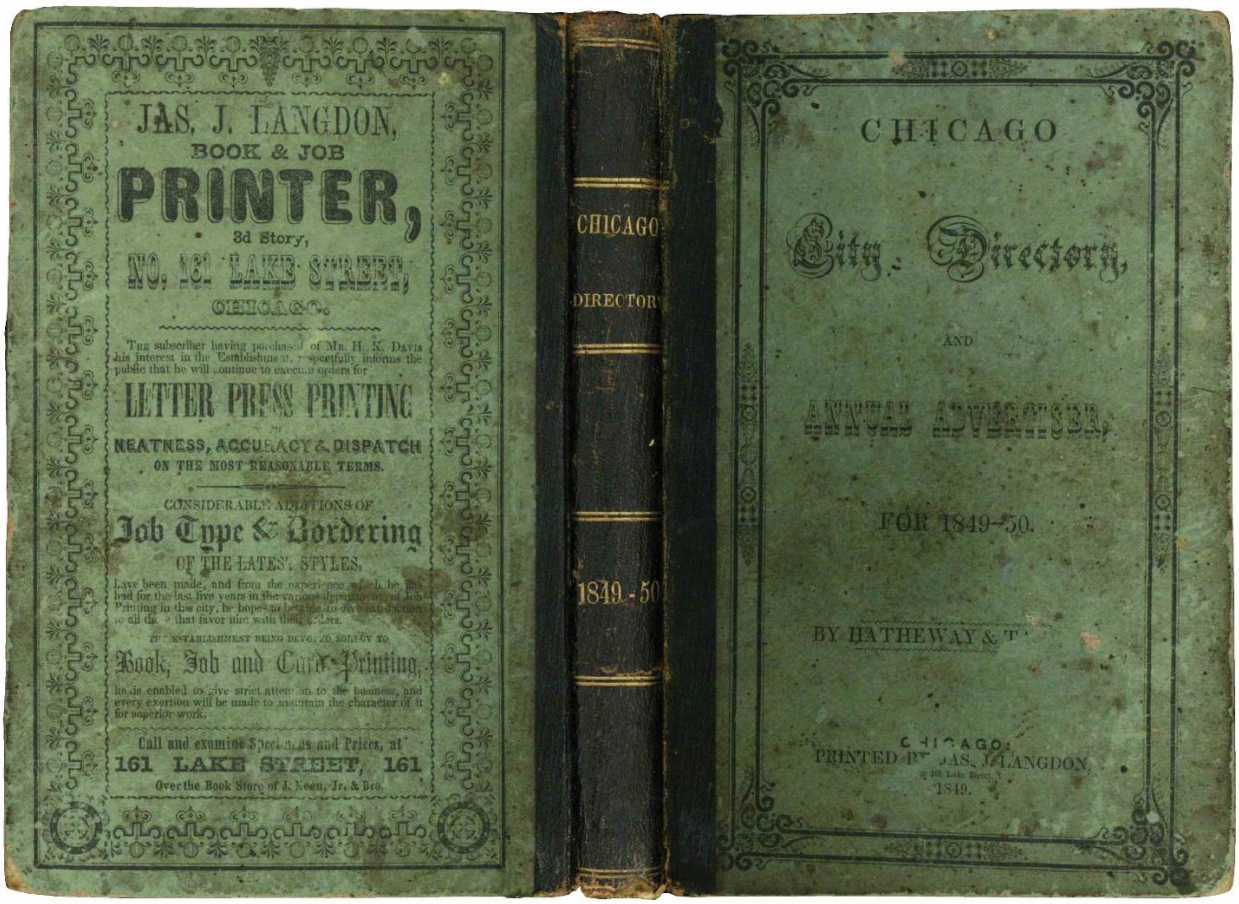
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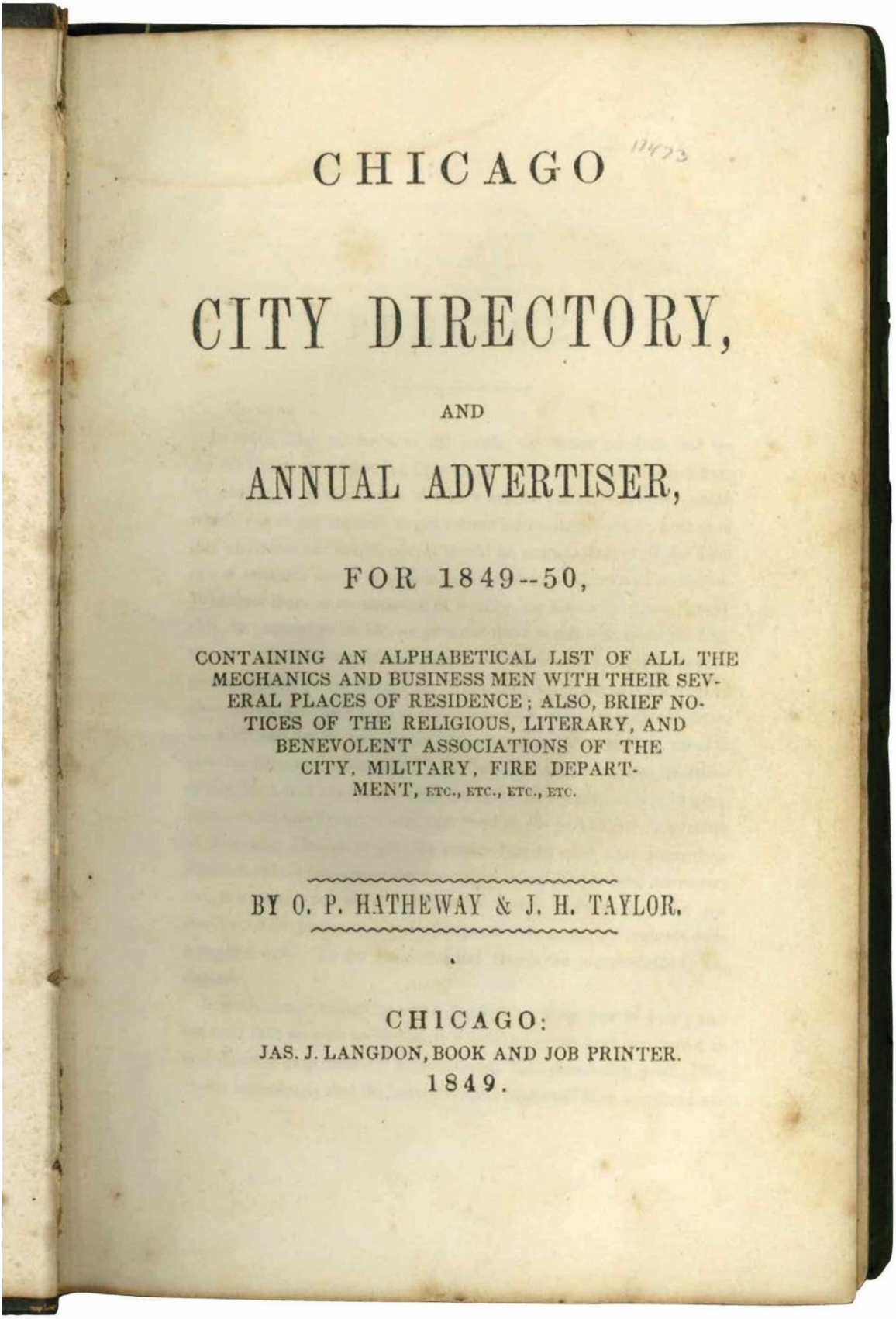
[California Migration--Gold Rush Guides]. John Disturnell. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE TO NEW MEXICO, CALIFORNIA, AND OREGON; GIVING DIFFERENT OVERLAND AND SEA ROUTES. COMPILED BY RELIABLE AUTHORITIES. WITH A MAP. Published by J. Disturnell, 102 Broadway, New York. 12mo (15 cm). 80 pp. Folded lithographed map, 29 1/2 x 20 1/2 in. (74.5 x 52 cm.), titled "Map of California, New Mexico and Adjacent Countries Showing the Gold Regions &c.," hand coloring. Original dark green, blind-stamped boards, front board with gilt titles, light edge wear but spine and corners crisp, old dampstain and spotting to rear board not affecting text. Map with light dampstain along lower edge and two clean, 2 1/2- to 3-inch tears that extend into the neatline from each side of the centerfold, light finger soiling, otherwise clean and crisp on strong paper, entirely unsophisticated. Overall about very good [Howes D351 "b" ("issue 2--and best..."); Wagner-Camp, 167a:2; Kurutz, 196b, Howell 50, 59c].

9. **$25,000**.

Hatheway and Taylor's Scarce *Chicago City Directory* for 1849-1850

Chicago was on the cusp of a boom in 1849. Although established about 1790 by French trader Jean Baptiste Point du Sable, who settled near the mouth of the Chicago River, it was not incorporated as a town until 1833, 15 years after Illinois became the 21st state. Early visitors such as Henry Schoolcraft were not impressed with the town, noting that it held no more than "a dozen huts and barely sixty souls." Nevertheless, he believed that the muddy little place "was destined to become a great thoroughfare for strangers, merchants, and travelers" (in Lewis 1929:22). Such observations were based in large part on the city's ideal location. Holding the ground where the Chicago River meets the western shore of Lake Michigan, Chicago occupied a unique location at the heart of the continent. Manufactured goods arrived from eastern centers by way of the Great Lakes, while raw materials like pelts, metals, and livestock entered via the Illinois and Des Plaines rivers for shipment to eastern markets. In 1840, Chicago had a population of 4470. But thanks to the opening of both the Illinois and Michigan Canal and the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad in 1848, that number had ballooned to nearly 30,000 by 1850, making Chicago the second largest city in the United States west of Cincinnati. Incredibly, over the next decade the city's population would quadruple to more than 112,000. This early Chicago directory for 1849-1850, compiled by Hatheway and Taylor, captures the city on the brink of this momentous growth. **We trace only four pre-1850 Chicago directories in commerce since the Streeter sale in 1967**.





CHICAGO

CITY DIRECTORY,

AND

ANNUAL ADVERTISER,

FOR 1849--50,

CONTAINING AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ALL THE MECHANICS AND BUSINESS MEN WITH THEIR SEVERAL PLACES OF RESIDENCE; ALSO, BRIEF NOTICES OF THE RELIGIOUS, LITERARY, AND BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS OF THE CITY, MILITARY, FIRE DEPARTMENT, ETC., ETC., ETC., ETC.

BY O. P. HATHEWAY & J. H. TAYLOR.

CHICAGO:
JAS. J. LANGDON, BOOK AND JOB PRINTER.
1849.

C. C. KELSEY'S

PREMIUM



SKY-LIGHT

DAGUERREAN GALLERY,

136 LAKE STREET.

MINIATURES

Taken in all kinds of weather and warranted perfect.

Awarded the PREMIUM for the best Daguerreotypes at the late Fair of the Chicago Mechanics' Institute.

Daguerreotype Apparatus and Stock constantly for sale at low prices.

P. VON SCHNEIDAU'S
DAGUERREOTYPE GALLERY,
NO. 122 LAKE STREET,

OVER A. H. AND C. BURLEY'S BOOK STORE.

Mr. S. guarantees his *pictures* to be in the *best* style of the art. Having his rooms expressly arranged for the purpose, with a large SKY-LIGHT which enables him to distribute the *light and shade* in the best possible manner.

☞ Full satisfaction warranted in all cases. ☜

Hatheway and Taylor's *Chicago City Directory* opens with a Preface in which they point out to readers that it represents their first effort and acknowledge the likelihood of errors, followed by an important essay on the "Rise and Progress of Chicago." A 52-page advertising section comes next, containing information on dozens of Chicago businesses with a wide range of fonts and many woodcut illustrations. The directory itself runs from pp. 67-243. Finally, a 20 pp. (pp. 245-264) Appendix contains lists of city officers--including members of the police and fire departments--a list of attorneys, physicians, schools, associations and streets. This copy was signed by pioneering packing house owner Benjamin Carpenter in 1850, the year he arrived in Chicago.

We have found little information regarding O. P. Hatheway and J. H. Taylor, the publishers of this 1849-1850 directory, which is the only known imprint bearing their names. Hatheway was later a co-owner of Chicago's Palace of Pharmacy and was listed as a druggist in the city directory for 1876; an 1896 obituary notice describes him simply as "pioneer." Of Taylor we can find no printed record other than this volume itself. The 1849-1850 directory is sixth overall in Chicago's publishing history, and the first issued by a publisher other J. Wellington Norris, with earlier Norris editions appearing each year from 1844 to 1848. Several commemorative reprints of the 1844 first directory make it difficult to determine the true scarcity of original issues, but OCLC leaves no doubt as to the scarcity of the other five Norris directories: there are four recorded copies of the 1845 issue, five of the 1846, one of the 1847, and three of the 1848. OCLC records 10 copies of this 1849 issue by Hatheway and Taylor: Newberry, UChicago, UIC, Chicago History, Abraham Lincoln, Iowa Historical, UTenn, Rosenbach, and Yale (defective, lacks pp. 3-12 with Preface and Rise and Progress of Chicago). We trace only three examples of any of these in commerce since the Streeter sale in 1967, and only one in the past 40 years: a copy of Norris's 1845 directory sold at auction by Leslie Hindman in 2020 for $2500. The Streeter collection did not include a copy of the 1849 issue, but did hold examples of the issues for 1844 ($425) and 1845 ($700). **We trace no copies of this 1849 edition in commerce since Midland offered an example in 1959**. A rare and important directory, offering a glimpse of Chicago just as history, technology, and geography were reshaping it as the metropolis of the American Midwest.

Relevant sources:
McDonald, John F.
2016 *Chicago: An Economic History*. Routledge, New York.
Regan Printing House, compilers
1912 *Story of Chicago in Connection with the Printing Business*. Regan Printing, Chicago.

– –

[Chicago--Directories]. O. P. Hatheway and J. H. Taylor. CHICAGO CITY DIRECTORY AND ANNUAL ADVERTISER, FOR 1849--50. Jas. A. Langdon, Book and Job Printer, 1849, Chicago. [1-3], 4-264 pp. Small 8vo (19 cm). Original 1/4 roan over printed green boards, light edgewear and soiling, front hinge tender but holding, scattered foxing, otherwise text clean. In a half morocco and cloth case with cloth jacket. Very good [Howes H303 "b"; McMurtrie, Chicago Imprints, 173; Byrd, Illinois Imprints, 1450].

10. **SOLD**.

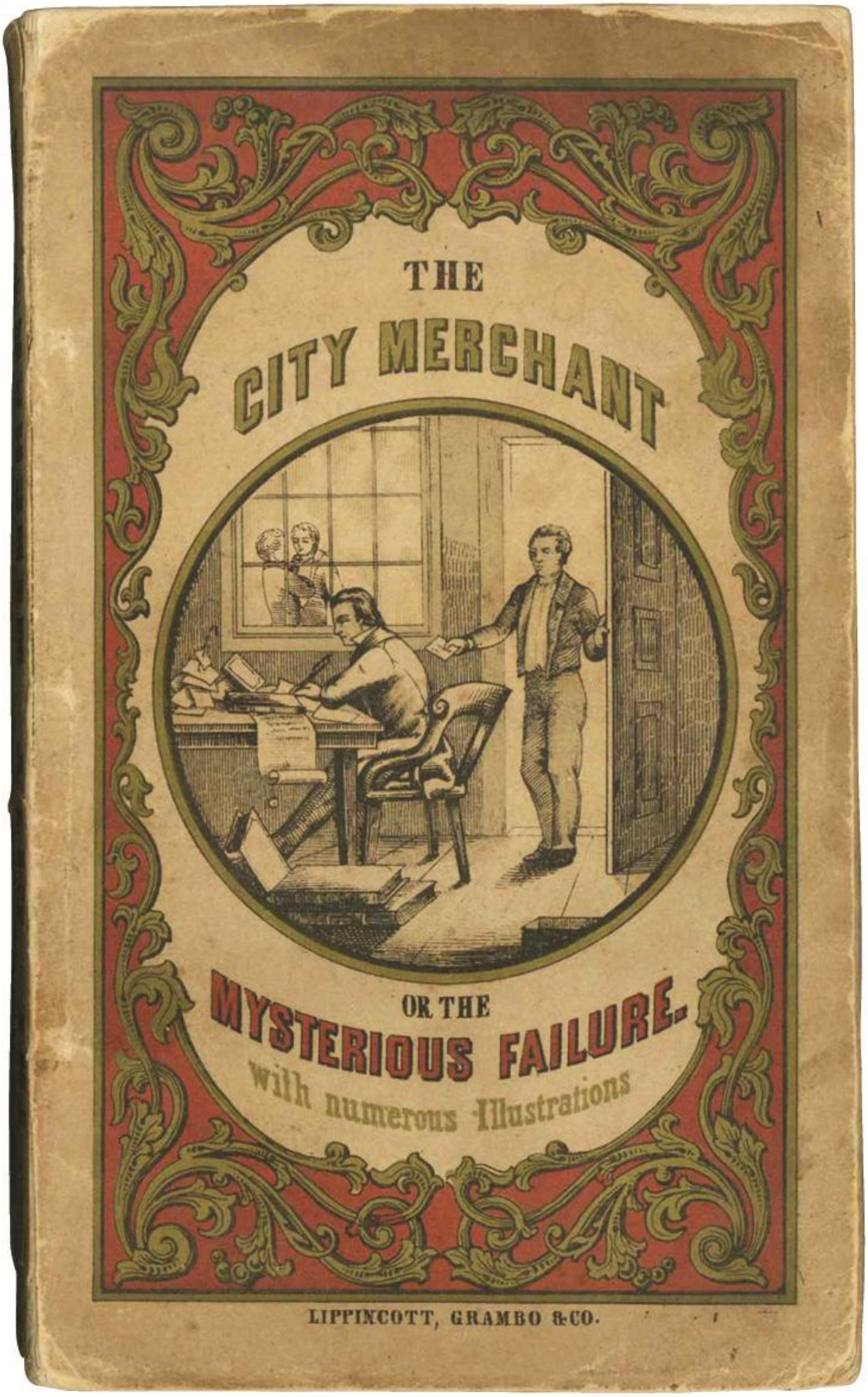
John Beauchamp Jones' *The City Merchant, or the Mysterious Failure*

Late antebellum Philadelphia was a powder keg of racism, abolitionism, immigration, and resentment. On May 14, 1838, abolitionists opened Philadelphia Hall, a meeting place to protest the Pennsylvania State Constitution of 1838 that rescinded the Black vote. Just four days later, a mob of more than 3000 anti-abolitionists attacked the building and burned it to the ground, an act of violence they followed by attacking other properties across the city that belonged to abolitionists or African American residents. Then in 1842, a mob of Irish rioters, taking offense at a Jamaican flag flown during an African American temperance parade, launched two days of racist violence on Black residents and their properties, including the torching of another abolitionist meeting hall and the African Presbyterian Church. Novelist, editor, and southern sympathizer John Beauchamp Jones was not a citizen of Philadelphia when either of these events took place, but he did live there in the years immediately before, between, and after. In his 1852 novel, *The City Merchant, or the Mysterious Failure*, Jones conflates these two episodes into a single narrative device, taking the side of the racist hordes to admonish his readers about the danger of upturning racial hierarchies in the name of African American liberty. **We trace only 11 copies of this important antebellum novel, here in excellent condition in its original illustrated wrappers**.


THE MYSTERIOUS FAILURE.

John Beauchamp Jones was born in Baltimore in 1810 but moved west with his familty to Kentucky in 1815. In 1830 he moved farther west to Arrow Rock, Missouri, in the heart of the Boone's Lick Country, where he helped his brother open and manage a mercantile store for five or six years. About 1836 he moved back east to concentrate on writing, eking out a near-penniless existence for several years in Baltimore and Philadephia. But by 1839 he had begun to see some of his early work published in respectable venues such as *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, edited by Edgar Allen Poe, and in 1840 he married an heiress, Frances T. Custiss. That same year, and with his new wife's dowry, he became co-owner and editor of a newspaper, the *Baltimore Weekly Visiter*, and invested in a magazine, the *Baltimore Phoenix and Budget*, using both venues to issue his first three novels in serial format after they failed to draw interest from other publishers. Only a year later, though, he sold his interest in both periodicals to purchase and become editor of the *Daily Madisonian*, a Washington newspaper selected by President John Tyler as journalistic organ of the Whig Party. Jones stayed with the *Madisonian* until it was bankrupted in 1846, then spent the next decade as a full-time writer, producing nearly a dozen novels. Among the most interesting of these is *The City Merchant or the Mysterious Failure*.

Jones spent much of his life in the border states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, and most of his writing drew from this experience in its depictions of political life amid the racial and sectarian divisions of antebellum America None of his works better epitomize this dynamic than *The City Merchant*, which follows the rise of the tellingly named Edgar Saxon, a third-generation dry goods merchant navigating his path to financial success through the turmoil of the era while shadowed by the business failures of his father and grandfather. The novel opens in February 1836 on Market Street, the bustling Philadelphia's financial center, as Jones sets the stage by reminding


THE
CITY MERCHANT
OR THE
MYSTERIOUS FAILURE.
with numerous Illustrations
LIPPINCOTT, GRAMBO &CO.



his readers of the decade's turbulence: Andrew Jackson's 1832 dismantling of the Second Bank of the United States, then headquartered in Philadelphia; the transfer of its deposits to state banks and the resulting glut of paper currency; the expansion of credit and the ascendancy of speculation as a pathway to easy wealth. Jones contrasts Saxon with the speculators he depicts jostling one another on Market Street, acting "in defiance of the rules regulating the real value of commodities....How unreal were many of the fortunes they made!" (p. 15). In so doing he creates "a dichotomy in which the excesses of financial speculation are linked with abolition, social reform, and Philadelphia's African Americans and set against Anglo-Saxon prudence" (Otter 2013:195).

The first half of Jones's novel follows the path of Edgar Saxon as he avoids the economic pitfalls of speculation. In expectation of a coming financial collapse, Saxon invests the profits from his mercantile business in commodities of "real value" such as gold and silver--the very antitheses of those "unreal" commodities that appealed so strongly to his contemporaries. It is in the second half of the book that Jones brings his racial plot devices to the fore, linking the profligate risk-taking of the speculator with the breaking down of social order by the abolitionist. Here a pair of mulatto men invite Saxon's two nieces to walk together with them, arm-in-arm, part of a disorderly scene during which "for several days great strapping negro fellows were seen promenading the streets in sociable attitudes and familiar converse with white women; while white men walked the pavement with sooty-faced African women hanging on their arms!" (p. 130). This seems to be a clear allusion to the actual scandal that arose in 1849 when Frederick Douglass walked along Broadway in New York City with two white female friends (Otter 2013:196). Jones claims (as omniscient narrator) that abolitionists brought the mob's eventual violence onto themselves through such brazen acts of miscegenation, and that the good sense and moral duty of white citizens necessarily compelled them to take matters into their own hands, countering the extremism of the abolitionists and their ilk. So when the mob with torches reaches the site of the anti-slavery convention (an unnamed Philadelphia Hall), Jones depicts the resulting conflagration as all but an act of God:

> Thousands and tens of thousands were gathered to witness the grand spectacle. And when the roof fell in, and an immense volume of flame ascended high up in the air, the whole canopy of heaven was so brilliantly illuminated that the stars faded away, as if the sun itself had burst from the center of the earth. The chimneys and timbers fell within the walls, as if there was some supernatural avenger co-operating with the mortals, and indicating that every vestige of the unholy edifice, and naught else, should be consumed [p. 141].

We trace only 11 copies of *The City Merchant* in institutional collections, and there is no evidence that any copy has ever appeared in commerce. At the start of the Civil War, Jones fled from Philadelphia--where he had founded and edited the pro-South *Southern Monitor*--to the first Confederate capitol in Montgomery, Alabama. There he served as a high ranking government clerk in the War Department, then followed the government to Richmond later in 1861. He kept a meticulous journal through the entire rebellion, published in 1866 as *A Confederate War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capitol*, long recognized as one of the best narratives of daily life in the wartime South. It is ironic that we best remember Jones for this work today, as he did not live to see it in print, having died of tuberculosis shortly before its publication.

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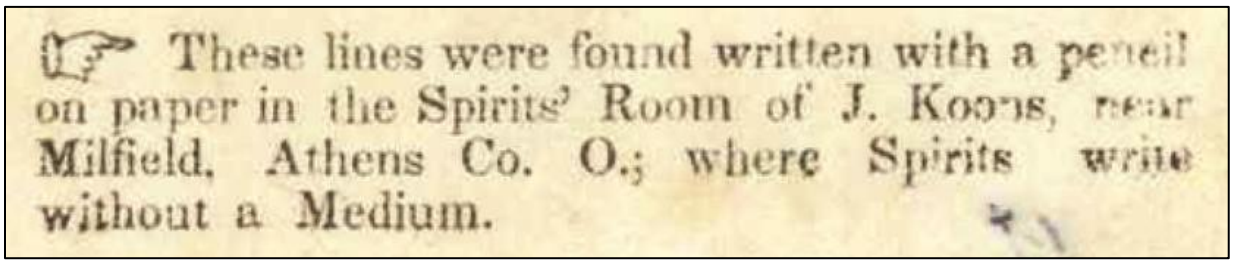
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[Literature--American Race and Racism]. John Beauchamp Jones. THE CITY MERCHANT, OR THE MYSTERIOUS FAILURE. Lippincott, Grambo & Co., Philadelphia, 1851. 235 pp., with frontis. and nine engravings. large 12mo (19 cm). Original stiff wrappers, lithographed frame and titles in black, red, and gold on front and rear wraps, woodcut vignette on front wrap. Spine titled in black, red, and gold, light wear to spine and edges, foxing or spotting on rear wrap, text quite clean with light scattered foxing. Very good [BAL 10879; Wright 1376].

11. **SOLD**.

A Souvenir from the Koons' Spirit Room, Athens County, Ohio

For a movement that lacked any singular guiding prophet or seer, any sacred text in which to gird its authority, or any central place of worship and pilgrimage to draw believers together, it is something of a miracle that spiritualism would emerge as one of the most successful American religious expressions of the 19th century. Spiritualists past and present have held the core belief that consciousness persists after death and that the spirits of the dead can be contacted by the living and provide guidance for those who seek their counsel. Although a handful of philosophers and mystics may be said to have planted the seeds of spiritualism, its believers trace the beginning of the movement to March 31, 1848, when young sisters Maggie and Kate Fox of Hydesville, New York, first reported making contact with a spirit that rapped and knocked on walls and furniture inside their home. Soon the Fox sisters were household names, mentored by Horace Greeley and holding séances for hundreds of spectators, while debates about the veracity of spirit rapping raged across newspapers, pamphlets, and scientific journals.


☞ These lines were found written with a pencil on paper in the Spirits' Room of J. Koons, near Milfield, Athens Co. O.; where Spirits write without a Medium.

In early 1852, a self-educated Ohio farmer named Jonathan Koons read a newspaper story about the Fox sisters. His curiosity piqued, he began attending séances across the state. At these he learned that he, too, was a powerful medium (or so he claimed), as were his wife, Abigail, and eldest son, Nahum. Spectral voices provided Koons and his family with detailed plans for building a log "Spirit Room" at their Athens County farm, and before the year's end thousands of adherents from Ohio and beyond were lining up to climb the rough, two-mile path to the cabin. **This unique broadside--featuring a vignette angel or spirit, a song by the late Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, a poem by a spirit named David, and a woodcut sidewheel steamer--is the only known imprint to have been produced for distribution at the Koons' Spirit Room**.

Jonathan Koons was born near Bedford, Pennsylvania, in 1811. He left home for Ohio at the age of 22, following many fellow Pennsylvania German pioneers into the west. He had just completed an apprenticeship in carpentry and joinery, confident that such skills would allow him to prosper on the frontier. He had also learned to play the fiddle, and his performances would later hold a prominent role in the séances at his Spirit Room. Lacking much formal education, Koons was a voracious reader and grew well-versed in the politics and philosophies of the time. After traveling through Ohio for several months and visiting 14 different counties, he finally purchased a 262-acre plot at Mt. Nebo, now a ghost town near Millfield in Athens County. Koons then went back to Bedford and worked as a joiner and part-time schoolteacher, saving his pay to start a farm on the land in Ohio. He returned to Athens County a year later, where in 1836 he met and married Abigail Bishop, a free-thinking schoolteacher from New Hampshire. By 1852, when he presented his Spirit Room to the public, Koons had a thriving farm and a family of nine children.



SONG

By Commadore Perry.

Ye nations of the earth draw nigh
And hear our voices from on high,
That echo in a solemn strain
Against those wrongs, that rule the main.

2 Let wisdom mount the zenith sky,
And look on those dark clouds, that lie
Beneath the sun where beauty reigns,
And music swells in melting strains;

3 Then for one moment cast your eye
From this bright mansion in the sky,
And look beneath that cloudy veil,
Where ships of church and state do sail.

4 Then look upon those seamen brave,
Who stem the tides, these ships to save
From treacherous winds & boisterous waves
Which threaten their untimely graves;

5 But now those clouds begin to fade,
Where steady sails the ship of state,
And soon her fleets will anchor nigh,
Where brighter clouds bedeck the sky.

6 But sad! Alas! For to behold
The ship of church that's uncontroll'd;
Her fleets lay moor'd 'midst swelling seas.
Miscast and wreck'd by dashing breeze.

7 See how her seamen stamp and rave,
In tears and curses for to save
Their rotten and their sinking craft,
That heaves and sighs both fore and aft.

8 Her cloud, it still hangs heavily o'er;
Her main-mast sail begins to lower;
Her compass is disorganiz'd;
Her ship will soon be sacrific'd.

9 See how her seamen heave and sigh,
While some with contumacy cry,
We'll hoist a signal of distress,
And see who comes, us to arrest.

10 See yonder hoves a ship in sight,
That sails against both wind and tide;

Lines by David.

Come friends of truth, Elysium,
And list' to our exordium,
Beware of those excisemen,
Who tax your minds with terror;
Flee from their rancour'd armour,
And seek some Angel charmer,
To lead you to God's garner,
And save you from their error
Who truth do quell
In fear of hell
That rises in their own bosom;
And make you think,
You'r on the brink,
Except you'r of God's chosen.

Yield not, dear friends, nor venture,
Your reason, to surrender
And sign a Priest's indenture
To labor in their alleys,
That leads through barren regions,
Amongst their fiendish legions,
Of spirits aborigines;
Through sulphurous, firy valleys,
Where pits and lakes,
All nature shakes
With thunder and commotion;
Which fancy paints
In railing Saints
To suit their purse and notion:

But hear the gentle whisper,
Within your bosom sister;
(That is,) your Spirit feaster,
And altar of your lotion.
And hear the heavens swelling
With notes, that are repelling
To every vice, that's felling,
By love's own ruling motion;
That rules the blest
In God's own nest,
Where beauty reigns forever,
In joys combin'd,
And love entwin'd
To never part. O! never!!

The breakers dread to venture near,
For a great calm controlls her rear.

11 See how those frenzi'd Captains rant,
To see their crews grow arrogant;
They hesitatingly do swear,
That they will sink them in dispair,

12 In case they should attempt to fly,
And leave their ship insultingly,
Without a compass, or a light,
In this dark tempest of the night,

13 See now this brilliant ship draws nigh
To where the sinking wreck doth lie;
Her lights, they shine so clear and bright;
She turns the darkness into light.

14 Hark! hear what soft and swelling notes,
In concert with yon ship, that floats,
Amidst her lights reflecting rays,
In concert with her notes of praise.

15 See now this crew upon the wreck,
Who all stand gazing from the deck,
Now some have fled their wreck and strife
To sail upon this ship of life.

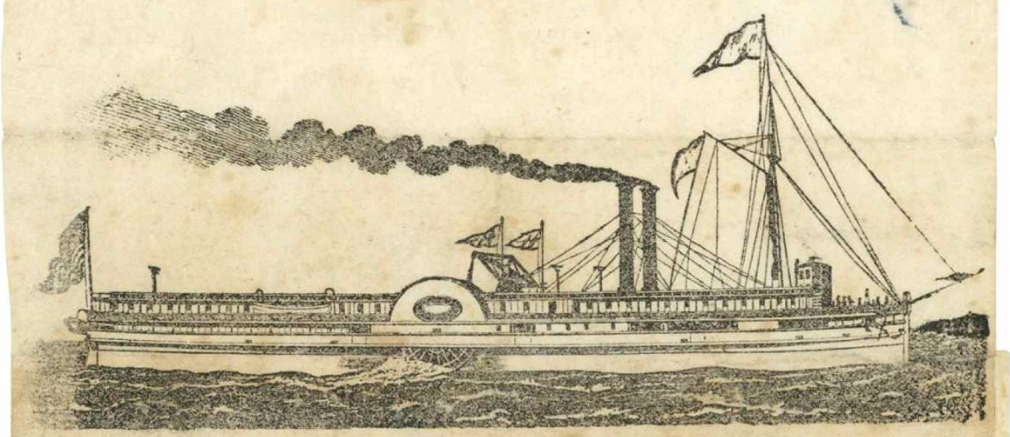
16 Hark! Hear those Captains and their Mates
Upon this sinking wreck of fate,
Pronounce their curses 'gainst all those,
Who light instead of darkness choose.

17 Now Spirit Friends, who have thus fled
From sinking forms, that are all dead,
Pursue a course void of all strife
In emblem of the ship of life.

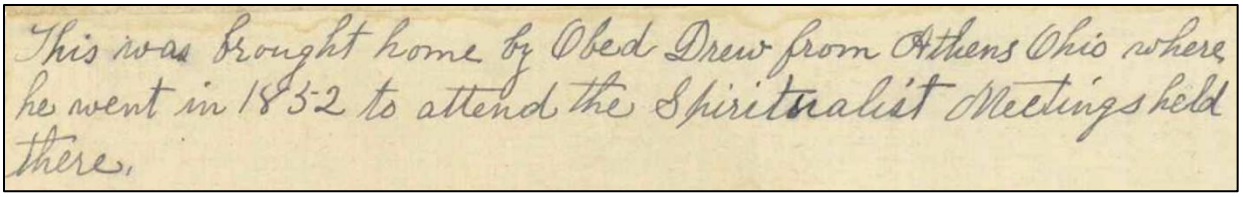
On'st I wore wreaths of laurels –
Under a cloak of morals,
That hid the acid sorrels,
That grew within my bosom.
In wars and strife and rancour,
In search of where to anchor
My lust — my pride did hanker
To be my peoples' chosen;
But time and fate
Did me, prostrate
To try another station.
Where God alone
I found, did own
The power of all nations.

If men would use their reasons,
And learn the times and seasons,
Then all could see the treasons
Against God's constitution.
Beneath the papal mountain
There flows the bloody fountain,
That rules the modern crowndom
Of church craft restitutions;
Their beastly forms
Produce those storms,
That set men in commotion,
Who e'r rear'd and fed
On tarnish'd bread
And sooth'd in usurp's lotion.

☞ These lines were found written with a pencil on paper in the Spirits' Room of J. Koons, near Milfield, Athens Co. O.; where Spirits write without a Medium.



This was brought home by Obed Drew from Athens Ohio where he went in 1852 to attend the Spiritualist Meetings held there.



Performances at the Koons' Spirit Room were, by all accounts, among the most exuberant of the era. Once visitors completed the long hike through woods and over hills to the end of the trail, they arrived at a rough-hewn log cabin measuring about 18 by 15 feet with three shuttered windows that could block all light when sealed. Passing through the single front door, they entered a room with eight-foot ceilings and benches that could seat about 20 people at a time. At one end of the room was a table, set back from the wall so that someone could pass behind it. And resting on the table was an "electrical" box or battery, as Koons sometimes called it. The diagram for this device came to 14-year-old Nahum on August 16, 1852, the gift of a singularly powerful presence called "King and Master of Paints, Servant and Scholar of God," usually shortened to King. The box, according to King and other spirits, including Benjamin Franklin, "would enable them not only to speak but to create vocal and instrumental music" (Hatfield 2018:58). Toward this end the spirits instructed Koons to acquire an impressive range of instruments, including both tenor and bass drums, two fiddles, a guitar, an accordion, a trumpet, a tin horn, a tea bell, a triangle, and a tambourine. The larger instruments were stored near the table, while the others were hung from a four-foot-tall metal rack--along with bells and thin metal sheets--that was attached to the wooden table alongside the special spirit box. Drawers beneath the tabletop were filled with an array of pencils, brushes, paints, and papers that the spirits might need for writing messages.

When all of the guests had taken their seats, the Koons' séances generally followed a set routine. The doors and windows were tightly shut by members of the family, then all of the lights inside the cabin were extinguished. In the dark the bass drum boomed, which in the small enclosed space was likened to a cannon's thunder. Then Jonathan Koons, with Abigal and Nahum sitting beside him at the table, would lift his fiddle and begin a jaunty tune. Soon all of the other musical instruments joined in, and while the sound of Koons' fiddle remained close to the table, the others seemed to fly about the room, playing with abandon but keeping time with the fiddler. As Frank Podmore describes in his 1902 synthesis, *Modern Spiritualism*:

> Most of the witnesses appear to have been impressed more by the energy than the excellence of the resulting harmony; more than one tells us with pride that the strains could be heard a mile off. But the music is sometimes described as exquisitely beautiful or even seraphic; occasionally a choir of angel voices would join in but the words of the song were rarely articulate. The leading spirit would subsequently address the company using for the purpose a horn or trumpet to speak through [1902:247].

Afterward a disembodied hand, covered in phosphorus and glowing, darted around the room while King began to speak. It touched guests on the head, shook hands, and wrote rapidly on sheets of paper provided by the Koons. Then it seemed to rap the ceiling several times in quick succession before King broke in with a loud, "Good Night," and all activity stopped, the silence only broken when Koons lit a candle at the table.

This unique broadside, measuring 17 by 4 1/2 inches, is the only known advertisement or memento associated with the Koons' Spirit Room. Underneath a woodcut vignette of a trumpeting and cherub-like angel or spirit are a pair of apparently unpublished poems. One takes the form of a sea shanty supposedly authored by Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of the Battle of Lake Erie in 1813 who had died of Yellow Fever off the coast of Venezuela six years later. The other poem, an anti-Catholic call to forging a spiritual connection with God, is attributed to David, one of the spirits whose name sometimes appeared on writings produced in the Spirit Room (Hatfield 2018:63). At the end of these "Lines by David" is an imprint of sorts, stating "These lines were found written with a pencil on paper in the Spirits' Room of J. Koons, near Milfield [sic], Athens Co. O.; where Spirits write without a Medium." The use of the present tense "write" suggests that the broadside itself was produced while the Spirit Room was active. Adding to this evidence is a short manuscript note affixed to the lower edge of the broadside, recording that "This was brought home by Obed Drew from Athens Ohio where he went in 1852 to attend the Spiritualist Meetings held there." The 1850 U. S. Census identifies Obed Drew (1815-1888) as a farmer from Richland County, Ohio, about 135 miles north of Millfield.

Apart from a 96-page pamphlet printed at Columbus in 1853, *A Book for Skeptics: Being Communications from Angels* (with only two known copies), we trace no other printed primary source materials directly associated with the Koons' Spirit Room, and none that seem so clearly to have been distributed to those attending the séances held there. There is no suggestion that the Koons ever sought payment for their performances. The Spirit Room would remain in use until 1858, when Jonathan Koons declared that the spirit King had departed, his horn fallen silent. He moved his family to Illinois, where he appears never again to have drawn attention as a medium or clairvoyant. Koons died at Ewing, Illinois, at the age of 81 in 1893; Abigail had passed on three decades earlier in 1864. Nahum would live until 1921. As far we know, not a single member of the Koons family ever offered an explanation of their Spirit Room.

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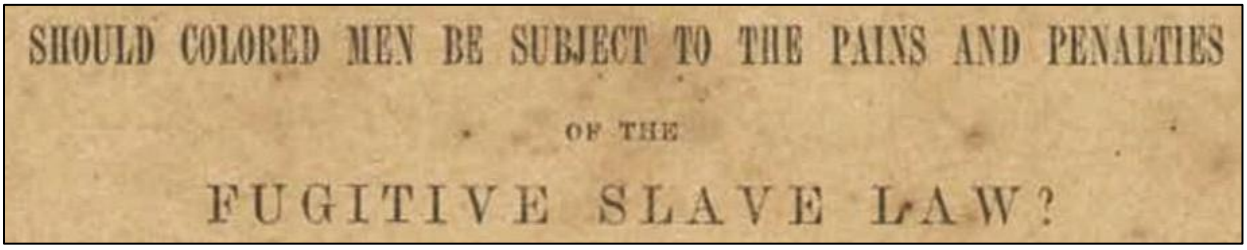
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[Ohio--Spiritualism]. SONG BY COMMODORE PERRY / LINES BY DAVID...[caption title]. [n.p., n.d., but probably Athens County, Ohio, 1852]. Tall, narrow broadside. 17 x 4 1/2 in. (43 x 11.5 cm). Two poems printed parallel in columns, with woodcut figures of an angel blowing a trumpet and a sidewheel steamer. Contemporary attached note providing provenance to Athens County, Ohio, and date of 1852. Light foxing, old fold lines, small circular stains running top to bottom along the centerline, overall very good.

12. **SOLD**.

Black Abolitionist Charles Langston's Speech on the Fugitive Slave Law

The Fugitive Slave Act, as one of five federal laws passed together as the Compromise of 1850, was intended to preserve the Union by appeasing southern slaveholders. Yet by making all northern citizens complicit in slavery, demanding compulsory assistance in the capture of enslaved fugitives under threat of heavy fines or imprisonment, it galvanized anti-slavery sentiment among moderate northerners and likely made war between North and South inevitable. Resistance to the law took its most overt, public form in the coordinated rescues of jailed fugitives before enslavers could return them to the South. Citizen rescues peaked in the decade after 1850 and included such remarkable acts of resistance as the Shadrach Minkins Rescue (1851), the Jerry Rescue (1851), the dockside Liberation of Jane Johnson (1855), and the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue (1858). The last of these, so named for the neighboring Ohio towns where its key events unfolded, soon became a national media sensation, particularly during the trial of the 37 men arrested for aiding and abetting the escape. Of these Rescuers, only two--a white clerk named Simeon M. Bushnell and an African American activist named Charles Henry Langston--were convicted of breaking federal law. When asked by the judge in the case if he would like to address the court before his sentencing, Langston stood and delivered what is still considered one of the most impassioned and eloquent speeches on equal rights before the law ever delivered by an American. **This is one of only five known copies of Langston's address on the Fugitive Slave Act, here in the original wraps**.

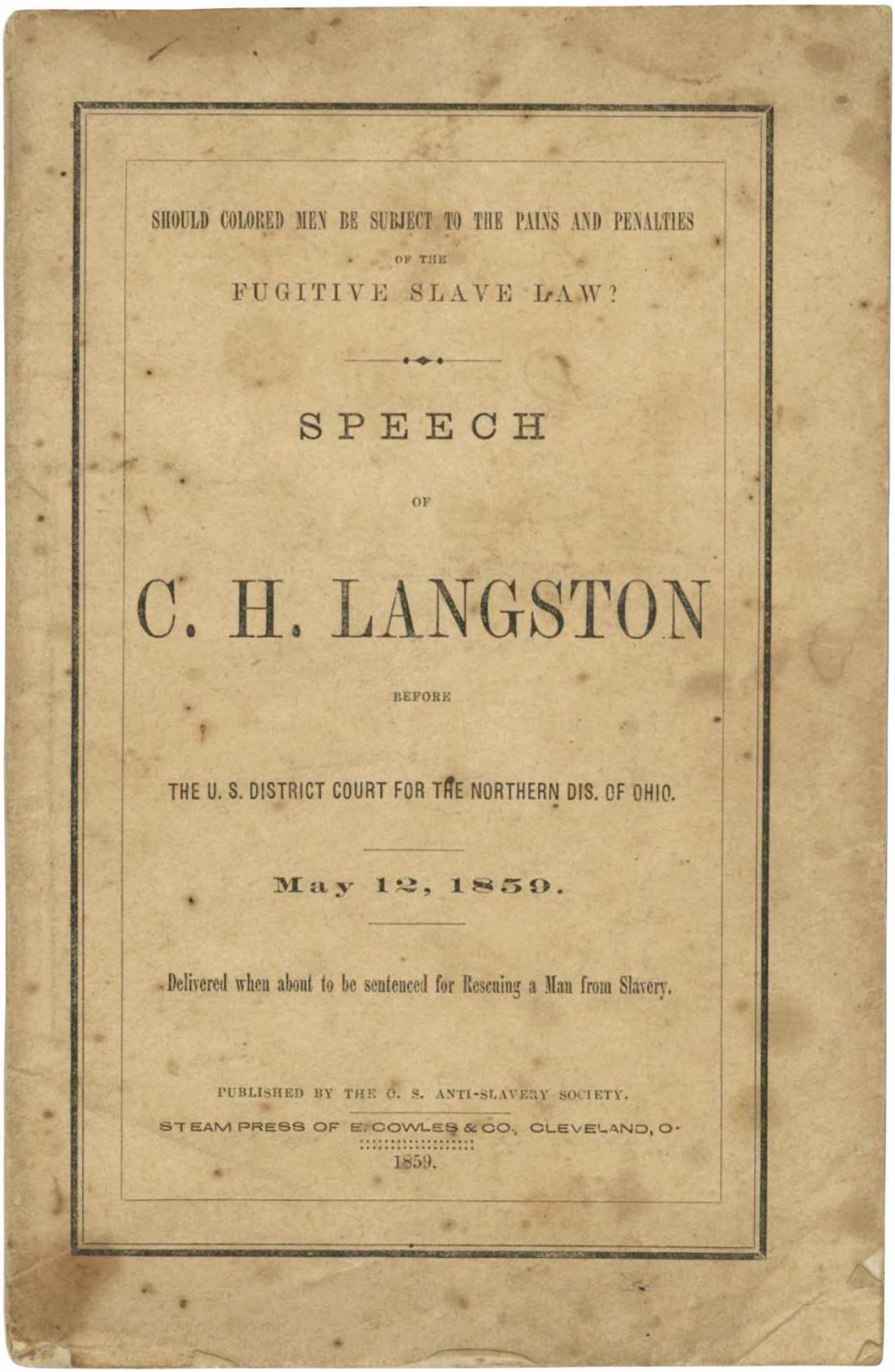

SHOULD COLORED MEN BE SUBJECT TO THE PAINS AND PENALTIES

OF THE

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW?

Oberlin, Ohio, was an epicenter of Midwestern abolitionism in 1858, but the town did not begin that way. Two young Presbyterian ministers, John Jay Shipherd and Philo P. Stewart, had established the town in 1833 as a religious community that would closely follow scripture and set an example for other, less pious settlements along the northwestern frontier. A key part of this ambitious plan was the simultaneous founding of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, today's Oberlin College, chartered in 1834 as a place to train Christian missionaries for work in the West. From early in its history, the Oberlin community had welcomed both free people of color and fugitives from slavery, and the Oberlin Institute became the first school of higher learning in Ohio to admit Black scholars in 1835. Following a sudden influx of students in 1836, the college opened four preparatory branches, one of which--the Sheffield Manual Labor Institute--likewise trained Black students but was forced to close just one year later after the Ohio legislature denied its charter over the policy. Among those students were brothers Charles and Gideon Langston.

The Langstons were two of four children--one daughter and three sons--born to a formerly enslaved mother, Lucy Jane Langston, and a white father, Virginia planter and English immigrant Ralph Quarles. Quarles had freed both Lucy and their first child, daughter Maria, in 1806, such that Gideon (1809-1861), Charles (1817-1892), and their younger brother, John (1829-1897), were



SHOULD COLORED MEN BE SUBJECT TO THE PAINS AND PENALTIES

OF THE

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW?

SPEECH

OF

C. H. LANGSTON

BEFORE

THE U. S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DIS. OF OHIO.

May 12, 1859.

Delivered when about to be sentenced for Rescuing a Man from Slavery.

PUBLISHED BY THE O. S. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

STEAM PRESS OF E. COWLES & CO., CLEVELAND, O.

1859.

MR. LANGSTON'S SPEECH.

On the morning of the 12th of May, 1859, C. H. Langston was brought into Court to receive his sentence.

The Judge having entered the "oyes, oyes," of the Crier, announced the opening of the Court, and the rattling of the gavels of the bailiffs soon brought the immense crowd to silence. The business then proceeded as follows:

The Court.—Mr. Langston, you will stand up, sir.

Mr. Langston arose.

The Court.—You have been tried, Mr. Langston, by a Jury, and convicted of a violation of the criminal laws of the United States. Have you or your counsel anything to say why the sentence of the law should not be pro nounced upon you?

Mr. Langston.—I am for the first time in my life before a court of Justice, charged with the violation of law, and am now about to be sentenced. But before receiving that sentence I propose to say one or two words in regard to the mitigation of that sentence, if it may be so construed. I can not of course, and do not expect that what I may say will in any way change your predetermined line of action. I ask no such favor at yo hands.

I know that the courts of this country, that the laws of this country, that the governmental machinery of this

all born free, to a free woman. Interracial marriage was not legalized in Virgina until 1967, but Quarles and Langston would maintain a common-law relationship for more than 25 years. Quarles made provisions to ensure that his substantial estate would pass to his children with Langston, and before both parents died in 1833, he asked a Quaker friend, William Gooch, to become their legal guardian. As agreed, Gooch moved with the boys and their half-brother, William, to the town of Chillicothe in the free state of Ohio. There the inheritance provided for their education and enabled them to become involved in both the Black rights and suffrage movements.

By 1858, Charles Langston had been a fixture in Ohio's abolitionist movement for nearly two decades. Yet his actions during the liberation and subsequent trial that came to be known as the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue would bring his name and eloquence to a national audience. On September 15, 1858, word reached downtown Oberlin that a young African American resident and freedom seeker, John Price, had been abducted at midday in broad daylight by three white men in a carriage heading toward Wellington. An impressive crowd quickly assembled at the grocery of Black merchant John Watson, who made haste to Wellington with hundreds of supporters, Black and white, following on horseback, by buggy, or on foot. At Wellington, just over 10 miles south of Oberlin, they found Price held by his abductors at the Wadsworth Hotel, waiting for the train to Columbus on what would be the first leg of their journey back to Kentucky, from where Price had allegedly escaped. The young man's captors included a Kentuckian who claimed to represent the purported owner and a U. S. deputy marshal who carried a federal warrant for Price's arrest. As the throng from Oberlin surrounded the hotel, Price's abductors brought him out on a balcony and had him admit to being a fugitive. Unmoved by his admission, the crowd grew more confident as the day drew on. At dusk they stormed the hotel, found Price, and rushed him in a buggy back to Oberlin, where he was hidden for several days. It is unknown what happened next, but Price was likely guided across Lake Erie into Canada. He was never seen in Oberlin again.

On December 6, a grand jury empaneled in Cleveland and composed entirely of pro-slavery Democrats handed down indictments against 37 participants in the rescue of John Price. Despite the defendants' request to move to trial immediately, U. S. District Judge Hiram Willson scheduled it for the spring term--giving the prosecution time to prepare--and released the men on $1000 bail and their own recognizance. The first trial, that of Simeon Bushnell, began on April 5 and ended ten days later with a verdict of guilty. Judge Willson then announced that Langston's trial would begin immediately with the same set of jurors. When the defense attorneys objected that the minds of Bushnell's jury were already fixed and would all but certainly be set against Langston, Willson had all 20 Rescuers present in the courtroom held in confinement until proceedings were to resume after the weekend. In jail, the Rescuers were visited by hundreds of appreciative men and women from Oberlin and neighboring communities, such that it "appeared more like a fashionable place of resort than a prison" (Shipherd 1859:90).

On Monday, April 18, the court resumed with Langston's trial, but Judge Willson conceded the argument of the defense and ordered that a new jury be empaneled. Nearly a month later, on May 10, Langston was likewise found guilty. After sentencing Bushnell the following day to a $600 fine and 60 days in jail, Judge Willson turned to the sentencing of Langston on May 12. He ordered the prisoner to rise, with which Langston complied, then asked "Have you or your counsel any thing to say why the sentence of the law should not now be pronounced upon you?" (Shipherd 1859:175). Before a packed courtroom, Langston delivered his reply:

I am for the first time in my life before a court of Justice, charged with the violation of law, and am now about to be sentenced. But before receiving that sentence I propose to say one or two words in regard to the mitigation of that sentence, if it may be so construed. I cannot, of course, and do not expect that any thing which I may say will in any way change your predetermined line of action. I ask no such favor at your hands...

I know that the courts of this country, that the laws of this country, that the governmental machinery of this country, are so constituted as to oppress and outrage colored men, men of my complexion. I cannot, then, of course, expect, judging from the past history of the country, any mercy from the laws, from the constitution, or from the courts of the country...

The law under which I am arraigned is an unjust one, one made to crush the colored man, and one that outrages every feeling of Humanity, as well as every rule of Right. I have nothing to do with its constitutionality; and about it I care a great deal less. I have often heard it said by learned and good men that it was unconstitutional...I had always believed, until the contrary appeared in the actual institution of proceedings, that the provisions of this odious statute would never be enforced within the bounds of this State...

I was tried by a jury who were prejudiced; before a Court that was prejudiced; prosecuted by an officer who was prejudiced, and defended, though ably, by counsel that were prejudiced. And therefore it is, your Honor, that I urge by all that is good and great in manhood, that I should not be subjected to the pains and penalties of this oppressive law, when I have *not* been tried, either by a jury of my peers, or by a jury that were impartial...

I went to Wellington, knowing that colored men have no rights in the United States which white men are bound to respect; that the courts had so decided; that Congress had so enacted; that the people had so decreed...

But in view of all the facts I say, that if ever again a man is seized near me, and is about to be carried Southward as a slave...I shall hold it to be my duty, as I held it that day, to secure for him, if possible, a legal inquiry into the character of the claim by which he is held....I ask your Honor...to place yourself in my situation, and you will say with me, that if your brother, if your friends, if your wife, if your child, had been seized by men who claimed them as fugitives, and the law of the land...precluded the possibility of any legal protection or redress, then you will say with me, that you would not only demand the protection of the law, but you would call on your neighbors and your friends, and would ask them to say with you, that these your friends *could not* be taken into slavery... And now I thank you for this leniency, this indulgence, in giving a man unjustly condemned, by a tribunal before which he is declared to have no rights, the privilege of speaking in his own behalf. I know that it will do nothing toward mitigating your sentence, but it is a privilege to be allowed

> to speak, and I thank you for it. I shall submit to the penalty, be it what it may. But I stand up here to say, that if for doing what I did on that day at Wellington, I am to go to jail six months, and pay a fine of a thousand dollars, according to the Fugitive Slave Law, and such is the protection the laws of this country afford me, I must take upon my self the responsibility of self-protection; and when I come to be claimed by some perjured wretch as his slave, I shall never be taken into slavery. And as in that trying hour I would have others do to me, as I would call upon my friends to help me; as I would call upon you, your Honor, to help me; as I would call upon you [to the District-Attorney], to help me; and upon you [to Judge Bliss], and upon you [to his counsel], *so help me* **GOD!** I stand here to say that I will do all I can, for any man thus seized and help, though the inevitable penalty of six months imprisonment and one thousand dollars fine for each offense hangs over me! We have a common humanity. You would do so; your manhood would require it; and no matter what the laws might be, you would honor yourself for doing it; your friends would honor you for doing it; your children to all generations would honor you for doing it; and every good and honest man would say, you had done *right!* [Shipherd 1859:175-178].

The courtroom erupted in loud and sustained applause, despite the efforts of Judge Willson and the marshal to restore order. Yet Willson was moved by Langston's appeal, responding from the bench that "You have done injustice to the Court, Mr. Langston, in thinking that nothing you might say could effect a mitigation of your sentence. You have presented considerations to which I shall attach much weight" (Shipherd 1859:178). Willson decided, on reflection, that Langston's penalty should be comparatively light. He was fined $100, along with a portion of the costs of his own prosecution, and was sentenced to 20 days in jail. Willson then delayed the trials of the other defendants until the subsequent court term in July. The Oberlin-Wellington Rescuers could have posted bail and returned home until then, but chose to remain behind bars both as a matter of principle and for political effect. In the end, none of the other cases ever came to trial. After the initial indictments were handed down in December, authorities in Lorain County (Oberlin's home) had issued kidnapping charges against the men who had abducted James Price. In exchange for withdrawing these charges, the U. S. District Attorney agreed to drop his prosecution of all the remaining Rescuers, who were released from the Cuyahoga County jail on July 6. Only Simeon Bushnell remained behind to complete his 60-day sentence.

There are three known 1859 publications of Charles Langston's speech: the pamphlet we offer here, issued by the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in Cleveland; a July article on the trial in New York City's *Anglo-African Magazine*, written by Langston's younger brother, John Mercer Langston; and Jacob Shipherd's *History of the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue*, which was published in Boston. These have no obvious priority of appearance, but drawing on both content and context we suggest that the pamphlet was published first, followed by the article, and finally by Shipherd's *History*. Throughout the trial and its aftermath, Charles Langston was Recording Secretary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society (J. Langston 1859:215) and was therefore in a position to oversee this pamphlet publication of his speech. The speech itself is prefaced by a "Bill of Costs" itemizing his court expenses (totaling $972.70) that does not appear in any of the other 1859 sources, but is described in the pamphlet as having been "copied from the Journal of the Court," which at the time

was only accessible in manuscript form. The pamphlet may thus have been issued as a means for Langston to raise funds for his costs. It is also the only publication of the three issued at the site of the trial in Cleveland. Finally, in a June 8, 1859, letter from Langston to abolitionist Benjamin Coates, offered by Swann Auction Galleries in 2010, Langston discusses his imminent plans to publish the speech himself. John Langston's article, which appeared sometime in July, specifically reports that several of the other Rescuers were in jail awaiting trial and so was written prior to the dropping of charges against them on July 6. Shipherd's *History*, meanwhile, ends with a report on celebrations that accompanied Simeon Bushnell's homecoming on July 11.

We locate only four library copies of this pamphlet issue--at NYPL, WRHS, Howard, and the American Congregational Association Library--and we trace no additional copies ever offered in commerce, whether at auction or in the trade. **Not only is Langston's address among the most significant by an African American in the 19th century, it is also one of the rarest**.

During the Civil War, Charles Langston moved to Leavenworth, Kansas, where he began a school for former slaves who had escaped to Union lines. He continued his work for equal rights and education after the war had ended, moving to Kansas City and serving as president of the new Quindaro Freedman's School, the first Black college established west of the Mississippi. He also worked to aid Black immigrants from the South, often referred to as Exodusters, serving in 1880 as president of a statewide Convention of Colored Men that implored the Refugee Relief Board to assist these migrants and settle them on school properties. From 1888, Charles and his wife Mary spent the rest of their lives in Lawrence, where he died in 1892. Their daughter, Caroline Mercer Hughes, gave birth to a son in 1901 whom she named Langston. Langston Hughes would grow up to become one of the most celebrated American writers of the 20th century.

Relevant sources:

Brandt, Nat
1990. *The Town that Started the Civil War*. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, NY.
Cheek, William and Aimee Lee Cheek
1989 *John Mercer Langston and the Fight for Black Freedom*. University of Illinois Press, Champaign.
Foner, Philip S. and Robert James Brenham
1998 *Lift Every Voice: African American Oratory, 1787-1900*. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

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[Civil Rights--Fugitive Slave Law]. Charles Henry Langston. SHOULD COLORED MEN BE SUBJECT TO THE PAINS AND PENALTIES OF THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW? Published by the O. S. Anti-Slavery Society. Steam Press of E. Cowles & Co., Cleveland, O., 1859. First edition. 20 pp. 8vo (23 cm). Sewn as issued in original printed wrappers, light spotting and foxing to covers, text with light creases and scattered foxing. Very good.

13. **SOLD**.

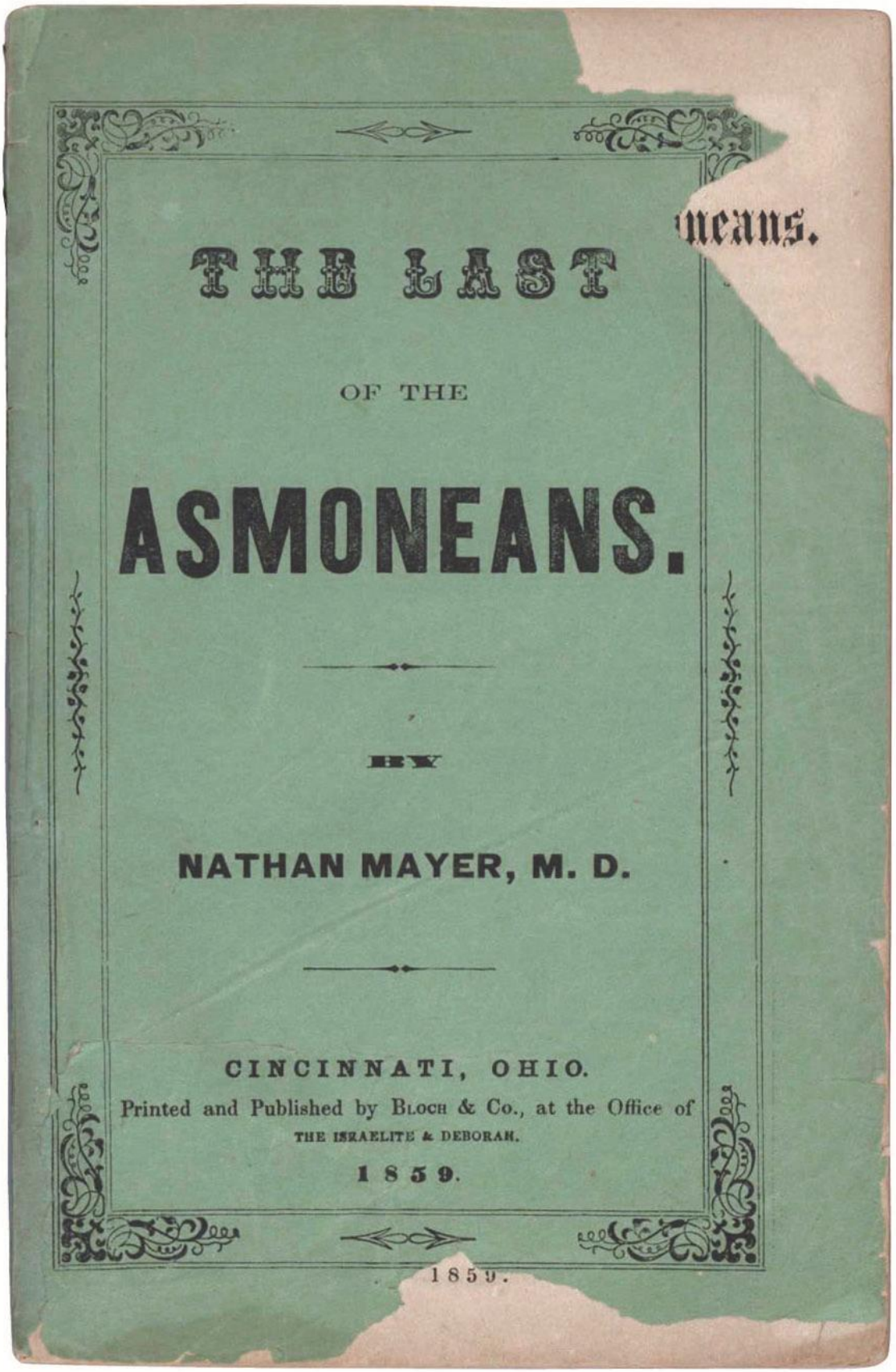
Unique in Wraps: Nathan Mayer's *The Last of the Asmoneans*

As strongly as we associate the roots of Jewish-American fiction with the East Coast, and especially with New York City--Roth (Henry and Philip), Bellow, Salinger, Mailer, Malamud, and Potok, among many others--the first American novels by Jewish authors were actually published at Cincinnati. From 1856 to 1860, five of the earliest such works appeared from the press of the Israelite and Deborah, founded by the remarkable Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise in 1854. Three of these were Wise's own, one issued serially in *The Israelite* and two as separate imprints. Yet the author of the first two pamphlet novels was Wise's pupil, Nathan Mayer, a 20-year-old physician who had just graduated from the Cincinnati Medical School. In 1858, Wise released Mayer's *The Fatal Secret; or, Plots and Counterplots: A Novel of the Sixteenth Century Founded on Facts*, the earliest recorded Jewish-American novel. The following year, Mayer published a second novel, *The Last of the Asmoneans*, set in ancient Judea during the reign of King Herod. After serving with the 16th Connecticut Infantry during the Civil War, he published his third and finest novel, *Differences*, in 1867. All of Mayer's works are extremely rare today. **This is just the fourth recorded copy of *Asmoneans*, and apparently the only one to retain its printed wraps**.



Isaac Mayer Wise launched the first Jewish press in the American Midwest at Cincinnati in 1854 with his now legendary newspaper, *The Israelite* (later *The American Israelite*), the longest running English-language newspaper in the United States, and the second longest running in the world. Born Isaac Weiss in Steingrub, Bohemia, in 1819, he was educated in Prague, then served as a rabbi in Pilsen for two years before immigrating to the United States in 1846. He was quickly appointed rabbi of Congregation Beth-El in Albany, New York, but his attempts at reform resulted in a violent schism between his supporters and detractors. Some of his supporters formed a new congregation, where Wise (who had changed his surname on arriving in America) remained until 1853, when the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in Cincinnati offered him a lifetime appointment as rabbi. It was a position he would hold for the rest of his life. *The Israelite* lost $600 (about $23,000 today) in its first year, leading its first publisher, Charles F. Schmidt, to abandon the project. Wise was undaunted, and after securing the backing of the Bloch Publishing Company, he redoubled his efforts and added a German-language supplement for women, *Die Deborah* in 1855.

In addition to the newspaper and its supplement, the press of the Israel and Deborah began issuing other works for Cincinnati's Jewish community, including a Hebrew grammar (1856), a siddhar of daily prayers (1857), and a study of doctrinal differences between Judaism and primitive Christianity (1857), among surviving imprints. It also became the first Jewish press in America to publish fiction for a Jewish audience. These novels were all on historical themes and were issued both serially in the pages of *The Israelite* and as separate books in pamphlet format. From 1858 to 1860, Wise published three himself: *The Last Struggle of the Nation, or Rabbi Akiba and His Time*, was serialized in *The Israelite* from 1856 to 1858; *The Combat of the People, or Hillel and*



meaus.

THE LAST

OF THE

ASMONEANS.

BY

NATHAN MAYER, M. D.

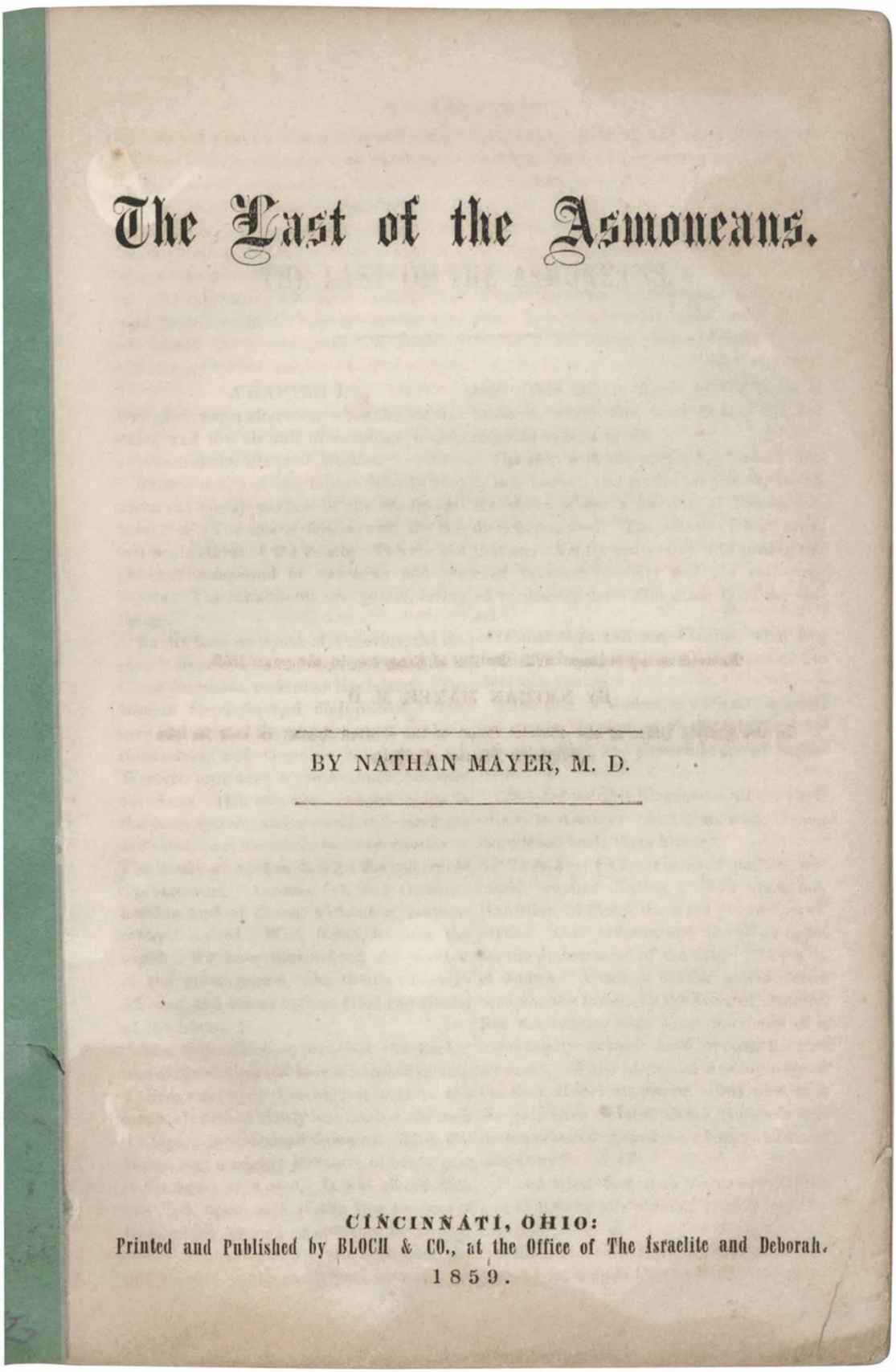
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

Printed and Published by Bloch & Co., at the Office of

THE ISRAELITE & DEBORAH.

1859.

1859.



The Last of the Asmoneans.

BY NATHAN MAYER, M. D.

CINCINNATI, OHIO:
Printed and Published by BLOCH & CO., at the Office of The Israelite and Deborah.
1859.

Herod, first appeared in *The Israelite* but was issued as a pamphlet novel in 1859; and *The First of the Maccabees* was also published serially before its pamphlet issue in 1860. Wise wrote that his aim with these works was "to familiarize the reading public with the brilliant periods in Jewish history in fictional form, in order to appeal by this means to the growing youth so as to awaken in them Jewish patriotism" (Wise 1901:332).

Such motivation explains his support for the early works of Nathan Mayer, as well. Mayer was born in Germany in 1838 and immigrated to Cincinnati with his father, a rabbi, in 1849. After graduating from medical school, he served as a surgeon in the French Army before returning to America at the start of the Civil War. He enlisted as a surgeon in Connecticut's 16th Infantry, was captured and briefly interned in the infamous Libby Prison, and after his release was promoted to brigadier general and served as medical purveyor for Union troops in North Carolina. During the years of his medical training in Cincinnati, he directed the department of belles-lettres for Wise's *Israelite*, where he serialized his first novel, *The Count and the Jewess*, in 1856. In 1858, Mayer published a novel in book form, *The Fatal Secret*, the first such by a Jewish-American author. *The Last of the Asmoneans*--set during the reign of murderous King Herod, usurper of the Hasmonean dynasty--followed a year later. Each of these works is prohibitively rare today, with OCLC listing only three copies of each, all held by Princeton, UPenn, and Hebrew Union College. We likewise trace only three copies of these works at auction: a signed copy of *Asmoneans* brought $4750 at a Kestenbaum Auction in 2018, while a 2014 Kestenbaum Auction included copies of both *Fatal Secret* and *Asmoneans*, both in modern boards, which made $3440 and $2460, respectively. The 2008 copy of Asmoneans is now at Princeton, the 2014 copy at UPenn. **None of the other known copies of either *Fatal Secret* or *Asmoneans* retains its original printed wraps**.

Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise would later be the driving force in the founding of Hebrew Union College in 1875. He remained active with *The American Isrealite* and his congregation until his death on March 26, 1900. Nathan Mayer would permanently settle in Hartford, Connecticut, after the Civil War, where he practiced medicine until his own death in 1912. He published only one other novel, *Differences*, at Cincinnati in 1867, long considered "the first American Jewish novel of significant literary interest" (Lambert 2010:13).

Relevant sources:
Lambert, Josh
2010 American Jewish Fiction. Jewish Publication Society, New York.
Wise, Isaac M.
1901 *Reminiscences*. Translated and edited by David Philipson. Leo Wise & Co., Cincinnati.

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[Literature--Jewish Americans]. Nathan Mayer. THE LAST OF THE ASMONEANS. Printed and published by Bloch & Co. at the Office of *The Israelite* and *Deborah*, Cincinnati, 1876. 113 pp. 8vo (23 cm). Printed wrappers with edge chips and small tape repair. Very good.

14. **$3500**.

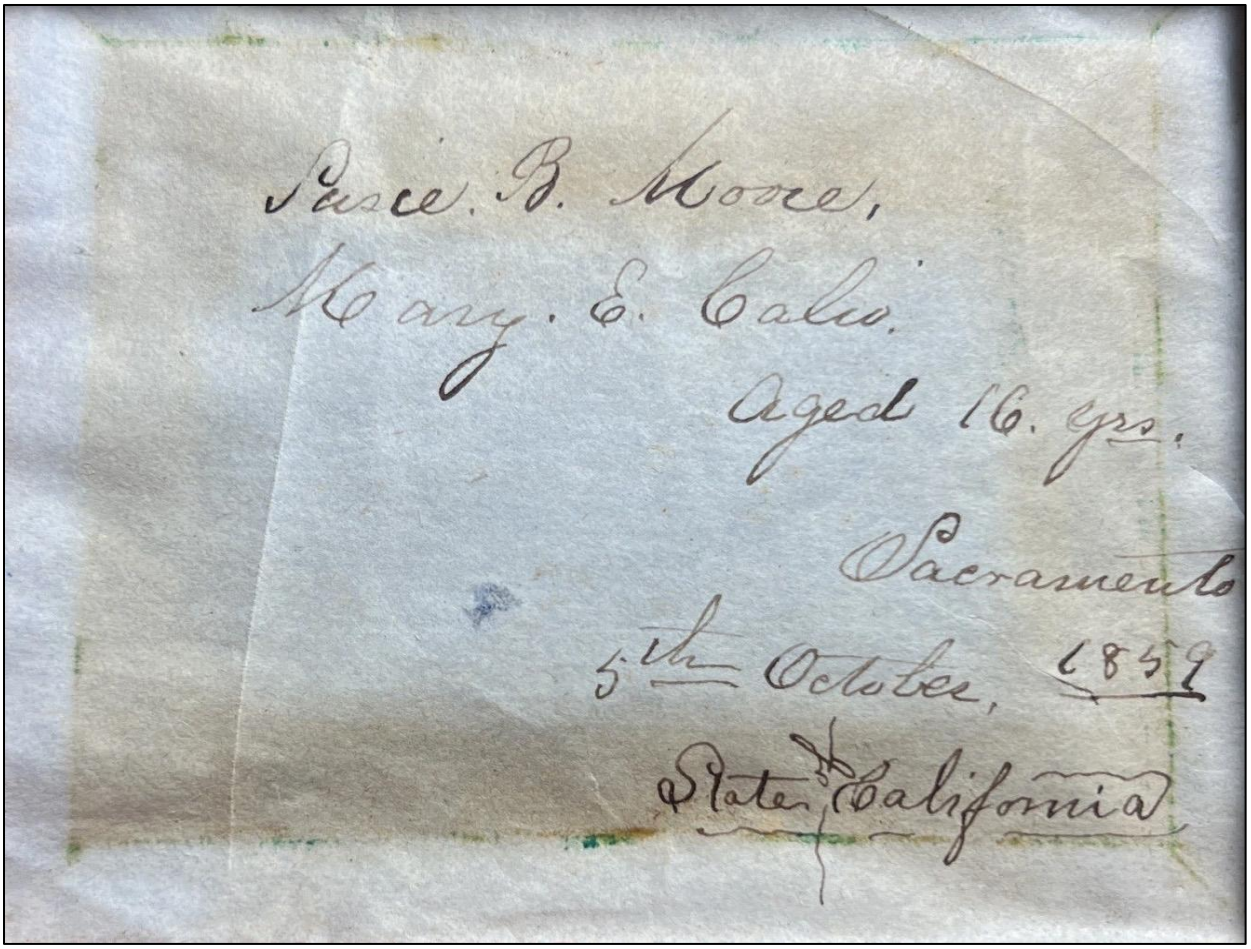
An Exceptional Sacramento Daguerreotype of Susan Moore and Marie Calio

California was born in the eye of the daguerreotype camera. No other state had so much of its early history documented so thoroughly by a photographic process that transformed the way we see the world and ourselves in it. From the buildings and streets of its cities, boomtowns, and mining camps, to its landscapes stripped of trees and earth for gold, to the faces of its immigrants from all corners of the world, California's first photographers left a record of its places and people matched by few of their contemporaries back East. Yet there is a striking difference between the stories we can recover from images of the places and those of the people: although we can usually identify specific places even without text captions, most of the people captured in daguerreotypes remain nameless, their stories only generalizable, at best. **Thus the discovery of a daguerreotype portrait from California with the names, place, and date recorded in a contemporary hand is exceptional indeed**. **That the subjects are teenage girls--perhaps the least photographed demographic in early California history--is even better**. On October 5, 1859, in the new state capital of Sacramento, 16-year-olds Susan B. Moore and Marie E. Calio, posed for this wonderful image, one that we believe is among the finest portraits of its kind.









Susan Blanche Moore was born in 1844 in Platte County, Missouri, the third child of five born to James Moore and Mary Ann Grayson Black. Her father, originally of Pennsylvania, came to California in 1849 by way of Santa Fe and Tucson, leading a party of 22 men. He went to work in the mines of Mariposa County, and after staying for a few months settled in Sacramento County and went into the stock raising business. In 1852 he returned to the East and brought his family back to California with 10,000 head of sheep. Less than a thousand of these survived the winter in Utah, but he sold them for $12.50 a head on reaching the West Coast in 1853. In 1854 he started a farm in Yolo County, where by the time of his death in 1884 he had amassed land and property valued at more than $200,000 (nearly $7 million in today's dollars). In 1867, eight years after this photograph was taken, Susan Moore married John W. Wolfskill (1836-1913), eldest son of Mathus Wolfskill, himself a brother of Sacramento Valley pioneers William and John Wolfskill, who had established Rancho Rio de los Putos in 1842 and planted some of the first orchards and vineyards in California. John and Susan were married at Mathus's 700-acre ranch in the Suisin Valley before moving to Southern California, where in 1866 John and a partner had purchased the 13,000-acre Escondido Grant near San Diego. Together they raised three children and became successful cattle and sheep ranchers, with John serving as a state senator from 1882 to 1884. In 1884 they sold the ranch and purchased 2000 acres in an area of Los Angeles that now includes Westwood and the UCLA campus. When John died in 1913, their estate was estimated to be worth nearly $2 million ($67.5 million today). Susan outlived John by three years, dying on January 4, 1917, at the age of 72. They are buried together in Inglewood Park Cemetery.

Marie Emile Calio was born in Belleville, Illinois in 1842, the third child of John Baptiste Calio and Marie Boissesau. At the age of 16, her father had struck out from his home at the head of the St. Francis River in Missouri and taken work on a keel-boat out of Galena, Illinois. In 1829 he began trapping in the Rocky Mountains for the American Fur Company, operating among the Pawnee, Cheyenne, Mandan, Crow and Arapahoe Indians. He and Marie Boisseau married in Missouri in 1834 and together they settled into farm life until 1850, when they packed their family of four young children--Marie (Mary) was eight--and crossed the plains to California. John made a good living for the family hunting ducks and other wild game for the the markets in Sacramento, using his earnings to build a two-story home and start a successful boarding house. In 1875 he sold the house and bought a 155-acre ranch, Willow Slough, six miles from Sacramento. In 1862, Marie married Charles Hamilton Light (1828-1897), a teamster and contractor who amassed a sizable fortune with mining operations at Oroville, California and later at Virginia City and Pioche, Nevada. In 1897, while at work in the Gila Bend region of Arizona, he died of burns suffered after turning over a coal lamp. It is unclear if Marie and their two children had accompanied Charles in his work, but Marie would outlive her husband by more than thirty years. She died at San Francisco in 1931 at the age of 88.

This 1859 daguerreotype of Susan Moore and Marie Calio offers a glimpse of two teenage girls on the cusp of becoming young women in the first decade of California statehood. Both girls wear fashionable décolletage dresses, exposing their necklines and shoulders; Moore's seems to be made of plaid taffeta, and Calio's may also be taffeta with lace trim. Both have black leather belts with rectangular gold buckles cinched tightly at the waist, and both wear gold jewelry--earrings and a crucifix on a thin chain for Susan, earrings and a brooch for Marie. Hand tinting is limited to the gold hue added to the girls' jewelry and buckles. The overall composition of the image is strikingly symmetrical, and save for a spot of discoloration on Marie's left arm, both the image and its case are in excellent condition. A paper note, written in a contemporary hand and tucked in behind the brass mat, identifies the subjects, the place, and the date. **Despite our extensive search, we trace no comparable California daguerreotypes of young women this age, much less accompanied by such specific contemporary documentation**. A rare discovery.

Relevant sources:

Aspinwall, Jane L.
2018 *Golden Prospects: Daguerreotypes of the California Gold Rush.* Hall Family Foundation and the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. Distributed by Yale University Press, New Haven.
Johnson, Drew Heath
1988 *Silver and Gold: Cased Images of the California Gold Rush*. University of Iowa Press for the Oakland Museum of California, Iowa City.

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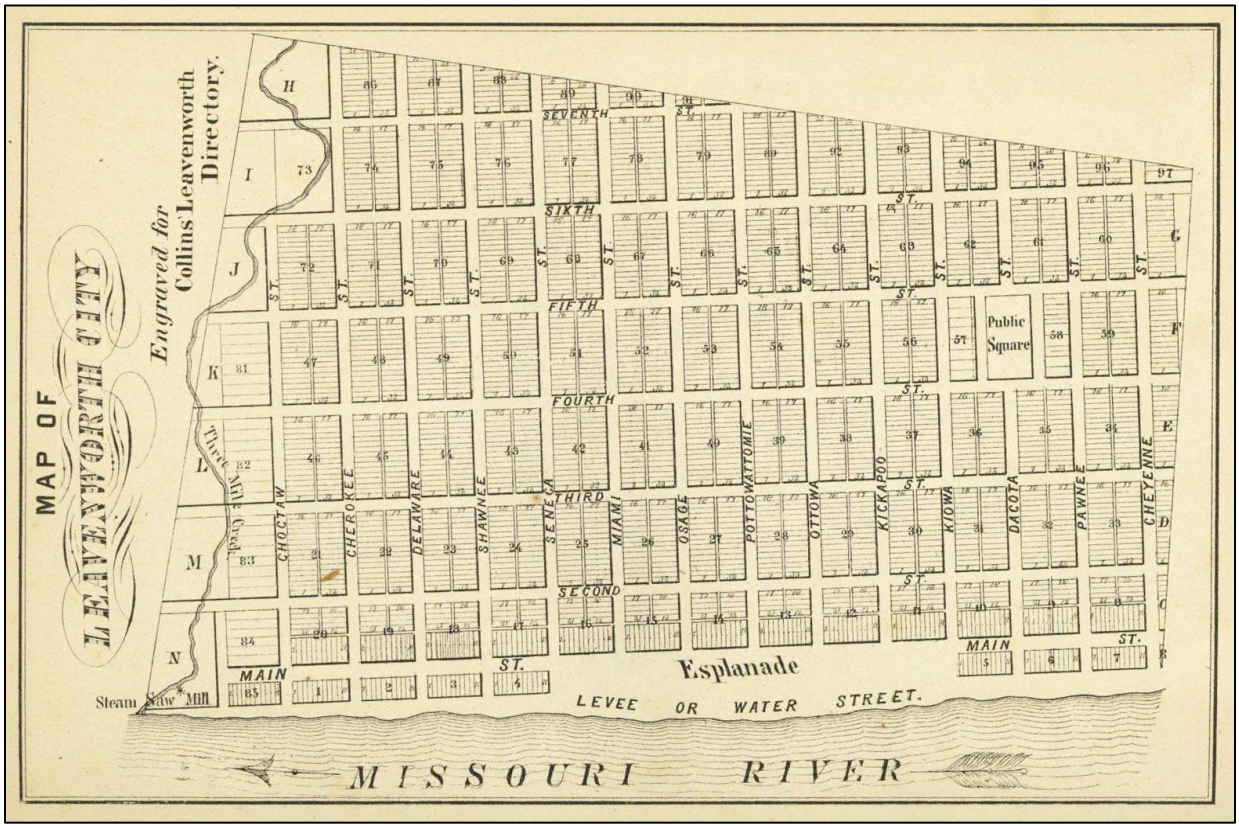
[California--Early Photography]: [1859 DAGUERREOTYPE PORTRAIT OF CALIFORNIA TEENAGERS SUSAN B. MOORE AND MARIE E. CALIO]. [Sacramento, October 5, 1859]. Sixth-plate daguerreotype in brown, embossed and gilt-tooled leather case. Very minor edge wear to case with both latches intact and functional; photographic image with small area of discoloration on Calio's left arm. Very good.

15. **SOLD**.

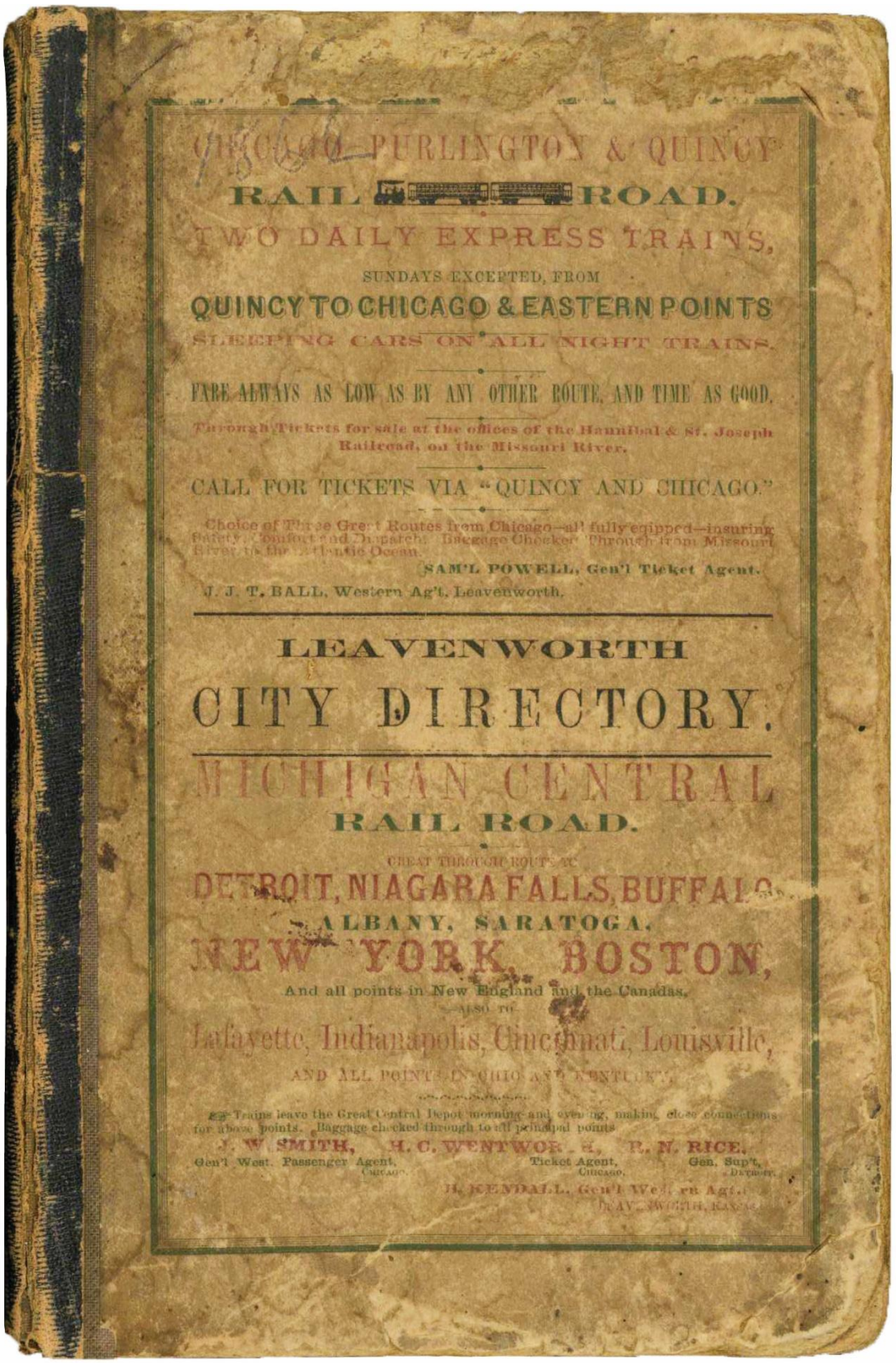
Three Extremely Rare and Early City Directories for Leavenworth, Kansas

Leavenworth, laid out in June 1854--just two weeks after Kansas Territory was created by the Kansas-Nebraska Act--became the territory's first incorporated city on September 3, 1855. Its location along the Missouri River made it a haven for fugitives fleeing the neighboring slave state of Missouri, and with its growing reputation as a center for abolitionist politics it soon became a flashpoint in the border-state conflict between supporters and opponents of slavery. Leavenworth continued to attract settlers during the Civil War that followed, its population increasing from about 7500 to more than 20,000 by 1865. Approximately 2500 of these post-war residents were African Americans, who made up 20% of the state's 12,000 Black citizens.

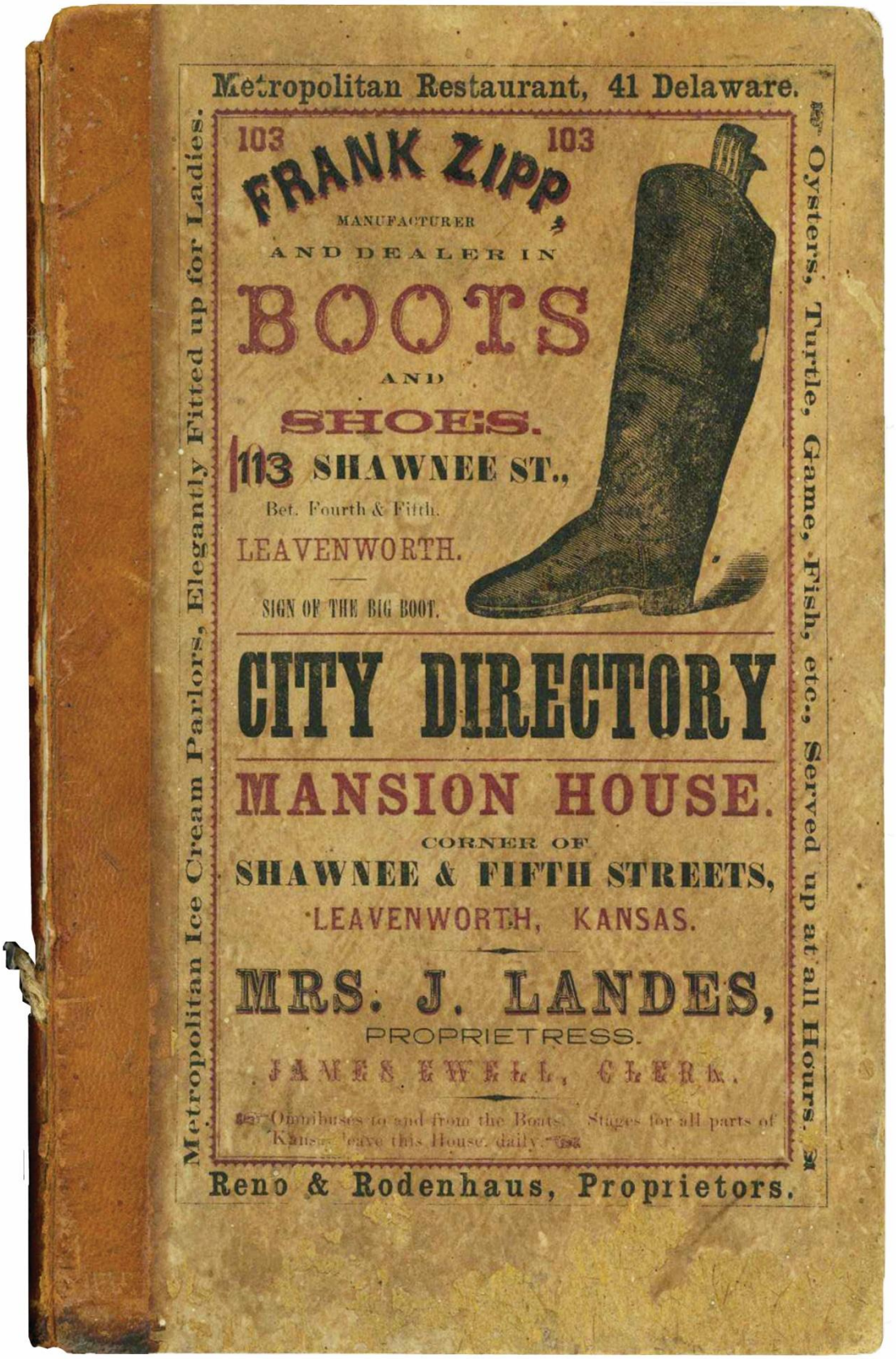
The first Leavenworth city directory, published at St. Louis, appeared in 1859; a business directory issued that same year and known in a single copy is among the city's first imprints. Here we offer three early city directories, all discovered in the same Kansas estate, that bridge the years from 1862 to 1868. One is the only known copy, a second survives in one other example, and the third is one of five known copies. No institution holds more than one of the three. Each includes a "Business Mirror" in addition to a complete list of residents and dozens of advertisements. What is most significant, though, is that each also identifies Black residents (colored; col'd; col.). **Using this unparalleled source of data, it is possible to trace the immigration of African Americans into Leavenworth at three key points in time: the year before Emancipation (1862), the final year of the Civil War (1865), and the beginning of Reconstruction (1868)**.



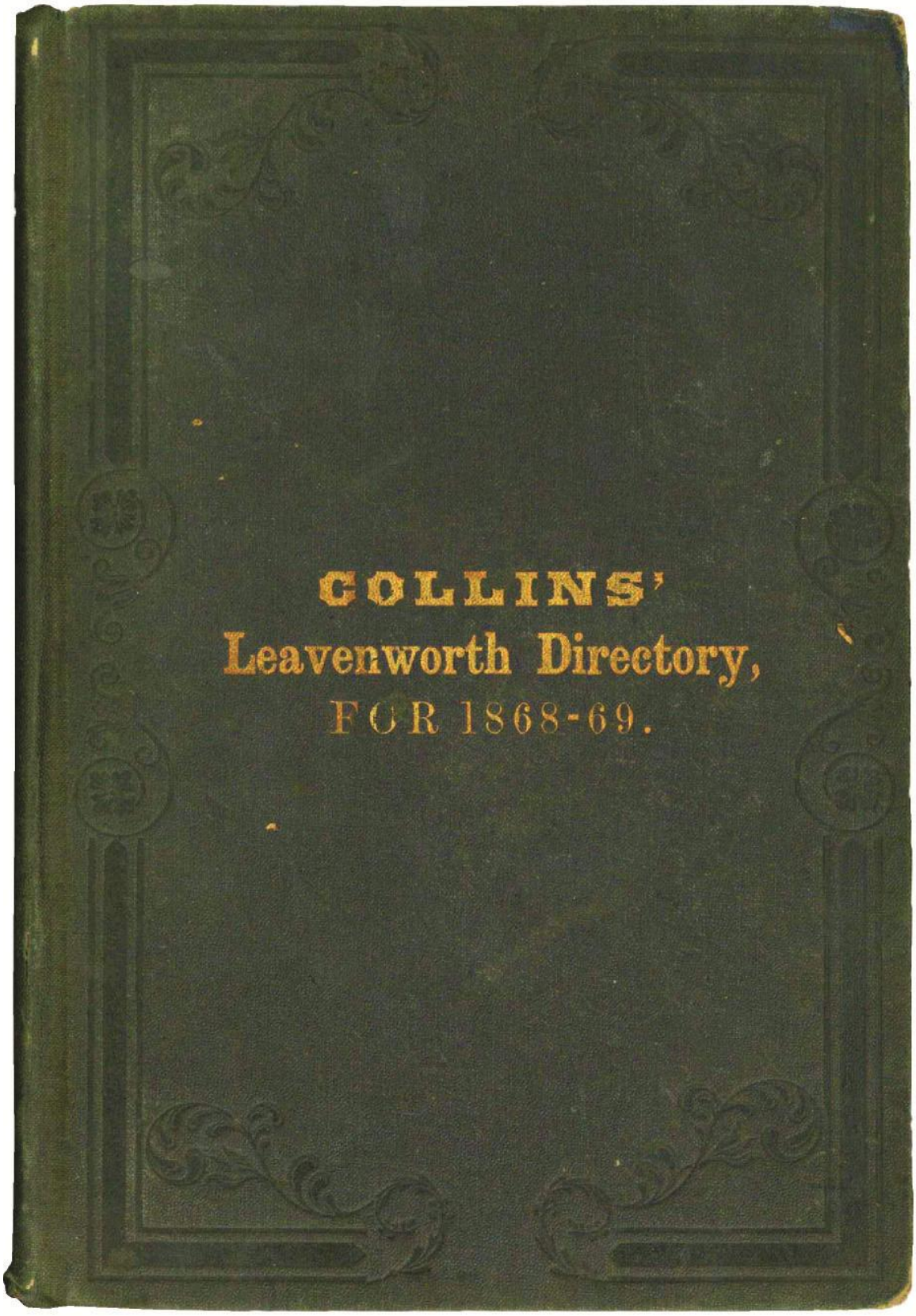
Engraved frontispiece map from Collins' Leavenworth Directory for 1868-69



Leavenworth Directory for 1862-63 (Buckingham & Hamilton)



Leavenworth Directory for 1865-66 (Braunhold & Crowell)



Leavenworth Directory for 1868-69 (Collins)

Seven Leavenworth city directories were published from 1859 to 1869, the first two printed at St. Louis and Indianapolis, respectively: 1) 1859-60 and 2) 1860-61 (Sunderland); 3) 1862-63 (Buckingham & Hamilton, the first printed in Leavenworth); 4) 1863-64 (Hume & Prescott); 5) 1865-66 (Braunhold & Crowell); 6) 1866-67 and 7) 1868-69 (Collins). OCLC lists no more than four surviving copies for any of these. The group that we offer here includes 3), 5), and 7), only one of which appears to have been sold in commerce (5), and that more than a century ago. OCLC lists no copies of the Buckingham & Hamilton issue of 1862-63, one of the Braunhold & Crowell of 1865-66 (KSHS), and four of the Collins of 1868-69 (KU, OU, NYPL, and Yale, which lacks the engraved frontis. map). All three are in good to very good condition in original bindings (see detailed description below). Other than a copy of the 1865-66 directory sold by Anderson Galleries in 1922, we locate no sale or auction records for any of these three directories, and none for any pre-1870 Leavenworth directories since 1941. In 2009 Dorothy Sloan sold a copy of Sunderland & McEvoy's 1859-60 Kansas City directory for $4080, and in 2005 Christies sold Collins's 1866 Omaha directory for $3840. William Reese (Catalogue 319) and Michael Heaston (Catalogue 41) each offered copies of Collins's 1868 Omaha directory, for $4500 and $6000, respectively. **A rare opportunity to acquire three early directories from the first town in Kansas**.

Relevant sources:

Etchison, Nicole
2004 *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era*. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.

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[Kansas--Directories]. LEAVENWORTH CITY DIRECTORY AND BUSINESS MIRROR FOR 1862-63. Buckingham & Hamilton, Publishers, Printed at the Daily Conservative Book and Job Printing Office, Leavenworth, 1862. i [front cover with ads]-x, 1-170, [rear paste down and cover with ads]. 8vo (23 cm). Original printed boards with wear and scuffing, corners worn, and hinges starting but secure; interior quite clean save for pp. 38-39, where old stain mars each of the facing pages (portions of the text are obscured but still legible). Good to very good.

[Kansas--Directories]. LEAVENWORTH CITY DIRECTORY AND BUSINESS MIRROR FOR 1865-66. Braunhold & Crowell, Publishers and Proprietors, Printed at the Bulletin Steam Job and Book Office, Leavenworth, 1865. [i-ii], i-xxiv, 1-211 [rear paste down]. 8vo (23 cm). Original printed boards with calf spine, light wear, front board professionally reattached, interior pages free of foxing or staining. Very good.

[Kansas--Directories]. COLLIN'S [sic] BUSINESS AND RESIDENT DIRECTORY OF LEAVENWORTH; CONTAINING A GENERAL REVIEW OF THE CITY, AND WHAT IT CONTAINS; ALSO, A MAP OF THE CITY. JANUARY 1868. Compiled and Published by Charles Collins, Leavenworth, 1868. 188 pp., frontis. map and litho. of First Baptist Church. 8vo (23 cm). Original blind-embossed covers with gilt titles on front board, frontis. map detached but present and laid in, interior with very light scattered foxing [Howes C585]. Very good.

16. All three titles for: **SOLD**.

Frances Watkins Harper Lectures on the Civil War and Reconstruction

Today her fame has been eclipsed by that of fellow Black abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth. But through the second half of the 19th century there was no more effective and tireless champion for civil rights and Reconstruction than Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. From as early as 1853, when she joined the American Anti-Slavery Society and began delivering lectures on its behalf, Harper spoke at hundreds of venues in every part of New England; in Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey in the Mid-Atlantic, in the Midwest through Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Illinois, and Iowa; and even in the former Confederate states of Alabama, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia. She fought for women's suffrage, for the cause of Black womanhood, and for prohibition. She published nearly a dozen books of poetry and prose, including *Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted* (1892), among the earliest novels published by an African American woman. By 1913, when she died in Philadelphia at the age of 85, Harper was perhaps the most revered Black leader in America. While this rare lecture broadside or handbill is undated, its contents link it directly to the famous series of lectures that she delivered across the eastern United States from 1864 to 1866. **With two columns of positive reviews and testimonials, this appears to be the earliest surviving broadside to document the political activism of an African American woman**.


MRS. HARPER,
WILL LECTURE

Frances Ellen Watkins was born the only child to free parents at Baltimore on September 24, 1825. Her mother and father, their names unknown, died when she was three, leaving her to be raised by a maternal aunt and uncle, Henrietta and Rev. William J. Watkins, Sr., from whom she took her surname. As a child, she attended the Watkins Academy for Negro Youth, established by her uncle in 1820, and then at 13 she was hired as a seamstress and nursemaid for a white family that owned a bookstore. Although her formal education had ended, she continued teaching herself with books from the shop and worked to improve her own writing. As early as 1839, Watkins had begun publishing her poems in anti-slavery journals, and in 1846--at the age of 20--she completed her first book of poetry. Titled *Forest Leaves* and published in Baltimore by James Young, it was long thought lost until historian Johanna Ortner discovered the only known copy at the Maryland Historical Society in 2015. In 1850, Watkins moved west to Columbus, Ohio, where she was hired to teach domestic science as the first African American instructor at Union Seminary, a school for Black students affiliated with the AME Church. She taught at Union for a year before moving to a school in York, Pennsylvania. Shortly after, her home state of Maryland passed a law that free African Americans living in the North would not be allowed to reenter the state; if caught in the attempt they would be imprisoned and sold into slavery. Watkins relocated to Philadelphia and moved in with friends of her uncle, Underground Railroad agents William and Letitia Still. From then on she devoted herself to the cause of abolition.

For much of the next eight years, Watkins would travel throughout the United States and Canada delivering speeches. On the basis of her very first address, "The Elevation and Education

MRS. HARPER,

WILL LECTURE

At .....

On .....

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

The Lecture of last evening at Norombega, being the second of the course, under the direction of the Bangor Freedmen's Aid Association, was by Mrs. F. E. W. HARPER (colored lady), of Boston. The Lecture was of a high order of talent, was received with much favor, and elicited frequent and hearty applause. Those who listened must concede, not only that colored people have rights, but abilities, which others are bound to respect. —*Bangor Whig, Jan.* 3.

She received the closest attention, and the hearty and frequent applause proved her thoroughly appreciated. She is certainly gifted with the power of oratory. Several critics pronounce her equal to Miss Dickinson, while some give her credit for even greater merit when it comes to speaking upon the highest moral and spiritual plane. She has less force, perhaps, in depicting a battle scene, but in describing those trials which only her race have endured, she is unequalled.—*Philadelphia North American.*

Mrs. HARPER commanded the closest attention. In logical acumen, beauty of rhetoric, pure and impassioned eloquence, she is not excelled by any of our popular lecturers. Her scathing denunciations of the leaders of this infamous rebellion received the hearty applause of the audience. Her reference to the murder which has deprived the nation of its beloved President, caused a deep and solemn sensation.—*Worcester Transcript.*

The lecture was one of great merit, in matter and delivery as well. The lady, who seemed to be not of half-white blood, spoke extemporaneously, deliberately, grammatically, and with an agreeable voice. Her subject was, "The Colored People as an Element in a Republican Government," which she considered in political, educational and moral aspects.—*Cin. Gazette.*

MRS. HARPER.—This lady addressed an audience last evening in the Rev. Mr. Freeman's Church in Prince St., upon the subject of the "Future Relations of the Negro to the Government." Although the address was new in its character, the same evidences of talent, thoughts, originality of ideas, logic, and excellent common sense were exhibited, as in her previous addresses. Her reasoning is most conclusive. If the citizens of Brooklyn were aware of her rare ability, the Academy of Music would hardly hold the audiences that would desire to hear her.—*Brooklyn Union.*

The lecture by Mrs. HARPER last night was one of the most thrillingly eloquent lectures ever delivered in Gardiner.—*Gardiner Journ.*

ONE of the most eloquent and thrilling lectures ever heard by an audience in this city was delivered in the Franklin St. M. E. Church last evening, by Mrs. Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. We have heard Mrs. Harper compared, for power as a speaker, with Miss Dickinson; but, having heard both, we have no hesitation in giving the palm of superiority to Mrs. Harper. She combines, perhaps, equal vigor of thought and comprehensiveness of view, while she possesses more eloquence of utterance, and a more keen, penetrating and facile wit.—*Newark Courier.*

THE Lecture, last evening, before the Independent Course, by MRS. F. E. W. HARPER, was largely attended, notwithstanding the bad condition of the streets. It was an admirable address, felicitously worded, forcible and convincing, and did not fail to elicit the most generous applause.—*Portland Press.*

"Her lecture was all I could have desired it to be: full of good sense, all aglow with poetic imagery, and dimpled here and there with ripples of humor. She was frequently interrupted by applause, and the satisfaction seemed to be universal and enthusiastic."

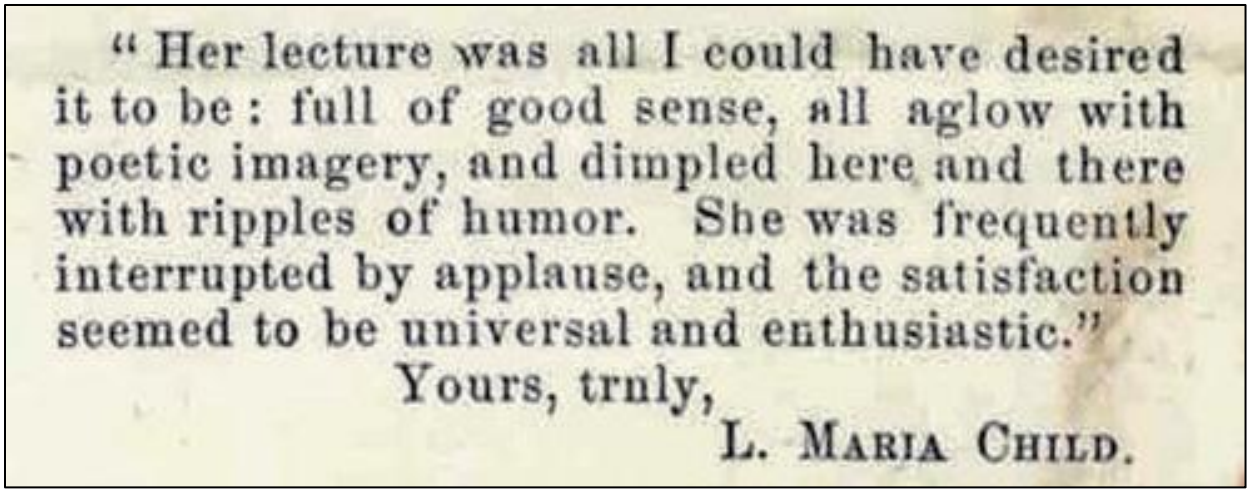
Yours, truly,

L. MARIA CHILD.

A Lecture of her's on "The Mission of the War," which we lately heard, seemed to contain more thought, feeling and true eloquence than the popular addresses of Miss Dickinson usually do; while the position of the speaker, as one of the race of whom she specially spoke, gave a power to her appeals and statements which carried them home to her hearers.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

She spoke for nearly an hour and a half, her subject being "The Mission of the War, and the Demands of the Colored Race in the work of Reconstruction," and we have seldom seen an audience more attentive, better pleased, or more enthusiastic. Mrs. Harper has a splendid articulation, uses chaste, pure language, has a pleasant voice, and allows no one to tire of hearing her. We shall attempt no abstract of her address; none that we could make would do her justice. It was one of which any lecturer might feel proud, and her reception by a Portland audience was all that could be desired. We have seen no praises of her that were overdrawn. We have heard Miss DICKINSON, and do not hesitate to award the palm to her darker colored sister.—*Portland Daily Press.*

MRS. F. W. HARPER, the colored lady lecturer, spoke at Rockland Monday evening. The Press says she commanded as large an audience as could conveniently be packed in one of the largest churches. The articulation of Mrs. Harper was almost perfect, and her lecture as a whole was a fine appeal and argument for the negro race, with now and then a hit at its opponents that cut keenly—though delivered with apparent pleasantness and feminine modesty.—*Rockland Democrat.*


"Her lecture was all I could have desired it to be: full of good sense, all aglow with poetic imagery, and dimpled here and there with ripples of humor. She was frequently interrupted by applause, and the satisfaction seemed to be universal and enthusiastic."
Yours, truly,
L. Maria Child.

of Our People," she was hired to represent organizations such as the anti-slavery societies of both Maine and Pennsylvania. The first edition of her second book of poetry, *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects*, was published at Boston in 1854 and was subsequently reprinted multiple times over the next few years. When "The Two Offers" appeared in the *Anglo-African Newspaper* in 1859, she became the first African American woman to publish a short story. In late 1860, Watkins returned to Ohio and married a widower, Fenton Harper, and they moved with his three older children to a farm in Grove City, about 10 miles southwest of Columbus. In 1862 she gave birth to their only child, a daughter named Mary Frances. Fenton died unexpectedly just four years later, whereupon creditors seized their home and its contents. Frances moved back east with Mary, living for a time at the home of her cousin in Boston. With no source of income but her public speaking, she began touring again, now balancing her career as a traveling speaker and writer with her responsibilities as a single parent to Mary Frances, whom she either took with her on speaking engagements around the country or left in the care of the Stills in Philadelphia.

From May 1864 through late 1866, Harper developed a set of eight or nine main lectures that were perhaps the most important public addresses of her career, establishing her place in the pantheon of African American speakers (Gardner 2025:76). Several of these dealt directly with the Civil War: "The Lessons of them War," "The Mission of the War," "The Causes and Effects of the War," and "The Perils of Victory and Peace." Others dealt with the war's aftermath and the place of African Americans within a post-war nation: "The Colored Man's Future Relations to the Government," "The Claims of the Colored American," and "Reconstruction." Eric Gardner notes that "'The Mission of the War' was a kind of urtext for Harper's work and an embodiment of her public voice throughout 1864, 1865, and early 1866, spinning off into other lectures, as the idea of mission allowed Harper to practice strategic remembrance and to articulate both national and local next steps" (2025:76). Speeches focused on the theme of the war itself probably date to 1864 and late 1865, either when the conflict had yet to be resolved or else its immediate aftermath was unclear. Once the success of Radical Republican legislation such as the 13th Amendment and the Civil Rights Bill of 1866 became assured, the subject of her addresses shifted into Reconstruction and the rights and responsibilities of African Americans in a new America.

While it is undated and lacks an imprint, the unique broadside that we offer here all but certainly dates to this phase of Harper's career. Moreover, in the positive testimonials and

reviews it reprints in two columns, it includes titles to lectures not recorded in other sources. The *Cincinnati Gazette* observes that "The lecture was one of great merit, in matter and delivery as well...Her subject was, 'The Colored People as an Element in a Republican Government." Other speeches mirror or combine addresses she is known to have delivered elsewhere. The *Brooklyn Union* writes about "Future Relations of the Negro to the Government," commenting that "If the citizens of Brooklyn were aware of her rare ability, the Academy of Music would hardly hold the audiences that would desire to hear her." Likewise, on the topic of "The Mission of the War, and the Demands of the Colored Race in Reconstruction," the *Portland Daily Press* writes, "We shall attempt no abstract of her address; none that we would make could do her justice."

Yet despite such reviews--and unlike the experience of male contemporaries like Frederick Douglass--publishers were hesitant to take the business risk of printing a Black woman's speech in pamphlet form. As a result, none of the texts of Harper's lectures from 1864-1866 have survived today. This small broadside or handbill thus offers a profoundly important lens through which to view her public work and the public's engagement with it. Either Harper of her supporters likely had it produced in quantities for her own use, wherever she planned to speak, but no other example is known to have survived. It also speaks directly to the source of her livelihood as a single Black mother, since her speaking tours were the sole source of her family's income. Any such ephemera related to African American speakers from the antebellum or early post-war eras is extraordinarily rare, whether in commerce or institutional collections. We locate no comparable examples related to Black women, period. A large "Republican Rally!" broadside issued at Wiscasset, Maine, in 1872 and simply listing "Fred'ck Douglass, Esq." as one of the featured speakers, made $25,486 at Hake's Auctions in August 2026. **This one is more significant: the only surviving broadside featuring one of the most revered Black leaders in American history**.

Relevant sources:

Dudden, Faye E.
2011 *Fighting Chance: The Struggle Over Woman Suffrage and Black Suffrage in Reconstruction America.* Oxford University Press, New York.
Gardner, Eric
2025 *Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's Civil War and Reconstruction*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Mitchell, Koritha
2020 Frances E. W. Harper, A Model Citizen Who Couldn't Vote. *Legacy* 37(2):311-314.

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[African American Women--Civil Rights]. MRS. HARPER, WILL LECTURE...OPINIONS OF THE PRESS... [caption title]. [n.p., n.d., but 1864-1866, Boston or Philadelphia]. Broadside or handbill. 10 x 5 5/8 in. (25.5 x 14 cm). Printed text with spaces left blank for adding venue and date by hand, includes two columns of reviews and testimonials. Light scattered foxing, horizontal folds for mailing, some wrinkling, overall very good.

17. **$15,000**.

The Colored Belle: A Rarely Seen Lithograph from Currier & Ives

Even now, more than a century after the firm of Currier & Ives issued its final print, the name is still synonymous with a particular visual style of American nostalgia, one that proliferates today in the offerings of brands like Hallmark, which itself reproduces Currier & Ives imagery on greeting cards and Christmas ornaments. From 1835 to 1907, Currier & Ives produced more than a million individual prints, as many as 8000 different lithograph titles, and dozens of thematic sets or series. Some of the most popular mid- to late 19th-century prints were romanticized images of American women and girls. These generally fell into two sets, one known as "Girl Name" portraits because each was titled with a popular feminine name of the era (*Julia*, *Susie*, or *Henrietta*), and the other as "Beauty" or "Belle" portraits because each depicted an idealized woman of a specific geographic or ethnic background (*The Southern Beauty* or *The Egyptian Beauty*).



Of all the thousands of Currier & Ives titles, those that treat African American subjects in a respectful, dignified way--rather than as racist caricatures--are among the rarest. Two of these are among the "Beauty" series prints and were published during the early 1870s. One, titled *The Colored Beauty*, depicts an attractive African American woman from the shoulders up, wearing a blue, lace-trimmed dress and gold jewelry. At least two institutional examples are known, at the Library of Congress and the Library Company of Philadelphia, the latter with hand coloring. There are no records of any copies having appeared at auction or in the trade. Here we offer an example of the second such print, titled *The Colored Belle*, which depicts a much younger Black woman wearing a stylish, green and white dress and gold jewelry. **While it is listed in the Conningham's monumental 1930 bibliography of Currier & Ives prints, we have located no other surviving copies, whether in institutional collections or in the history of commerce**.

Lithographer Nathaniel Currier issued the first print of his own firm in 1835, adding James Ives as a business parter in 1857. As a rule, the firm avoided controversial subjects, instead issuing prints that appealed as broadly as possible to its white, middle-class audience, whether North or South. Thus the earliest known Currier print to deal with an African American subject was also the firm's only foray into antebellum debates about slavery. Titled *Branding Slaves on the Coast of Africa Previous to Embarkation*, this 1845 print (14 1/4 x 9 1/4) depicted a white slaver trader brutally pressing a hot brand into the shoulder blade of a bound, kneeling, and anguished African captive. In the sash around the slave trader's waist is a pistol, and a whip lies at his feet. Standing alongside the captive and his captor is a pale and shirtless white man carrying a lantern that seems to illuminate the barbarity of the scene, while in the background a line of the newly enslaved, their necks chained together, are marched toward waiting ships. The lithograph proved to be a colossal failure: northern audiences, seeking attractive prints to decorate their homes, rejected the image's graphic violence, while in the South it was a crime even to offer it for sale.


THE COLORED BELLE.

After the failure of their first print featuring an African American subject, most subsequent issues by the firm--if considering Black Americans at all--included them at best as as jocular props in nostalgic, Lost Cause plantation scenery. At worst, Currier & Ives took an active and strategic part in dehumanizing the Black subject, devolving into the base caricature and abject racism that so defined their infamous "Darktown" series. And this is precisely what makes both *The Colored Beauty* and *The Colored Belle* prints so unusual. With the Civil War raging in 1863, the firm had issued a patriotic print titled *The Colored Volunteer* in an effort to recruit Black soldiers to the war effort. Those lithographs, however, were more a form of war propaganda than images marketed to African American homes. *The Colored Beauty* and *The Colored Belle*, with their stylish hair and fashionable wardrobes and jewelry, were created to appeal to Black middle-class tastes and aspirations. Copyright information suggests that both of these lithographs were produced about 1872, the same year that Currier & Ives issued its remarkable print of *The First Colored Senator and Representatives*. Reconstruction was at its height and the nationwide development of a Black middle class actually seemed possible, before the rise and spread of Jim Crow brought such hopes to an end. And when it did--after Rutherford B. Hayes sacrificed Reconstruction for his term in the White House--Currier & Ives gave white Americans what they wanted. "Darktown" became the firm's best-selling series of all time, making up a third of all production by 1884.

We trace no record of either *The Colored Beauty* or *The Colored Belle* ever appearing in commerce, nor do the Conninghams list any specific sales of either print prior to 1930. We locate two copies of *The Colored Beauty*, and uncolored example at the Library of Congress and a colored example in a contemporary wood frame at the Library Company of Philadelphia, the latter of which featured prominently in the "The Genius of Freedom: Northern Black Activism and Uplift after the Civil War" (https://librarycompany.org/geniusoffreedom/adorning-the-parlor/), an exhibition curated by Krystal Appiah at LCP in 2014-2015. **We trace no other surviving examples of *The Colored Belle***. This example is handcolored and--like the LCP print--is housed in a contemporary wood frame with a glass plate and split pine backing boards (not examined outside of frame). The print does have some damage: there are vertical tears on each side of the *Belle's* high collar (not affecting her face), and a smaller semi-circular tear in the background area next to the right vertical tear. There are also a few light stains and some scattered foxing. Nevertheless, the image displays well, and again, is otherwise unknown in commerce or institutional holdings.

Relevant sources:
LeBeau, Bryan F.
2001 *Currier & Ives: America Imagined*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C.

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[Lithography--African American]. THE COLORED BELLE. Published by Currier & Ives, 115 Nassau Street, New York. N.d., but probably 1872. 18 1/4 x 14 3/8 in. (46 x 36.5 cm), in frame; 15 in x 11 1/4 in. (38 cm x 28.5 cm), visible image. Two vertical tears, one on each side of subject's collar, semi-circular tear in right center background, repaired tear in upper left background; light foxing, light stains along bottom edge. Good, frame excellent [Conningham 991].

18. **SOLD**.

Guerrillas of the West: An Early Edition of Appler's Classic

America's fascination with the West is as old as the Republic itself. Practically from the beginning, this fascination rode lockstep with the creation of literary archetypes--whether based on real people or altogether invented--that changed as Manifest Destiny charged on. From Daniel Boone and Natty Bumpo to Davy Crockett, Mike Fink, and Kit Carson, America's frontier heroes had filled the pages of popular novels, dime novels, and romanticized histories for more than 80 years by the time of the Civil War. But as the concept of the frontier gave way to barbed wire and reservations over the decade that followed, a new kind of western archetype began to replace the rugged frontiersman, despite the best efforts of later showmen such as William Cody. Although the literary emergence of the Wild West and its antihero, the Outlaw, found precedent in the works of previous generations, it also represents a profound shift in the American zeitgeist.



Of all the novel characters who entered the canon during these years, none would prove more enduring as icons of their time and place than Jesse James and Henry McCarty, better known in his own lifetime and today as Billy the Kid. But James came first. In 1875, a St. Louis printer named Augustus C. Appler published *The Guerrillas of the West*, the first biography of Jesse and Frank James and their fellow Missourian outlaws, the Younger brothers. Now a classic, Appler's work went through several editions from 1875 to 1878, then with new titles and additional material into the 1890s. This copy of the 1876 "4th Edition of 10,000" is one of the few to contain the full complement of eight plates and its original printed front wrapper. All early issues are quite scarce in commerce and institutional holdings. **Only two examples of the 1878 issue have appeared at auction in nearly a century, and none of the issues from 1875 and 1876**.

Jesse Woodson James was born on September 5, 1847, in rural Clay County, Missouri, its southwestern corner just touching the Kansas state line, a border that would shape the narrative of James's life. James's father, Robert Sallee James, was a slave-owning, commercial hemp farmer and evangelical Baptist preacher who went to California in 1849, ostensibly to save the souls of gold miners, but he caught pneumonia or cholera and died there after only a few months. James's mother, Zerelda, soon remarried a wealthy neighboring planter, but as he was abusive to the three children--Frank, Jesse, and sister Susie--Zerelda left him about 1853. Two years later she married again, this time wedding Dr. Reuben Samuel, who would take on the three children from her first marriage and have four more with Zerelda.

Jesse James was only seven years old when the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act turned the border between these new territories into an atrocity-laden battlefield between abolitionist and pro-slavery militias. And when their border state melee helped to launch the American Civil War in 1861, the Samuel-James family threw in decisively with the Confederacy. Jesse's older brother Frank, then 18, joined the Missouri State Guard but was quickly taken by Union troops and sent home. Soon after he took up with the guerrilla organization known as Quantrill's Raiders, named for leader William C. Quantrill, and 16-year-old Jesse followed in 1863. A year later the brothers

4th EDITION OF 10,000.

THE

GUERRILLAS OF THE WEST.

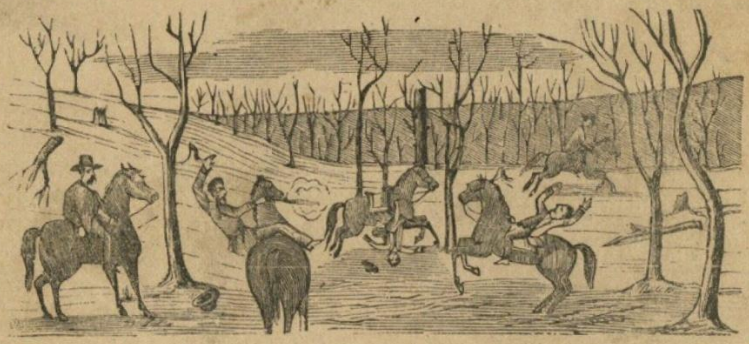
—OR THE—

TRUE LIFE, CHARACTER AND DARING EXPLOITS

—OF THE—

YOUNGER BROS.,

JAMES BOYS & QUANTRELL.



BY

AUGUSTUS C. APPLER,

Late Editor of the Osceola, Mo., Democrat.

ST. LOUIS, MO.

EUREKA PUBLISHING COMPANY.

1876.

DOWLING & PATTERSON, Printers, 216 N. 8th Street, St. Louis.


THE YOUNGER BROTHERS.
BALCH & COFFIN SC. N.C.

THE

GUERRILLAS OF THE WEST,

OR THE

Life, Character and Daring Exploits of the

Younger Brothers

With a Sketch of the Life of Henry W. Younger, Father of the Younger Brothers, who was Assassinated and Robbed by a Band of Jayhawkers.

—ALSO—

The War Record of Quantrell

During the Three Years that Cole and James Younger were with him

—ALSO—

A Sketch of the Life of the

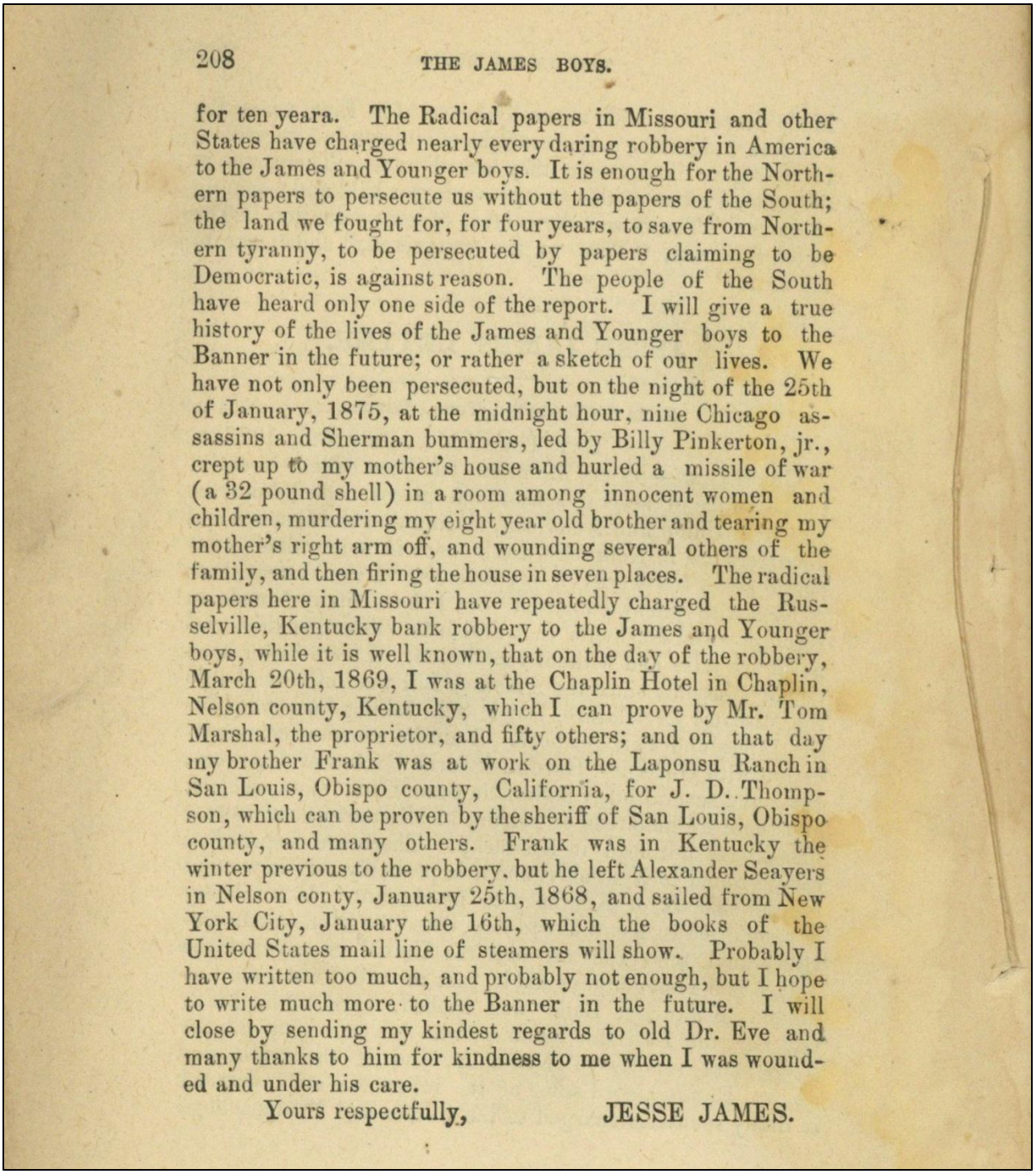
JAMES BOYS,

WHOSE NAMES ARE FAMILIAR TO EVERY HOUSEHOLD IN THE COUNTRY, AND WHOSE REPUTED DEEDS OF BLOOD, ROBBERY AND CRIME OF ALMOST EVERY KIND, EQUAL THE MOST DESPERATE BRIGAND OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Etc., Etc.

BY

AUGUSTUS C. APPLER,
Late Editor of the Osceola, Mo., Democrat.

ST. LOUIS:
EUREKA PUBLISHING COMPANY.
1876.



208 THE JAMES BOYS.

for ten yeara. The Radical papers in Missouri and other States have charged nearly every daring robbery in America to the James and Younger boys. It is enough for the Northern papers to persecute us without the papers of the South; the land we fought for, for four years, to save from Northern tyranny, to be persecuted by papers claiming to be Democratic, is against reason. The people of the South have heard only one side of the report. I will give a true history of the lives of the James and Younger boys to the Banner in the future; or rather a sketch of our lives. We have not only been persecuted, but on the night of the 25th of January, 1875, at the midnight hour, nine Chicago assassins and Sherman bummers, led by Billy Pinkerton, jr., crept up to my mother's house and hurled a missile of war (a 32 pound shell) in a room among innocent women and children, murdering my eight year old brother and tearing my mother's right arm off, and wounding several others of the family, and then firing the house in seven places. The radical papers here in Missouri have repeatedly charged the Russelville, Kentucky bank robbery to the James and Younger boys, while it is well known, that on the day of the robbery, March 20th, 1869, I was at the Chaplin Hotel in Chaplin, Nelson county, Kentucky, which I can prove by Mr. Tom Marshal, the proprietor, and fifty others; and on that day my brother Frank was at work on the Laponsu Ranch in San Louis, Obispo county, California, for J. D. Thompson, which can be proven by the sheriff of San Louis, Obispo county, and many others. Frank was in Kentucky the winter previous to the robbery, but he left Alexander Seayers in Nelson conty, January 25th, 1868, and sailed from New York City, January the 16th, which the books of the United States mail line of steamers will show. Probably I have written too much, and probably not enough, but I hope to write much more to the Banner in the future. I will close by sending my kindest regards to old Dr. Eve and many thanks to him for kindness to me when I was wounded and under his care.

Yours respectfully, JESSE JAMES.

joined the bushwhacker group led by William "Bloody Bill" Anderson and participated in both the Centralia Massacre and the subsequent destruction of a pursuing Union regiment. When Anderson was killed in October 1864, Jesse followed one of his lieutenants, Archie Clement, into Texas, but returned to Missouri the next spring. Near the end of the war he was shot twice in the chest while trying to surrender after Clement's gang ran into a Union cavalry near Lexington. With the help of his first cousin and soon to be wife, Zerelda "Zee" Mimms--named after his mother--he regained his health at his uncle's boardinghouse in Harlan, Missouri.

Clement's bushwhackers held together after the war, and in February 1866 committed the first peacetime armed robbery of an American bank, striking the Clay County Savings Association in Liberty, Missouri. It is unclear whether the James brothers were involved in this robbery or any of the other criminal acts committed by Clement and his gang during the next two years. But in December 1869, Jesse and Frank struck in Gallatin County, Missouri, robbing the Daviess County Savings Association; Jesse likely shot and killed the cashier in a case of mistaken identity. Jesse denied any involvement, publishing letters in the *Kansas City Times*, owned and edited by former Confederate officer John Newman Edwards. These letters, with Edwards's backing, made Jesse a symbol of Confederate defiance to Reconstruction. By about 1870, the James brothers had joined with several other former bushwhackers--notably Cole, John, Jim, and Bob Younger--to form the James-Younger gang. During the next several years they hit banks, trains, and stagecoaches from Minnesota south to Texas and from Kansas east to West Virginia. Thanks to Edwards's favorable press, the gang acquired a reputation as stealing from the rich (urban and northern) and giving to the poor (rural and southern), but there is no evidence whatsoever that they distributed any of these gains beyond their own circle of family and friends.

It was about this time, at the height of the James-Younger gang's notoriety, that St. Louis printer, editor of the *Osceola Weekly Democrat*, and Confederate sympathizer Augustus C. Appler started work on what would become the first book to present the story of the James and Younger brothers. It was to be anything but an objective account. Appler appears to have begun sometime in early 1873, just before the gang committed its first train robbery, and he was likely subsidized for his writing by the brothers themselves in an effort both to whitewash or ignore altogether their ongoing crimes and to build up their bona fides as heroes of the rebellion. To this latter end, much of the work consists of what are generally regarded as accurate accounts of the James and Younger brothers' exploits during the war years in Kansas and Missouri. As Appler's intent was to portray the "Boys" as heroic figures unjustly accused by radical Republicans, there is little about the string of robberies they were alleged to have committed after the war. Appler does offer accounts about the earliest of these crimes, which he accompanies with the Boys' assurances that they were driven to commit those acts by the circumstances of Reconstruction, that their lawless days were behind them, and that they were hiding out in the hope of obtaining amnesty so that they could return to their former lives as farmers. Appler also includes published letters from Jesse James professing both his and Frank's innocence and offering questionable alibis.

The first edition of Appler's work appeared in 1875, bearing the imprint of his brother and fellow St. Louis printer John Thomas Appler. Its title was among the most unwieldy of his or any other era: *The Guerrillas of the West, or the Life, Character and Daring Exploits of the Younger Brothers; With a Sketch of the Life of Henry W. Younger, Father of the Younger Brothers, who was Assassinated and Robbed by a Band of Jayhawkers--also--the War Record of Quantrell during the three years that Cole and James Younger were with him--also--a Sketch of the Life of the James Boys, whose names are familiar to every household in the country, and whose reputed deeds of blood, robbery and crime of almost every kind, equal the most desperate brigand of the nineteenth century, etc., etc*. It is better known today, in this and subsequent editions through the 1890s, as simply *The Guerrillas of the West*. There are only two known copies of this first edition, and each has a different reported collation. The example held by the Autry Museum and Library has 208 pp. with three woodcut illustrations, while the copy held at the Dallas Public Library is described as having 206 pp. with two illustrations.

In 1876, Appler seems to have published six or more issues or editions of the work, now bearing the imprint of his own press, the Eureka Publishing Company. It is difficult to determine precisely how many editions appeared--just as it is to assign most copies to any edition--because edition information only appears on the front wrapper of copies with surviving paper covers. Most surviving examples of *Guerrillas* are bound in dark green publisher's cloth (perhaps remaindered?) with "Younger Bros." in gilt on the front board but lacking any information on edition. Per OCLC we locate 14 copies dated 1876. To this group we can add the copy that we offer here, one of the few retaining its original front wrapper. Of these, 11 have 208 pp., while four have 224 pp. Nine of the 208 pp. copies have four accompanying plates, while two--ours and the copy held by the University of Wisconsin--have 8 plates. Significantly, ours and the Wisconsin copy are the only examples known to be in wraps, which in our case identifies it as "4th edition of 10,000" and in the Wisconsin case as "5th edition of 10,000" (see table below). We suggest that these were the first editions to offer eight plates, and as the UTexas copy with four plates is inscribed "April 10th 76," the eight-plate editions must have appeared after that date. They must also have been issued before September 7, as on that date an event occurred that ended the spree of the James-Younger Gang and simultaneously explains the 224 pp. editions of Appler's book.

1875, John T. Appler, Publisher, St. Louis
208 pp., 3 plates:
Autry
206 pp., 2 plates (incomplete?):
Dallas Public Library

1876, Eureka Publishing Co., St. Louis
208 pp., 4 plates:
Autry; Kansas City Public Library; LOC; Marietta; UMissouri; State Historical Society of Missouri; Newberry; Oberlin; UTexas
208 pp., 8 plates:
Our copy (4th edition of 10,000); UWisconsin (5th edition of 10,000)
224 pp., 8 plates:
Missouri History Museum; Baylor; UKansas; NYHS

The members of the James-Younger gang were among the most wanted men in America by the fall of 1876, having terrorized Missouri and neighboring states for years with little real fear of apprehension. But now the Pinkerton Detective Ageny had taken the lead in their case, going so far as to set fire to the James brothers' family home, killing their younger half-brother Archie and blowing off the right arm of their mother, Zerelda. The gang decided to venture far from their usual path in selecting a new target, the First National Bank of Northfield, Minnesota, more than 700 miles from their base in Missouri. On September 7, they rode into Northfield and attempted to rob the bank in broad daylight. To their doom, however, the tellers refused to cooperate--costing one his life--and the town decided to fight back. Two of the gang were shot down and killed by townspeople in a barrage of gunfire; the others fled on horseback with less than $30 in loot. Both Frank and Jesse reached Missouri despite having suffered gunshot wounds, but all three Youngers were captured on foot in Minnesota and sentenced to life in prison. Much to Appler's dismay, he was compelled to add 16 pages to *Guerrillas*, detailing the complicity of the "Boys" in the murder of the teller and a bystander on the street. Thus the 224-page editions of 1876 were published after

the Northfield robbery of September 7. Frank would eventually settle into the life of a Missouri farmer, but Jesse soon returned to crime, forming a new gang and leading several train and stage robberies. On April 3, 1882, a member of his own gang, 21-year-old Robert Ford, killed him with a single shot to the back of the head for a $5000 reward. Jesse James, cut down while dusting a picture frame in his rented St. Joseph home, was just 34.

This copy of *Guerrillas of the West* is the earliest of all known examples in wraps. It lacks the rear wrapper but is otherwise in very good condition. We trace no other copy in wraps ever offered in commerce and no auction records for any 1875 or 1876 edition, whether in wraps or boards. Indeed, with only two institutional holdings and none recorded in commerce, there are precisely as many known examples of the 1875 first edition as of the most legendary of all western outlaw narratives, John Rollin Ridge's *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta* (1854), which last brought $69,000 at a Dorothy Sloan auction in 1994. As listed on the previous page, we trace 14 institutional copies of all 1876 issues. OCLC locates at least as many copies of Pat Garrett's *The Authentic life of Billy the Kid* (1882), published a year after the Kid's death. In comparison with early editions of *Guerrillas*, at least three copies of *Authentic Life* have appeared at auction this century, most recently bringing $10,700 at Sotheby's in 2020. William Reese offered a copy in Catalogue 346 for $35,000, but a review of all Reese catalogues reveals that the firm has never listed an early edition of Appler's classic. As noted by literary critic Rascoe Burton:

> Appler's book, indeed, is much more than source book...pilfered indiscriminately and without credit by fictioneers and popular historians for sixty years, written while the outlaws were still alive, and...while they were still at large and wanted for more crimes than they could have possibly committed. It is also an on-the-spot local history of phases of the American Civil War that have never gotten into the official or academic histories... [1933:3-4].

A classic landmark of Western Americana.

Relevant sources:

Burton, Rascoe
1955 Forward. In *The Younger Brothers: Their Life and Character,* by Augustus C. Appler, pp. Frederick Fell, Inc., Publishers, New York.

Hulbert, Matthew Christopher
2016 *The Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory: How Civil War Bushwhackers Became Gunslingers in the American West*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

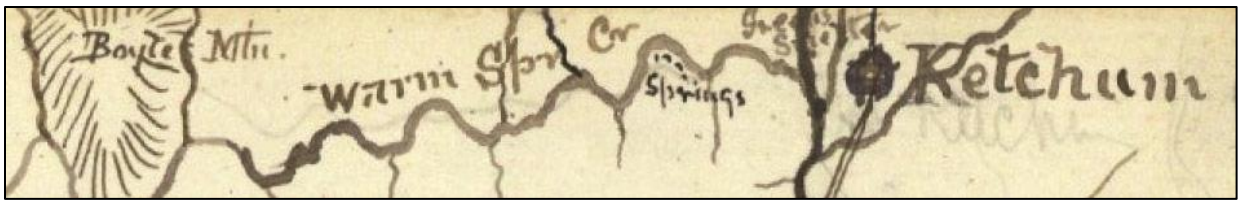
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[Crime--Western Outlaws]. Augustus C. Appler. THE GUERRILLAS OF THE WEST... Eureka Publishing Company, St. Louis. 1876. 208 pp., 8 woodcut plates. 8vo (22 cm). Original printed wrappers, rear wrap lacking, spine worn. Upper outer corner with old diagonal crease, no stains and very light foxing. Very good [Howes A295; Adams Six-Guns 68; Graff 76].

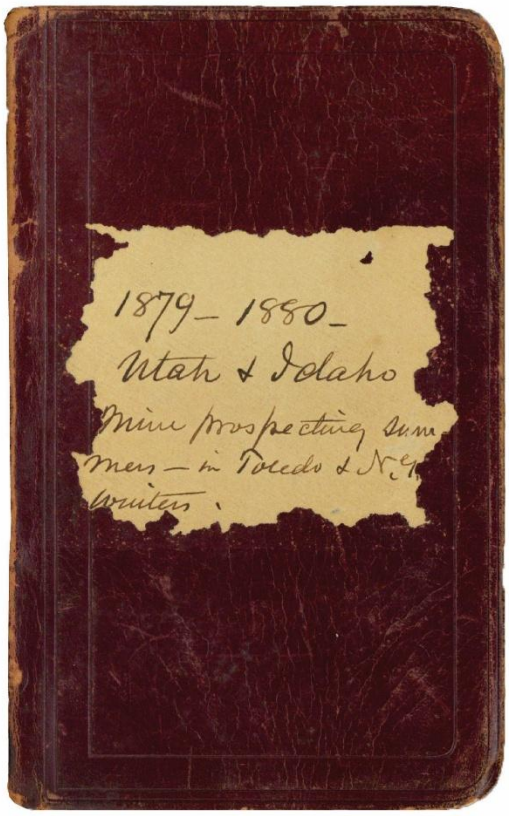
19. **SOLD**.

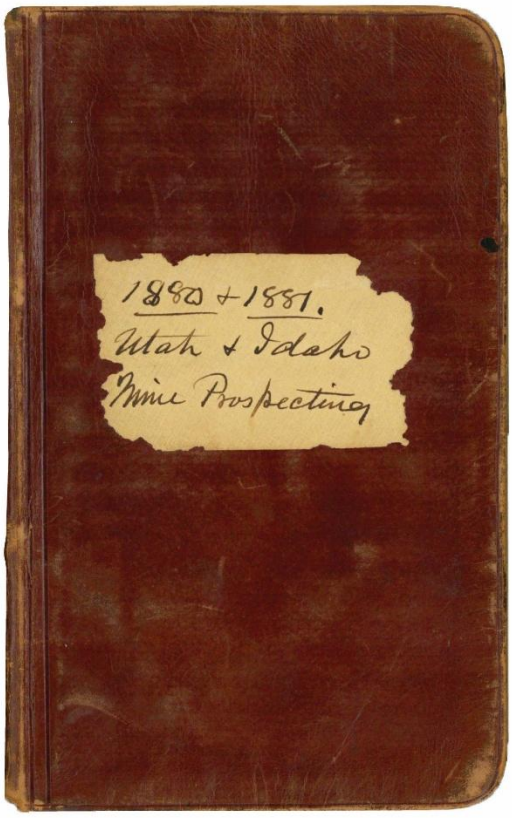
The Wood River, Idaho, Journals of Frank Scott, 1879-1882

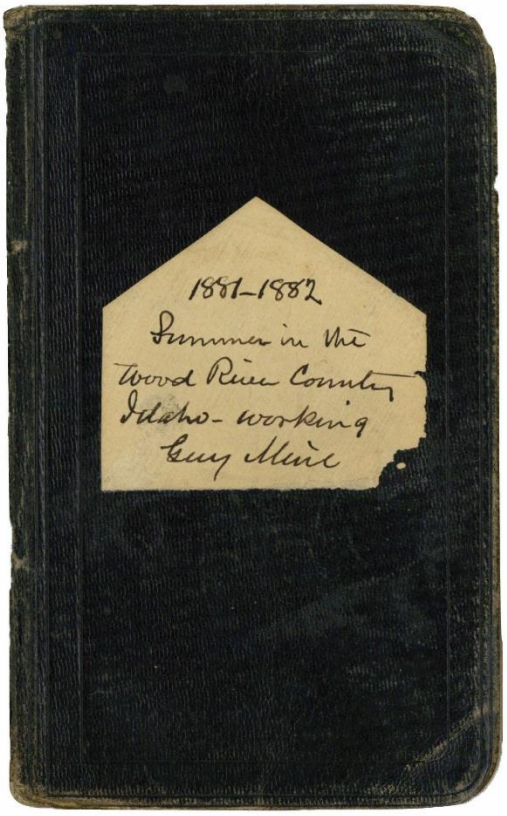
One of the last, and least documented, major precious metal rushes within the contiguous United States was the Wood River silver boom, touched off in April 1879 when prospector Warren Callahan discovered rich lead-silver deposits near modern Bellevue in central Idaho. By the end of the year thousands of others had followed Callahan into Idaho's remote and heavily timbered backcountry, filing hundreds of claims on potential mines. The population of Idaho Territory was only about 25,000 at the time of Callahan's discovery, but the potential of mining wealth rapidly brought people, capital, infrastructure, and railroad lines deep into the rugged Smoky Mountains around Wood River. New towns like Hailey, Bellevue, and Ketchum sprang up, attracting more capital and more people. The territory's first electric lights came on in Ketchum in 1882, then one year later Hailey got the first telephone system. In barely a decade the population of Idaho would nearly quadruple to 90,000 people, sufficient to turn the territory into a state on July 3, 1890. The three pocket journals that we offer here were kept by real estate developer, author, prospector, and mapmaker Frank J. Scott of Toledo, Ohio, during his annual trips into Utah and Idaho to identify potential mining claims. In 1882, he produced the only contemporary published map of the Wood River region, now known in only a handful of surviving copies. **Dated from 1879 to 1882, these journals hold the first manuscript drafts of his seminal map**. We trace no comparable primary sources documenting the beginning of the Wood River silver boom as it unfolded.

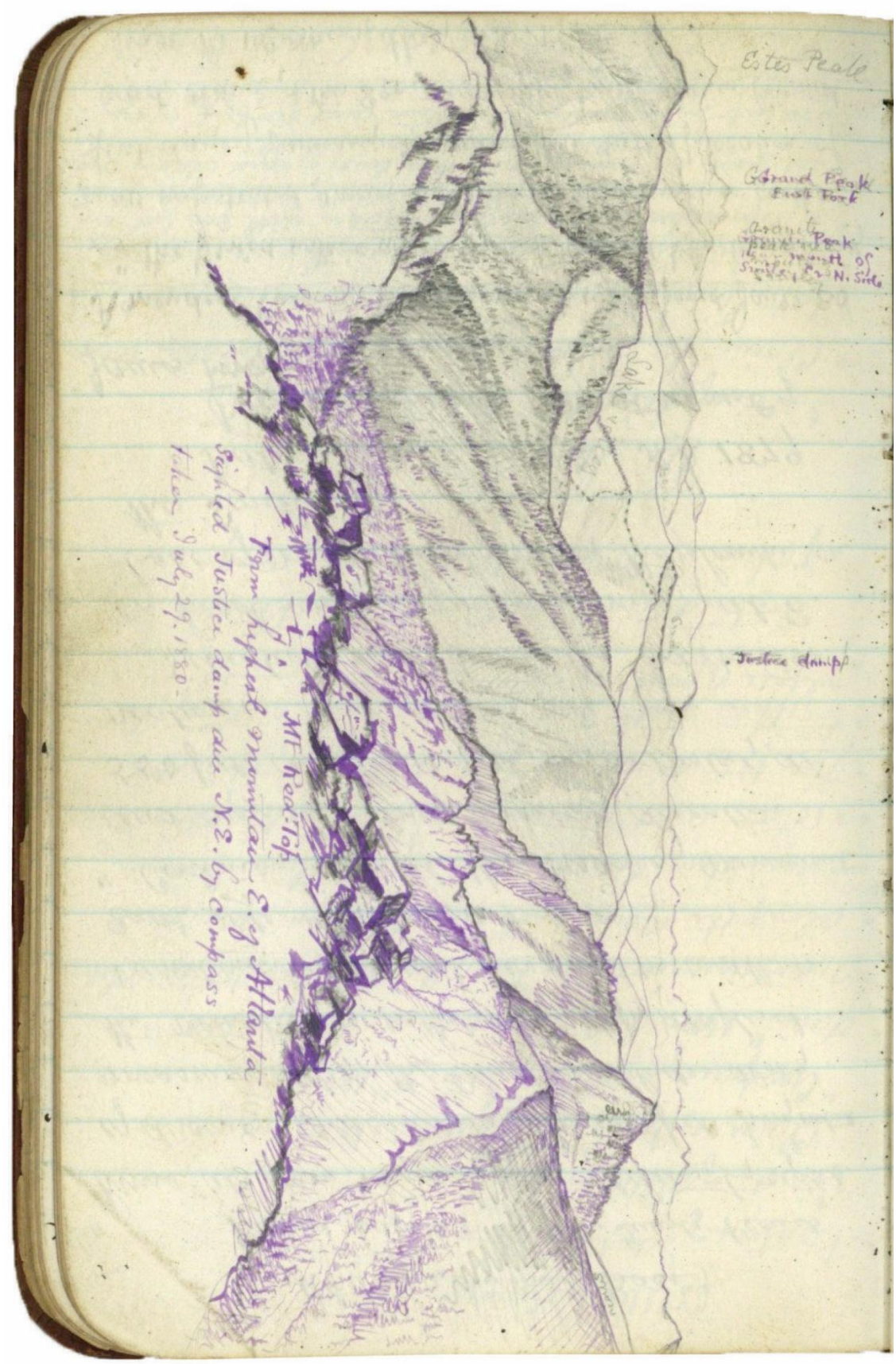


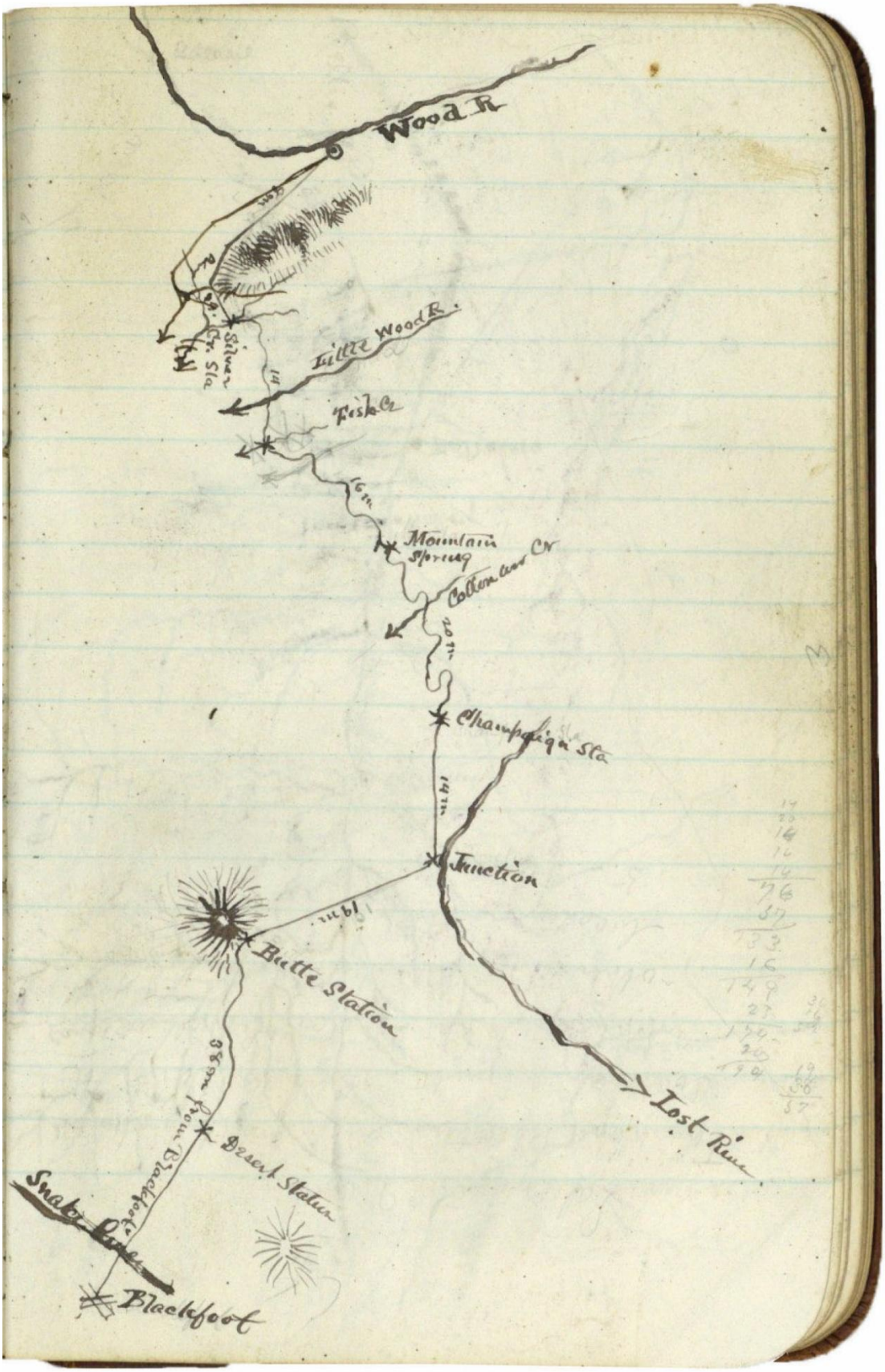
Idaho Territory was carved out in 1863 from the enormous region east of Oregon state and Washington Territory and west of Dakota and Nebraska territories, an area that today includes all of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. Montana Territory came one year later, and Wyoming followed in 1868, setting Idaho's present boundaries and filling in the northernmost reaches of the Mountain West. Fifteen years after officially becoming a territory, Idaho would remain little more than lines on a map, a space bounded by places. This is especially true of its interior, one of the most isolated and poorly known regions in the Lower 48, which mapmakers often filled in with simple hachures due to the lack of reliable cartographic information. Idaho had acquired territorial status after the gold stampede of the early 1860s, when rich deposits were discovered near Pierce in the northern Panhandle and throughout the Boise Basin in the southwestern part of the soon-to-be territory. For a very brief time Idaho City, its population exploding to 10,000 people, was the largest city in the Pacific Northwest (current population 466). Yet the placer deposits were soon exhausted, and well before the end of the decade the gold rush had ended almost as quickly as it began. Then on April 26, 1879, Warren P. Callahan walked into the county recorder's office in Rocky Bar and filed a lead-silver claim for a piece of land at the base of a mountain ridge near Goodale's Cutoff, about a mile west of present-day Bellevue. Callahan had discovered the deposit in 1864 while passing through the Wood River Valley on his way to Montana, but kept moving north because of ongoing conflicts with Native American tribes. As soon as he filed his claim, though, a town named Jacobs City sprang up at the site to support his operations. And the boom was on.

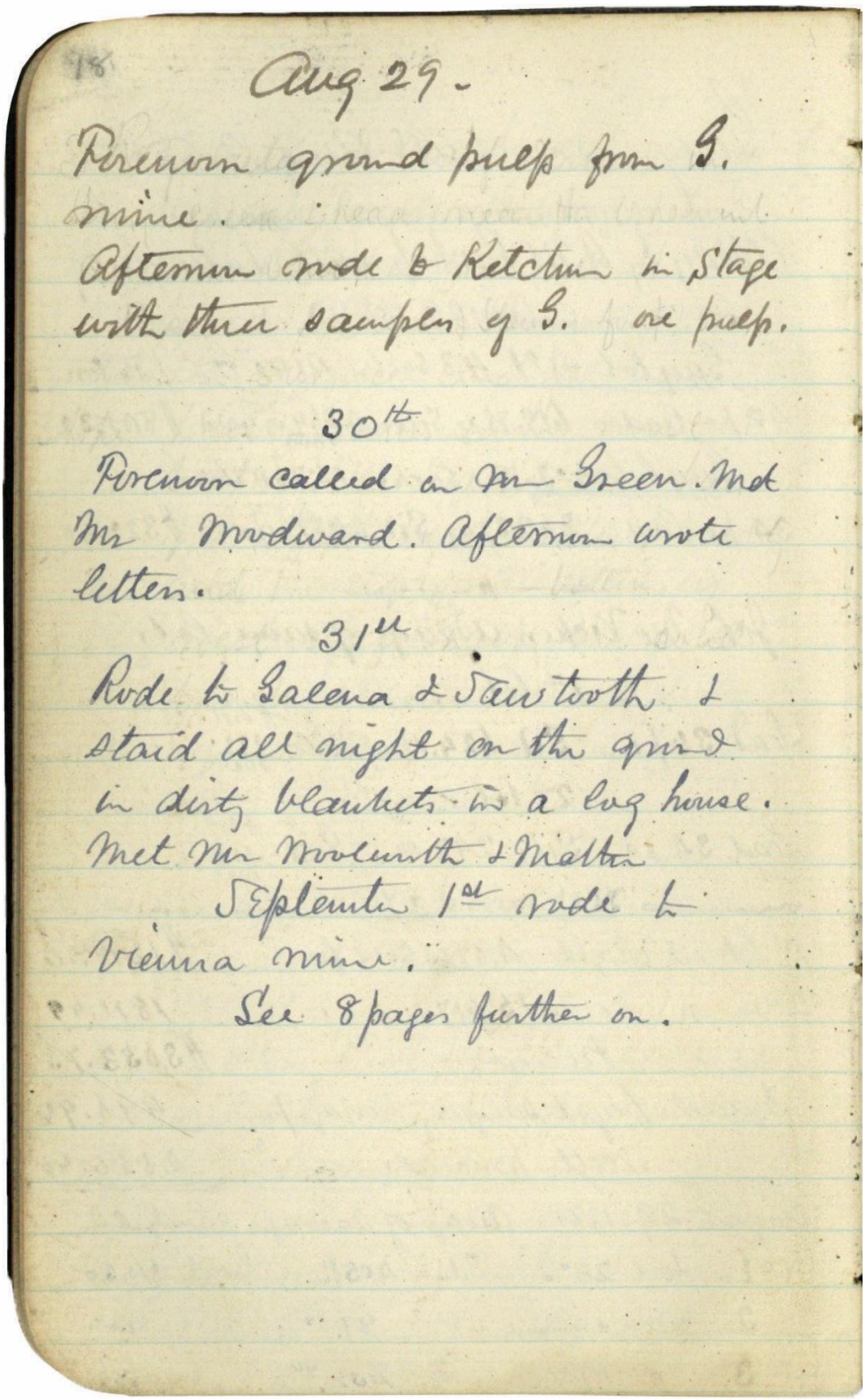

1879–1880–
Utah & Idaho
Mine prospecting summers — in Toledo & Nº 4
Couiters.


1880 + 1881.
Utah & Idaho
Mine Prospecting


1881–1882
Summer in the
Wood River Country
Idaho - working
Gay Mine


Estes Peak
Grand Peak
East Fork
Arapaho Peak
Mt. Neva
Mt. Audubon
Mt Rad:Top
From Kupfeat mountain E. of Atlanta
Sighted Justice camp due N.E. by Compass
Friday July 29. 1870.


Wood R
Little Wood R.
Fish Cr
Mountain Spring
Champaign Sta
Junction
Butte Station
Desert Station
Lost Riv
Snake Riv
Blackfoot



18

Aug 29.

Forenoon ground pulp from G. mine.
Afternoon rode to Ketchum in Stage with three samples of G. ore pulp.

30th

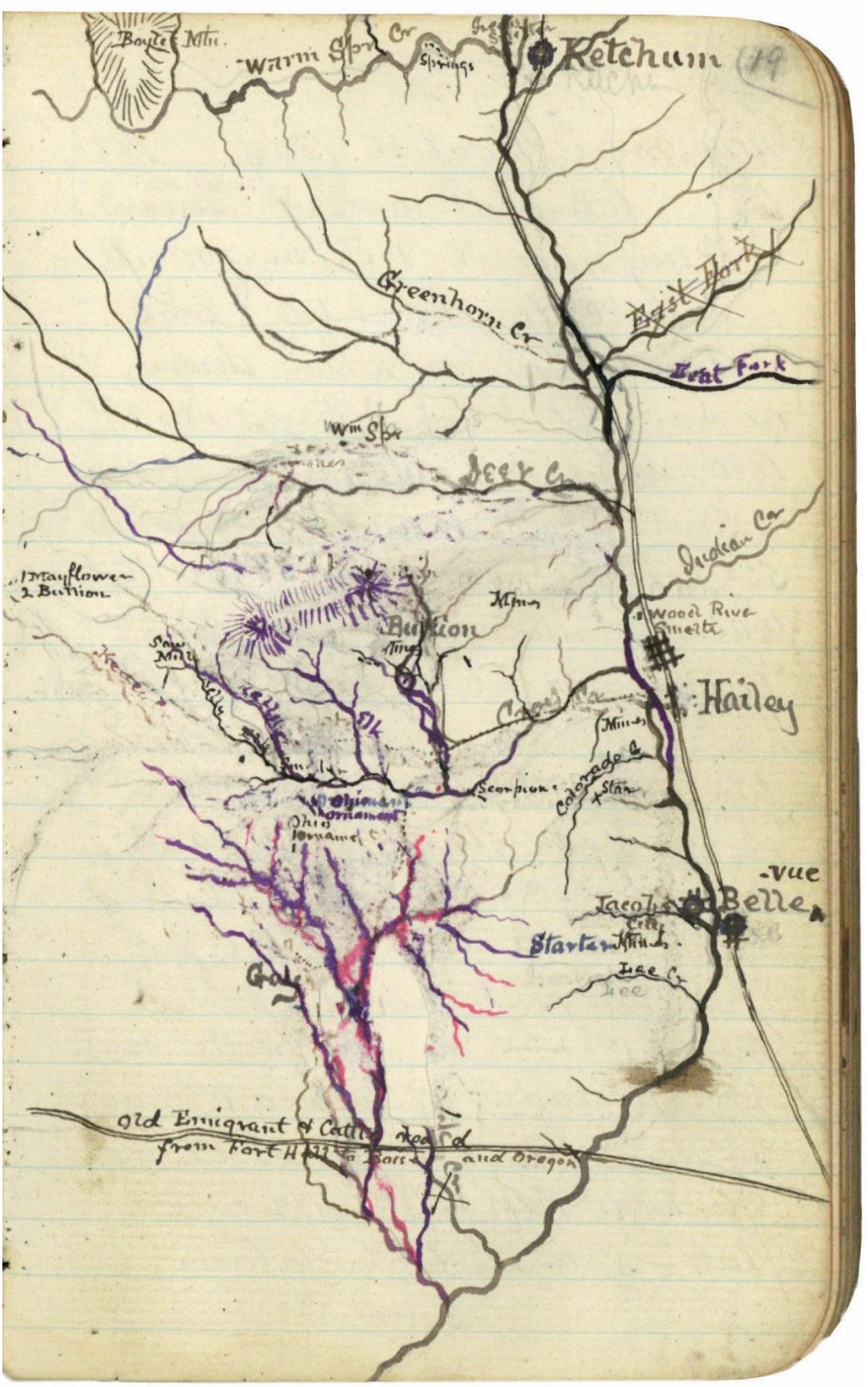
Forenoon called on Mr Green. Met Mr Woodward. Afternoon wrote letters.

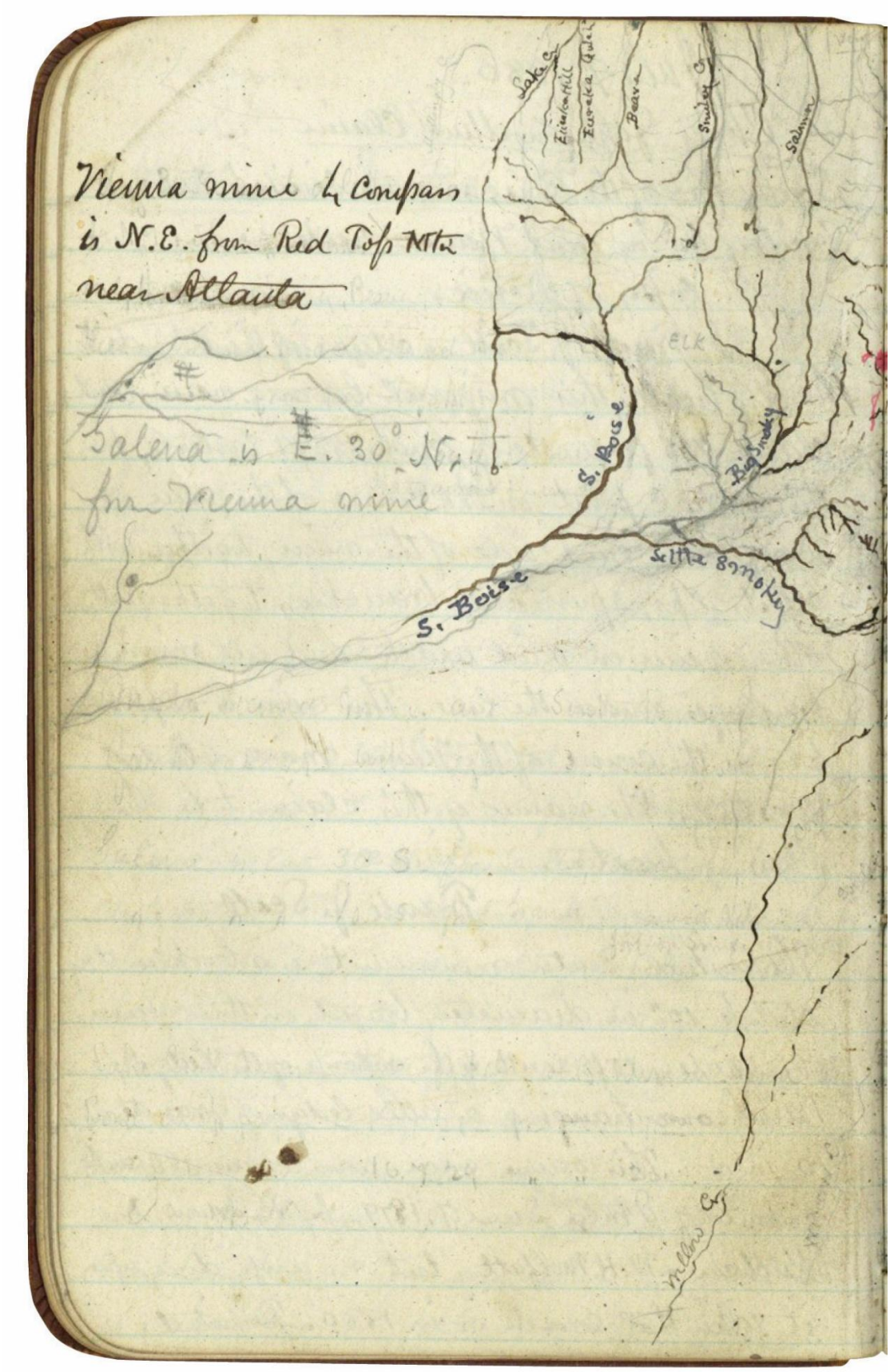
31st

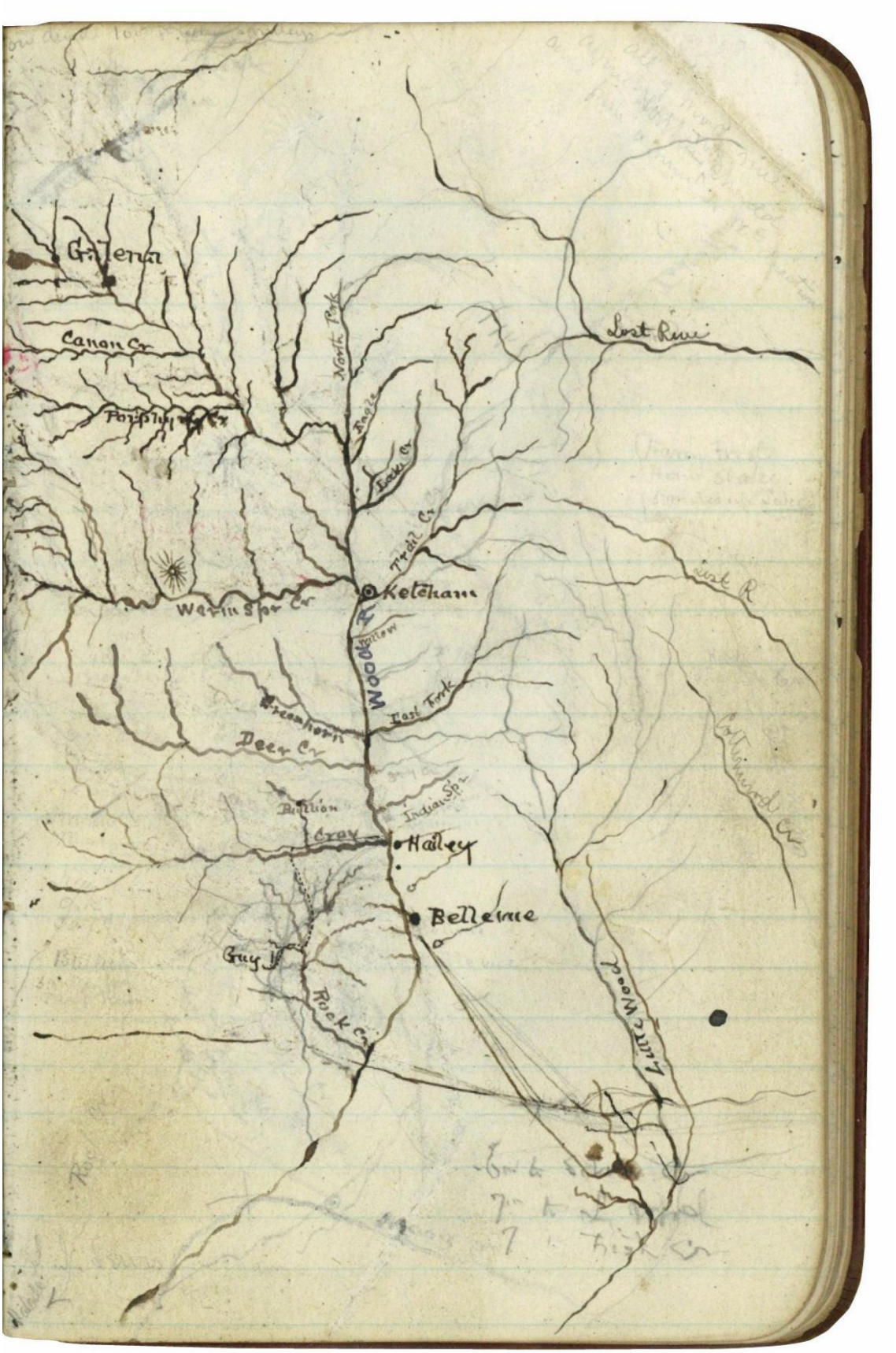
Rode to Galena & Sawtooth & staid all night on the ground in dirty blankets in a log house. Met Mr Woolworth & Walton

September 1st rode to Vienna mine.

See 8 pages further on.


Boyle Mtn.
Warm Spr Cr
Springs
Ketchum
19
Greenhorn Cr
East Fork
East Fork
Wm Spr
Deer Cr
Indian Cr
Mayflower
Bullion
Bullion
Wood River
Hailey
Colorado
Scorpion
Ohio
Ohio
Vue
Jacob
Belle
Starlight
Lee Cr
Old Emigrant & Cattle Road
from Fort Hall to Boise and Oregon


Vienna mine & Compass
is N.E. from Red Top Mtn
near Atlanta
Galena is E. 30° N.
from Vienna mine
Lake C.
Eureka Gulch
Beaver
Smiley C.
Salmon
Elk
S. Boise
Big Smoky
Little Smoky
S. Boise
Willow Cr.


G. Jena
Canon Cr
North Fork
Lost River
Trail Cr
Ketchum
Warm Spr Cr
Big Wood R
Willow
East Fork
Deer Cr
Indian Spr
Gray
Hailey
Bellevue
Rock Cr
Little Wood

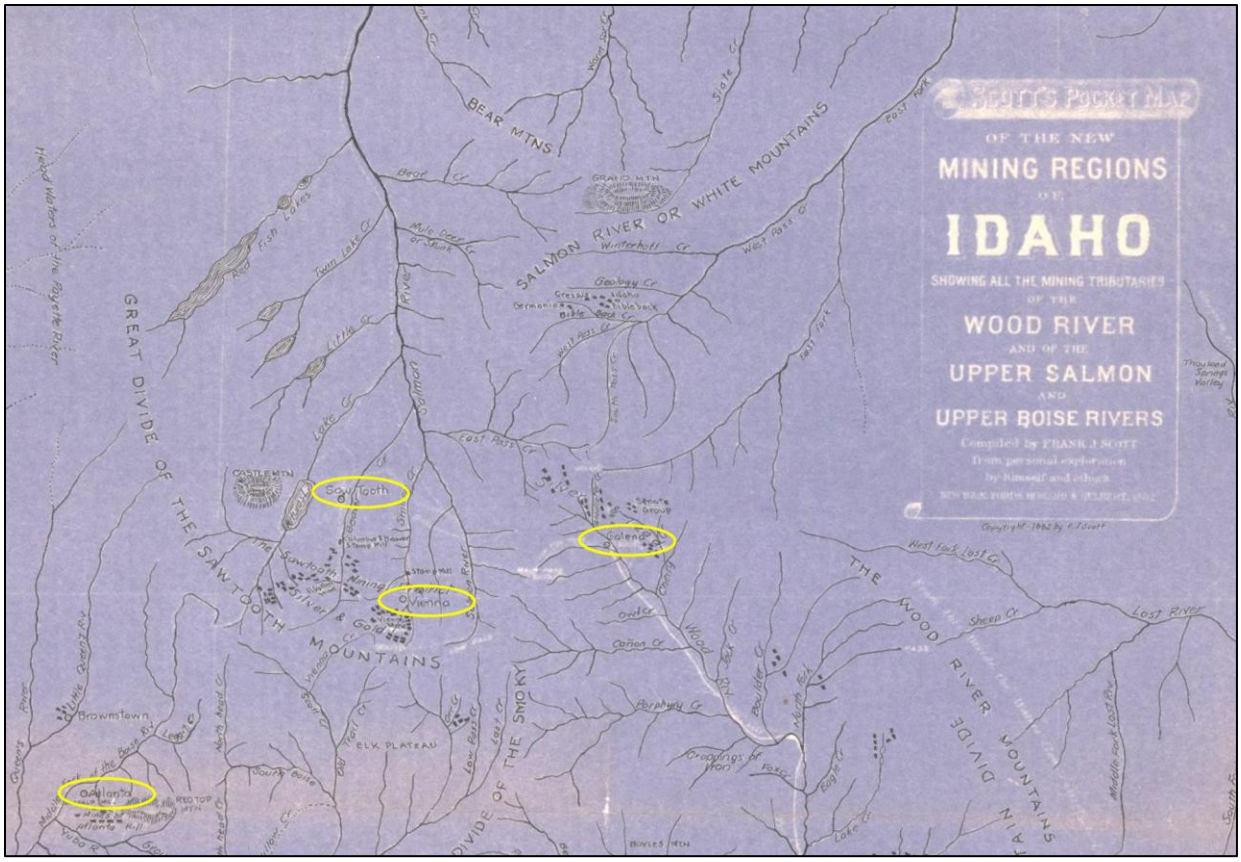
Frank J. Scott arrived in the Wood River district just after its rush got underway. Scott was born in 1828 at Columbia, South Carolina, where his Connecticut-born father, Jessup, was working as a journalist, practicing law, and teaching at the State Female College. In 1830 the family moved to Ohio and eventually settled in Toledo. There Jessup edited or published several magazines and newspapers, including the *Toledo Blade*, and founded what would later become the University of Toledo. Frank and his brother, Maurice, leveraged their father's extensive land holdings to launch a real estate and development firm in 1859, focusing on residential tracts, commercial spaces, and municipal parks. The Scotts were particularly successful at marketing Toledo--where most of their properties were located--as a high-end luxury district, a strategy that greatly depended on Frank's experience in architecture and urban design. Throughout the 1850s, he had trained in person with such renowned architects as Andrew Jackson Downing and Calvert Vaux, and then in 1870 he published *The Art of Beautifying Suburban Home Grounds*, a landmark volume that would almost single-handedly popularize America's middle-class suburban lawn. Having made a fortune in real estate, Frank and Maurice looked to the West for opportunities to expand their portfolios through the acquisition of mineral wealth. And rather than act as a casual, passive investor from the relative comfort of Toledo, Frank immersed himself in the mining fields of the West.

Scott's first documented trip to Utah is detailed in his journal of 1879-1880, the earliest entries from July and August filling the back half of the journal and the later entries for September and October (and into March 1880) filling the front half. These journals are not straightforward diaries--although they do contain diary entries for portions of the trip--but are instead the working notebooks of a serious and highly competent prospector/investor. The entries from July through September contain remarkably detailed descriptions of mining claims in White Pine Gulch, located in Little Cottonwood Canyon near Alta City, Utah, at altitudes of up to 10,000 feet. Accompanying Scott's written diary entries, assay reports, and names of various contacts and fellow investors are numerous schematic drawings of tunnels and maps of claims, all produced in the field and carefully labeled in Scott's neat script. The most productive mines in Little Cottonwood Canyon had been discovered during the mid-1860s and were largely exhausted by the time that Scott arrived more than decade later. As he writes on the front pastedown of his first journal:

> Years of sad misuse of time and wasted energy in trying to find some valuable property in claims or mines which were not generally worth an experienced miners attention. But 1879 was a summer of constant climbing in the rare air of the little Cottonwood valley....The results of this summers tromps & horse back rides was that I returned to the east in October more strong and healthy than I had ever been.

He also began receiving reports of recent silver discoveries in Idaho. In September, his partner and legal agent, Charles J. Johnson of Salt Lake City, obtained assays for several mining claims in Smiley's Gulch, located deep in the rugged Sawtooth Mountains overlooking the valley of the Big Wood River. In March 1880, as documented in this first journal, Scott and his partners filed claims on three of these mines: Vienna, Alturas, and Justice. And over the next two years, almost all of Scott's time in the West would focus on his Idaho investments.

The journal of 1880-1881 opens with a long list of addresses of Scott's friends and business associates in New York, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho; the list for Idaho itself contains the names and



Detail of Scott's *Pocket Map of the New Mining Regions of Idaho* (1882), towns marked in yellow

locations of more than 60 associates, including a separate, full-page list of those specifically linked to mining developments in the Wood River region. Scott reached Idaho in late June, crossing the Snake River at Blackfoot on June 29. He recorded his itinerary as:

Blackfoot to Wood River

June	29	– started after supplies	– crossed Snake river		
‘’	30	– To South Butte	– 38 m from Blackfoot		
July	1	– To Junction	– 18 ‘’	‘’	Butte
‘’	2	– To Cottonwood Cr	– 27 ‘’	‘’	Junction
‘’	3	– To Dead Man Flat	– 15 ‘’	‘’	[?]
‘’	[?]	– To Little Wood	– 16 ‘’	‘’	Dead Man Flat
		‘’ Bellevue	– 19		
		‘’ Ketcham	– 16		
		‘’ Galena	– 25		
		‘’ Vienna Mine	– 18		

Over the pages that follow, Scott offers detailed location notices for more than a dozen claims or mining localities situated in the Wood River and adjoining Sawtooth Mountain districts, including Vienna, Alturas, Justice, Hudson, Chris Johnson, Montana, Lion, Martin, Nellie Extension, South Vienna, Oakland, Lemhi, Oregon, Buffalo, Tahoma, Brookside, Emma, Broad Red, Idaho, Golden Ridge, Bible Back, Ohio, and Champaign Station. Scott personally visited most of these places in

September, and his descriptions are probably the single most comprehensive record of Wood River mines and claims in the months before they were consolidated by large corporate syndicates. Even more significant, perhaps, are the manuscript maps--all in Scott's hand--interspersed among diary entries and specimen assays. **These are the original, in-the-field drafts of his *Pocket Map of the New Mining Regions of Idaho* (New York, 1882), which was to be the only published map of the region issued during the peak years of the silver boom**. An 1885 biographical sketch of Scott that appeared in the *The Gardener's Monthly and Horticulturist* reports that it was "the first approximately correct map that had ever been made of the sources of four of the principal rivers of [Idaho] Territory, two of which had before been represented on the government maps...as sixty miles away from where Mr. Scott located their sources" (1885:35). Scott's map was intended for use by working miners in a place where no accurate alternatives existed, and very few copies were likely issued. OCLC lists only one surviving example in the Idaho State Archives.

The third of Scott's journals, for 1881-1882, is the most extensive of the three, and--as with the second journal--it prioritizes Idaho. As he writes on the ffep, "Memorandum Book for years 1881 and 1882 principally devoted during the summer to exploration and mine properties in the Little Wood River Valley in Idaho." Much of the content is focused on a new Idaho property, the Guy Mine, which was located on Rock Creek in the heart of the Wood River locale; Vienna and adjoining properties in Smiley Gulch were located on the other side of the Galena Summit Divide near the headwaters of the Salmon River. Beyond the extensive descriptions of work at Guy Mine and travel to other claims in the Wood and Salmon districts, pages 88-90 (March 27) contain details on the publication of his lithographed map with Fords, Howard & Hulbert in New York. **At more than 350 total pages and exceeding 50,000 words, these journals of Frank J. Scott represent the most important surviving primary source of the Wood River silver boom**. An exceptional research opportunity and worthy of publication.

Relevant sources:

Meehan, Thomas
1885 Frank J. Scott. *The Gardener's Monthly and Horticulturist* 27(313):33-35.
Schwantes, Carlos A.
1991 *In Mountain Shadows: A History of Idaho.* University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
Spence, Clark C.
1999 *For Wood River or Bust: Idaho's Silver Boom of the 1880s*. University of Idaho Press, Moscow.

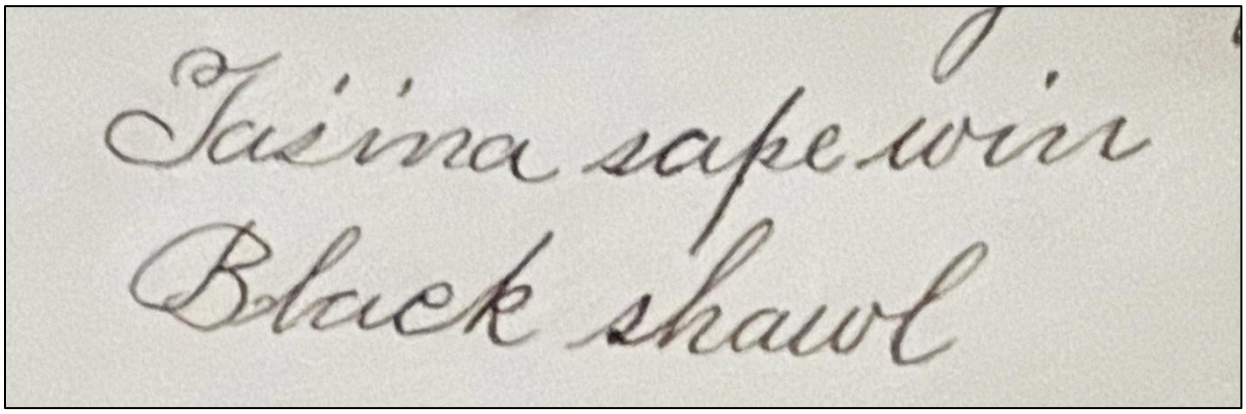
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[Idaho Mining--Wood River Silver Rush]. Frank C. Scott. [THREE MANUSCRIPT JOURNALS OF WESTERN INVESTOR, PROSPECTOR, AND MAPMAKER FRANK C. SCOTT OF TOLEDO, OHIO]. [N.p., but mostly Utah and Idaho, 1879-1880, 1880-1881, 1881-1882]. Three volumes, about 356 pp. total, and more than 50,000 words. 12mo (18 cm), 92 pp., 90 pp., 174 pp. Ruled paper pocket-books, original soft flexible calf in black or burgundy with light rubbing; paper labels with manuscript titles on top covers. All volumes very good or better.

20. **SOLD**.

Tasina Sapewin, Wife of Crazy Horse, at Pine Ridge School

In May 1870, Crazy Horse--the renowned Oglala war chief, or Shirt-Wearer--led his band of Lakota warriors into battle against their traditional foes, the Crow, in what would come to be remembered as The Fight When They Chased Them Back to Camp. The Oglalas and their allies routed the Crows on the banks of the Little Bighorn River, where they would achieve a far greater battlefield victory under Crazy Horse six years later. In the aftermath, Crazy Horse eloped with Black Buffalo Woman, wife of his rival, No Water. A drunken No Water tracked the lovers down just two days later, and in a fit of rage on entering the lodge where Crazy Horse and his followers were camped, he leveled a pistol and shot the Shirt-Wearer, shattering his lower jaw. Crazy Horse survived the encounter but was badly wounded. His maternal uncle, Spotted Tail, brought another maternal relative, Tasina Sapewin, or Black Shawl, into the lodge to treat the injury. Using her knowledge of traditional Lakota medicine, she nursed the great warrior back to health over a period of several months, and they married shortly after his recovery in 1871.



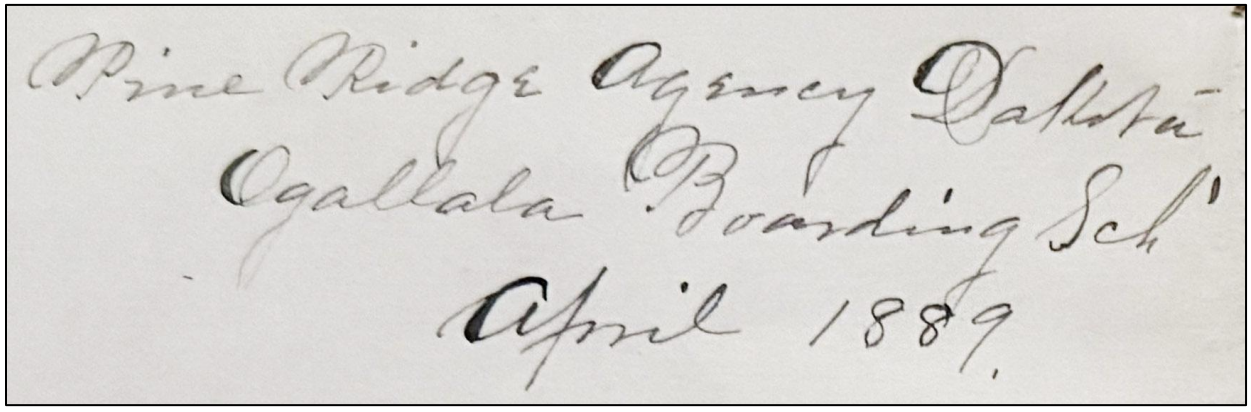
Crazy Horse and Black Shawl would remain married until his surrender and subsequent murder at Camp Sheridan, Nebraska, in 1877, hardly a year after the destruction of George Custer's 7th Cavalry at Little Big Horn. Then in 1878 the US government moved the Oglala to White Clay Creek in Dakota Territory, to the location of what became the Pine Ridge Agency**.** Little is known of Black Shawl's life after the death of Crazy Horse save for the appearance of her name in Pine Ridge census reports. This autograph album, prepared as a gift for a teacher who was leaving the Pine Ridge Boarding School in April 1889, is thus an exciting discovery. **On a page that holds the signatures of several young Oglala women--recording their English names, their Lakota names, and their Lakota names translated into English--is the name of Tasina Sapewin, with its English translation, Black Shawl, inscribed underneath**. All such albums are very rare, with but a handful of examples ever appearing in commerce or held by institutions, yet the signature of Tasina Sapewin here reveals deeper levels of cultural significance to its story.

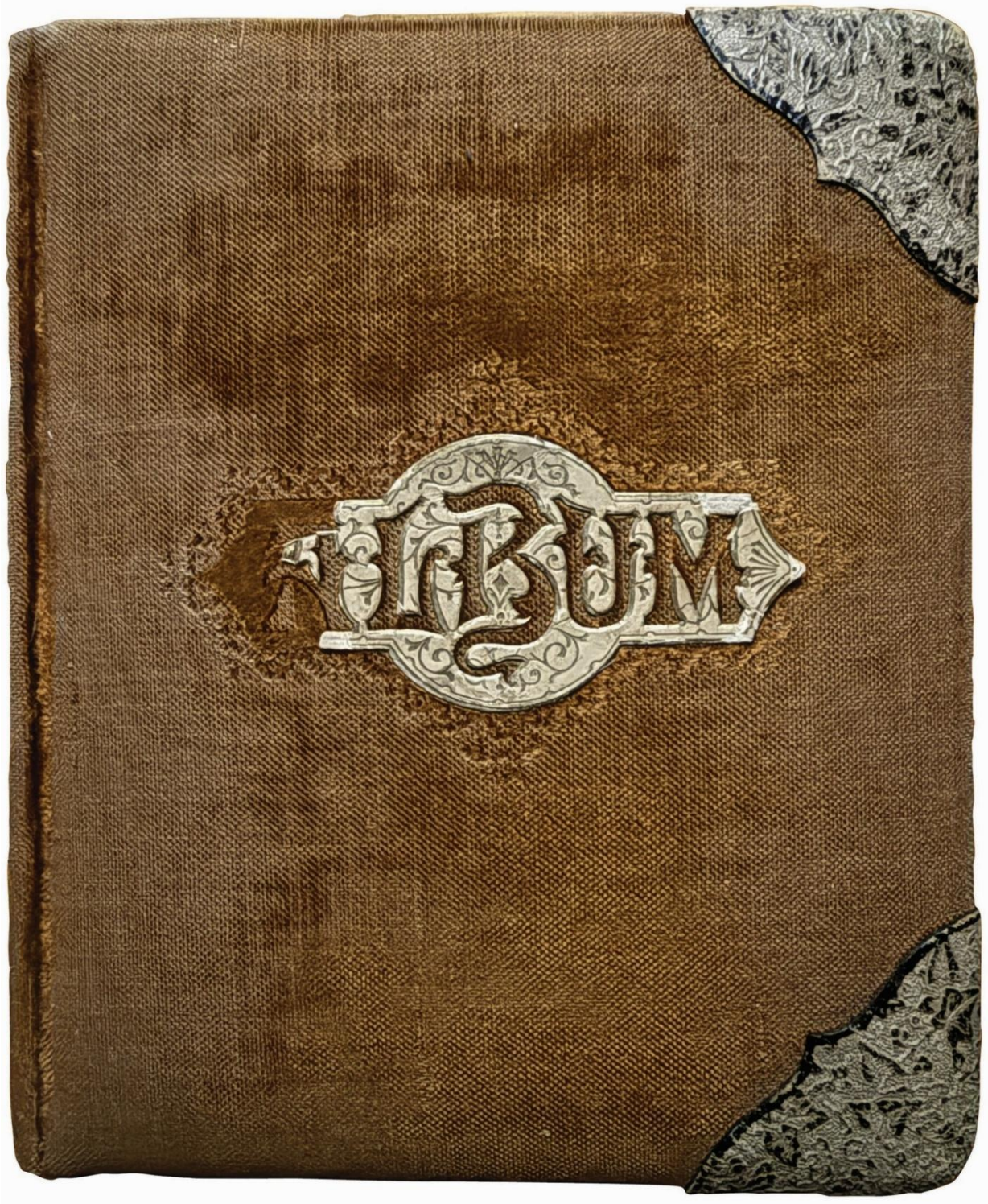
The Pine Ridge Government Boarding School, originally known as the Oglala Boarding School or Oglala Indian Trading School, was established in 1879, shortly after the founding of the Pine Ridge Agency itself. The cornerstone of the original wooden schoolhouse was set in place on February 8, in a ceremony attended by Lakota chiefs such as Red Cloud, American Horse, Little Wound, and Red Dog. From 1881-1883 the first substantial dormitories and classroom structures

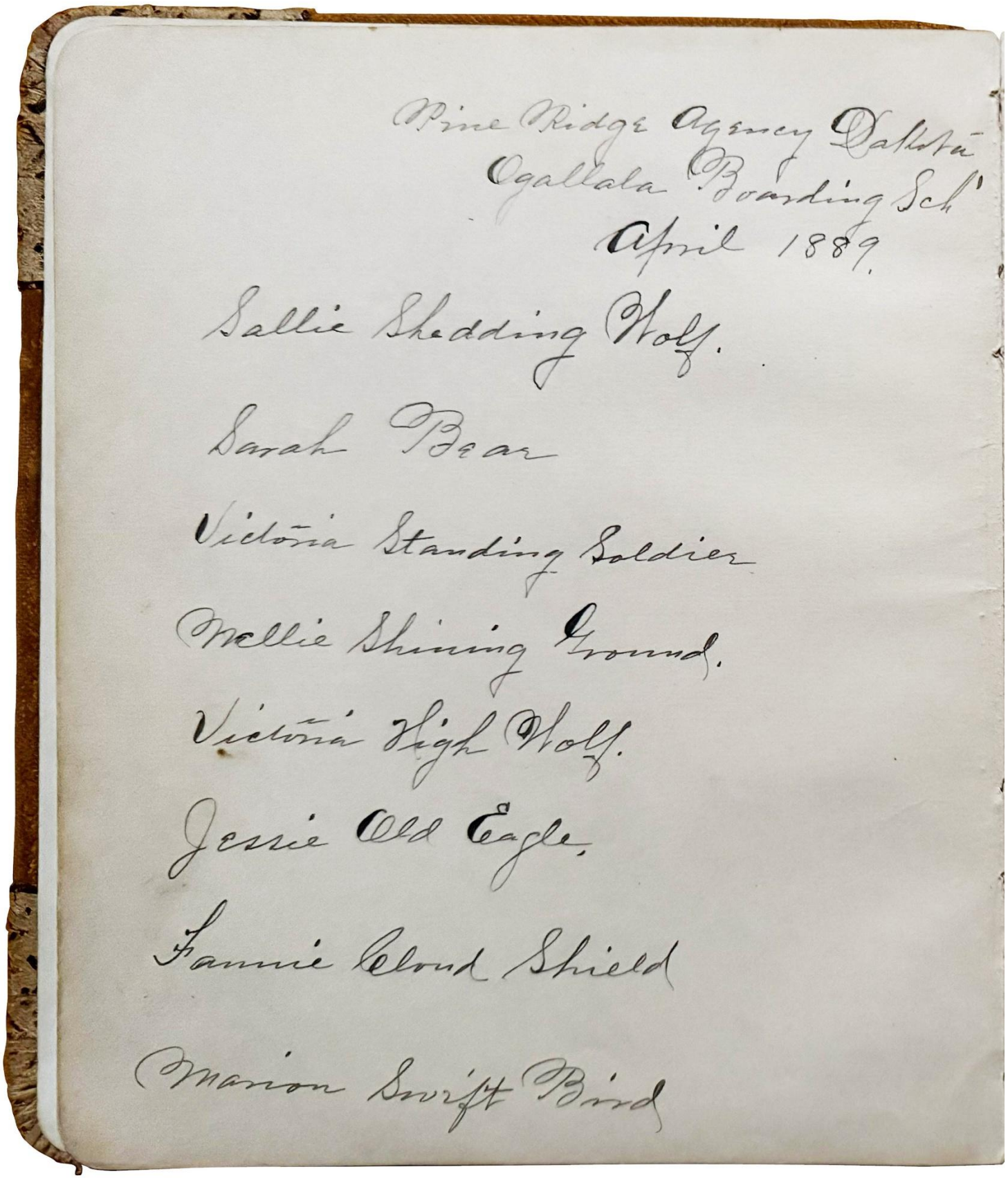
were built and expanded, but these were lost to a fire that destroyed the entire complex in October 1883. The Pine Ridge Agency built a new complex at the same site the following year, and it was here that Emma F. King arrived in September 1887 to begin her contract as a teacher for Oglala Lakota children at the government boarding school.

By the late 1880s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had begun issuing strict rules about Native American names, which its agents claimed were too difficult to track for bureaucratic needs such as land allotments, payrolls, and school attendance. They imposed their solution on tribes through the educational system. Teachers like Raymond and King were instructed by officials to give each Lakota child an arbitrarily chosen English first name (e.g., George, William, Nellie, Victoria), then to create a surname by anglicizing the father's traditional Lakota name (e.g., High Wolf, Standing Ground, Old Eagle). Children thus formally entered the agency system as Victoria High Wolf or Nellie Standing Ground, their Lakota names eradicated altogether. The government's attempt to speed assimilation by renaming children simultaneously upended the Lakotas' traditional kinship structures and prepared a path for federal Indian agents to more easily privatize tribal lands under the Dawes Act of 1887. This autograph album, created for teacher Emma King in 1889 as she was leaving Pine Ridge to marry, captures direct evidence of this strategy in the names of the students listed within: two groups of children, girls in the first list, boys in the second. Together, these lists record the agency names of 96 students across 11 manuscript pages, marking this bitter moment when the United States sought to erase their tribal identities. **More importantly, though, it also captures an act of defiance by young Oglala women, an act that included a deeply respected tribal elder and perhaps was even sanctioned by their government teachers**.

On a single album leaf are the autographs of four Oglala students, each written in her own hand and presented in three different ways. First is the assigned name (moving from center to top left, then counter-clockwise): Victoria High Wolf, Jessie Adams (daughter of Charging Crow, who was renamed Alexander Adams), Nellie Shining Ground, and Hope Rocky Mountain (daughter of Rocky Bear, whose name was often mistakenly rendered by government officials). Next came the actual, Lakota name: Makaconkanwin, Taiyakuwin, Tasukeskawin, and Wasutaikeyewin. Finally came the English translation of the Lakota name: Middle Earth, Appearing in the Distance, White Horse, and Showing Hail. In the upper right corner, a student named Sallie Shedding Wolf signed her government name but not her Lakota name. Beneath is the name of Tasina Sapewin, followed by its English translation, Black Shawl. Given similarities in the handwriting, it is possible that Sallie Shedding Wolf inscribed the album page on behalf of Black Shawl. All five of these young




ALBUM



Pine Ridge Agency Dakota
Ogallala Boarding Sch'
April 1889.

Sallie Shedding Wolf.

Sarah Bear

Victoria Standing Soldier

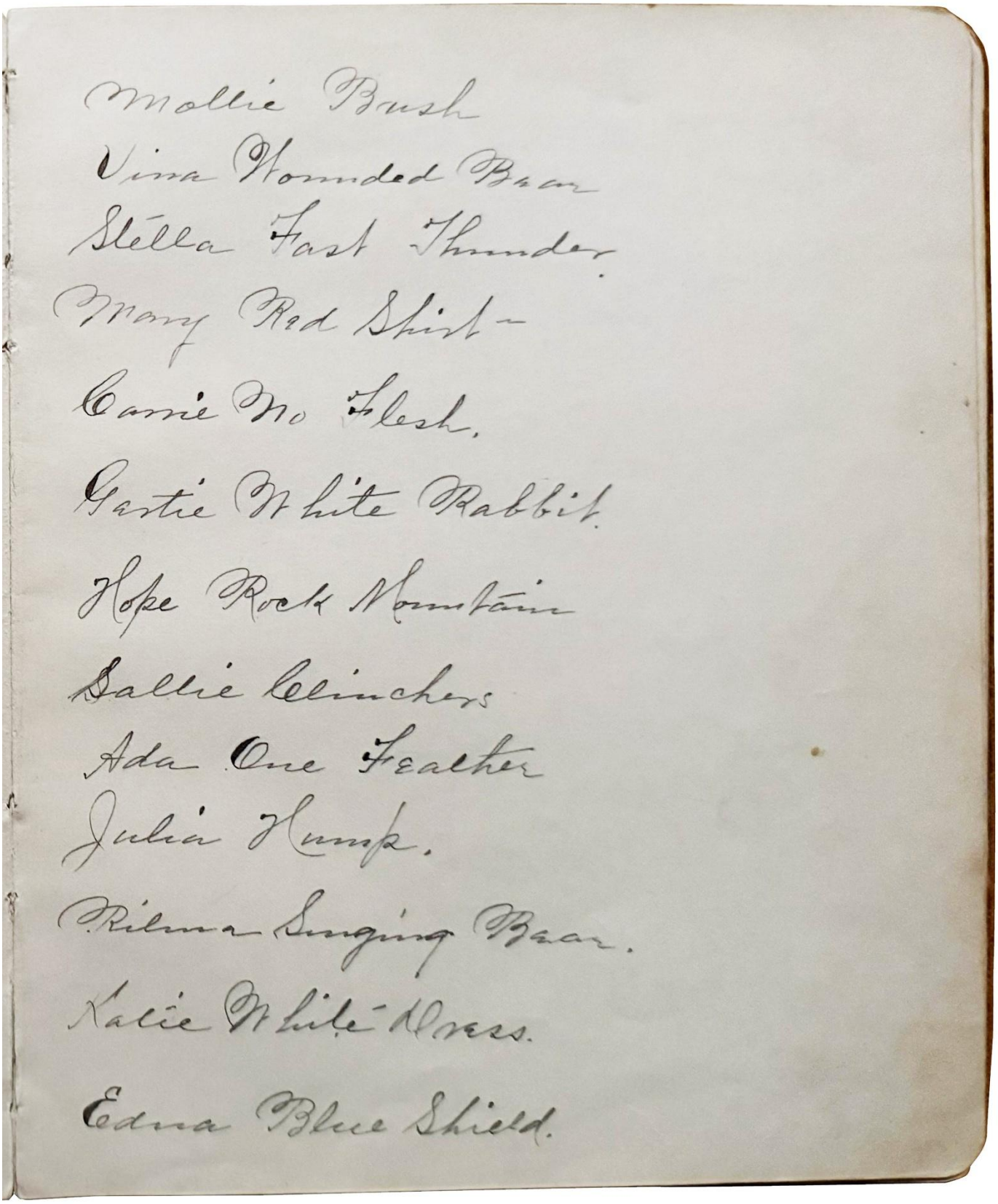
Mollie Shining Ground.

Victoria High Wolf.

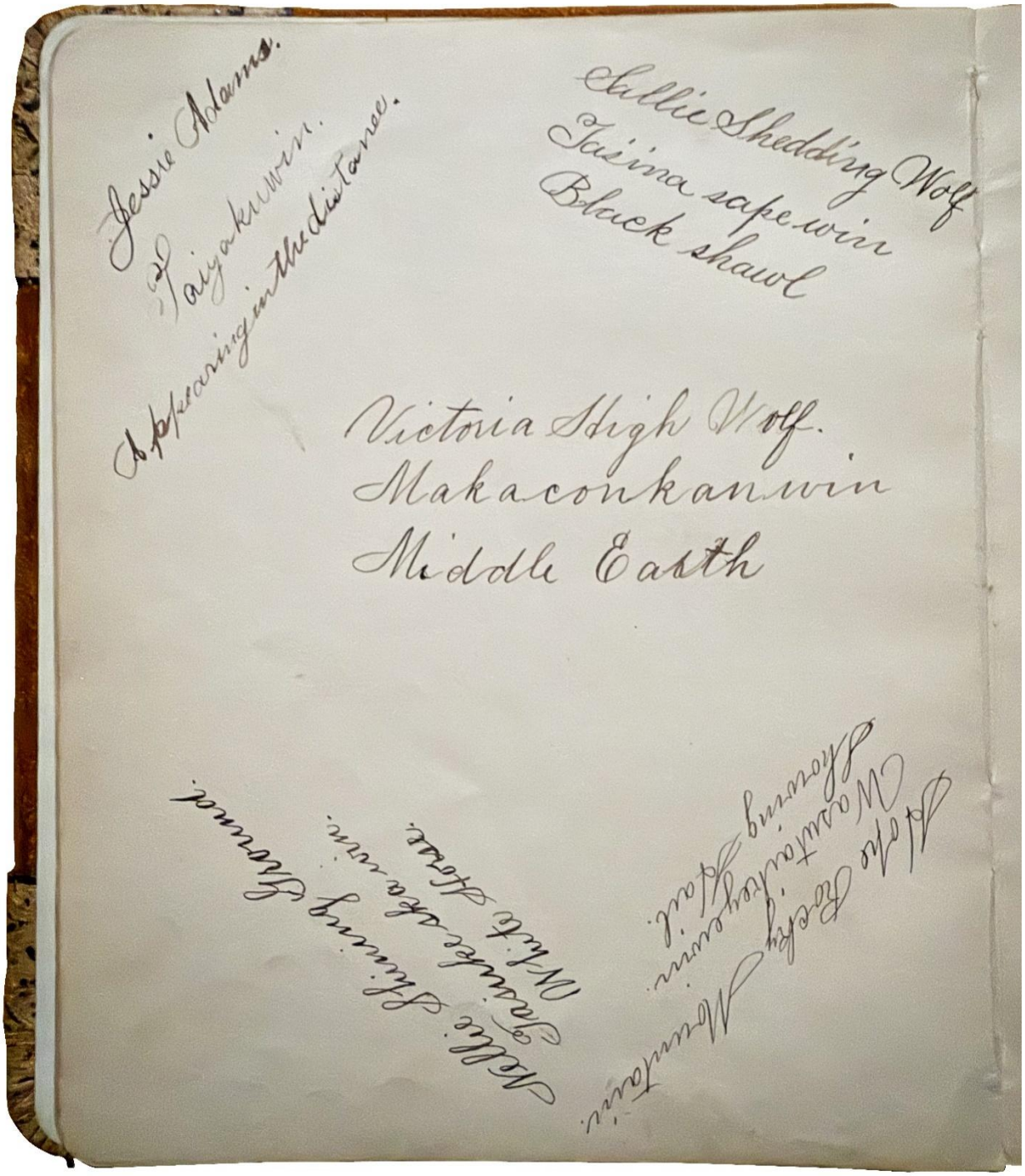
Jessie Old Eagle.

Fannie Cloud Shield

Marion Swift Bird



Mollie Bush
Vina Wounded Bear
Stella Fast Thunder
Mary Red Shirt
Carrie No Flesh.
Gertie White Rabbit
Hope Rock Mountain
Sallie Clinchers
Ada One Feather
Julia Hump.
Rilma Singing Bear.
Katie White Dress.
Edna Blue Shield.


Jessie Adams.
Taiyakewin.
Appearing in the distance.
Lillie Shedding Wolf
Tasina sapewin
Black shawl
Victoria High Wolf.
Makaconkanwin
Middle Earth
Nellie Flaming Arrow.
Tamakeokeawin.
Dark Face.
Mattie Rocky
Wastewaywin.
Morning Star.

Oglala women, daughters some of their tribe's most important families, were 14 to 16 years old when they signed the album. Black Shawl was 42. With the validation of their elder, among the most renowned of all Lakota healers, these young women performed a deliberate act of sovereign self-determination and cultural preservation, while offering a profound cross-cultural gift to their departing teacher. **They insisted that she remember them by their true Lakota names, not by those imposed upon them and their families**. And the existence of this page at all confirms that some of their government teachers must have approved.

This act of defiance is the distillation of a growing discontent among the Lakota--confined to reservations; faced with draught, disease, and low rations; enduring government efforts to strip away their culture and way of life. In the spring of 1890, one year after Emma King left Pine Ridge with her gift, chiefs Kicking Bear and Short Bull returned to the reservation from a long trip to Nevada, where the prophet Wovoka had taught them to perform the Ghost Dance. Offering a spiritual path to revitalization, the movement soon spread throughout the Plains but alarmed most federal authorities and Indian agents. President Benjamin Harrison sent troops in November, then a large band of Lakota tried to escape from Pine Ridge. And on December 19, less than two years from the date of this album, those federal troops slaughtered hundreds of fleeing men, women, and children in what we know today as the Wounded Knee massacre. Although a handful of albums from reservation schools are held in institutional collections, we trace none that offer a comparable context and history. **A significant manuscript, worthy of careful, additional research**.

Relevant sources:
Bray, Kinglsey M.
2006 *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life*. The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
Marshall, Joseph, III.
2004 *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History*. Viking Press, New York.
Starita, Joe
1995 *The Dull Knifes of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

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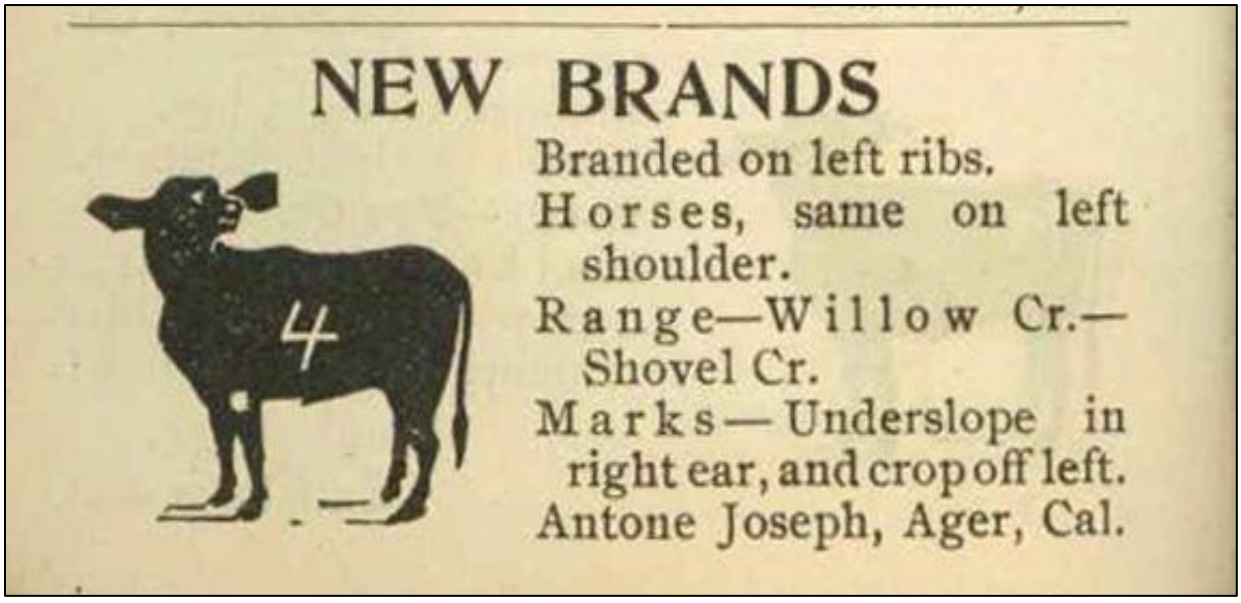
[Indian Boarding Schools--Pine Ridge]. AUTOGRAPH ALBUM PREPARED FOR EMMA KING, TEACHER AT OGLALA BOARDING SCHOOL, PINE RIDGE AGENCY, DAKOTA TERRITORY. Pine Ridge, Dakota Territory, April 1889. [38] ll, including moire endleaves and lithograph title. [15] pp. with manuscript entries. Squarish 8vo (21.5 cm). Rust colored, padded felt covers with leather corner tips and leather cut out "ALBUM" emblem on front board. Hinges weak but holding, cloth unsoiled, interior clean. Overall very good.

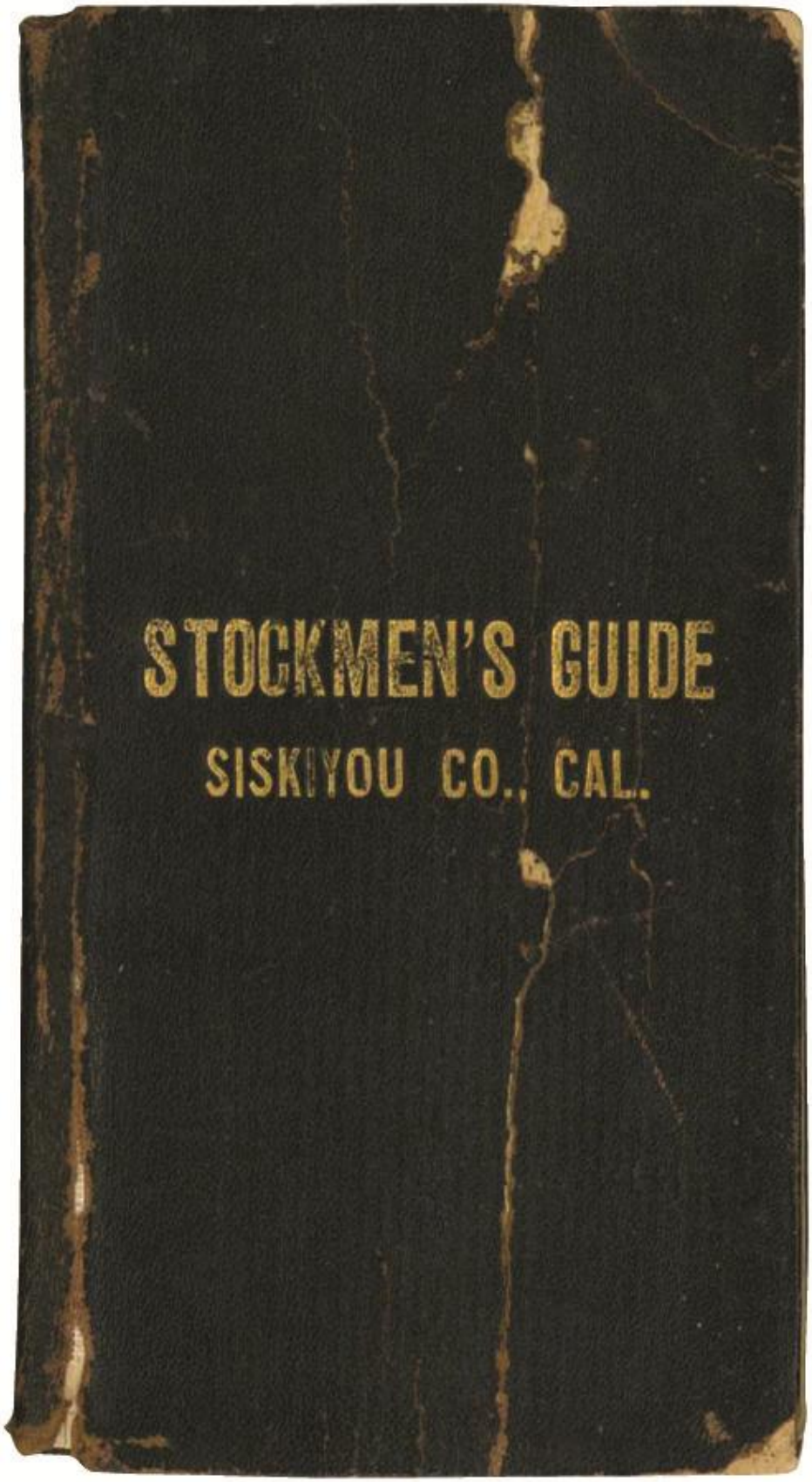
21. **SOLD**.

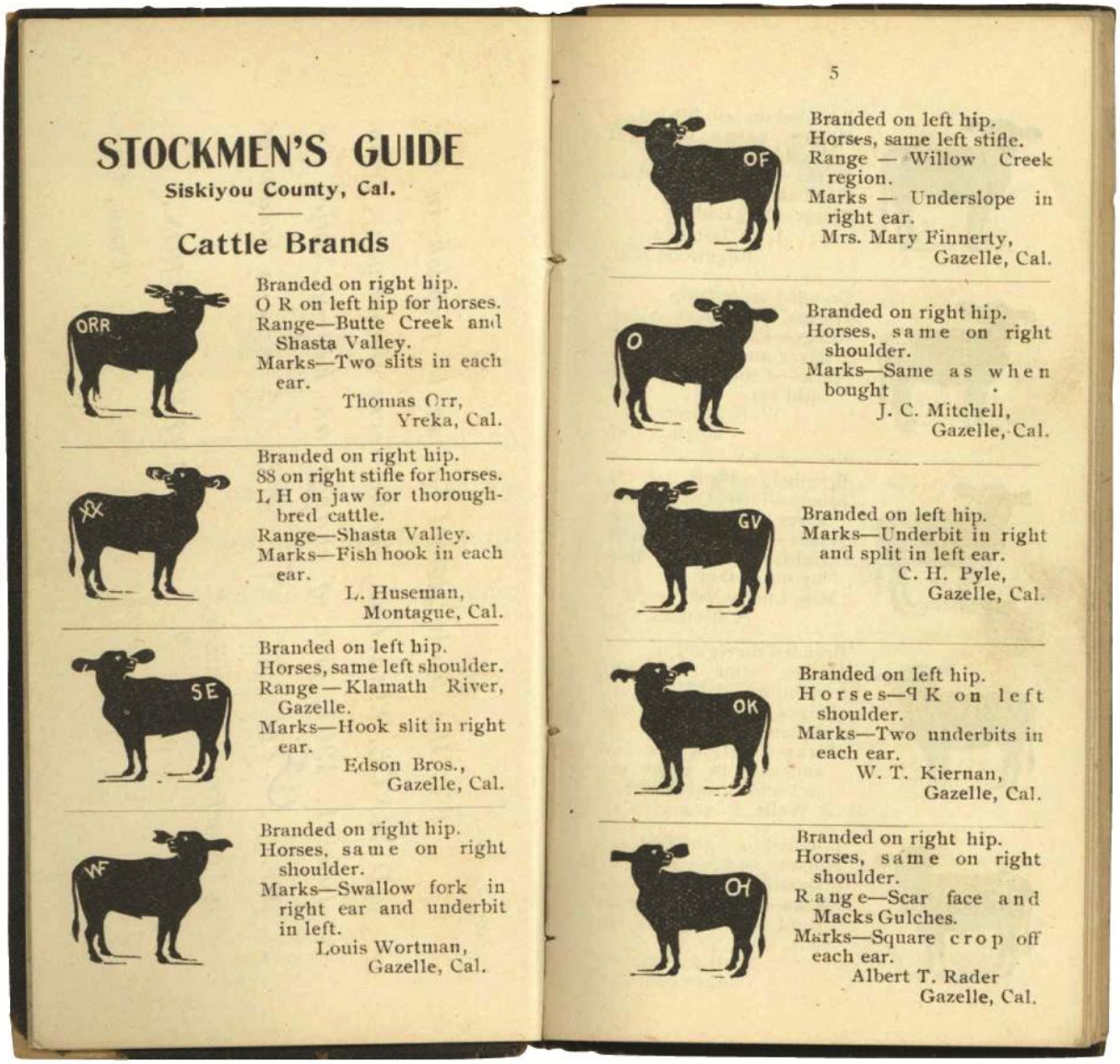
Only Known Copy of the Siskiyou County *Stockmen's Guide*

Brand books are among the most iconic relics of an older American West, of a time more settled than the wild and lawless days of exploration and discovery but not yet fenced in by barbed wire and the economics of factory farming. As the term implies, a brand book is a printed directory of the brands that different owners used to mark their livestock. Most contain both the name and location of the individual, ranch, or company and a visual representation of the brand itself, often using the woodcut outline of a cow to show where it was placed on the animal. Brand books were intended for use on the open range, carried in packs or saddle bags, and as such they were typically beaten to pieces. Just as relevant for their scarcity today, most were local productions, job printed with small runs in out-of-the-way towns across the Plains and Mountain West. The heyday of the brand book, as Bill Reese points out in his 2006 essay on the topic, was from about 1880 through the first few years of the 20th century. During these years, dozens of such stock directories were produced, whether by private stock associations and consortiums of local ranchers or by state and local governments, but very few now survive in more than just a handful of copies. **The example that we offer here, titled *Stockmen's Guide: Siskiyou Co., Cal*.--likely published at the press of the Etna, California, *Advance* in 1901--is the only known copy.**

Ranching has shaped California's landscape since 1769, when 200 head of cattle came by overland route in support of Mission San Diego--its first permanent European colony--founded earlier that same year. For decades, the chief value of the cattle raised on California missions and ranchos lay in their hides and tallow, but everything changed in 1848. The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill brought a previously unimaginable demand for fresh beef. Stephanie Larson-Praplan notes that the gold rush "raised the price of cattle to levels never before dreamed of in the isolated territory, destroying the existing balance of economic and cultural values, and transforming the ungainly Spanish black cattle into four-legged gold nuggets" (2016:62). From 1850 to 1860, cattle numbers in the new state quadrupled to more than a million head, with 40% of these grazing in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.




STOCKMEN'S GUIDE
SISKIYOU CO., CAL.



STOCKMEN'S GUIDE

Siskiyou County, Cal.

Cattle Brands

Branded on right hip.
O R on left hip for horses.
Range—Butte Creek and Shasta Valley.
Marks—Two slits in each ear.
Thomas Orr,
Yreka, Cal.

Branded on right hip.
88 on right stifle for horses.
L H on jaw for thoroughbred cattle.
Range—Shasta Valley.
Marks—Fish hook in each ear.
L. Huseman,
Montague, Cal.

Branded on left hip.
Horses, same left shoulder.
Range—Klamath River, Gazelle.
Marks—Hook slit in right ear.
Edson Bros.,
Gazelle, Cal.

Branded on right hip.
Horses, same on right shoulder.
Marks—Swallow fork in right ear and underbit in left.
Louis Wortman,
Gazelle, Cal.

Branded on left hip.
Horses, same left stifle.
Range — Willow Creek region.
Marks — Underslope in right ear.
Mrs. Mary Finnerty,
Gazelle, Cal.

Branded on right hip.
Horses, same on right shoulder.
Marks—Same as when bought
J. C. Mitchell,
Gazelle, Cal.

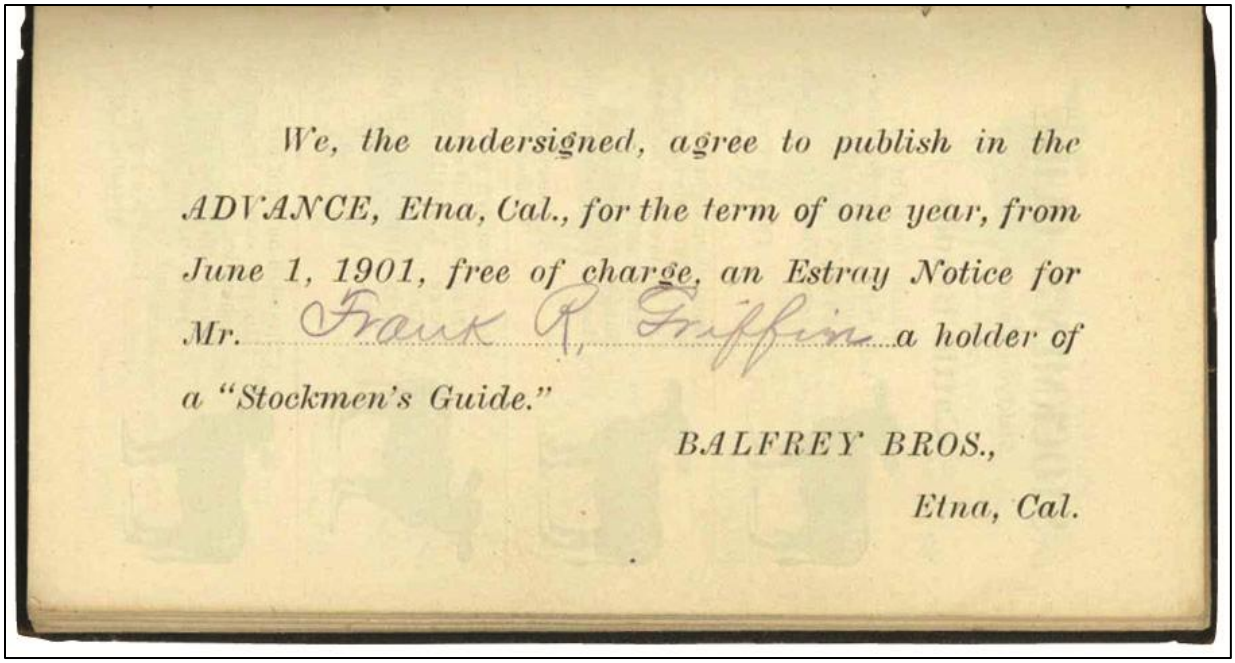
Branded on left hip.
Marks—Underbit in right and split in left ear.
C. H. Pyle,
Gazelle, Cal.

Branded on left hip.
Horses—K on left shoulder.
Marks—Two underbits in each ear.
W. T. Kiernan,
Gazelle, Cal.

Branded on right hip.
Horses, same on right shoulder.
Range—Scar face and Macks Gulches.
Marks—Square crop off each ear.
Albert T. Rader
Gazelle, Cal.

In 1864, Central Valley ranches were crippled by extreme drought that killed off thousands of animals, causing ranchers to offer as much as half of their stock to any buyers who would drive the cattle into the high country, where grass and water were still plentiful. While western Siskiyou County and its rich Scott Valley had been ranched since the Gold Rush years, the eastern portions of the county--with sub-alpine meadows, perennial mountain streams, and vast open ranges that stretched along the border with Oregon--was the destination for many of these drovers and their starving herds. At the time, this was home to the Modoc and Piute Indians, who resisted ranching interests until a series of protracted battles from 1872 to 1873, known collectively as the Modoc War, forced them to seek terms. Most of the survivors were forced onto reservations, after which livestock grazing exploded throughout the high country.

All of California's earliest cattle brand books were published in northern counties such as Shasta, Modoc, and Siskiyou. We locate only two 19th-century examples, published in 1886 and


We, the undersigned, agree to publish in the ADVANCE, Etna, Cal., for the term of one year, from June 1, 1901, free of charge, an Estray Notice for Mr. Frank R. Griffin a holder of a "Stockmen's Guide."

BALFREY BROS.,

Etna, Cal.

1888 by the Northern California Stock Raisers' Association. The *Stockmen's Guide* from Siskiyou County that we offer here is one of three California brand directories that appeared in 1901, the other two issued for ranchers in Shasta and Modoc counties. None of these earliest directories is known in more than a half dozen copies, and this particular example, issued by William and Michal Balfrey at the press of the *Scott Valley Advance*, seems to be unique. The directory identifies 286 ranches and brands across its 77 pages and includes a supplemental index that lists 33 additional brands. There is considerable wear to the sturdy leather covers, as is expected of a book intended for use on the range. **A significant brand book rarity**.

Relevant sources:

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

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

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[California--Cattle Brand Books]. STOCKMAN'S GUIDE: SISKIYOU COUNTY, CA. Balfrey Bros. [Etna., California, 1901]. 77 pp., illustrations, with 8 pp. supplement containing revised index and additional brands laid in. 16mo (15 cm). Full black flexible calf with title printed in gilt on front cover . Significant use wear to covers, interior very good. Not in Adams.

22. **SOLD**.

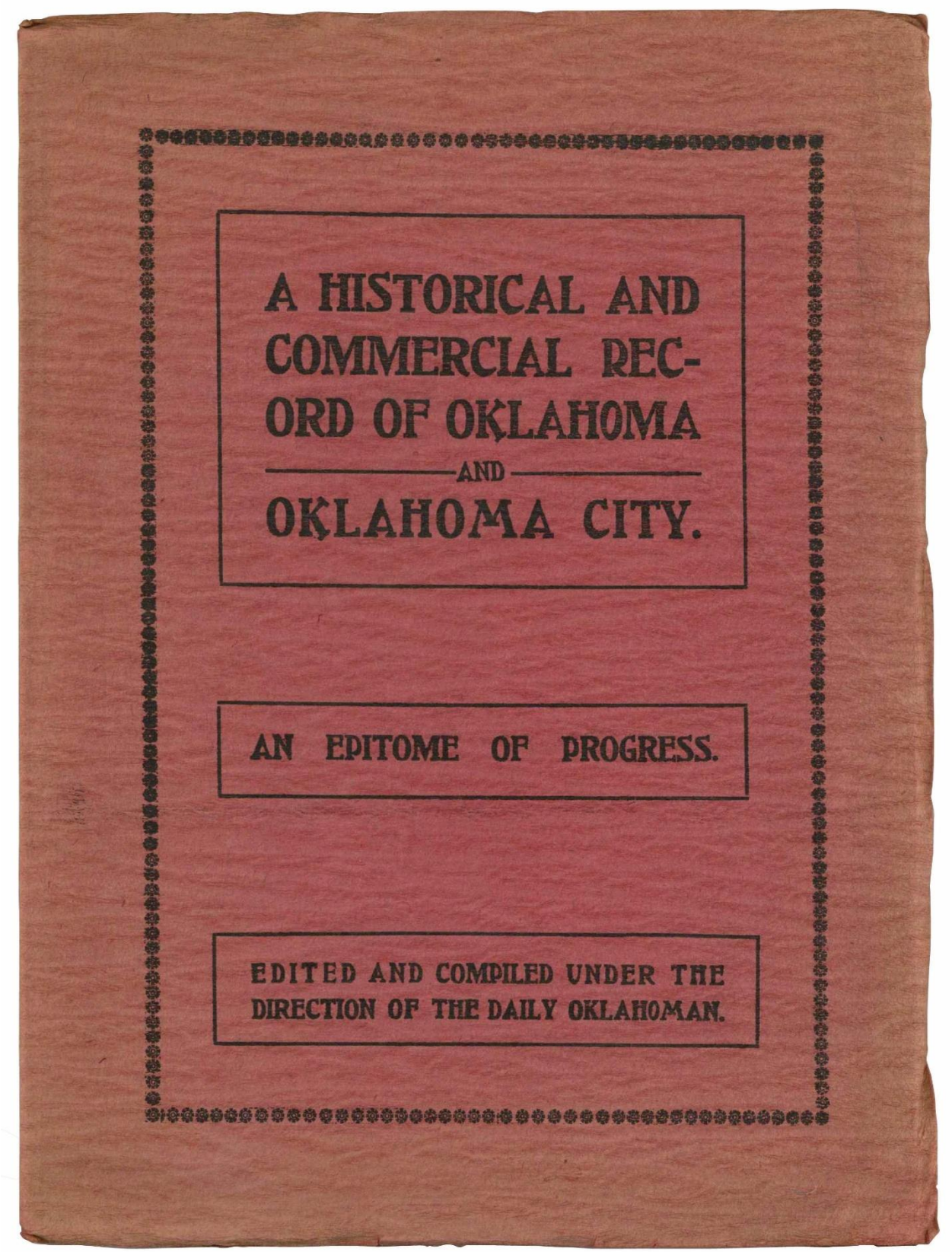
A Unique and Impressive Example of Early Oklahoma City Boosterism

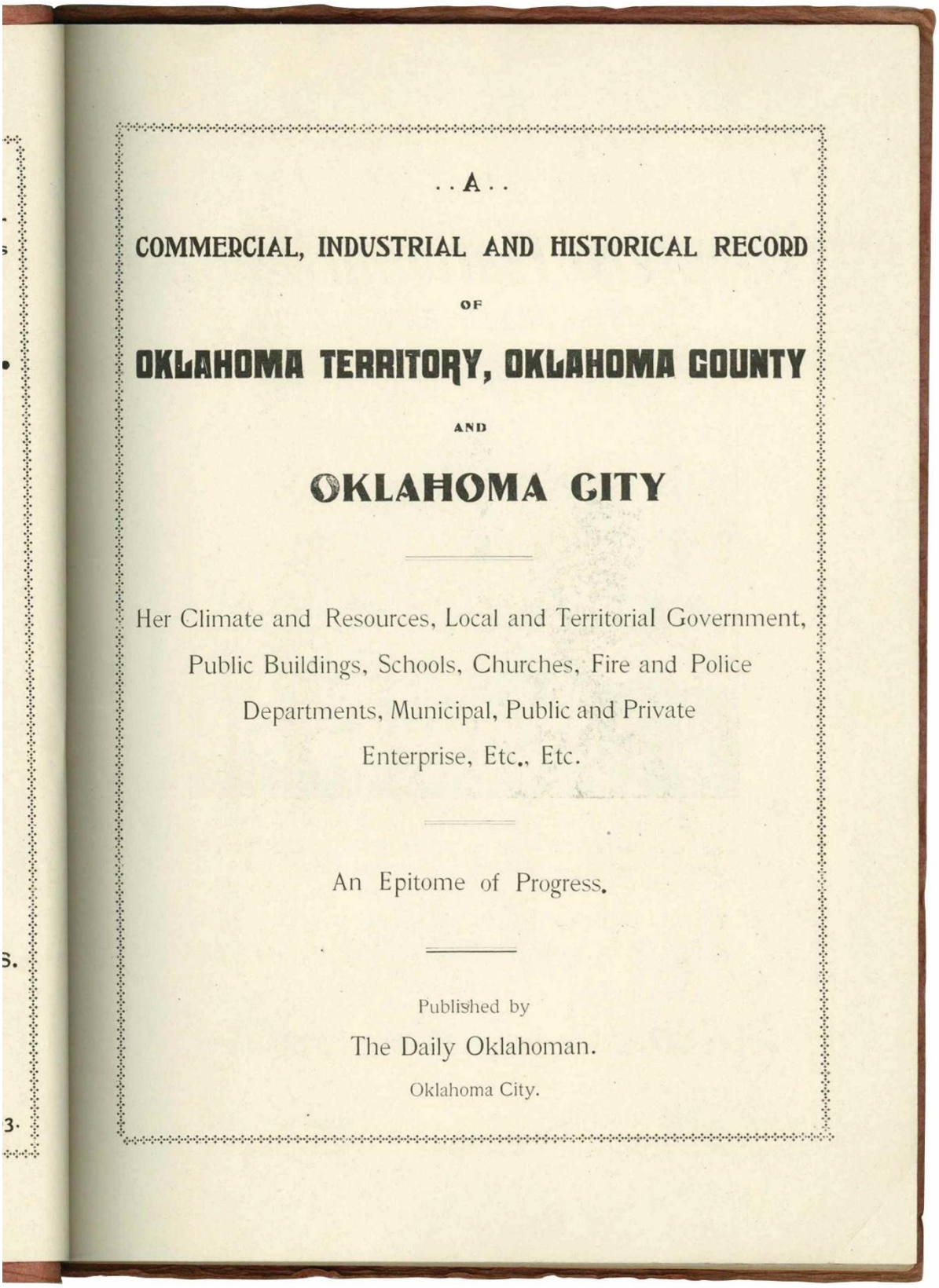
The general boundaries of Indian Territory were established by the Indian Intercourse Act of 1834 as "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas," and at its greatest extent it incorporated most of modern-day Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, and part of Iowa. These lands were set aside, with a promise of self-determination, for the resettlement of Native peoples forcibly removed from the East. Yet from its founding, the incommensurability of Indigenous sovereignty and federal control in the territories proved an intractable problem both in Washington and in the Native capitals of Indian Territory. Three decades later, the end of the Civil War gave the United States government an opportunity to transform relations between federal and tribal authorities entirely, as those tribes that joined the Confederacy were forced to cede even more of their allotted lands. A two-million acre zone in the center of the territory, ceded by Creek and Seminole Indians, became known as the Unassigned Lands and was legally opened for white settlement in the Land Run of 1889. A year later Congress passed the Oklahoma Organic Act, carving the entire western half of Indian Territory--some 24 million acres--into a newly organized Oklahoma Territory. Oklahoma County and Oklahoma City followed shortly after. This promotional for the territory, county, and city was issued by the *Daily Oklahoman* newspaper in 1902, just before Oklahoma and Indian territories were joined and Oklahoma earned statehood in 1907. **It is the only known copy**.



Oklahoma City was founded as a 400-acre tent city on April 22, 1889, during the run on the Unassigned Lands. By the end of that single day, within hours of the high noon start time for the land rush, some 10,000 people had occupied ground that would later be incorporated within the city limits. In just a matter of weeks there were banks, newspapers, and makeshift homes. On May 1, townspeople elected a provisional government with a mayor and two city officers, and also established two wards with polling places. A year later, on May 2, 1890, Congress formally set boundaries and a government for Oklahoma Territory, outlining the six original counties, each designated County 1 through County 6. Oklahoma City was the seat of County 2--an area with about the same boundaries as modern Oklahoma County--though neighboring Guthrie, located about 30 miles to the north, was named the territorial capital. Oklahoma City more than doubled between 1890 and 1900, growing from just over 4100 people to more than 10,000. By this time there were three daily papers; a Carnegie-financed public library; at least a half dozen churches of various denominations; a corn mill, a grain elevator, a cotton gin, and several grain mills; plow and carriage manufacturing firms, public schools, and a railroad line.

Based on internal evidence--a full-page advertisement for the Oklahoma City Savings Bank on p. [31] and a piece about public utilities on p. [19]--this undated, 58-page, 4to-sized promotional


A HISTORICAL AND COMMERCIAL RECORD OF OKLAHOMA
AND
OKLAHOMA CITY.
AN EPITOME OF PROGRESS.
EDITED AND COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN.



..A..

COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND HISTORICAL RECORD

OF

OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, OKLAHOMA COUNTY

AND

OKLAHOMA CITY

Her Climate and Resources, Local and Territorial Government, Public Buildings, Schools, Churches, Fire and Police Departments, Municipal, Public and Private Enterprise, Etc., Etc.

An Epitome of Progress.

Published by

The Daily Oklahoman.

Oklahoma City.

was produced at some point between February 1 and July 1, 1902, still five years before Oklahoma entered the Union as the 46th state and eight years before Oklahoma City would overtake its rival Guthrie as the new state's capital. *A Commercial, Industrial and Historical Record of Oklahoma Territory, Oklahoma County and Oklahoma City...An Epitome of Progress* was published at the press of the *Daily Oklahoman* newspaper, itself founded in 1894. It is perhaps the largest and most ambitious promotional imprint of the city's territorial era. Interspersed with advertisements for a very broad range of banks, merchants, grocers, jewelers, druggists, builders, manufacturers, and more are essays about the territory, its history and present state; the city and its railroads, public utilities, banks, hotels, newspapers, services, and a long section on its leading businesses. Printed on sleek, glossy paper and illustrated with photographs throughout, it is a highly professional and polished work. **Surprisingly, perhaps, given the quality of its production, this seems to be the only surviving copy, with no examples located in OCLC or on RBH**.

Relevant sources:

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

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

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

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

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[Oklahoma Territory--Promotionals]. A COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND HISTORICAL RECORD OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY, OKLAHOMA COUNTY AND OKLAHOMA CITY. HER CLIMATE AND RESOURCES, LOCAL AND TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, SCHOOLS, CHURCHES, FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS, MUNICIPAL, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, ETC., ETC. AN EPITOME OF PROGRESS. Published by *The Daily Oklahoman*, Oklahoma City. N.d., but 1902. [58] pp. 4to (29 cm). Original printed, dark pink, textured paper wraps with advertisements on verso of front wrap and both sides of rear wrap; light edge wear. Printed on glossy paper with illustrations and advertisements throughout, lower corner of first leaf torn off. Very good.

23. **SOLD**.

The Rare First Edition of Minnie Buce Carrigan's Captivity Narrative

In the summer of 1862, the Dakotas were starving. They had signed the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the Treaty of Mendota a decade before, and had since been confined to a 20-mile wide reservation that extended 70 miles along the upper Minnesota River. After Minnesota gained statehood in 1858, they lost the northern half of their reservation and, worse perhaps, lost rights to the sacred quarry at Pipestone, a place that had been essential to the Dakotas' identity as a people for many centuries before the arrival of Europeans. Farming and logging soon upended lands that had long supported their annual rounds of hunting, fishing, farming, and gathering wild rice. When their crops failed, the federal government--distracted by a Civil War--failed to make payments that were part of their treaty obligations. And government traders at the Upper Sioux Agency refused to give the Dakotas food on credit. As the aptly named lead trader, Andrew Jackson Myrick, is reputed to have said, "So far as I am concerned, if they are hungry let them eat grass or their own dung" (Schultz 1992:28). For Myrick and many of the new emigrants to Minnesota, there would be hell to pay for such cruelty. The Dakota War of 1862, also known as the Sioux Uprising, was one of the most devastating conflicts between Native peoples and white settlers in the history of the United States. Perhaps the rarest account of that conflict, Minnie Buce Carrigan's *Captured by the Indians*, was also one of the last examples of its genre, the captivity narrative. **We locate seven institutional copies of the first edition, and none ever offered at auction**.

Gottfried and Wilhelmina Buce (sometimes spelled Buse or Busse) came to the United States from Germany in 1858, settling first in Fox Lake, Wisconsin, with their children, August, Minnie, and Augusta. In the spring of 1860, they joined five families from Fox Lake and moved farther west, to Cannon Falls, Minnesota, where a third daughter, Caroline, was born. After only a few weeks they moved west once more, to a German settlement on Middle Creek, near Flora Township in Renville County, just over the Minnesota River from the Lower Sioux Agency. Gottfried placed a claim on a parcel of improved land and moved his family into an old house that their neighbors helped them to repair. There were nine families at Middle Creek settlement that first winter, then 20 more arrived in early 1861. Minnie, writing years later in her narrative of events, writes: "In the spring of 1862 so many people came into the country that we did not know half of our neighbors" (1903:9). Most would lay in unmarked graves before autumn.

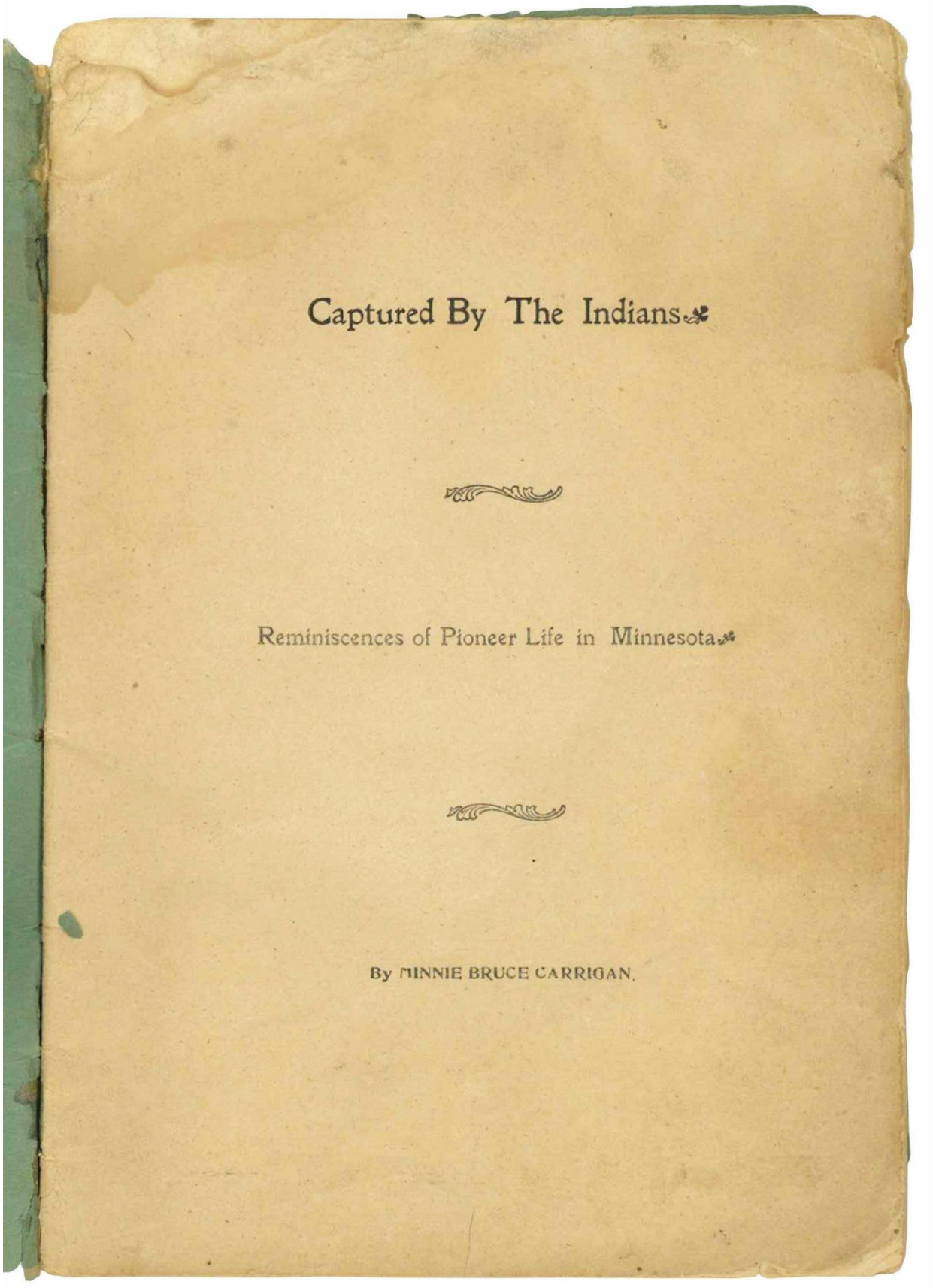
On August 17, the federal government's treaty payment arrived at Fort Ridgely near the Dakotas' reservation. It was already too late. That morning, four young Dakota men hunting near Acton Township--about 50 miles northeast of Flora--took eggs from a farm and then killed five white settlers. It was dark before the warriors slipped back to the reservation. Their chief, Red Middle Voice, listed to their account and concluded that war against the settlers might be preferable to facing the consequences of the Acton killings passively. He and his men traveled downstream to seek the support of Little Crow (Taoyateduta). Reluctantly, the great Sioux chief agreed to lead his people into a conflict he knew they could not win. At an impromptu meeting of war and peace chiefs in Little Crow's house, he told the assembly that the whites were like locusts, and that to kill one or a hundred meant nothing. The peace chiefs thought that in making the case against war he was rejecting the cause of bloodshed. Yet Little Crow turned to the war chiefs, and over the din of the warriors gathering outside, is reported to have said "Taoyateduta is not a coward. He will die with you" (Schultz 1992:28). There was no turning back.

CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS



Reminiscences of Pioneer Life In Minnesota

By MINNIE BUCE CARRIGAN.



Captured By The Indians

Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Minnesota

By MINNIE BRUCE CARRIGAN.

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

For Minnie Buce and her family, "That dreadful Monday," began like so many others late in the summer season" (Carrigan 1903:11). While her father was putting up hay about a mile from the house, her brother, August, climbed up to the roof to keep watch on their cows roaming at large on the prairie. He came down and told his mother that he had heard shooting and screams from the home of their neighbors, the Rosler family. Wilhelmina suspected that the noise was nothing more than games--the Indians shooting at targets, perhaps--and sent August over to borrow some sewing needles. He returned a few minutes later, reporting that the Roslers were all asleep on the floor with blood on their heads. Wilhelmina understood. As Minnie recalled: "O, my God,' she exclaimed, "the Indians have killed them. We must fly for our lives--You children stay here and I will go and call father" (1903:13). But the children refused to remain in the house. Wilhelmina told the two oldest, August and Minnie, to take their four younger siblings to the corn field, where they were to hide and wait for her and Gottfried. By the time they reached the corn, a group of Dakotas had begun sacking their home. The children were safe, though, and they quickly found their parents at the south side of the field.

Minnie believed that they could all have remained hidden, at least for a time, but Gottfried panicked: "father taking the baby.started out on the open prairie. Mother took Caroline from me and tried to stop father, but it was useless. The terrible circumstances must have unbalanced his mind, naturally being nervous" (1903:13). In moments the Dakotas were upon them. Gottfried and the baby, Bertha, were shot and killed, followed by Wilhelmina and Caroline. Minnie, frozen in shock at first--broke away and ran wildly; "next thing I remember was an Indian holding me in his arms, looking at my face. I screamed and he put me down" (1903:14). Two siblings, August and Amelia, were taken captive with Minnie. They were led away, and "As we turned the corner of the woods I took the last look at our home. I have never seen it since, neither do I care to see it again, although it is not many miles from our present home" (1903:15).

Of the estimated 1200 settlers in Renville County in 1862, more than 160 lost their lives in those 48 hours of August 17 and 18. More than 50 residents of Milford Township in neighboring Brown County were also killed, nearly wiping out the community. Another 200 settlers, mainly women and children like the three surviving Buce siblings, were taken hostage. Over the course of the next two weeks, at least 500--and perhaps as many as 800--white settlers died, along with about 100 soldiers. Refugees numbered in the thousands. Little Crow, though, was not mistaken in his assessment of the conflict and its consequences for his people. On September 13, the Third Minnesota Infantry returned from Civil War service. After meeting almost no resistance early in their offensive, hundreds of Dakota warriors were repulsed at the battles of New Ulm and Fort Ridgley between August 20 and 23. Despite minor victories in the weeks that followed, their failure to win either engagement cost them their only chance of winning the war.

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

A Dakotas' peace faction had taken charge of all white hostages during the final days of the war, and these they turned over to Col. Sibley on September 26. Among the 269 captives were Minnie, August, and Amelia Buce. All three children were adopted by a family in Hutchinson. In 1879, Minnie married Owen Carrigan, with whom she raised five children of her own. It was not until 40 years after the pain of that summer that she put her own memories into print. Carrigan's narrative was among the last primary accounts of the 1862 Dakota Uprising, and it has long been recognized as one of the best. It first appeared in serial form during the month of January 1903 in the *Buffalo Lake* (MN) *News*. Demand for copies of the newspaper prompted Carrigan to release her account in separate form that same year.

The copy that we offer here, with no date or imprint, is this first, privately printed edition of 1903. OCLC identifies only six institutional holdings: Indiana University; the Clyde C. Walton Collection at Wayne State University; Minnesota Historical; the Herman P. Chilson Collection at the University of South Dakota; North Dakota Historical; and Georgetown University; to this we can add a copy that we placed with the St. Louis Mercantile Library in 2018. **Per RBH, no copy of this edition has ever appeared at auction**. Although lacking an imprint, the crude quality of the printing suggests a local job, perhaps at the *Buffalo Lake News* itself. **Our close examination of bibliographic points indicates that there are actually two states of this first edition**. State A is 30 pp., with a [2] pp. addendum featuring the cover vignette reprinted on p. [31] and "The 10 mile strip" and "The Negro Godfrey" on p. [32]. The verso of the title page also contains a small woodcut of the Camp Release State Monument, dedicated in 1894. State B contains 29 pp. with a [3] pp. addendum that features "The story of Emanual Ryff [sic]" on pp. [31-32] and "The Negro Godfrey" on p. [32]. The verso of the title page contains a small portrait of the author. We have not identified any basis for establishing the priority between these states. A second edition of 40 pp. was published by the Forest City (SD) Press in 1907. **Howes, unaware of the 1903 separate edition, mistakenly identifies this imprint as the first (C171)**. This is also a scarce issue, with 13 copies listed on OCLC; a fair-only copy brought $1375 at Heritage in 2016, with another copy making $720 at PBA in 2021. A 1912 third edition of 68 pp. is relatively common.

Captured by the Indians is among the last published examples of the captivity narrative, a distinctly American literary genre that stretches back to the 17th century. Carrigan's style is plain and straight-forward, "without…polish or embellishment," as she puts it herself in the Preface to her small book. Yet the pathos she captures at its conclusion is profound in its simplicity:

> There are only three places that I would like to see again. One is the large flat lime rock on the bank of the Minnesota river where my brother and I used to go fishing. Years have passed and many a person has claimed my white rock since. The Indians that used to pass us in their canoes so silently they seemed like ghosts, you could hardly hear the dip of their oars, have long since fled from the bank of the river, and could not frighten now. The second place is the spring near my father's place where my playmates and I used to pick the yellow lady slipper. The third is the creek near our house where the lovely white cherry blossoms were so thick that they looked like a white sheet. Little Pauline and Minnie Kitzman, my sister Augusta and I brought our aprons full home to make garlands out of them. Years after when I used to see the white cherry blossoms I used to wish that I could go back and cover the graves of my little friends with the flowers they loved so well [1903:30].

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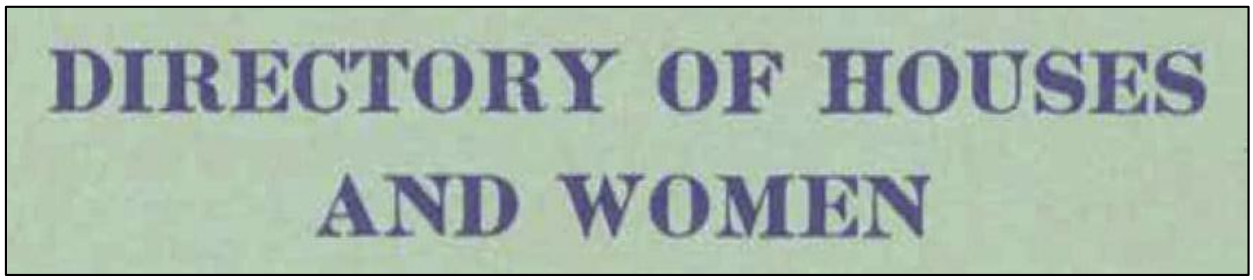
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[Minnesota--Indian Captivities]. Carrigan, Minnie Bruce [sic, Buce]. CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS: REMINISCENCES OF FRONTIER LIFE IN MINNESOTA. N.p., n.d., but likely Buffalo Lake, Minnesota, 1903. First edition. 30 [2] pp., illus. Small 8vo (23 cm). Original light blue wraps, cover vignette; edge wear and chipping to wraps and spine with extensive old tape repairs, contents lightly toned, occasional staining. Overall a good copy of a fragile, extremely rare imprint. This edition not referenced in Howes (citing the 1907 ed.), Ayer supplement (citing the 1912 ed.), or Vaughn (citing the 1907 ed.).

24. **SOLD**.

San Antonio's *Blue Book*: For Those Seeking a Good Time

By the late 19th century, most larger American cities had zones where vice was allowed to flourish, if only by tacit agreement. New Orleans had its Storyville, New York and San Francisco had their Tenderloins, Chicago had its Levee District. For number and notoriety, though, no place in America could compete with the red light zones of Texas. There was Hell's Half Acre in Fort Worth, Utah Street in El Paso, Guy Town in Austin, the Happy Hollow in Houston, Frogtown in Dallas, the Bowery in Amarillo, and the Flats in Galveston. Largest of all, and by some accounts the third largest in the United States, was San Antonio's Sporting District. Yet as much a role as such zones played in the development of urban life and city planning, particularly in the frontier towns and cities of the American West, surviving documentation from the districts themselves is practically nonexistent. This is not surprising, given the kinds of illicit activities that took place there, but the absence of primary sources creates profound difficulties for modern scholars aiming to situate red light businesses and their clientele in urban communities.



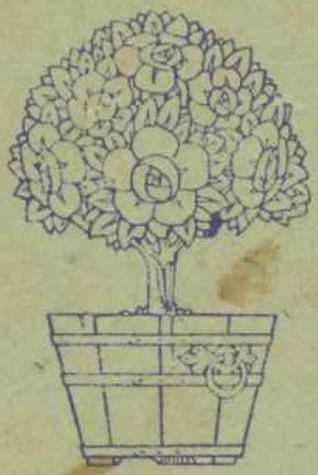
Among the most informative--but rarest--such sources are the printed guides or directories produced for visitors to these districts, many of which contain detailed information about specific clubs, brothels, and workers. The best-known of these directories are the notorious Blue Books of New Orleans, which went through at least a dozen editions from 1895 to 1915, but these are also the most common today, as the later editions in particular seem to have been issued primarily as novelties for the tourist trade. The true rarities are the guides from other cities, as few of these are known in more than a dozen copies. The earliest American examples were published in New York and Philadelphia during the second quarter of the 19th century, with New York represented by at least four such pre-Civil War guides to the city's bustling sex trade. After these large East Coast metropoles, the next American city to produce its own guide to vice was Chicago, with its *Sporting House Directory* appearing in 1889, nearly a decade before the first New Orleans guide. Following soon after came Milwaukee's own *Sporting House Directory*, Kansas City's *Little Black Book*, the Denver *Red Book*, and the Los Angeles *Souvenir Sporting Guide*. One of the last published guides to any city's red light district was the *Blue Book for Visitors, Tourists and those Seeking a Good Time While in San Antonio, Texas*, published for 1911-1912 by sometime city police offer William Keilman. **We trace no other copy ever offered in commerce**.

Despite local mythology, San Antonio's Sporting District was never formally established by city ordinance. Instead, it developed organically to the west of San Antonio Creek, just close enough for customers coming from downtown, but not too close to upset the city's more urbane aspirations. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps from 1888 note only a single female boarding house (a euphemism for brothel) within this area. The *Blue Book* lists more than 100 in 1911. By this time

THE

Blue Book

FOR
VISITORS, TOURISTS AND THOSE
SEEKING A GOOD TIME WHILE
IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS



PUBLISHED ANNUALLY

1911-1912

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

PRICE 25 CENTS

the city required brothels to pay $500 licensing fees, and these combined with the fees charged to other businesses operating in the District brought more than $50,000 ($1.7 million today) into San Antonio's coffers. Among these other places of vice alongside the brothels were rows of gambling parlors, dance halls, and saloons, perhaps the most elegant of which was the White Elephant, one of several so-named establishments across Texas. Unlike similar red-light districts in other parts of the country, San Antonio's was comparatively restrained, and more surprisingly given the time and place, it was notable for a lack of racial segregation, with drinking and gambling parlors in the District catering to men with money to spend, regardless of race. Even so, while it was permissible for white men to visit a brothel with Black or Hispanic prostitutes, white women were not allowed to accept Black men as customers at any of the District's venues.

Yet for all of its fame and economic significance to the city, there are few contemporary sources about the District, as neither the city's officials nor journalists were willing to acknowledge any experience with activities there. The best and most comprehensive record of this world is the *Blue Book* of 1911-1912. Although unattributed, the guide was probably written by William (Billy or Billie) Keilman, who was both the proprietor of the Beauty Saloon and on occasion, depending on city politics and the spoils system, a city police officer. In his Preface, Keilman declares:

> This directory of the Sporting District is intended as an accurate guide to those who are seeking a good time. To the stranger and visitor while in San Antonio, this book will be welcome, because it puts him on a proper and safe path as to where he may go and feel secure from 'Hold Ups' and any other game usually practiced on the stranger. Anyone perusing this booklet expecting to be regaled with lewd and obscene reading matter will be sadly disappointed, as outside of some harmless wit or toasts it contains only what necessary information is required to make it a directory [p. 1].

To the end of providing such "necessary information," Keilman rates prostitutes within the District according to a designation of A, B, or C, with the A class prostitutes representing the higher-priced organized brothels and the C representing the lower class prostitutes or the "cribs" [p. xx]. Cribs mostly employed Black or Mexican prostitutes and catered to men of all races. Most of Keilman's A class prostitutes were white, but a brothel called The Club, which was located on South Leona Street, housed both Black and mulatto sex workers. What makes guides such as this one significant today is that the social networks its entries record were otherwise furtive and undisclosed, largely invisible even then--in the context of Jim Crow Texas--but all the more so now. These sex workers and their customers were blurring the lines between public and private communities. Keilman's guide, the only record of their network, sheds a different light on segregation and complicates our understanding of where and how its strictures were loosened. Sam Johnson, a Black patron in the District, later recalled: "You'd see bankers and politicians alongside us working men. The colored could go into any house they wanted. Nobody paid no nevermind to nothing like that. If you had the money, they had the time" (McComb 2012:13).

As recently observed by Katharine Hijar, writing more broadly on the genre of such brothel guides, "these texts comprise what is arguably the most important set of artifacts commemorating nineteenth-century urban prostitution in the United States" (2018). Beyond this example from San Antonio, there were other directories from cities including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, New

DIRECTORY OF HOUSES AND WOMEN

Class—A

NAME	STREET	Old Phone	New Phone
Arlington, The	507 Matamoras		1035
Benedict, Beatrice	421 Matamoras		2371
Benedict, Beatrice	309 South Pecos		2133
Benedict, Beatrice	501 Durango		499
Campbell, Maud	217 South Santa Rosa		563
Carson, Belle	526 Matamoras	4480	
Clarke, Hazel	316 South Concho		48
Clifford, Marguerite	212 South Concho	308	523
Clifton, Mildred	507 Matamoras		1035
Club, The	502 Matamoras		453
Evans, Eva	505 Matamoras		2096
Granger, Dollie	502 Matamoras		453
Lavigne, Bonnie	520 Matamoras		456
Mansion, The	503 South Concho	1964	896
Meyers, Emma	316 South Leona		5268
Ray, Frankie	317 South Santa Rosa		1779
Revere, Lillian	514 Matamoras	1357	1888
Russell, Clara	504 South Concho	1964	896
Stag, The	520 Matamoras		370
Smith, Aggie	212 South Concho	308	523
Thaw, Evelyn	316 South Concho		948
Tripp, Grace	313 Matamoras		1034
Wiley, Emma	316 South Concho		948
Williams, Marguerite	316 South Concho		948

Orleans, Milwaukee, Denver, Chicago, Kansas City, and Los Angeles. With the exception of more common issues from New Orleans, we can find only a single auction record for another American example of the genre, a disbound and damaged 1849 directory to *All the Gay Houses and Ladies of Pleasure in the City of New York*, offered at Christies in 1995 and now at the Clements. This example of the San Antonio guide is in very good condition in its original printed wrappers. **We trace 11 institutions holding copies, with all but two of these (Yale and Duke) located in the state of Texa**s. Given the combination of their illicit content, cheap production quality, and small size, it is to be expected that examples of these guides are so rarely met with today.

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[San Antonio--Sex Work and Prostitution]: [William Keilman]: THE SAN ANTONIO BLUE BOOK FOR VISITORS, TOURISTS AND THOSE SEEKING A GOOD TIME WHILE IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS. [n.p., n.d., but. San Antonio, 1911(?)]. 16mo (16 cm). 28 pp., illus. Original light blue wraps, faded, with titles and border printed in dark blue, light foxing and soiling. Light edge wear to covers, rust spots around staples; interior pages on identical light blue paper and printed in dark blue, clean with little foxing. Very good.

25. **SOLD**.