PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 7

Winter 2023

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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On the covers: 2. *New-York Pocket Almanack for 1762* (detail).

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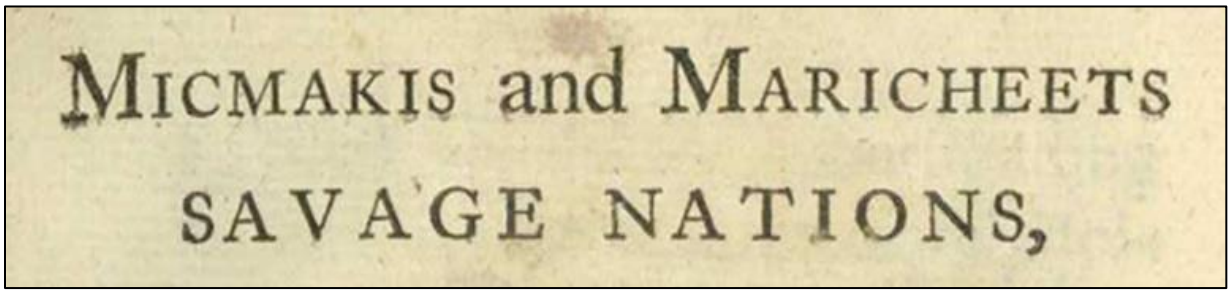
Contents

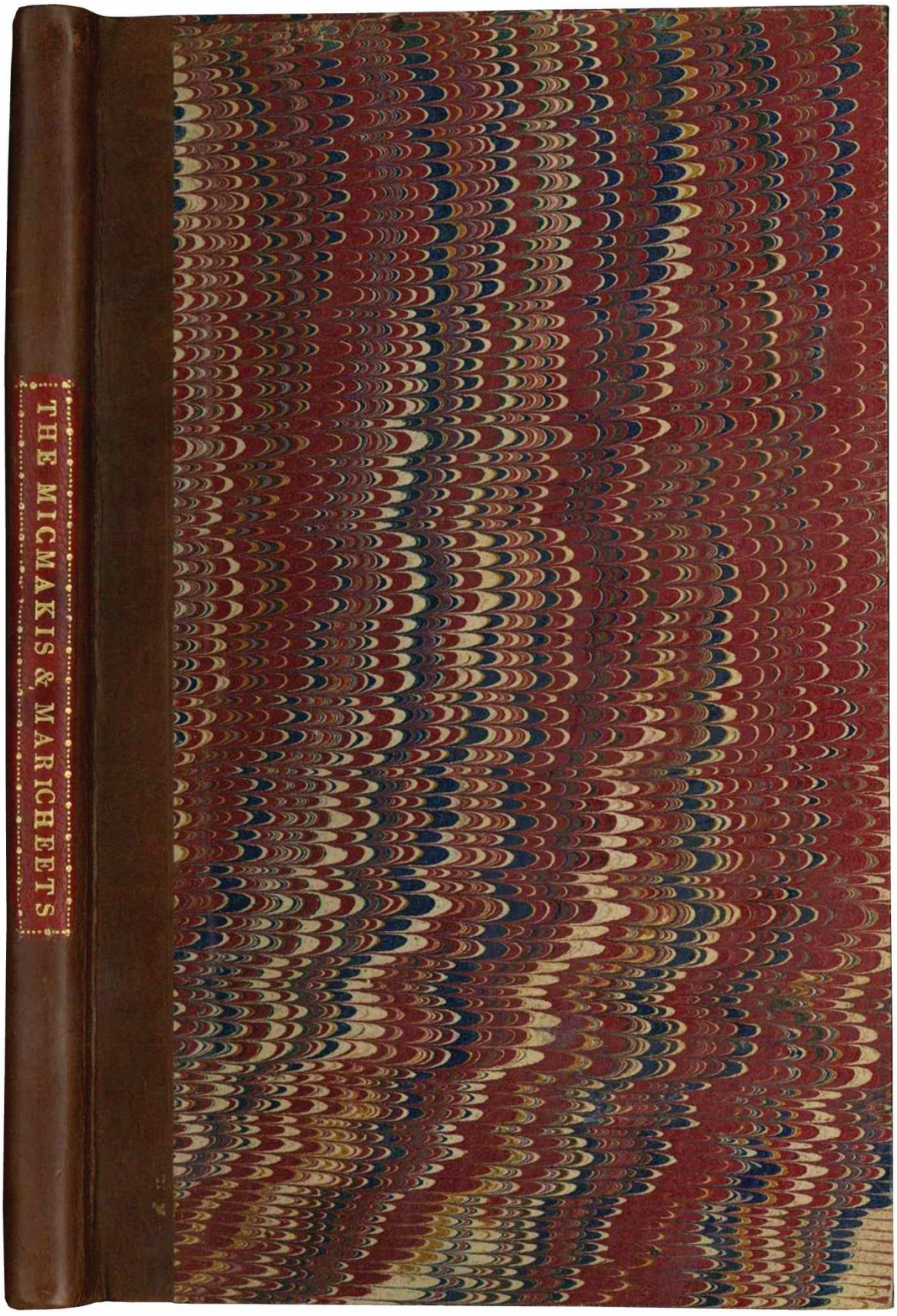
1. Antoine Maillard's *Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets*..... 1
2. *The New-York Pocket Almanack* for 1762, in Contemporary Wraps..... 5
3. Preaching in the New Republic: Joseph Avery Tends His Flock..... 9
4. Between Friends: The Letters of Hetty Church and Sally Phillips..... 12
5. Patrick Byrne's 1804 *Quire Stock of Books*: An Unrecorded Catalogue..... 21
6. The First Trans-Allegheny Arithmetic, with a Notable Kentucky Provenance..... 25
7. Four Risk Books: Marine Insurance and the Transatlantic Slave Trade..... 29
8. Rudolf Wyss's Exceedingly Rare Account of the Red River Settlement..... 36
9. *The Carolina Housewife*, by a Lady of Charleston (Sarah Rutledge)..... 43
10. *The Prisoner of Perote*: A Romance of the Mexican War..... 47
11. The Pacific Pioneers: A Connecticut Gold Rush Company of 1849..... 50
12. The Only File of St. Louis's *Daily Organ and Reveille* 54
13. Michigan's Chippewa and Ottawa Indians Cede Their Sovereignty in 1853..... 59
14. Sailing for Mauritius: The Diary of American Consul George Fairfield 62
15. Food for San Francisco: A Cargo Ship Ledger from Petaluma..... 70
16. Teaching Freedmen in North Carolina: Annie Merriam's Civil War Diary..... 76
17. The Black Citizens of Colorado Territory Petition for Civil Rights..... 86
18. George Washington Brackenridge and the National Bank of San Antonio..... 94
19. Elliot & Sweet's 1882 *Residence and Business Directory* for Seattle..... 100
20. A Signed Cabinet Card Photograph of Black Abolitionist Lewis Clarke..... 104
21. The Only Recorded Specimen Book of the Oregon Nursery Company..... 107
22. *True Sketches of the Life and Travels of Martin Burris*..... 111
23. *The Indian Headlight*: A Big Cabin, Oklahoma, Newspaper in Cherokee..... 116
24. The First Directory by the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce..... 120
25. *Hawks Cry*: The Newsletter of the Tuskegee Army Flying School..... 125

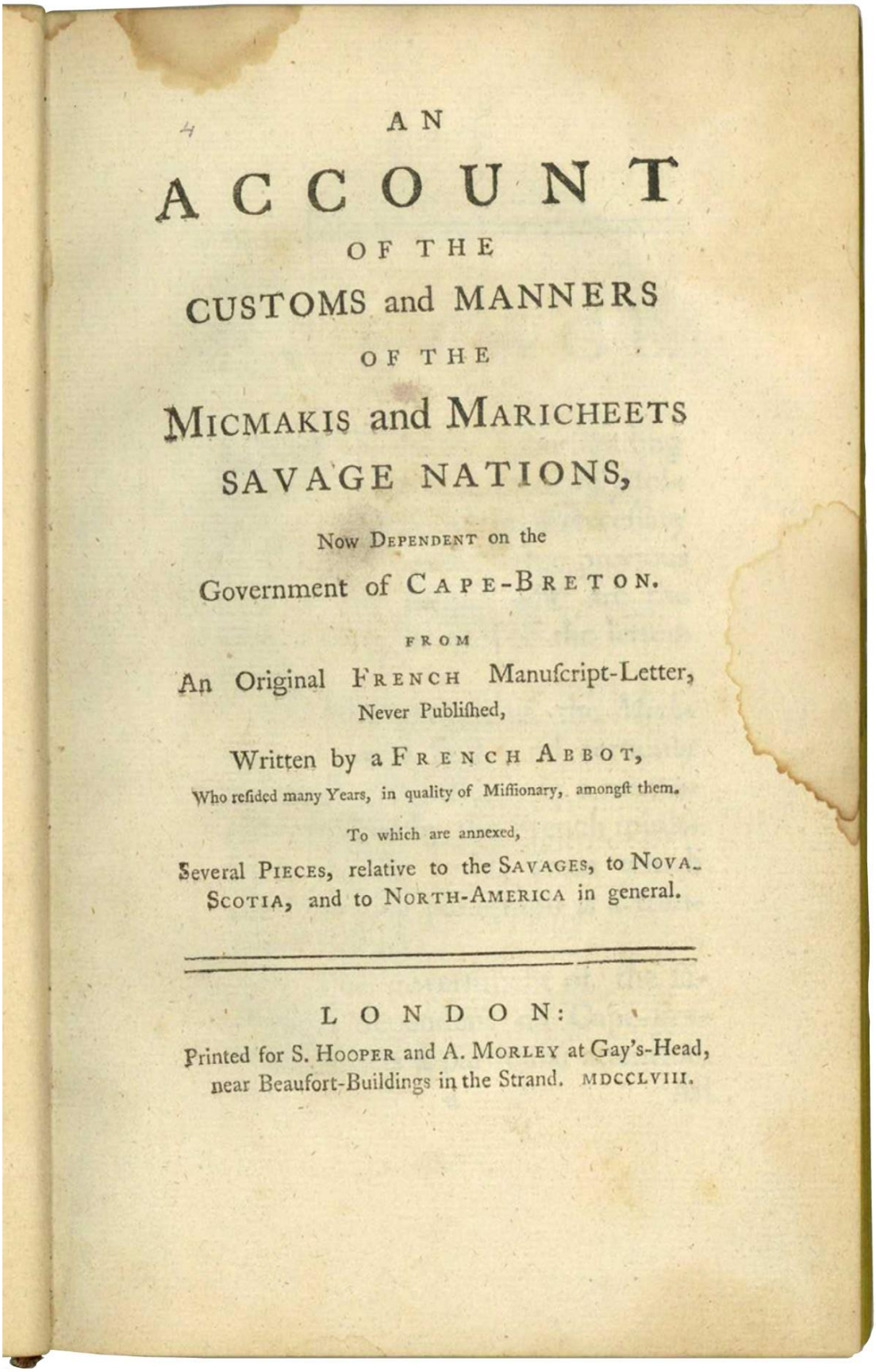
Antoine Maillard's *Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets*

Abbé Pierre Antoine Simon Maillard was a young man of about 25 years when he arrived at the French fortress of Louisbourg at Île Royale, modern Cape Breton Island, in the summer of 1735. For most of the next three decades, he would labor as a missionary to all the inhabitants of Île Royale, Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island), and the Acadian Peninsula (Nova Scotia). Yet he is best remembered today for his mission to the indigenous Mi'kmaq peoples, whose traditional territories once extended throughout Canada's Atlantic Provinces, along the Gaspé Peninsula of Quebec, and into northeastern Maine. On March 27, 1755, Abbé Maillard wrote a letter from "the Micmaki-Country" to M. de Lalane, Superior of Séminaire des Missions Étrangères in Paris, where Maillard had trained for eight months before embarking for New France. Maillard's letter, offering his friend a detailed description of Native peoples at Île Royale and surrounding regions, was first published in London three years later as *An Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets Savage Nations, Now Dependent on the Government of Cape-Breton*. **No less an authority than Canadian bibliographer Lawrence Lande refers to it as "an exceedingly rare book and probably the rarest relating to Canadian Indians"** (1971:3).


MICMAKIS and MARICHEETS
SAVAGE NATIONS,

Few men were better suited than Maillard to write about the Mi'kmaqs and neighboring peoples such as the Maliseets (Wəlastəkwiyik), as he was among the few contemporary Europeans who were fluent in the Mi'kmaq language. Moreover, he created a hieroglyphic system--derived in part perhaps from precolonial Mi'kmaw petroglyphs--that he used to produce several works in the language, including a catechism with formulas for the principal prayers and responses. During King George's War in the early 1740s, he was an active supporter of both the Mi'kmaqs and French interests in Acadia and Cape Breton, encouraging Mi'kmaq raids on British troops. In 1745, some months after the fall of Louisbourg to British forces, Maillard was taken prisoner, sent south to Massachusetts, then deported to France. He returned less than a year later, in the fleet commanded by the Duc d'Anville. Back among his Native and Acadian parishioners, he rallied the Mi'kmaq warriors and organized farmers to supply food for French Canadian troops. Despite a temporary peace that handed Louisbourg back to the French in 1748, the fortress would fall again during the Seven Years' War of 1756-1763. This time its defenses were methodically dismantled by British engineers. Worse, thousands of Acadians were forcibly expelled from their homes and farms and sent abroad, replaced by settlers from New England and Scotland. Maillard, hiding in Nova Scotia with hundreds of Mi'kmaqs and Acadians who had eluded deportation, accepted terms of peace in November 1759. The following October, having helped to negotiate a peace for the Mi'kmaqs, as well, he became a salaried British official with the title of agent to the Indians. When he died in Halifax just two years later, on August 12, 1762, he was accorded a full state funeral.


THE MICMAKIS & MARICHEETS



AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

CUSTOMS and MANNERS

OF THE

MICMAKIS and MARICHEETS

SAVAGE NATIONS,

Now DEPENDENT on the

Government of CAPE-BRETON.

FROM

An Original FRENCH Manuſcript-Letter,

Never Publiſhed,

Written by a FRENCH ABBOT,

Who reſided many Years, in quality of Miſſionary, amongſt them.

To which are annexed,

Several PIECES, relative to the SAVAGES, to NOVA-SCOTIA, and to NORTH-AMERICA in general.

LONDON:

Printed for S. HOOPER and A. MORLEY at Gay's-Head, near Beaufort-Buildings in the Strand. MDCCLVIII.

Maillard wrote his description of the Mi'kmaqs to Lalane in 1755, after King George's War and just on the eve of the Seven Year's War (referred to in its American theater as the French and Indian War). As such, it offers a snapshot of Mi'kmaq society and culture at a pivotal moment in tribal history; it is unclear how the work came to be published in London. Maillard's letter details Mi'kmaq foodways and feasting; song, dance, and ceremonialism; warfare and the hunt; courtship and marriage; religious beliefs, language, and his mission work. Altogether, his letter fills the first 60 pages of the volume. This is followed by a 10-page essay, titled "Memorial of the Motives of the Savages, called Mickmakis and Maricheets, for continuing the War with England since the last Peace," also attributed to Maillard. The volume also prints a brief letter by the Abbe P. F. X. de Charlevoix on the "Character of the Savages of North America" and a final letter from M. De La Varenne to a friend at La Rochelle, dated May 8, 1756, on the geography, climate, and vegetation of Acadia and the customs and manners of its French settlers.

As Lande notes, Abbé Maillard's *Account of the Customs and Manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets* is a very scarce book, exceedingly so in the market. OCLC records 20 copies in institutional collections. Yet since 1917 only three examples have appeared at auction. The most recent of these is the copy that passed from Rosenbach (1917) to Hershell V. Jones (1938) to Frank T. Siebert (1999) to Bruce McKinney (2010), which brought $7930 at The American Experience sale. A different copy was offered by Anderson Galleries in 1933, and a third by Montreal Book Auctions in 1974. We trace no records of any appearing in the trade during the past century. This is a particularly nice example, being a full 4 cm taller than the Rosenbach-Jones-Siebert-McKinney copy. **A previously undocumented copy of rarely encountered book**.

Relevant sources:

Binasco, Matteo
2022 *French Missionaries in Acadia/Nova Scotia, 1654-1755: On a Risky Edge*. Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Johnston, A. J. B.
2008 *Endgame 1758: The Promise, the Glory, and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Paul, Daniel N.
1993 *We Were Not the Savages: A Micmac Perspective on the Collision of Aboriginal and European Civilizations*. Nimbus Publishing, Halifax, NS.

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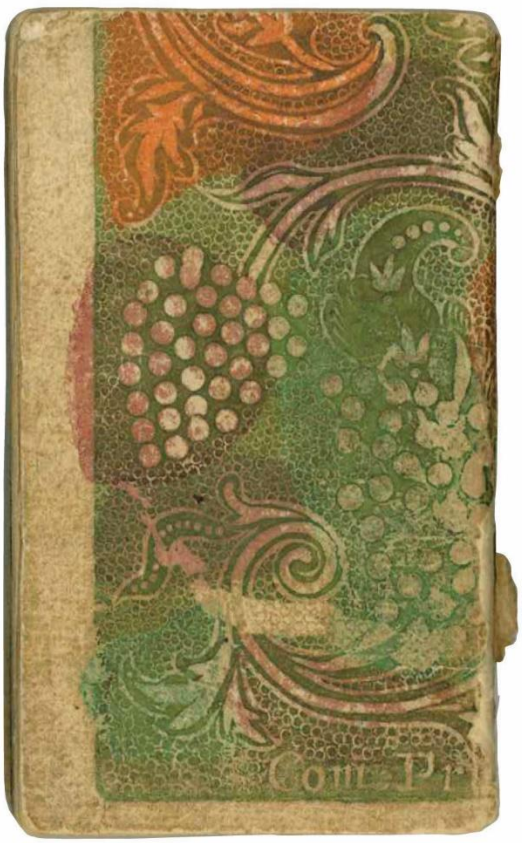
[Nova Scotia--Mi'kmaq First Nation]. Abbé Pierre Antoine Simon Maillard. AN ACCOUNT OF THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF THE MICMAKIS AND MARICHEETS SAVAGE NATIONS, NOW DEPENDENT ON THE GOVERNMENT OF CAPE-BRETON. Printed for S. Hooper and A. Morley at Gay's-Head, near Beaufort-Buildings in the Strand, London, 1758. [4], viii, 138, [2 ad] pp. 8to (23 cm). Lacks half-title. Bound to style in 1/4 calf with morocco spine label and marbled boards by Wiering, fine. Old marginal stains on title page, else interior very good. [Lande S10; Field 1062; JCB 3:1173; Jones 494; Pilling Algonquian p. 332].

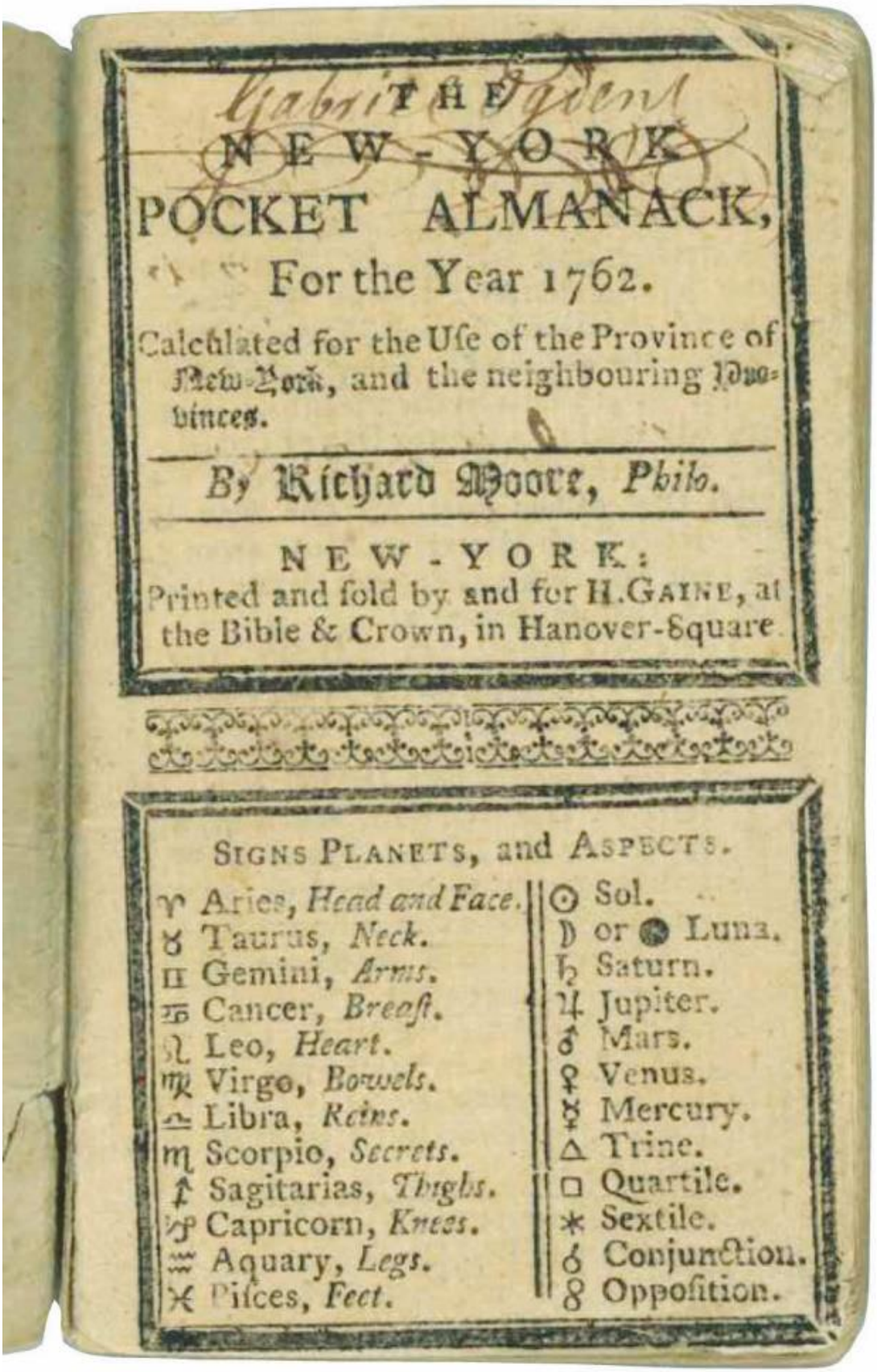
1. SOLD.

The New-York Pocket Almanack for 1762, in Contemporary Wraps

In colonial 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 fourth known copy--and just the third complete example--of his *Almanack* for 1762, still retaining its vibrant and original 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





THE
NEW-YORK
POCKET ALMANACK,
For the Year 1762.

Calculated for the Use of the Province of New-York, and the neighbouring Provinces.

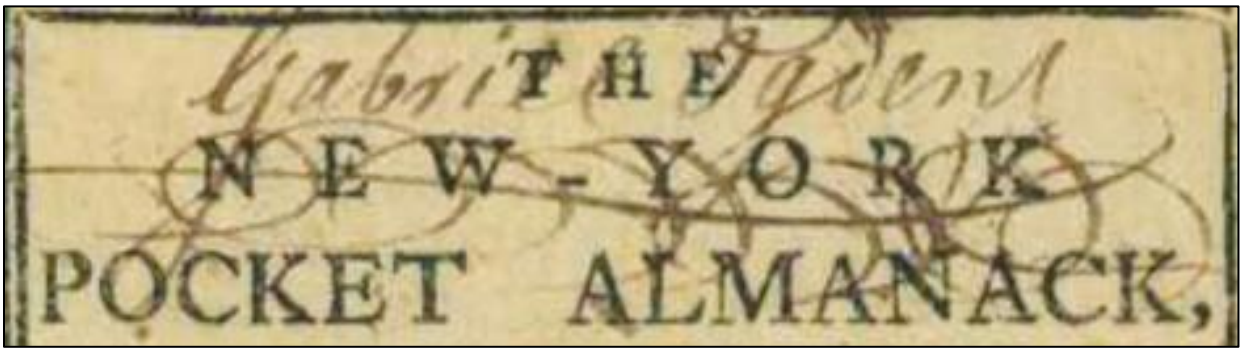
By Richard Moore, *Philo.*

NEW-YORK:
Printed and sold by and for H. GAINE, at the Bible & Crown, in Hanover-Square.

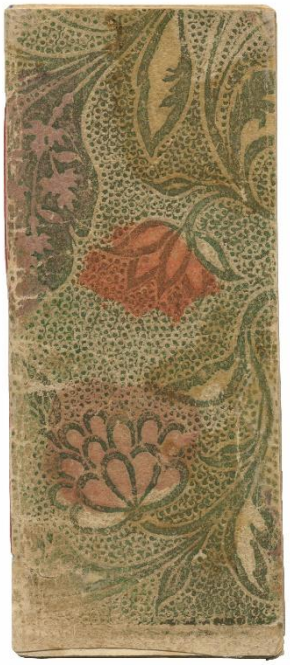
SIGNS PLANETS, and ASPECTS.

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

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.


THE
NEW-YORK
POCKET ALMANACK,

The example that we offer here is the fourth known copy of the issue for 1762. Two other complete copies are held by the New-York Historical Society and the British Library; a third copy at AAS lacks leaves B9-B10. The British Library copy, like this one, is described as having decorated paper wrappers featuring a fruit and foliage design in green on a cream background. We have identified a 1743 issue of Poor Richard's Almanack, published by Benjamin Franklin at Philadelphia, with a nearly identical style of wallpaper binding (see left). Our example is signed by Gabriel Ogden (1731-1815) of Sussex County, New Jersey, who served with the New Jersey Militia during the American Revolution and would become a prosperous farmer and father of at least 14 children. Like most almanacs of the period, this example is interspersed with several blank leaves, most of which Ogden has used for record keeping. This edition contains a list of all ships in the Royal Navy of Great Britain (to 1760) and the captains of each. Also included is a List of the General Assembly of the State of New York, the Officers in the Court of Admiralty, a List of His Britannick Majesty's Land Forces now in North-America, a List of English governors in No. America, and a brief Chronicle of the most remarkable events that happened in America since the year 1754. All of the pocket almanacs that Gaine issued during the colonial era (through 1775) are extremely rare today, and most are known in fewer than three or four institutional copies. We trace but two examples offered at auction since 1935--his almanacs for 1758 and 1759--both of which were sold at Sotheby's in 2022 and brought $3780 and $2520, respectively. We locate no record of this 1762 issue having ever appeared at auction or in the trade.



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 Hutchin's almanac, 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). **Despite its pocket size, an interesting and ephemeral colonial 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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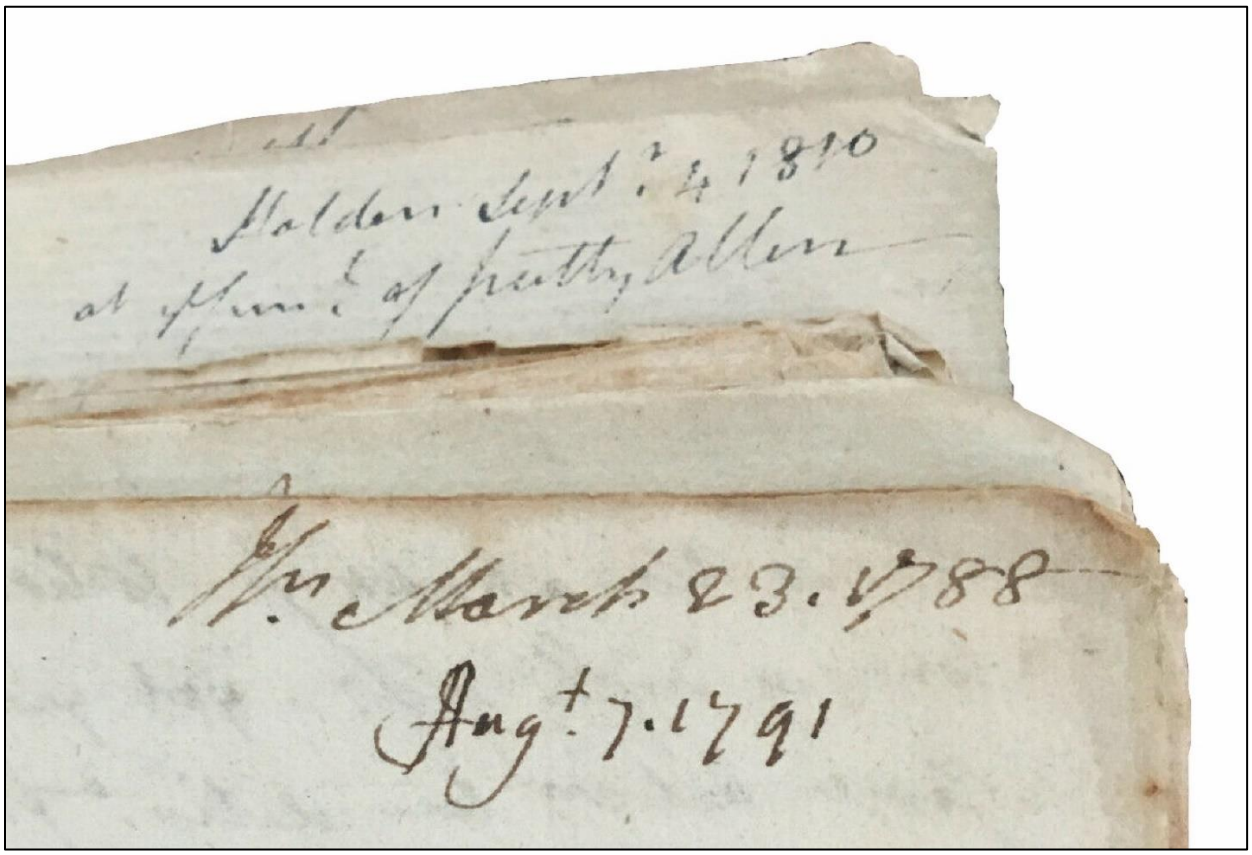
[New York--Colonial Almanacs]. THE NEW-YORK POCKET ALMANACK FOR THE YEAR 1762. CALCULATED FOR THE USE OF THE PROVINCE OF *NEW-YORK*, AND THE NEIGHBORING *PROVINCES*. By Richard Moore, Philo [John Nathan Hutchins]. Printed and sold by and for H. Gaine, at the Bible & Crown, in Hanover-Square, [1761]. [60] printed pp. with interleaved blanks. 18mo (11 cm). Original decorated wallpaper wrappers with a fruit and foliage design in green and orange on a cream background [see catalogue covers]. Light edge wear and loss to top of spine, previous owners' notes and annotations. Very good.

2. SOLD.

Preaching in the New Republic: Joseph Avery Tends His Flock

During the American Revolution, most of New England's Congregational ministers stood alongside the Patriots and the cause of independence, siding with their congregations and fearing that a British victory would see Anglican bishops appointed for the colonies. Among those who rallied to the rebellion was the Reverend Joseph Avery, second minister of the First Congregational Church in Holden, Massachusetts. Ordained on December 21, 1774, at the age of 23, Avery would remain with the church in Holden for nearly fifty years until his death in March 1824. This group of 32 sermons, all in Avery's hand, extend across these five decades, from the earliest in 1777 to the last in 1822. Totaling approximately 200 pages of text, they document a critical time in the history of New England Protestantism, including the rise of the upstart Baptists and Methodists and the fervor of the revivalists. Even more, it is the period when American Christianity began to spread beyond its deep Calvinistic roots. **Avery's ministry thus bridged the Puritan theologies of the Colonial era and the fundamentally American turns of the New Republic**.

Joseph Avery was born in Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1751. At the age of 16 he entered Harvard College, where he later claimed to have been the only undergraduate not addicted to some form of tobacco. During his senior year his concern over the condition of his soul was so great that he ceased his regular studies, though this did not prevent him from taking his degree with the rest of his class in 1771. After being licensed to preach by the Brookfield Association of ministers in 1773, he was called to Holden the following year and provided an annual salary of £66. When



the march to revolution became inevitable in 1776, Avery called on his congregation to prepare for a righteous war. On July 14, he preached that if they did not oppose British tyranny, then they should bid "farewell the sweets of Liberty...farewell to domestic happiness, a dreary train of evils will then overtake us" (AAS Catalogue Record #528677). So unassailable were his Revolutionary credentials that in 1777 he married a niece of Governor Samuel Adams, Mary Allen, who had lived for a time in the house of her famous Patriot uncle.

Only one of these sermons, for June 4, 1777, dates to the early war years (it is on Ephesians Chapter 5, Verse 2, "I walk in love"), although another from the end of the war is worthy of notice here. A Thanksgiving sermon, Avery delivered it on November 28, 1782, just two days before the U. S. negotiators signed a preliminary peace with Great Britain. Writing on Ecclesiastes Chapter 3, Verse 4 ("A time to weep and a time to laugh..."), he observes:

> We do well this day to recollect with grateful hearts those publick signs and favors of praise in which [we] participate at this day. There it will be improper not to [?] of those events which have led to our present situation. We were threatened with slavery, God has averted as yet that evil...God has mitigated the horrors of war...has raised up powerful allies to us, has preserved us from the rigors of famine, blessed us with general health...and though the [?] of government are weak we are not in a state of anarchy.

The archive contains 32 sermons, broken down by year of composition as follows: 1777: 1; 1781: 6; 1782: 1; 1784: 1; 1787: 1; 1788: 4; 1791: 1; 1797: 1; 1804: 1 ;1815: 1; 1818: 2; 1819: 3; 1820: 4; 1821: 1; 1822: 3; and one undated address on infant baptism. There are also 45 additional pages of sermon fragments and notes, a three-page list of books lent, and a printed circular advertising religious tracts from Louis Wright of the American Tract Society (dated 1818), with a manuscript sheet of subscribers (dated 1820). Additional sermons by Avery are held by AAS.

Relevant sources:

Damon, Samuel C.
1841 *The History of Holden Massachusetts, 1667-1841*. Wallace and Ripley, Printers, Worcester, MA.

Shipton, Clifford K.
1942 Joseph Avery. In *Sibley's Harvard Graduates Volume XVII. 1768-1771*, pp. 473-476. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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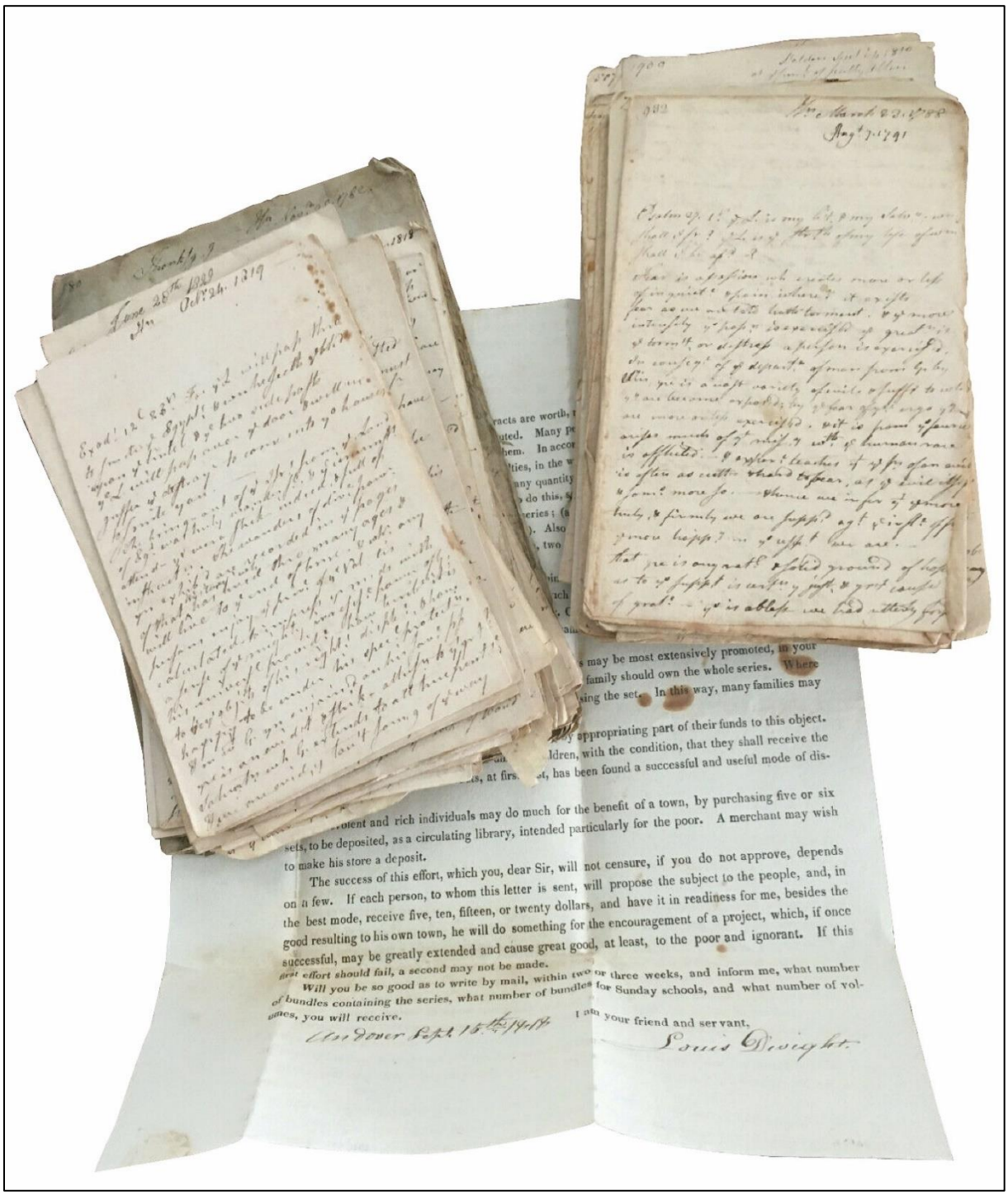
[New England--Congregational Church]. Rev. Joseph Avery. [ARCHIVE OF 32 MANUSCRIPT SERMONS, WITH ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS AND NOTES, BY REV. JOSEPH AVERY OF HOLDEN, MASSACHUSETTS]. [Holden, Massachusetts, 1777-1822]. Various sizes and paginations, most small 8vo, sermons about 200 pp. total with 45 pp. of additional fragments and notes. Sermons all composed in ink and docketed with dates. Overall very good.

3. SOLD.



may be most extensively promoted, in your
family should own the whole series. Where
using the set. In this way, many families may

appropriating part of their funds to this object.
ldren, with the condition, that they shall receive the
t, has been found a successful and useful mode of dis-

olent and rich individuals may do much for the benefit of a town, by purchasing five or six sets, to be deposited, as a circulating library, intended particularly for the poor. A merchant may wish to make his store a deposit.

The success of this effort, which you, dear Sir, will not censure, if you do not approve, depends on a few. If each person, to whom this letter is sent, will propose the subject to the people, and, in the best mode, receive five, ten, fifteen, or twenty dollars, and have it in readiness for me, besides the good resulting to his own town, he will do something for the encouragement of a project, which, if once successful, may be greatly extended and cause great good, at least, to the poor and ignorant. If this *first effort should fail, a second may not be made.*

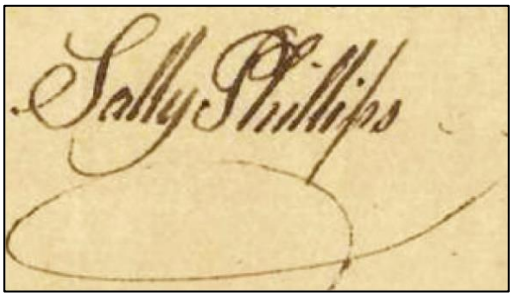
Will you be so good as to write by mail, within two or three weeks, and inform me, what number of bundles containing the series, what number of bundles for Sunday schools, and what number of volumes, you will receive.

I am your friend and servant.

Louis Dwight.

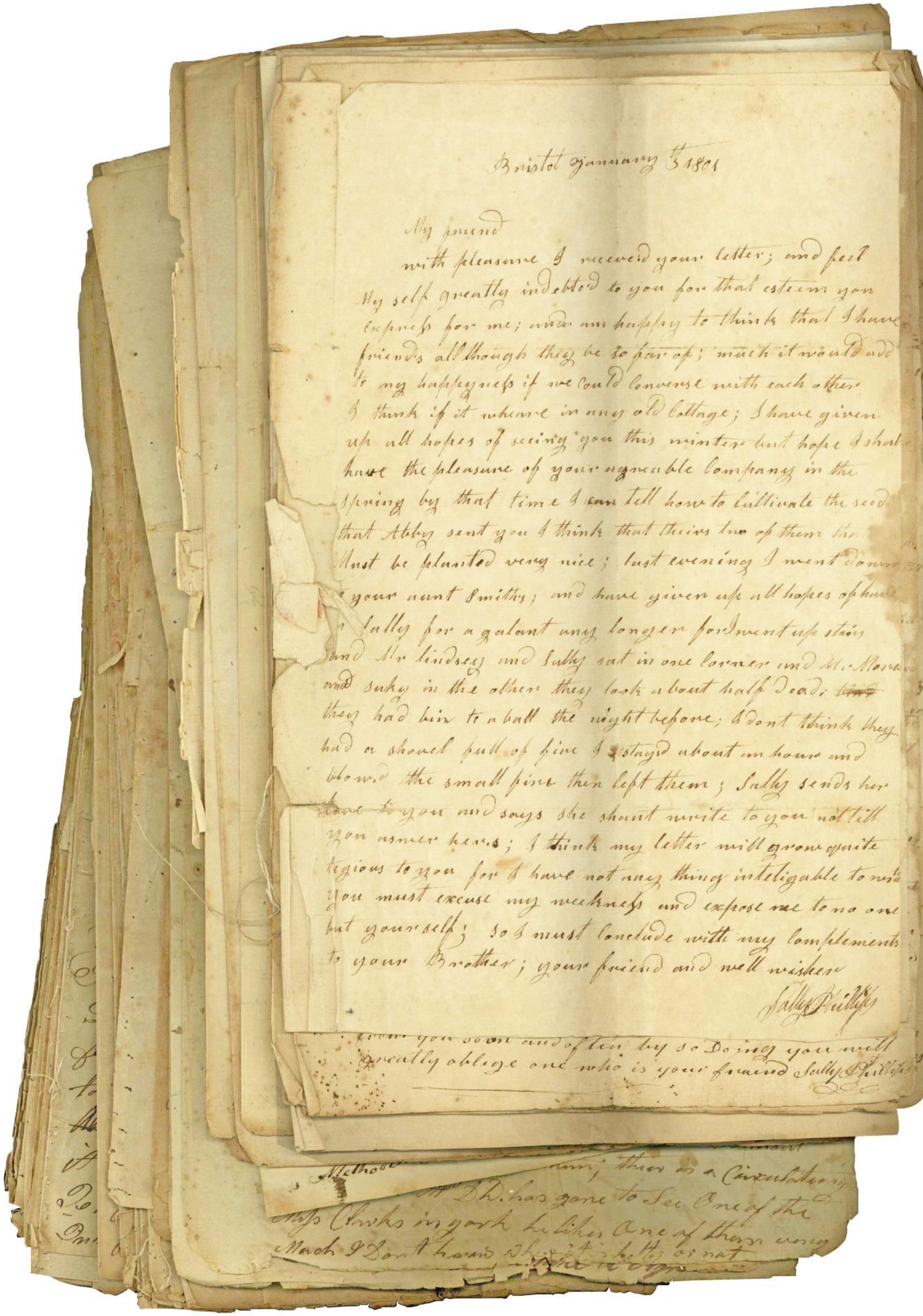
Between Friends: The Letters of Hetty Church and Sally Phillips

During the first decade of the Early Republic, the literacy rate of New England women was just half that of their male counterparts. By the middle of the 19th century, when the 1850 census first collected such information, there was little clear difference in the proportions of northeastern men and women who were able to read and write (Kerber 1980:193). Yet despite how important the closing of this gap was to the development of American culture, its timing and the process of its unfolding have only in recent decades emerged as a focus of intense and robust study by modern scholars. This is due in no small part to the relative scarcity of surviving material produced by women during this period, particularly those of that first generation who were born and came of age as Americans. **The correspondence of Hetty Church and Sally Phillips--an archive of 57 manuscript letters composed from 1801 to 1804--remarkably includes a nearly equal number of letters from each**. As such, it uniquely brings to light the epistolary construction of friendships among young, middle class women in the post-Revolutionary era, as well as the broader patterns through which such relationships sustained social networks in the Early Republic.



In 1975, historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg published the first article in the first issue of the pioneering and interdisciplinary women's study journal *Signs*. Her article, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," used the letters and diaries of young women to explore the subject of female friendship, and through friendship the links among gender and sexuality, class and literacy, family and sentiment. Smith-Rosenberg's approach introduced a new kind of historiography, one that has continued to shape research in the field of women's studies and related disciplines. Building on this work, more recent scholars such as Lucia McMahon have similarly drawn on correspondence archives to illuminate the mutually reinforcing bonds between friendship and education. In *Mere Equals: The Paradox of Educated Women in the Early American Republic*, she notes that "For the generations of women who were the first to attend newly established female academies, female friendships provide spaces for them to enact shared intellectual identities as learned women" (2012:43). There is no record of which academies were attended by Hetty Church and Sally Phillips, but their correspondence leaves little doubt that both were among that first generation of American women to gain a basic literacy equal to that of most young, middle class men of their time and place. What makes this archive especially compelling is that it contains so many letters from each young woman.

Both Hetty (Mehitable) Church and Sally (Sarah) Phillips were born in Rhode Island; Hetty at Newport in 1783 and Sally at Bristol in 1785. Each was likewise raised in a large, middle-class family having deep New England and Revolutionary roots. Hetty was the third of 12 children born



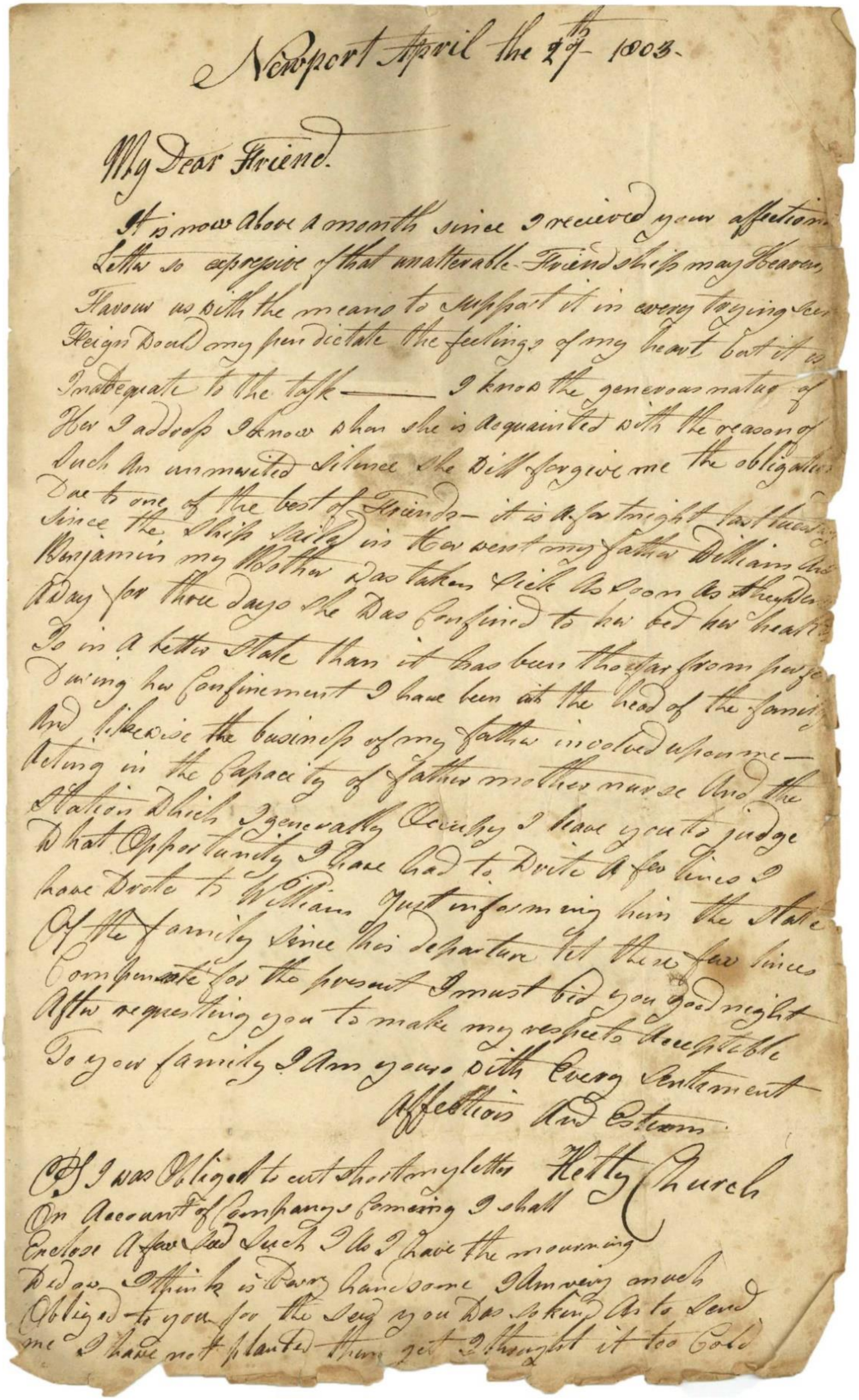
Bristol January 3th 1801

My friend

with pleasure I received your letter; and feel My self greatly indebted to you for that esteem you express for me; and am happy to think that I have friends allthough they be so far of; much it would add to my happyness if we could converse with each other I think if it wheare in any old Cottage; I have given up all hopes of seeing you this winter but hope I shall have the pleasure of your agreeable Company in the spring by that time I can tell how to Cultivate the seed that Abby sent you I think that theirs two of them th[illegible] Must be planted very nice; last evening I went down [illegible] your aunt Smiths; and have given up all hopes of ha[illegible] [illegible] Sally for a galant any longer for I went up stairs and Mr Lindsey and Sally sat in one Corner and Mr Moore and Suky in the other they look about half dead; they had bin to a ball the night before; I dont think they had a shovel full of fire I stayed about an hour and blowed the small fire then left them; Sally sends her love to you and says she shant write to you not till you answer hers; I think my letter will grow quite tegious to you for I have not any thing inteligable to write You must excuse my weekness and expose me to no one but yourself; so I must Conclude with my Complements to your Brother; your friend and well wisher

Sally Phillips

from you soon and often by so Doing you will greatly oblige one who is your friend Sally Phillips



Newport April the 27th 1803

My Dear Friend

It is now Above A month since I received your affectionate
Letter so expressive of that unalterable Friendship may Heaven
Favour us with the means to support it in every trying scen
Feign would my pen dictate the feelings of my heart but it is
Inadequate to the task ______ I know the generous nature of
Her I address I know when she is Acquainted with the reason of
Such An unmerited Silence She will forgive me the obligation
Due to one of the best of Friends — it is A fortnight last tuesday
Since the Ship Sailed in Her went my father William An
Benjamin my Mother was taken Sick As Soon As they went
Away for three days She was Confined to her bed her health
Is in A better State than it has been thus far from [illegible]
During her Confinement I have been at the head of the family
And likewise the business of my father involved upon me —
Acting in the Capacity of father mother nurse And the
Station which I generally Occupy I leave you to judge
What Opportunity I have had to Write A few lines I
have Wrote to William Just informing him the State
Of the family Since his departure let these few lines
Compensate for the present I must bid you good night
After requesting you to make my respects Acceptable
To your family I Am yours with Every Sentiment
Affection And Esteem

Hetty Church

PS I was Obliged to cut short my letter
On Account of Companys Comming I shall
Enclose A few Sad Such I Also I have the mourning
Widow I think is Very handsome I Am very much
Obliged to you for the Seeds you Was So kind As to Send
me I have not planted them yet I thought it too Cold

to Benjamin and Mehitable Church, originally of Freetown (now Fall River), Massachusetts. Her father served in the Continental Army--enlisting at Cambridge as a private in Col. Moses Little's 12th Regiment on January 1, 1776. After the war he became a trader. Sally Phillips was the fifth of ten children born to Capt. Nathaniel and Sarah Phillips of Bellingham, Massachusetts. Phillips also fought in the Revolution, serving as quartermaster-sergeant in Col. Robert Elliott's Regiment of the Rhode Island State Artillery. After the turn of the century he was a ship's captain sailing out of Bristol, Rhode Island, from which port he was lost at sea in 1812.

Hetty was almost 18 years old when this surviving correspondence begins in 1801; Sally was not quite 16. They were apparently close friends, but we have not been able to learn how they came to know each other, save that Hetty appears to have spent considerable time in Bristol and may have lived there prior to the beginning of their correspondence. On September 30, 1804, just a few weeks before the last of these letters, Sally married Hetty's eldest brother, William, around which time some of her salutations change from "friend" to "sister." This seems to be a particularly striking example of how the friendships between women extended social networks. Hetty would marry William Samuel Newton Allen, Jr. in 1806. Sally, though two years younger than Hetty, is the more enthusiastic and expressive writer. On mutual friends and family:

Phillips to Church, January 3, 1801:
"I went upstairs and Mr. Lindsey and Sally sat in one corner and Mr. Mower and Suky in the other they look about half dead they had bin to a ball the night before; I don't think they had a shovel full of fire."

Phillips to Church, July 21, 1801:
"I heard that William [Hetty's brother] was sailing yesterday and the day before...O Dear what a better advantage man has than woman for they can enjoy themselves any which way while we poor creatures must be confined to the house."

Phillips to Church, March 7, 1803:
"If you'll believe me last evening was the first time that I have seen Mr. since his return—I spent an hour with him at your Aunts, then had the pleasure of his waiting on me home—I think by his conversations that his mind is considerable on the roveing mood not yet determined which course to steer whether southard or northard."

Phillips to Church, January 2, 1804:
"By this time I expect you begin to [consider?] me quite hard and think that I have turn Methodist—but I'll assure you I stand in my Old Station yet—but you can't think what an alteration there is in Comfort ["Mother Comfort," a mutual acquaintance]. I cannot realize it what a change since we were to Newport. She is forsook all her old friends and even me her most intimate friend. Yesterday she and your Aunt and too others went into the water and was sprinkled. They was all dress in white your Aunt had a mob cap on and look very much like she was Laid Out. I have bin told I was not eye witness to this solemn sight."

Phillips to Church, May 1, 1804:
"Capt Munro and Miss Hannah Fales was married last Sunday Eve—She is lively as a bird with her Old man."

Phillips to Church, June 20, 1804:
"P. S. I had forgot to tell you I have spent an evening with Mr. D Wolfe at Susan's—he pays attention to Miss Goodwin but I don't no how long that will be he is so fickle."

Phillips to Church, November 29, 1804:
"You wanted to hear a little about the times—Mrs. Spalding has made out to get clean they say by applying to a woman a Negro Doctor I think it is a pitty it did not come to light but they say she looks like a ghost."

As with many families in Bristol and Newport, Sally's and Hetty's male relatives--fathers and brothers--were frequently away at sea (as alluded to in Sally's letter of July 21, 1801). Much of their correspondence gives voice to the anxiety of those left behind at home, as well as to their work of maintaining house, family, and even business during those absences:

Phillips to Church, August 15, 1801:
"We that have friends to sea must hope for the best and prepare for the worst…"

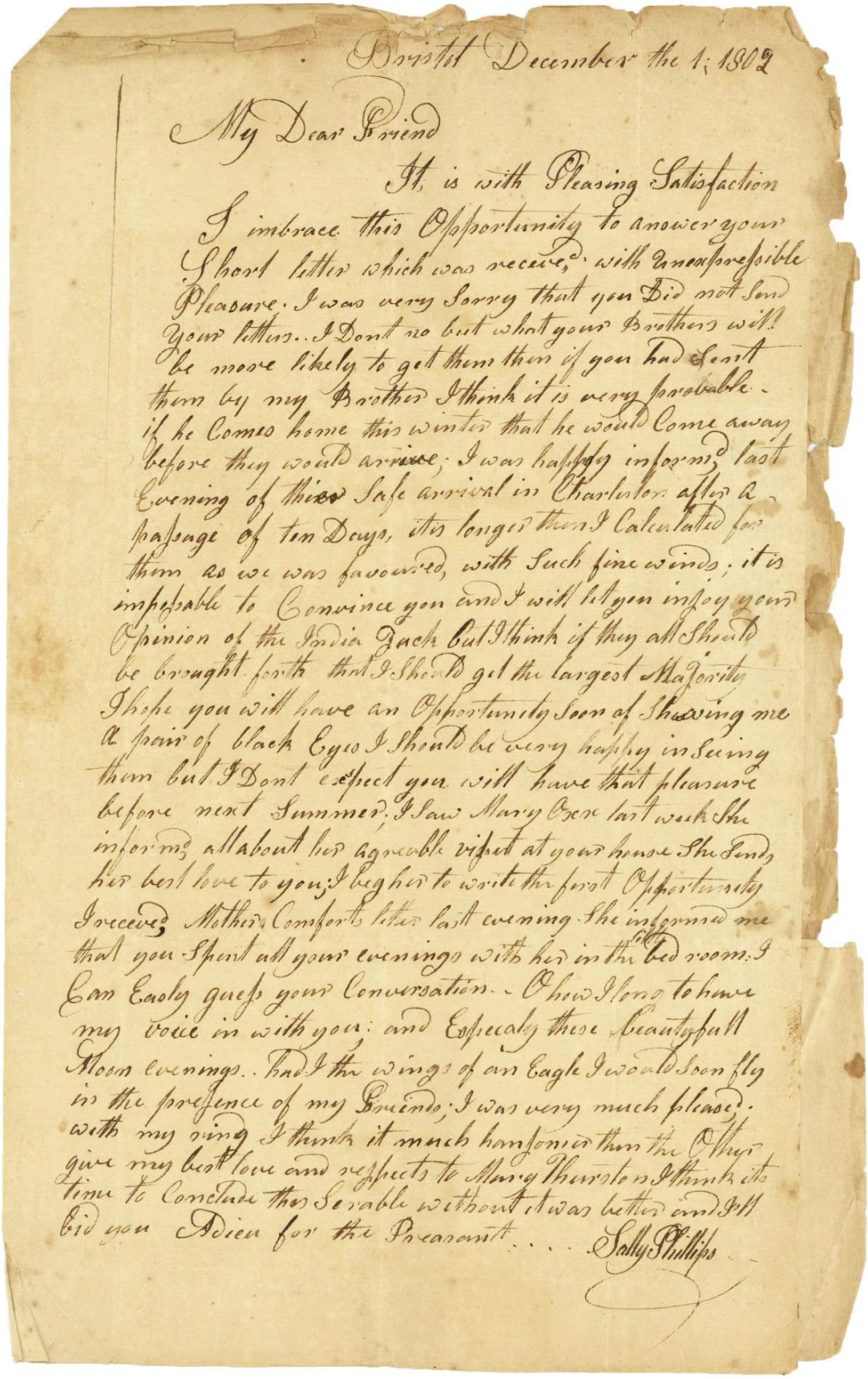
Church to Phillips, April 21, 1803:
"It is a fortnight last Tuesday since the ship sailed—in her went my father, William, and Benjamin my mother was taken sick as soon as they'd been away—for three days she was confined to her bed—her health is in a better state than it has been tho far from perfect. During her confinement I have been at the head of the family and likewise the business of my father involved upon me. Acting in the capacity of father, mother's nurse and the station which I generally occupy I have you to judge what opportunity I have had to write a few lines."

Church to Phillips, July 26, 1803:
"With sincere pleasure I inform you of my brothers arrival both in health they had 7 days passage to N. York [from Charleston] they was boarded by an English Frigate off Cape Henry [Virginia] one of the frigate's men jumped overboard with the intention to swim on board of the ship but he was drowned in the attempt."

Phillips to Church, November 29, 1804:
"O Dear I have almost looked my eyes out for letters this week I can't see what is the reason I don't have them from some part of the globe or other—it is four weeks to day since the ship sailed and I expected to hear in three if you have any News let me no by the packet.

There are also letters that deal with death and loss, as Hetty would lose both an aunt and her younger sister in March 1803, each a terrible blow to the family. Shortly after the death of her sister, Hetty wrote to Sally:

Church to Phillips, March 18, 1803:
"Alas how short and uncertain is the date of human life, little did I think when I wrote you last that I should be called upon so soon to witness the solemn scene which death presents to our pain to mourn over the last remains of my departed sister. You who has so lately felt the iron hand of afflictions can tell what I must fail. Had it pleased God to have spared her life till today she would have been 8 years old. Adieu then to this painful subject I can write no more upon it."



Bristol December the 1: 1802

My Dear Friend

It is with Pleasing Satisfaction I imbrace this Opportunity to answer your Short letter which was receive, with unexpressible Pleasure. I was very Sorry that you Did not send Your letters. I Dont no but what your Brothers will be more likely to get them then if you had Sent them by my Brother I think it is very probable. if he Comes home this winter that he would Come away before they would arrive; I was happy informd last Evening of their Safe arrival in Charleston after a passage of ten Days, its longer then I Calculated for them as we was favoured with Such fine winds; it is impossable to Convince you and I will let you injoy your Opinion of the India Jack but I think if they all Should be brought forth that I Should get the largest Majority I hope you will have an Opportunity Soon of Shewing me a pair of black Eyes I Should be very happy in Seeing them but I Dont expect you will have that pleasure before next Summer. I Saw Mary Bere last week She informs allabout her agreable visit at your house She Sends her best love to you; I beg her to write the first Opportunity I receive; Mother Comfort's letter last evening She informd me that you Spent all your evenings with her in the bed room. I Can Easily guess your Conversation. O how I long to have my voice in with you; and Especaly these Beautyfull Moon evenings. had I the wings of an Eagle I would Soon fly in the presence of my Friends. I was very much pleased with my ring I think it much handsomer then the Other give my best love and respects to Mary Thurston I think its time to Conclude this Scrable without it was better and Bid you Adieu for the Preasant. . . . Sally Phillips

Hetty broke from her grief at this point in the letter and transcribed a letter from her brother, who had safely arrived with his ship in Charleston. Sally replied:

Phillips to Church, March 23, 1803:
"how many that flatter themselves; that feeble age is the only victim to decay and that the young and the life of Morn are secure from the hand of death....I congratulate you on your brother's arrival and doubt not but your heart was full of praise to him that has conducted them over the stormy seas and return them to you in health."

Sally may also have lost a sister (or sister-in-law) soon after. She writes in May:

Phillips to Church, May 30, 1803:
"little did I think then my friend [in reference to the March correspondence] of this my unhappy fate that I should so soon be called upon to taste the bitter cup of affliction and to mourn over the last remains of a beloved sister—Death has removed her from this vain world below from toils and cares and I trust she [has] gone to that above where she will be forever happy where—I hope we all shall one day meet to part no more—Three weeks to day my friend she was as lively as any of us and to all appearance looked as likely to live."

Yet it is the unguarded affection--the deep emotional bond--that comes through so clearly in the surviving correspondence between these friends. Sally, again, is the most effusive in her language, but Hetty' attachment is no less apparent:

Phillips to Church, July 15, 1801:
"I have ret[a]ined a few moments to indulge myself in writing a few lines to my beloved friend altho it [is] past nine o'clock—and silent night has spread her sable curtains round this lower world all nature is hush in a profound silence the birds are at quiet rest.…oh that our minds was always as composed as Nature seems to be."

Phillips to Church, July 21, 1801:
"the friendship and love that we have for each other...altho it's of late contracted I hope it will not abate at our being separated at such a distance and I'll assure you it shall not be any thing wanting on my part that shall ever break the sacread bonds asunder...though a person may have a thousand intimate acquaintance but not a friend amongst them all..."

Phillips to Church, December 1, 1802:
"O how I long to have my voice in with you; and especially these beautyfull Moon evenings. had I the wings of an Eagle I would soon fly in the presence of my friends."

Phillips to Church, December 11, 1802:
"O my friend if I could fly with wings I should come humming one of these Moon light N. West Nights."

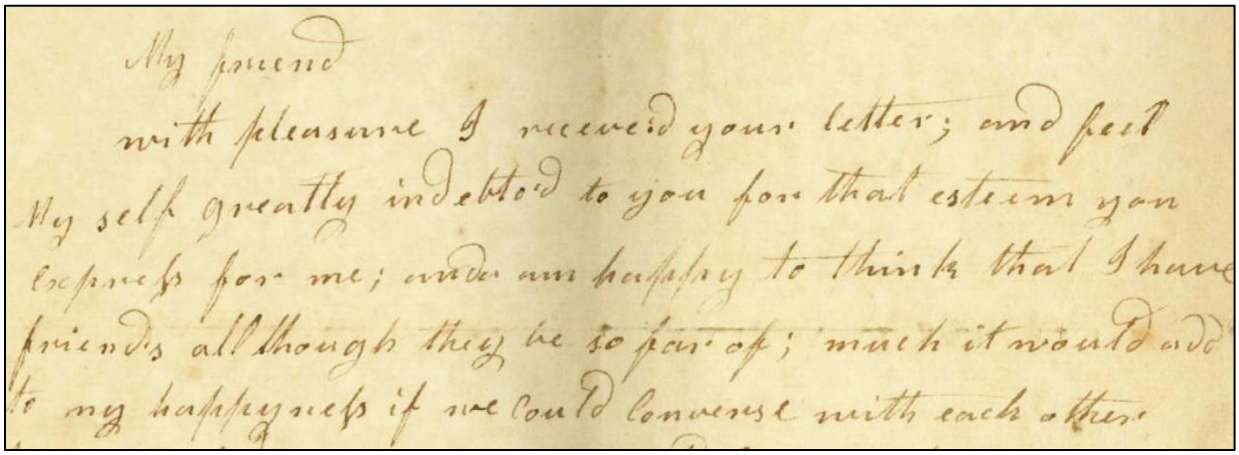
Phillips to Church, February 20, 1803:
"O Hetty I have had a thousand strange ideas frequently running in my mind in not receiving a line from you. I have tryed to recollect what I wrote in my last that could offend you and I was

unwilling to think that you was so attach to any ones company in Newport as to forget your old friend in Bristol, but since that happy moment in which I received your kind letter I find that all my fears where groundless....O Hetty suppose you will receive this letter before this day is enshrined O when will the happy moment arrive to meet again I think I never wanted to see you more in my life."

Church to Phillips, February 26, 1804:
"I wish you was here to go to school with me you would be very agreeably entertained, and I should have somebody to help me carry on [small paper loss] We have a fine time."

Church to Phillips, May 7, 1804:
"I took a walk to the court house last evening it was illuminated with 12 candles in every window and a band of music I don't suppose but that there was 2 thousand people there in the course of the evening."

Church to Phillips, July 11, 1804:
"It is now past ten o'clock and the family is all abed except Sally [a pet, perhaps a cat] and sets waiting for me very patiently she has been so good as to sleep with me ever since you left me it would be impossible to describe the gloom your absence made to us all I could not find rest in any part of the house for some time after."


My friend
with pleasure I receivd your letter; and feel
My self greatly indebtod to you for that esteem you
express for me; and am happy to think that I have
friends all though they be so far off; much it would add
to my happyness if we could converse with each other

A significant archive, worthy of additional scholarly research.

Contents
Dates of 30 letters from Sally Phillips to Hetty Church:
January 3, 1801 (1 p.); June 9, 1801 (1 p.); July 15, 1801 (1 p.); July 26, 1801 (1 p.); September 21, 1801 (1 p.); November 1, 1801 (1 p.); March 14, 1802 (2 pp.); April 27, 1802 (1 p.); June 4, 1802 (2 pp.); August 29, 1802 (1 ¼ pp.); September 19, 1802 (1 ½ pp.); November 7, 1802 (1 ¼ pp.); December 1, 1802 (1 p.); December 11, 1802 (1 p., sign. clipped); January 16, 1803 (1 p.); February 20, 1803 (1 p.); March 7, 1803 (1 p.); March 23, 1803 (1 p.); May 30, 1803 (2 pp.); July 24, 1803 (3 pp.); August 14, 1803 (2 ½ pp.); September 14, 1803 (1 p.); November 20, 1803 (2 ½ pp.); December --, 1803 (3 pp.); January 2, 1804 (3 pp.); January 23, 1804 (2 ½ pp.); March 25, 1804 (3 pp.); May 1, 1804 (2 ½ pp.); June 20, 1804 (3 pp.); November 29, 1804 (1 p.).

Dates of 27 letters from Hetty Church to Sally Phillips:
November 2, 1801 (1 p.); December 27, 1801 (1 p.); January 13, 1802 (1 p.); February 2, 1802 (1 p.); March 23, 1802 (1 p.); April 5, 1802 (1 ¼ pp.); June 25, 1802 (1 ½ pp.); September 5, 1802 (1 p.); October 3, 1802 (1 ¼ p.); October 17, 1802 (1 ½ pp.); November 15, 1802 (1 ¼ pp.); December 5, 1802 (1 ¼ pp.); January 5, 1803 (1 ¼ pp.); February 27, 1803 (1 ¼ pp.); March 18, 1803 (1 p.); April 29, 1803 (1 p.); June 6, 1803 (1 p.); July 26, 1803 (1 p.); August 28, 1803 (1 p.); October 30, 1803 (1 p.); December 11, 1803 (1 ¼ pp.); December 14, 1803 (1 ¼ pp.); January 9, 1804 (1 p.); February 26, 1804 (1 p.); May 7, 1804 (1 ¾ pp.); July 11, 1804 (1 p.); undated (1 p., date and signature clipped).

Relevant sources:
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2000 *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
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2015 The Social Sex: The History of Female Friendship. Harper Perennial, New York.

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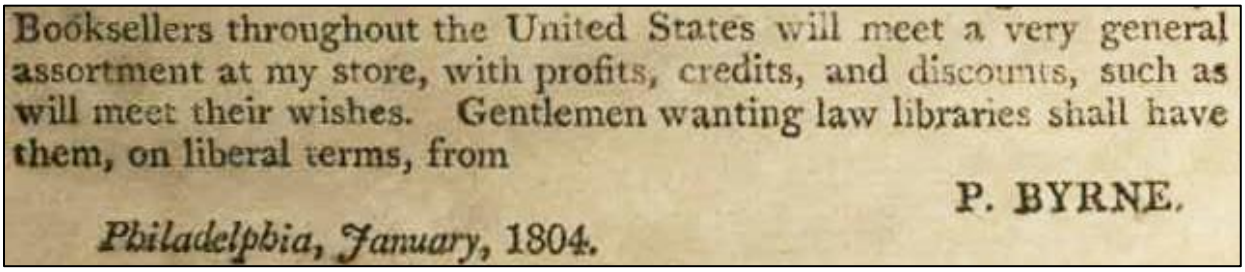
[New England--Women and Friendship]. Mehitable Church and Sarah Phillips. [ARCHIVE OF FIFTY-SEVEN MANUSCRIPT LETTERS BETWEEN MEHITABLE (HETTY) CHURCH AND SARAH (SALLY) PHILLIPS OF RHODE ISLAND, 1801 TO 1804. [Newport (Church) and Bristol (Phillips), Rhode Island, 1801-1804]. Mostly foolscap folio, 12 3/4 x 7 1/2 in. (32.5 x 19 cm), several smaller. About 80 pp. total. All letters written legibly in ink. All with old folds and soft vertical fold through center, edge wear, and short tears; some with stab holes and remnants of stitching from having once been bound; some with significant staining and longer tears, some with tanning and brittleness, but all quite legible. Overall good.

4. SOLD.

Patrick Byrne's 1804 *Quire Stock of Books*: An Unrecorded Catalogue

When Dublin bookseller Patrick Byrne relocated to Philadelphia in 1800, it was anything but a matter of choice. Byrne had languished for the previous two years in an Irish prison, charged with high treason against the British crown. His bookshop on Grafton Street served as the "literary rendezvous" for Dublin's Society of United Irishmen (Kinane 1994:329), and in the aftermath of the abortive Irish Rebellion of 1798 he was among the hundreds of association members rounded up and arrested by government forces. Since 1788, Byrne had conducted a transatlantic commerce with renowned Philadelphia bookseller, publisher, and fellow Dubliner Mathew Carey, so after his release--which only came with banishment from the British Islands--he joined Carey in America and soon began to rebuild his life and business. Notices placed in the Philadelphia *Aurora General Advertiser* in 1802 state that he still possessed his book warehouse in Dublin, "more extensively stocked than any other in Ireland, with all old and new law books" (Kinane 1994:331). That same year he issued his first American catalogue, a priced, 66-page list that survives in a single copy at the Library of Congress. Among Byrne's most prominent customers was Thomas Jefferson, who as President ordered several volumes from a later list in 1805. **We are excited to offer here the only known copy of that catalogue, issued by Byrne in January 1804**.

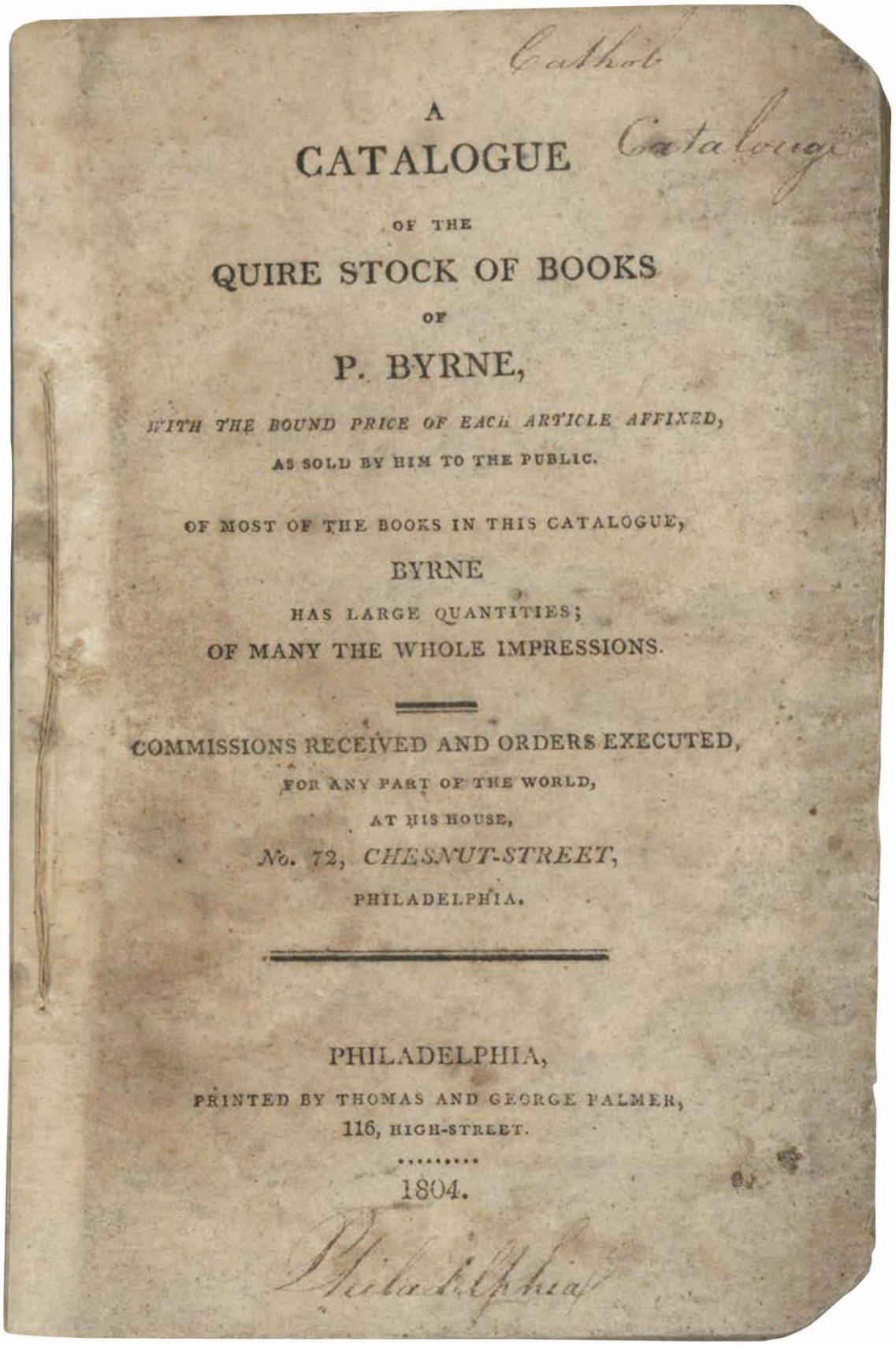

Booksellers throughout the United States will meet a very general assortment at my store, with profits, credits, and discounts, such as will meet their wishes. Gentlemen wanting law libraries shall have them, on liberal terms, from

P. BYRNE.

Philadelphia, January, 1804.

Patrick Byrne was born in Dublin about 1741 and had entered the city's thriving book trade by 1778; of his life before this first appearance in the trade, almost nothing is known. From the outset, Byrne's focus was on political and legal imprints, an emphasis he would carry with him to Philadelphia after 1800. From Dublin he forged business relationships with printers and publishers in Ireland, England, and America, including joint publication of various tracts and imprints. And despite his reputation as a political radical, his actual practice was rather more mercenary. During the 1794 trial of Hamilton Rowan--charged with seditious libel--Byrne was questioned about his plans to publish the results of the proceedings, apparently on Rowan's behalf. Byrne responded that "I have but one principle in the trade, which is to make money of it, and that if there were two publications giving different features to the trial, I would publish both" (in Pollard 2001:75). At the time of his own arrest in 1798, his bookselling and publishing business was probably the largest in Dublin; literary scholar Richard Cole credits him with at least 292 titles published in Dublin and another 78 in Philadelphia (1986:48-49). As Irish politician Henry Grattan noted in 1796, Byrne was "a man of very extensive dealing, as a bookseller; had a capital shop, and did service to the Literature of the Country" (in Pollard 2001:75).

In writing to Matthew Carey from prison in 1798, a dejected Byrne expressed his desire to relinquish the Dublin book trade for life as an American farmer. Yet within two years of his release



A

CATALOGUE

OF THE

QUIRE STOCK OF BOOKS

OF

P. BYRNE,

WITH THE BOUND PRICE OF EACH ARTICLE AFFIXED,

AS SOLD BY HIM TO THE PUBLIC.

OF MOST OF THE BOOKS IN THIS CATALOGUE,

BYRNE

HAS LARGE QUANTITIES;

OF MANY THE WHOLE IMPRESSIONS.

COMMISSIONS RECEIVED AND ORDERS EXECUTED,

FOR ANY PART OF THE WORLD,

AT HIS HOUSE,

No. 72, CHESNUT-STREET,

PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA,

PRINTED BY THOMAS AND GEORGE PALMER,

116, HIGH-STREET.

.....

1804.

LAW, MISCELLANY,

&c.

PART FIRST.

LAW:

CONTAINING THE OLD REPORTERS,

WITH THEIR BOUND PRICES AFFIXED.

ATKYNS' (John Tracy) Reports in Chancery, 3 vols. folio - - - - 18

Another copy, 3 vols. folio - - 18

Aleyn's (John) Reports in King's Bench, 22, 23, and 24 of King Charles, with the names of the learned counsel who argued the same, folio - 3

Anderson's (Sir Edmund) Reports in the Common Pleas, chiefly in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, two parts in one, folio - - - 4

Bulstrode's (Edward) Reports in King's Bench, in the reigns of King James I and Charles I, folio 15

Another copy - - - 5

Benloe and Dalison's Reports in the courts of Common Pleas, in the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, French, folio - - - - 3

Another copy - - - 3

Barnardiston's (Thomas) Reports of Cases determined in the court of King's Bench, with some other cases

and subsequent arrival in Philadelphia, Byrne was busily recouping his wealth and establishing a presence in the American trade. From his 1802 list it is clear that he had begun shipping over large quantities of his Dublin warehouse stock, but this is even more apparent in the previously unknown 1804 *Catalogue of the Quire Stock of Books of P. Byrne* offered here; at 104 pages, it is more than a third larger than the 1802 list. His reputation for handling legal and political works had by this time reached the foremost of American collectors and library builders, Thomas Jefferson, who sent Byrne the following order on February 14, 1805:

> I observe in your catalogue the following books.
> pa. 18. Brown's view of the civil law & law of Admiralty. 2. v. 8vo.
> 62. Chatham's Anecdotes. 2. v. 8vo
> 67. Enfield's history of Philosophy. 2. v. 8vo.
> 77. Home's chronologl. abridgmt. of the hist. of England
> 82. Mawe's Every man his own gardener.
> such of these books as you may still have on hand I shall be glad to receive and will take care to remit you their amount as soon as known.

A footnote in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* Volume 45, states that "The catalogue, from which TJ enumerated page numbers for desired books, has not been identified" (2021:503). Jefferson's page numbers and books match our unique copy of Byrne's 1804 *Catalogue*, thus resolving the question. **A bibliographic discovery, one that should make an exceptional contribution to research on the early American book trade.**

Relevant sources:

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1986 *Irish Booksellers and English Writers, 1740-1800, Volume 1*. Humanities Press International, Atlantic Highlands, NJ.
Kinane, Vincent
1994 'Literary Food' for the American Market: Patrick Byrne's Exports to Mathew Carey. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian* 104(2):315-332.
McClure, James P., editor
2021 *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Vol. 45. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
Pollard, Mary
2000 *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800*. The Bibliographical Society, London.

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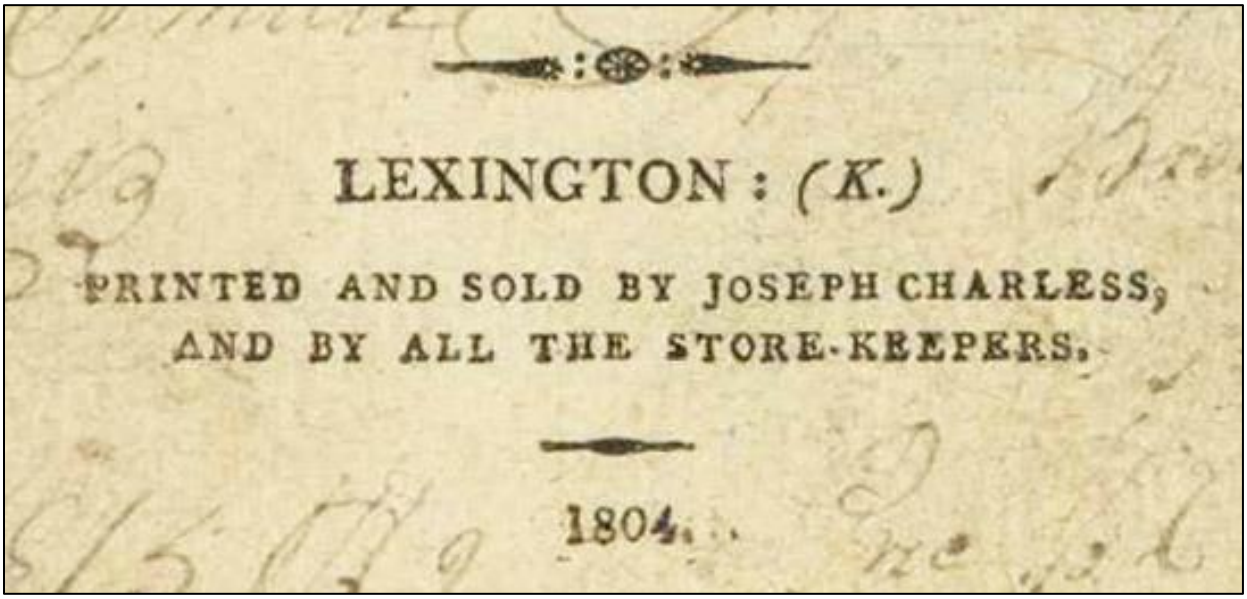
[Bookselling and Publishing--Early Republic]. A CATALOGUE OF THE QUIRE STOCK OF BOOKS OF P. BYRNE, WITH THE BOUND PRICE OF EACH ARTICLE AFFIXED, AS SOLD BY HIM TO THE PUBLIC. Printed by Thomas and George Palmer, 116, High Street, Philadelphia, 1804. 12mo (17 cm). 104 pp. Stitched as issued with outer corners clipped. Covers lightly tanned, scattered foxing. Very good.

5. SOLD.

The First Trans-Allegheny Arithmetic, with a Notable Kentucky Provenance

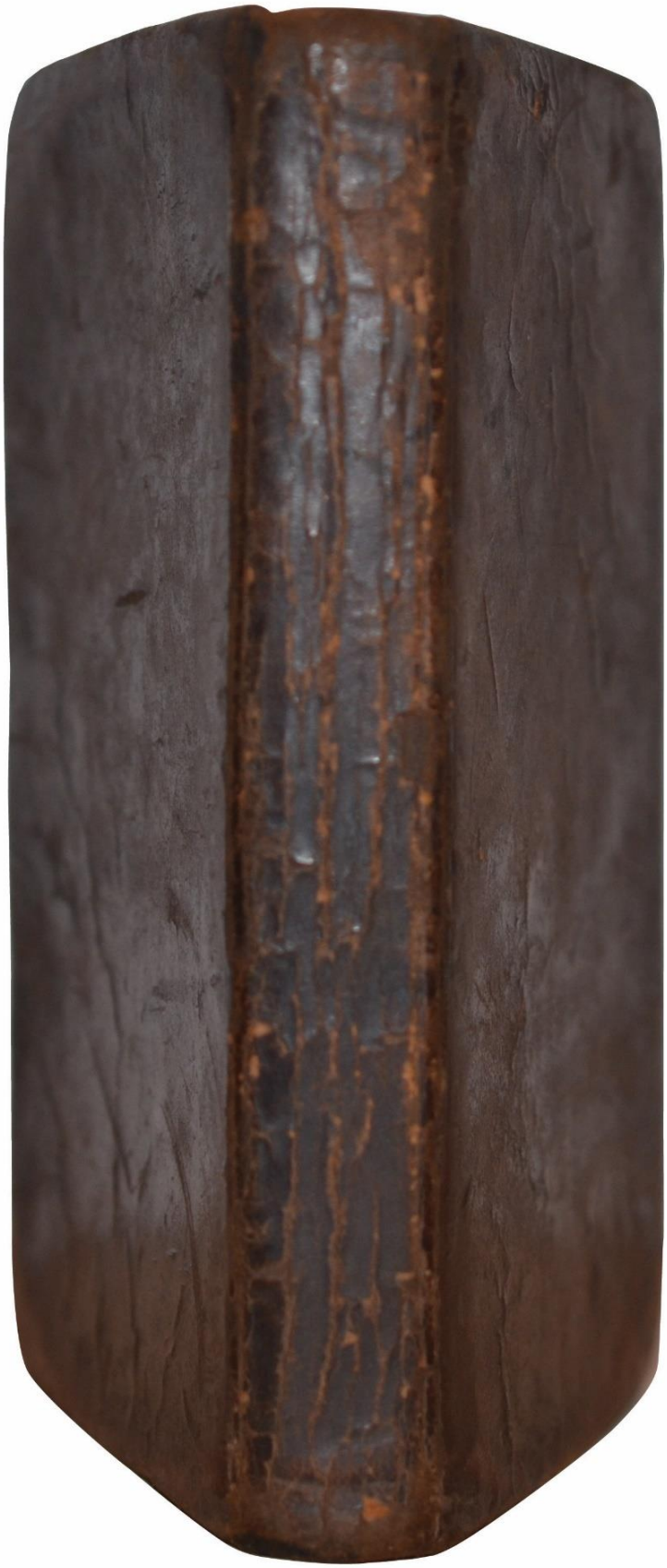
Joseph Charless is best remembered for having established the first American press west of the Mississippi River at St. Louis in 1808. On it, he produced the first western newspaper, *The Missouri Gazette*, and the first book printed west of the Mississippi, *The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana* (Missouri Territory would not be organized until 1812). Yet before he earned his place in the pantheon of printers, Charless had operated for four years in Lexington, Kentucky, known at the time as the Athens of the West. His was not the city's first press, but it was certainly among the most prolific. From 1803 to 1805, he published at least thirty distinct titles, all but seven of which were religious in nature, satisfying the tastes of the local community. Of the seven secular works, three were almanacs; one was a government document produced for the State of Ohio; the fifth was Lorenzo Dow's farewell to Georgia; and the sixth was an emancipation pamphlet. During these years, he issued only a single textbook from his press. Appearing in 1804, Jesse Guthrie's *The American School-Master's Assistant; Being a Compendium System of Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetic* was the first arithmetic printed west of the Allegheny Mountains and one of the first American textbooks actually written by a western author. **Reprinted six times by 1834, we trace no copy of this first edition ever offered at auction or in the trade**.

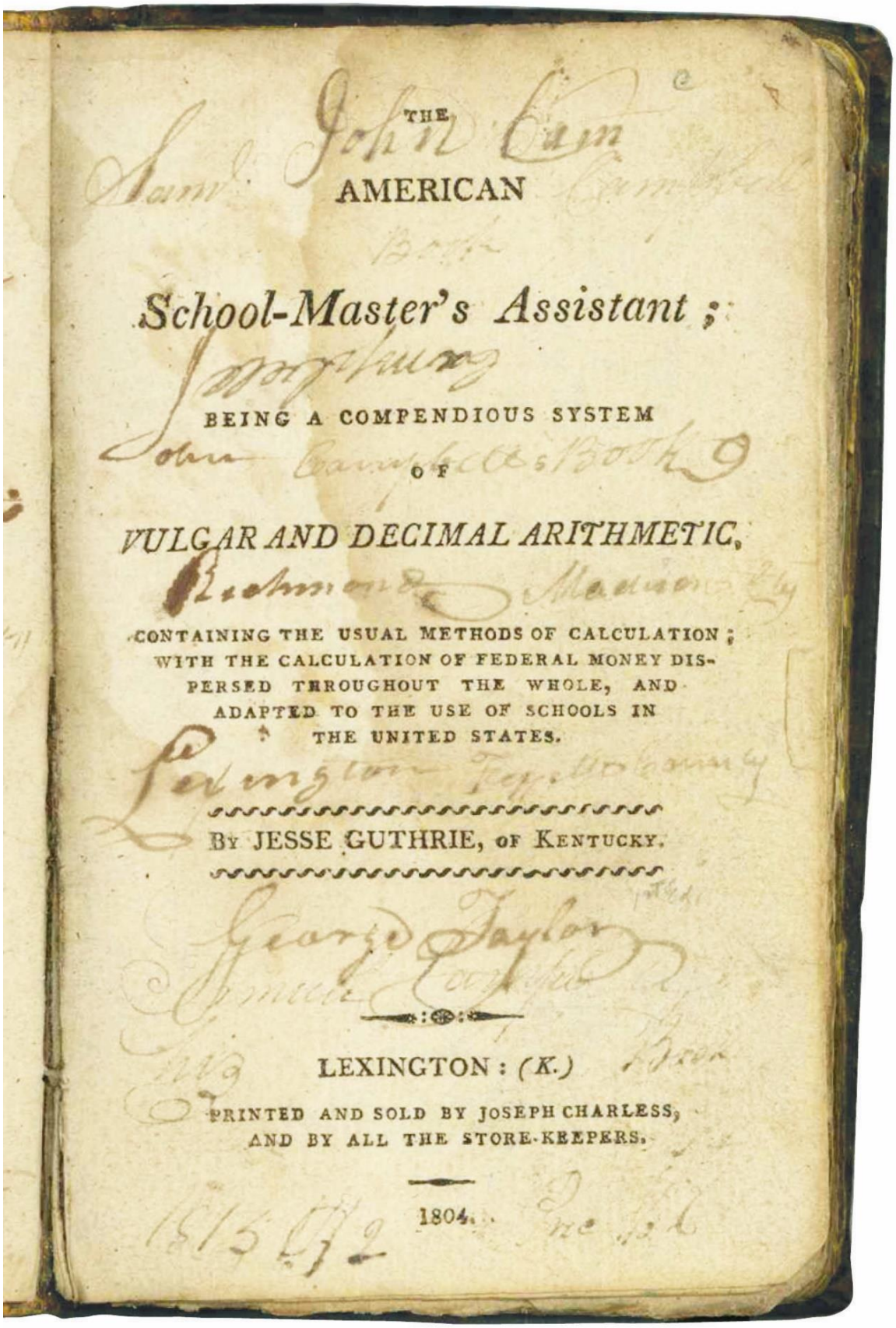
Charless was born Joseph Charles in Ireland in 1772 and migrated to America in 1796; he added the additional 's' to his surname at about the time of his arrival to reflect properly the Irish pronunciation, "Char-less." At first he settled in Lewistown, Pennsylvania, where he operated a bookstore and launched a newspaper, the *Mifflin Gazette*. Shortly after he established a business relationship with a fellow Irishman, Philadelphia bookseller and printer Matthew Carey. Charless traveled to the Ohio frontier and distributed Carey's publications from town to town, focusing on the sale of Bibles, primers, spellers, and historical works. About 1803 he moved with his wife and young children to the bustling town of Lexington, where he soon formed partnerships with other printers, including on the publication of a newspaper, the *Independent Gazetteer*. The family lived at Lexington for only about four years--during which time Charless published 42 titles from 1803


LEXINGTON: (K.)

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOSEPH CHARLESS,
AND BY ALL THE STORE-KEEPERS.

1804.





THE

AMERICAN

School-Master's Assistant;

BEING A COMPENDIOUS SYSTEM

OF

VULGAR AND DECIMAL ARITHMETIC,

CONTAINING THE USUAL METHODS OF CALCULATION; WITH THE CALCULATION OF FEDERAL MONEY DISPERSED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE, AND ADAPTED TO THE USE OF SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY JESSE GUTHRIE, OF KENTUCKY.

LEXINGTON: *(K.)*

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOSEPH CHARLESS, AND BY ALL THE STORE-KEEPERS.

1804.

to 1807 (unlike the titles he printed prior to 1805, nine of his final twelve Lexington imprints were textbooks). They moved on to Louisville in 1807, where he began publishing the *Gazette*. After only a year they moved one final time, across the Mississippi River to St. Louis, and it was here that Charless found his fame as the first great printer of the American West. He would retire from publishing in 1820 and at different times afterwards operated a livery stable, a boardinghouse, a tavern, and an apothecary. Charless died at St. Louis on July 28, 1834.

Guthrie's *American School-Master's Assistant* was both the first textbook published by Charless and the first arithmetic of any kind published west of the Allegheny Mountains. Of its Kentucky author, Jesse Guthrie, little is known. At least six editions appeared between 1804 and 1834, all of which are quite scarce today; per RBH, we find no record of any copy of any edition having been offered at auction or in the trade since a copy of the 1817 Paris, Kentucky, issue was offered by Midland in 1960. OCLC records only six institutional holdings of this first edition of 1804: the Clements Library, the University of Kentucky, Berea College, the University of Illinois at Chicago, AAS, and the National Library of Education. **This copy, in very good condition in its original Lexington binding, has an intriguing Kentucky provenance**. The pastedowns and endpapers bear the signatures of several white sons of Madison County pioneer, Samuel Campbell (1743-1821). The elder Campbell also fathered an enslaved daughter, whose own son was Lewis George Clarke--abolitionist, Underground Railroad conductor, and basis of the character "George Harris" from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (see item #20).

Relevant sources:

Kaser, David
1963 *Joseph Charles: Printer in the Western Country*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

McMurtrie, Douglas C.
1932 *The Early Career of Joseph Charless: The First Printer in Missouri*. Missouri Historical Review 26(4):342-353.

United States Department of Education
1985 *Early American Textbooks, 1775-1900: A Catalog of the Titles Held by the Educational Research Library*. U. S. Department of Education, Washington, D. C.

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[Kentucky--Education]. Jesse Guthrie. THE AMERICAN SCHOOL-MASTER'S ASSISTANT; BEING A COMPENDIUM SYSTEM OF VULGAR AND DECIMAL ARITHMETIC, CONTAINING THE USUAL METHODS OF CALCULATION; WITH THE CALCULATION OF FEDERAL MONEY DISPERSED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE, AND ADAPTED TO THE USE OF SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. Printed and sold by Joseph Charless, and by all the store-keepers, Lexington: (K.), 1804. 12vo (17 cm). vii, [2], 10-219, [1], 220-231 pp. Original full calf with edgewear to spine and boards; old dampstain, heaviest on title page; previous owners' signatures. Very good. [KY imprints 208].

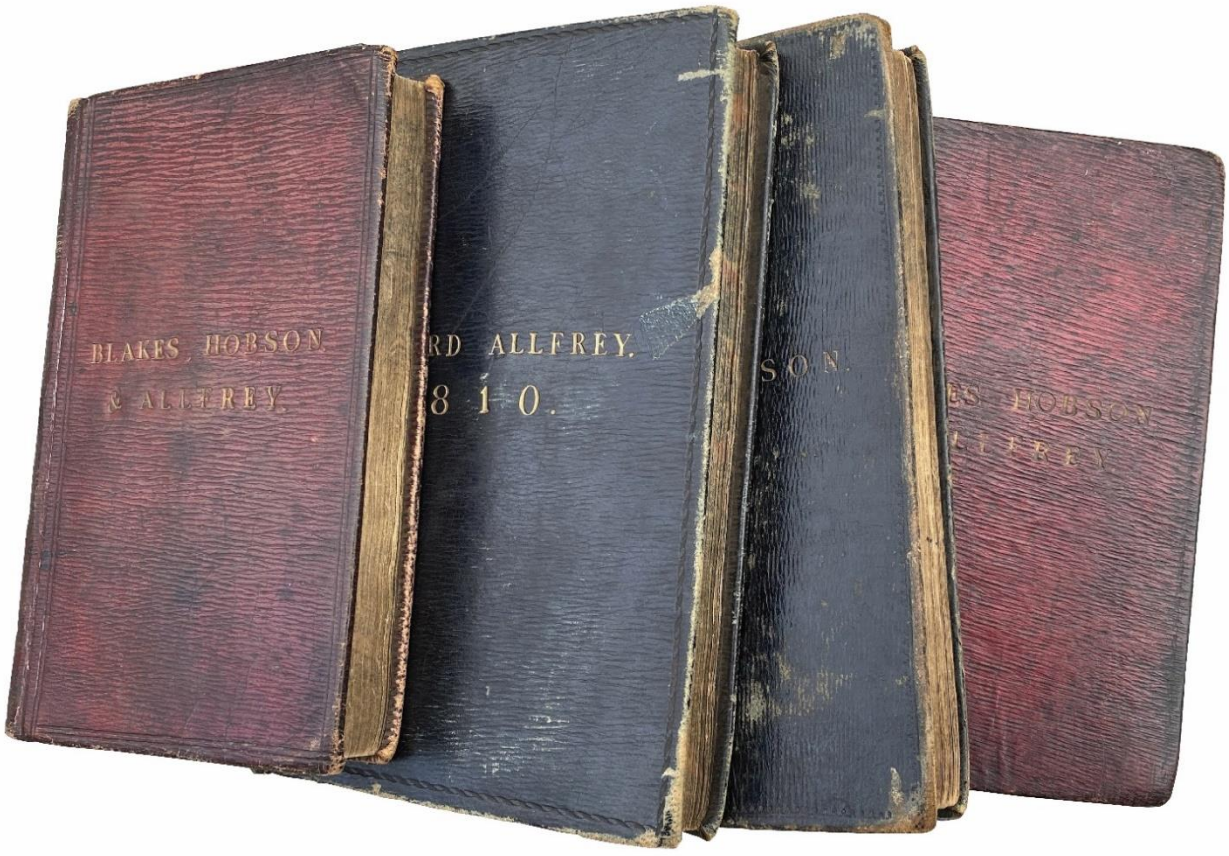
6. SOLD.

Four Risk Books: Marine Insurance and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

The modern-day business of marine insurance can trace its roots back to the coffee house that Edward Lloyd opened on London's Tower Street in 1686. Lloyd's Coffee Shop was favored by sailors, merchants, and ship owners, who intermingled and shared news of shipping, ports, and commerce. The Coffee Shop soon became known as the best place in London to obtain insurance both for ships and their cargoes, whether foods and spices, raw materials, manufactured goods, or slaves. In 1691, a group of underwriters--individuals who were able to evaluate and assume risk for a set price (i.e., a commission, premium, or interest)--relocated to Lombard Street. There the market prospered until 1774, when its members formed a committee, The Society of Lloyd's, and moved to the Royal Exchange in Cornhill.

Lloyd's is not, nor has it ever been, an insurance company. Rather, it is a marketplace for such underwriters or "members," themselves corporations or individuals, to pool and spread risk by offering insurance as self-organizing syndicates. Individuals and firms recorded their business dealings in small ledgers like the remarkably rare examples that we offer here. In their historical introduction to the British insurance business, Cockerell and Green observe that,

> From the early 18th century, marine underwriters recorded each year's insurances in small, portable registers known as risk books. These records are tabular summaries of every voyage or time risk in which the underwriter had an interest, and they served as an integrated record of

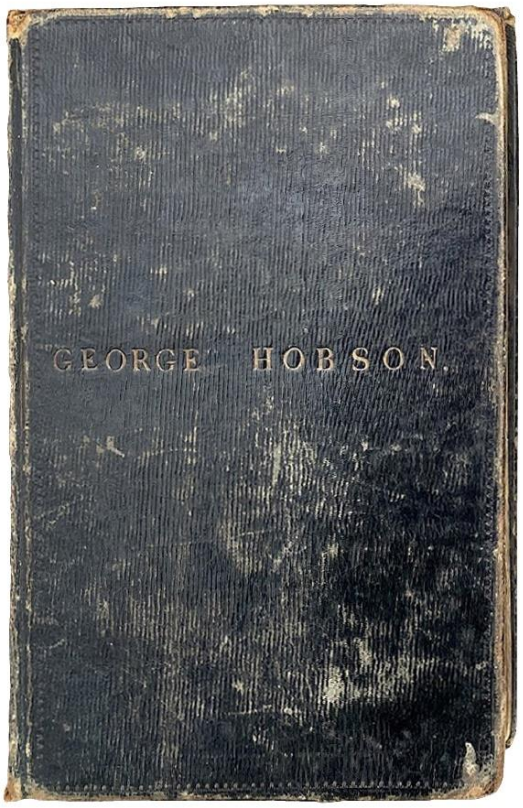


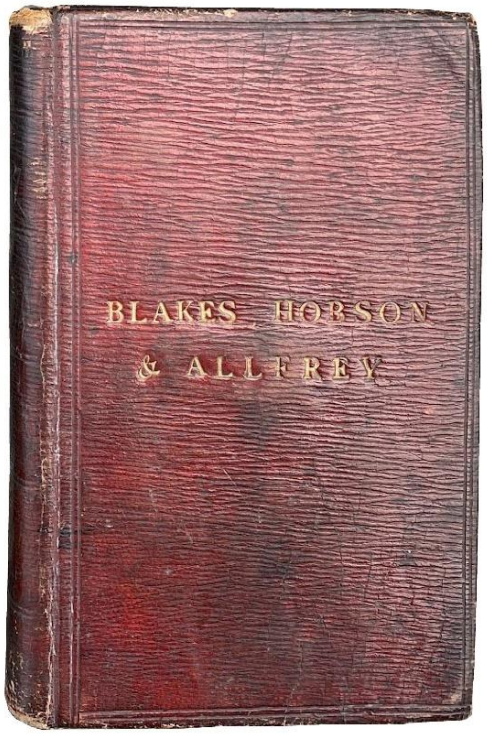
> insured sums and income from premiums. **Risk books, especially in continuous series, are the rarest form of insurance archives**, but because an individual underwriter insured 'lines' on many hundreds of risks in any one year, **the yield of information from a single register can be high** [1976:9, emphasis added].

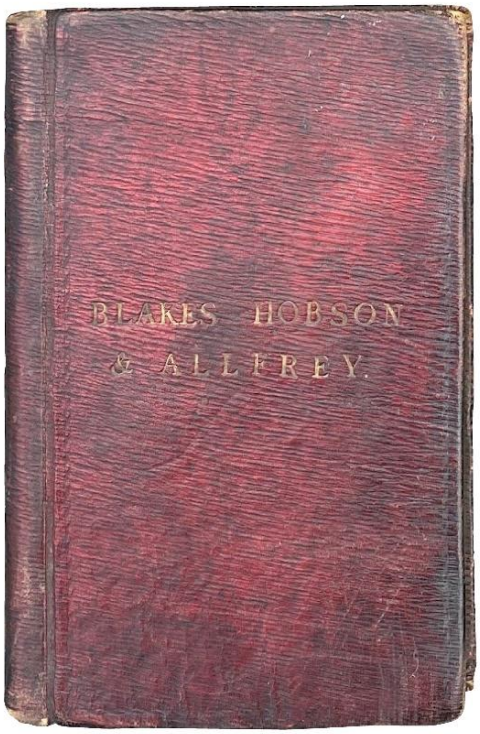
From 1972 to 1975, Cockerell and Green directed the Insurance Records Survey, a comprehensive effort to locate, examine, and list the records and archives of British insurance companies founded before 1909, when record-keeping requirements became standardized by national law. For those years from 1725 to 1825, the survey located a total of only 28 risk books. Three of these existed as single-year volumes and 25 others were in four continuous series (1725-1726, 1759-1774, 1796-1800, and 1823-1824). Nearly all of these are held in either Lloyd's Library or London's Guildhall Library. To this we can add the 8-volume series of underwriter John Janson at the British Library (1804-1810, 1815). We trace only one other institutional example with a Lloyd's association, an 1812 George Hobson risk book at the Peabody Essex Museum.

Significantly, only the series of John Janson covers a portion of those years from 1800 to 1810, bracketing the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807. In 1894, John Danson wrote *Our Next War*, an analysis of insurance premiums at Lloyd's from 1805 to 1816, inclusive of both the end of the slave trade--and just as important from the British perspective--the European wars with Spain and France. In assembling primary sources for his analysis, he drew upon all of the risk books listed above but also had access to a continuous run of George Hobson's books from 1811 to 1816. Danson describes these as "part of a remarkable set of such books, recording the work of an underwriting firm [probably Hobson, Allfrey & Wheeler] which remained at work at 'Lloyd's' from the latter years of the last century down to a very recent date" (1894:66). At the time of Danson's writing, these records were in the possession of Alexander Allfrey, but we have found no record of their loss or dispersal over the intervening decades, punctuated by two world wars and the bombing of London. As far as we can determine, the only Hobson risk books to have survived to the present day are an 1807 example housed at Lloyd's, the above-noted 1812 volume at the Peabody Essex Museum, and the volumes that we offer here.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the slave trade for the growth of transatlantic shipping. The century from the founding of the original Coffee Shop to the establishment of New Lloyd's saw the rise of Great Britain as the world's largest slave-trading power and the embedding of its American colonial network in a slave-based economy. This network and its slavery-powered engines were major markets for maritime insurance. Although most of Britain's trade--and thus the majority of maritime policies--were for European and coastal routes, the insurance premia were significantly higher for long distance voyages. Routes to Africa, the Americas, and the East Indies thus dominated the financial end of the insurance markets, and these routes were squarely situated in the slave trade. The pattern that linked routes between Britain, Africa, the West Indies, and the American colonies comprised the so-called triangle trade: ships carrying manufactured goods left Britain for Africa, where they exchanged their merchandise for captured Africans; the Africans were carried west across the Atlantic--the infamous Middle Passage--and sold in the Americas or exchanged for products such as sugar, tobacco, coffee, rum, indigo, spices, and exotic woods, all of which returned to Britain as fuel for the expanding consumer revolution. By the second half of the 18th century, slavery-related business made up 40% of all premium income.


GEORGE HOBSON.


BLAKES HOBSON
& ALLFREY.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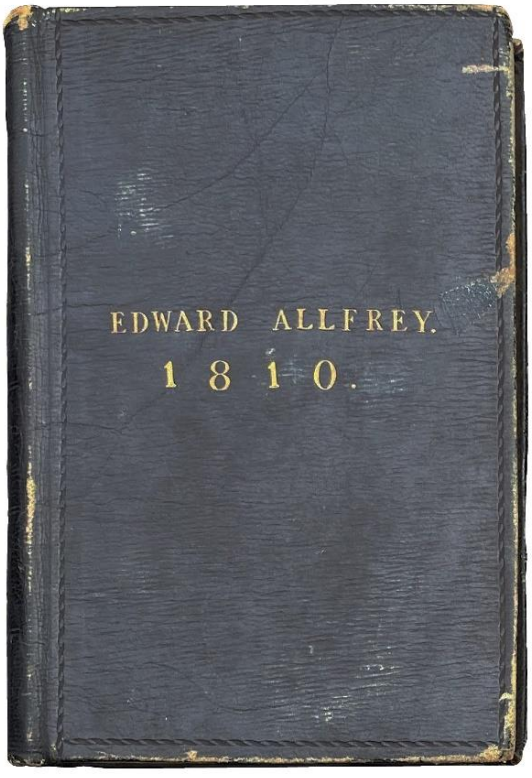
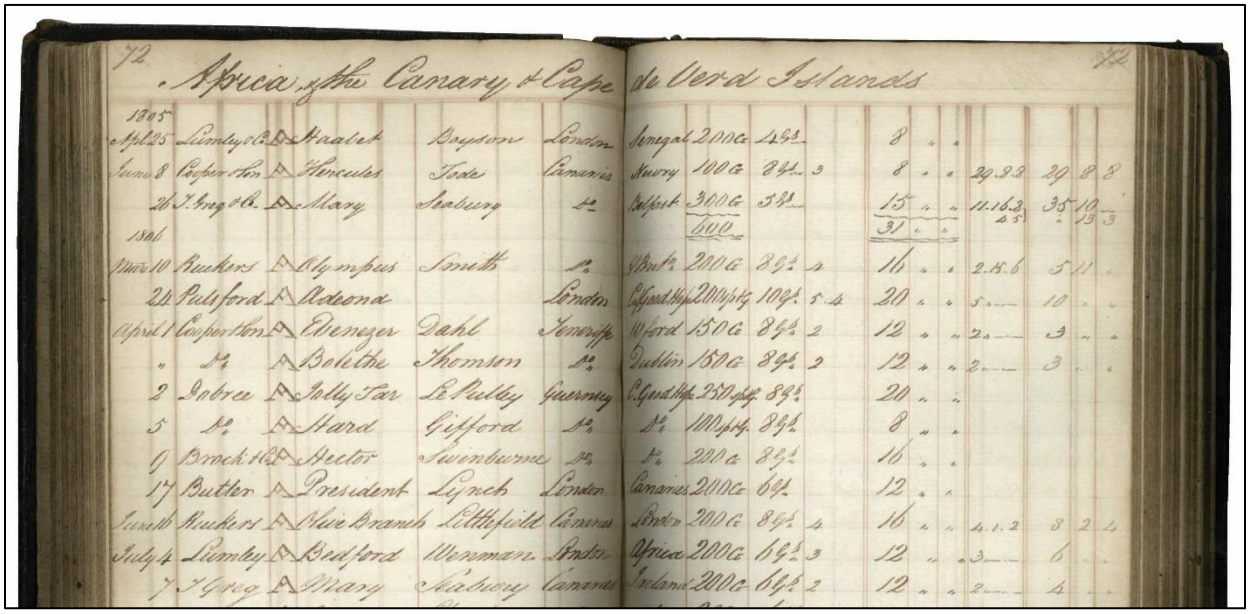

EDWARD ALLFREY.
1810.

Captive peoples intended for the West Indies and American slave markets were treated as cargo by the insurance markets and were usually included in the general insurance rates. Usually they were classified as parcels, their value determined by ethnicity, age, gender, health, size, and height. Some were even classified as perishable goods, like livestock, and insurance underwriters settled any losses of enslaved peoples to revolt at sea as the equivalent of damage or losses caused by farm animals panicking during a storm. Most insurance policies excluded the death of captured peoples during the Middle Passage, whether by illness or insurrection; rather, British underwriters were insuring the ship against the dangers faced at sea. As Pearson and Richardson note, a court case settled in 1796 confirmed

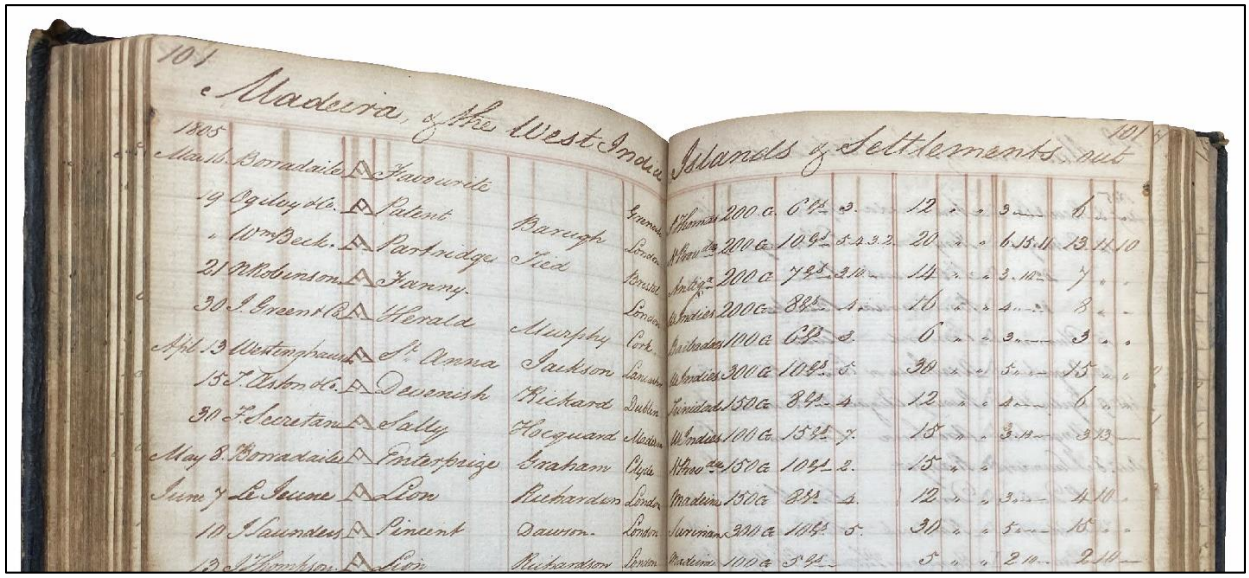
> the standard underwriters' exemption from liability for losses through natural death, wastage, or spoilage...where the court included within the definition of 'natural death' the starvation of slaves by insufficient provisions occasioned by delays in a voyage due to bad weather or poor seamanship [2019:422].

By the 1790s, the combination of slave trading voyages and the British trade in goods produced by enslaved peoples accounted for 63 percent of premiums earned by the British marine insurance industry (Inikori 2002). Indeed, a recent analysis by Pearson and Richardson (2019) suggests that the importance of the slave trade and its associated commodity trades to British marine insurance actually increased in the last three decades of the 18th century. When the slave trade was abolished by Great Britain in 1807 (the United States would follow a year later and ban the importation of captives for the slave market), the insurance of slaves as commodities was also prohibited. Yet from 1760 to 1807, more than 1.5 million Africans were forcibly carried to the Americas on British ships, about 40% of all Africans engulfed by the business of chattel slavery.



Two of the risk books that we offer here are from the firm of Blakes, Hobson, and Allfrey (1806, 1807); the other two record the risks of George Hobson (1805-1806) and Edward Allfrey (1810) as individuals. These, along with the aforementioned risk books of John Janson, are the only known series that bracket those years immediately before and after the end of the transatlantic

slave trade. Hobson, Allfrey, and Blakes, as with most other Lloyd's underwriters, were insuring multiple ships that engaged with either the slave trade or the broader slave economy. Hobson, for example, is listed among the London underwriters who provided coverage for the Davenport slave trading groups based in Liverpool (Inikori 2002:359). The dates of these risk books are thus of great significance: two immediately precede the end of the slave trade, one covers the year it was banned, and one dates to three years later. **As such, this archive has tremendous potential to shed fresh light on the business of marine insurance just before and after the slave trade--if not slavery itself--was abolished by Great Britain and the United States**.



DESCRIPTION

GEORGE HOBSON [1805-6], black morocco, summary of business, grouped together by various criteria: mostly geographic: 110, [4 blanks], 10, [2], 14, [2], 2, [2], 52, [2], 62, [2], 22, [10], 6, [2], 12, [4], 12, [8], 2, [2], 6, [2], 24, [2], 4, [1] = 338 pages with entries, with approx. 8450 entries in total.

BLAKES, HOBSON & ALLFREY [1806], red morocco, alphabetical & chronological, with section 'Losses & c 1806' at the end: 22, [4 blanks], 12, [2], 20, [4], 10, [4], 12, [8], 18, [2], 8, [4], 14, [6], 18, [6], 18, [2], 16, [8], 10, [2], 18, [8], 12, [2], 26, [6], 20, [8], 6, [6], 6, [6], 10, [1]. = 276 pages with entries, with approx. 5520 entries in total.

BLAKES, HOBSON & ALLFREY [1807], red morocco, alphabetical & chronological, with losses section at the end: 1– 22, [4 blanks], 30, [8], 12, [2], 14, [6], 12, [6], 10, [2], 16, [4], 18, [8], 2, [2], 12, [2], 18, [2], 10, [2], 4, [2], 16, [2], 12, [2], 38, [2], 12, [4], 10, [2], 8, [6], 12 = 288 pages with entries, with approx. 5760 entries in total.

EDWARD ALLFREY [1810], black morocco, summary of business, grouped together by various criteria, mostly geographic: 36, [4 blanks], 26, [4], 14, [16], 8, [8], 4, [6], 66, [2], 10, [2], 24, [4], 6, [2], 12, [2], 14, [2], 6, [2], 20, [4], 4, [2], 4, [2], 2, [4], 6, [4], 12, [4] = 186 pages with entries, approx. 4650 in total.

Relevant sources:

Cockerell, Hugh A. L., and Edwin Green
1976 *The British Insurance Business 1547-1970: An Introduction and Guide to Historical Records*. Heinemann Educational Books, London.

Danson, John Towne
1894 *Our Next War, in its Commercial Aspect; with Some Account of the Premiums paid at "Lloyd's" from 1805 to 1816*. Blades, East & Blades, London.

Inikori, Joseph E.
2002 *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Development*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Kingston, Christopher G.
2007 Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis. *Journal of Economic History* 67(2):379-409.
2008 Adverse Selection and Institutional Change in Eighteenth-Century Marine Insurance. Working paper, Amherst College.

Martin, Frederick
1876 *The History of Lloyd's and of Marine Insurance in Great Britain: With an Appendix containing Statistics relating to Marine Insurance*. Macmillan and Co., London.

Pearson, Robin, and David Richardson
2019 Insuring the Transatlantic Slave Trade. *The Journal of Economic History* 79(2):417-446.

Supple, Barry,
1970 *The Royal Exchange Assurance: A History of British Insurance 1720–1970*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

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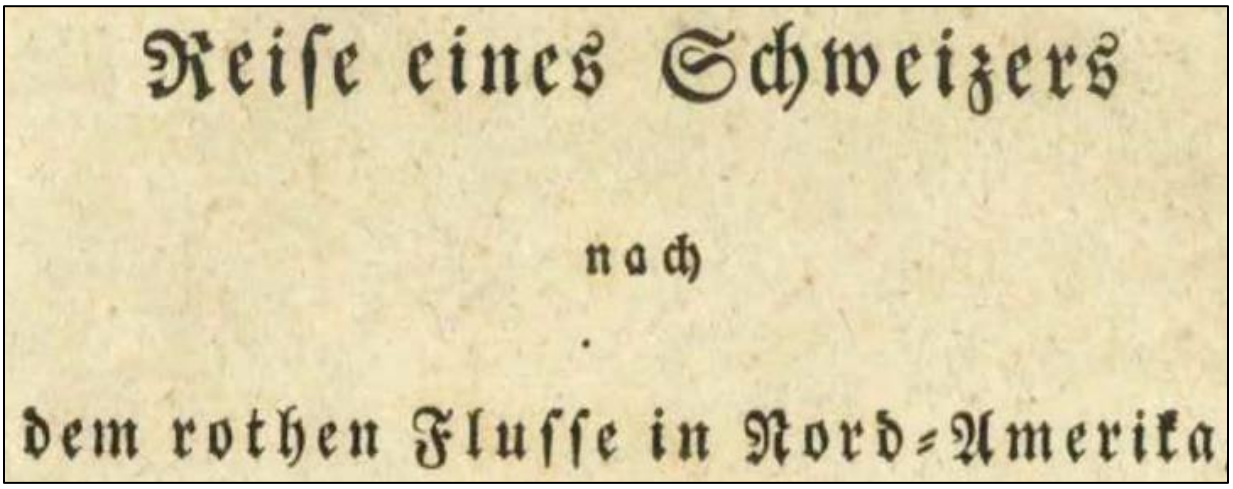
[Marine Insurance--Transatlantic Trade]. Blakes, Hobson, and Allfrey. [FOUR MANUSCRIPT RISK BOOKS OF LLOYD'S OF LONDON UNDERWRITERS GEORGE HOBSON AND EDWARD ALLFREY (AS INDIVIDUALS) AND ALSO BLAKES, HOBSON, AND ALLFREY (AS A FIRM OR COALITION)]. [N.p., but London, 1805-06, 1806, 1807, and 1810]. Four volumes, approximately 1088 pp., total, and more than 20,000 risks. Two vols. 8vo (19 cm) and two vols. 12mo (17 cm). Ruled paper pocket-books, original black or red straight-grained morocco with light rubbing to spine ends and boards; gilt titles and blind tooling, marbled end papers. All volumes very good or better.

7. SOLD.

Rudolf Wyss's Exceedingly Rare Account of the Red River Settlement

On August 17, 1821, the ship *Lord Wellington* arrived at York Factory, located along the Hayes River in modern-day Manitoba, five miles upstream from Hudson Bay. On board were 169 Swiss settlers bound for Lord Selkirk's Red River Colony, established a decade earlier at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers more than 500 miles into the interior. From York Factory, the settlers traveled another 300 hours upstream in small boats they frequently had to row, then drag with ropes from shore or even carry when the waters became too shallow. Finally they arrived at Fort Douglas, the Selkirk settlement's garrison, only to find that inept colonial managers had made practically no preparations for their arrival: grain was scarce because grasshoppers and floods had either devoured or ruined most of the colony's crops; there was little meat, as the buffalo had all but disappeared; and--with snow falling already--the cozy houses they had expected to find were in ruins. A utopian life on Red River, as promised both in promotional materials and in the actual contracts the settlers had signed, was instead a disaster. The only published account written by one of the settlers is the narrative of Rudolf Wyss, *Reise eines Schweizers nach dem rothen Flusse in Nord-Amerika, dortiger Aufenthalt, und Rückkehr ins Vaterland* (Journey of a Swiss to the Red River in North America, stay there, and Return to the Fatherland). **Published in 1825 in his native Bern, we trace only seven copies, with none in North America or Great Britain**.


Reiſe eines Schweizers

nach

dem rothen Fluſſe in Nord-Amerika

The Red River Colony was the project of Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk, who had founded the settlement in 1812 on land granted to him by the Hudson Bay Company (HBC). While studying law at the University of Edinburgh, he had observed first-hand the plight of poor tenant farmers, or crofters, who were being evicted from their farms as part of a transformation of Scottish land tenure systems. Selkirk was determined to resettle the farmers displaced by these so-called Highland Clearances. After first buying land for his project on Prince Edward Island and in Upper Canada, he later turned his attention to Prince Rupert's Land, a territory in British North America founded as a commercial monopoly of the HBC that comprised all of the Hudson Bay's drainage basin, including the Red River. When the British government denied his petition for a land grant there, he and Scottish fur trader Sir Alexander Mackenzie obtained enough HBC shares to gain control of the land. In the Selkirk Concession of 1812 he was granted more than 115,000 square miles--an area five times the size of Scotland--for establishing an agricultural colony. The first of

Reise eines Schweizers

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und

Rückkehr ins Vaterland.

Bern, 1825.
Bey Chr. Albr. Jenni, Buchhändler.

his Scottish and Irish settlers arrived at York Factory that autumn, with additional groups following in 1814. Over the next half-dozen years, they exhausted the bison population, suffered through bad harvests, epidemics, prairie fires, and a flood, while renewing a deadly conflict with the rival North West Company (NWC). This clash, in the courtroom and on the battlefield, sapped Selkirk's means and broke his health. He returned to England in 1819, bringing his case against the NWC to Parliament. When this final effort failed, he retired with his family to the south of France, where he would die of tuberculosis the following year at the age of 48.

Such were the circumstances of the Red River Colony when Selkirk's business associates began recruiting Swiss settlers in Bern during the spring of 1820. Promotional publications, issued in German and French, aimed to attract potential emigrants by avoiding these and any of the other challenges to life in the interior of Prince Rupert's Land. Instead, the prairie soil was described as fertile and ideal for grain (not covered in heavy timber); the bison were waiting to be hunted (not all but wiped out); the colony was supplied with equipment, food, and comfortable houses, with a healthy climate and mild winters besides. On May 10, 172 people--including 64 adult men and 44 women--traveled from Bern to Basel, then down the Rhine to Dordrecht, where they boarded the ship *Lord Wellington* and began their voyage across the Atlantic.

Among the passengers was Rudolf Wyss of Bern. Of his life before and after participating in the Red River venture, almost nothing is known. Yet his narrative is the best surviving account of the months that he and his countrymen lived and toiled in the far northern plains. Wyss writes that the first four weeks passed "quite swift and smooth" (p. 16; de Courten translation 2013), with little trouble other than widespread seasickness; their course took them past northern Scotland and the Orkney Islands, then by Greenland and into the Hudson Strait. It was here that the passengers were first exposed to the realities of travel at the edge of the Arctic Circle: "The farther we sailed into the Hudson Strait, the more often we came across ice[bergs]. One morning, we indeed were surrounded by them, and we could move neither forwards nor backwards, and we had to remain in this position for 18 days" (p. 17).

Before entering the Strait, the *Wellington* had met two HBC ships "carrying all sorts of goods and articles that were useful when bartering with the American wild people [die wilden] for furs" (p. 16). While the three ships were stuck in the ice, their captains and several passengers had ventured out to hunt--without success--for polar bears and seals. The journey continued after the ice broke, and Wyss notes that three days later:

> [W]e saw an enormous swarm of smaller boats or canoes heading at our ship. We Swiss did not know what this was about, and the women and children began to be frightened. But our captain, as well as Mr. von Hauser, reassured them and explained that these were the Eskimos, a savage nation of North America, who were living on the shores of both Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. They added that they came with the best intentions in order to barter [p. 19].

The Inuit peoples were allowed to board the ships, "and we soon began to do business. We bartered needles, knives, pots, bottles, and other smaller goods for clothes made of seal hide. Some, having no other items, went as far as to take off and offer their own clothes, in a way that eventually some women as well as men were all naked in front of us" (p. 19).

Auf Zureden vieler meiner Freunde, meine Reise nach dem rothen Flusse in Canada durch den Druck bekannt zu machen, entschloß ich mich desto eher dazu, als die Auswanderungen so sehr überhand nehmen, und ich dadurch Gelegenheit finde, meinen Landsleuten, die Willens sind, ihr Vaterland zu verlassen und nach Amerika zu ziehen, einige wohlgemeynte Räthe und Winke zu ertheilen.

Ich werde in dieser kleinen Schrift mit der reinen Wahrheit umgehen, und das Gute wie das Böse ohne Hehl aufdecken; jedoch versteht es sich, daß ich meinen Landsleuten nur von derjenigen Gegend Bericht abstatten kann, in der ich selbst gewesen bin, nämlich vom rothen Flusse, so wie von meiner Reise dorthin, meinem beynahe dreyjährigen Aufenthalte daselbst, und endlich meiner Rückreise nach dem theuern Vaterland. Sollte es mir gelingen, durch die Bekanntmachung dieser Blätter meine Landsleute auf den richtigen Standpunkt zu setzen, was zur Unternehmung einer solchen Reise und zu einem erträglichen Aufenthalt in jenem fernen Welt-

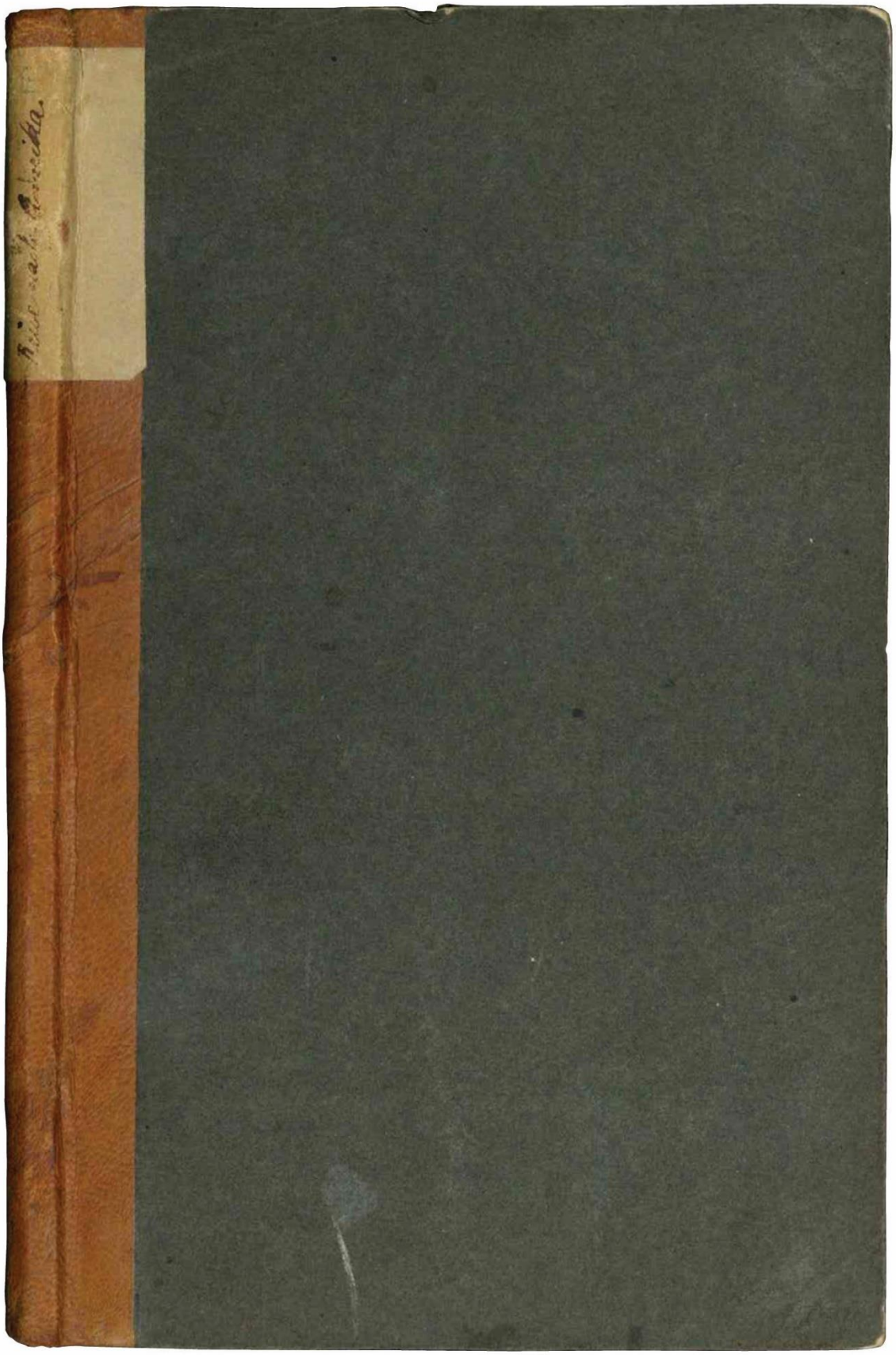
1 *

Near the end of August, after a 14-week journey, the *Wellington* dropped its Swiss settlers at York Station; one man and two children had perished on the trip. The settlers rested for several days, washing and repacking their belongings before boarding eight small York boats for the Red River. "Now," Wyss recalls, "the true calamity began, all we had suffered up to this day was only a trifle compared to what was expecting us" (p. 21). Following a course often referred to now as the Nelson-Hayes route, they soon met the Nelson River, where the men of the company spent 50 hours pulling the boats--loaded with women, children, and all of their bags and supplies--in water too shallow for oars. The steersmen, he writes, "were not of our nationality, they were half-wild people called Metis, or Canadians, who know the waterways" (p. 22). From here they entered the Hilly River, where they exchanged their ropes for long oars. All were clumsy rowers, such that one of the Metis steersmen nearly hit a young settler in anger. Wyss grabbed his rifle and told the Canadian, "in French, a tongue he understood well, that if he dared only to touch one of us, I would fire a bullet through his head, even if that would cost me my life. After this, he became the best fellow, and on our side we tried to accomplish our task correctly" (p. 24).

The snows began about halfway into the trip, and each night the exhausted settlers cleared their camping spots of snow, gathered wet wood, and prepared meals of "half-rotten meat and thin soup of barley or oats" (p. 26). They reached Lake Winnipeg just as their food ran out; two children and an adult man had perished during this part of the trip. The postmaster at Norway House, an important HBC station at the head of the lake, provided them with enough barley, fish, and salt for four days, the time he said was needed to make the crossing. Instead, due to adverse winds, it took them eighteen days. After the provisions ran out, they spent two weeks eating roots, berries, and mushrooms when they could be found. The settlers finally reached the Red River settlement on November 4, 1821. It was good timing, as two days later the rivers all froze over. According to Wyss, "At this point, we considered that we were at the end of our misery. Well no, the beaker of bitterness was hardly half emptied, and were to endure lots of other trouble" (p. 27).

The settlers were greeted by cannon as they came ashore. Inside Fort Douglas, each was given a small glass of rum and little else--they were shocked to learn that much of the colony's food supply was lost to grasshoppers and flooding. Dejected, Wyss retired to the front of the fort to contemplate his misfortune, most of which he pinned not on Selkirk and his surviving family but on mismanagement by the colony's local officers. He was soon joined by two men who asked if he was among the Swiss lately arrived. They, as it happens, were members of the Regiment du Meuron, an infantry unit originally organized in Switzerland for service with the Dutch East India Company that had defected to the British in the 1790s. About fifty of their number had eventually accompanied Selkirk to the Red River, joining his fight against the NWC. Most had settled down at the colony after their unit was formally disbanded in 1816, and they now began taking in their countrymen and sharing rations as best they could. This interest in their fellow Swiss settlers was not purely altruistic, though, as Wyss notes that the unmarried soldiers showed particular interest in families with "nubile girls" (p. 31). Indeed, nine of the unwed girls were married by the end of the first week, and fifteen over the course of the winter.

After surviving the winter with minimal help from the colony's managers, several of the Swiss families chose to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Five men had even departed over the plains with a Metis guide during the long winter months, but their guide abandoned them in their sleep halfway to Fort St. Anthony (later Fort Snelling) in present-day Minnesota; Wyss records that the



four who arrived at their American destination were rumored to have done so by killing and eating the youngest. In any event, some 16 families--or about 50 men, women, and children--left Fort Douglas in August 1822, all bound across the northern plains for American territory. They reached Fort St. Anthony in November, and many settled there permanently. The remaining settlers, Wyss among them, had agreed to remain for another year, until they received news of their fellows who moved south. They learned to fish, and they grew potatoes, barley, carrots, and beets on cleared land loaned to them by the Meurons. The following spring came and went with no news from the south, and by the summer another large group of seven Swiss families and 11 unmarried men had decided to make the journey south. Wyss intended to join them, but his plans fell apart on the day of their departure. This group, too, arrived safely before winter; Wyss would wait until the spring of 1823 before making his own escape. On June 10, he finally left with another family, bound not for America but Switzerland. He returned to Bern on December 19, concluding: "I sincerely wish luck and God's assistance to my dear countrymen who emigrate to America or elsewhere, and that they may be luckier than we, who traveled to the Red River" (p. 57).

Wyss's *Reise eines Schweizers*, printed at Bern in 1825, is the only account published by one of the Swiss who attempted to settle at Red River. It is exceedingly rare today. We trace no examples ever appearing at auction or in the trade, and we find only seven institutional copies: six in Switzerland (three in Bern, including the Swiss National Library; one each in Basel, Zurich, and Lucerne) and one in Austria (the Austrian National Library). **There are no recorded institutional copies in the United States, Canada, or Great Britain**. Wyss's account is a remarkable narrative of migration, hardship, and resilience on the northern plains. It offers detailed descriptions of the region's Native peoples and the challenges faced by some of the very first Europeans to settle this part of the vast territory that now includes Manitoba and Minnesota.

Relevant sources:

Bumstead, J. M.
2000 The Swiss and Red River, 1819-1826. In *Thomas Scott's Body: And Other Essays on Early Manitoba History*, pp. 57-76. University of Manitoba Press, Winnipeg.

de Courten, Antoine
2013 *The Swiss Emigration to the Red River Settlement in 1821 and Its Subsequent Exodus to the United States*. Trafford Publishing, Victoria, BC.

Peter-Kubli, Susanne
2020 Two Early Nineteenth-Century Overseas Emigrants From Näfels, Kanton Glarus, Switzerland: Walter Marianus Hauser and the Colony at Red River, Canada. *Swiss American Historical Society Review* 56(2): Article 2 (1-34).

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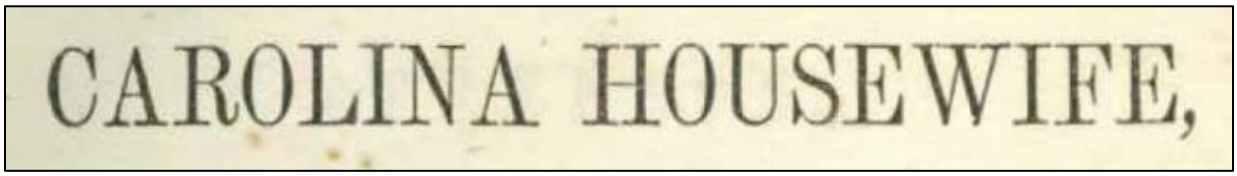
[Manitoba--Red River Colony]. N. Rudolf Wyss. *REISE EINES SCHWEIZERS NACH DEM ROTHEN FLUSSE IN NORD-AMERIKA, DORTIGER AUFENTHALT, UND RÜCKKEHR INS VATERLAND*. Bey Chr. Albr. Jenni, Buchändler, Bern, 1825. 70 pp. 8vo (23 cm). Contemporary plain stiff wraps, sheep spine with manuscript label; old private library stamp on title. Fine.

8. SOLD.

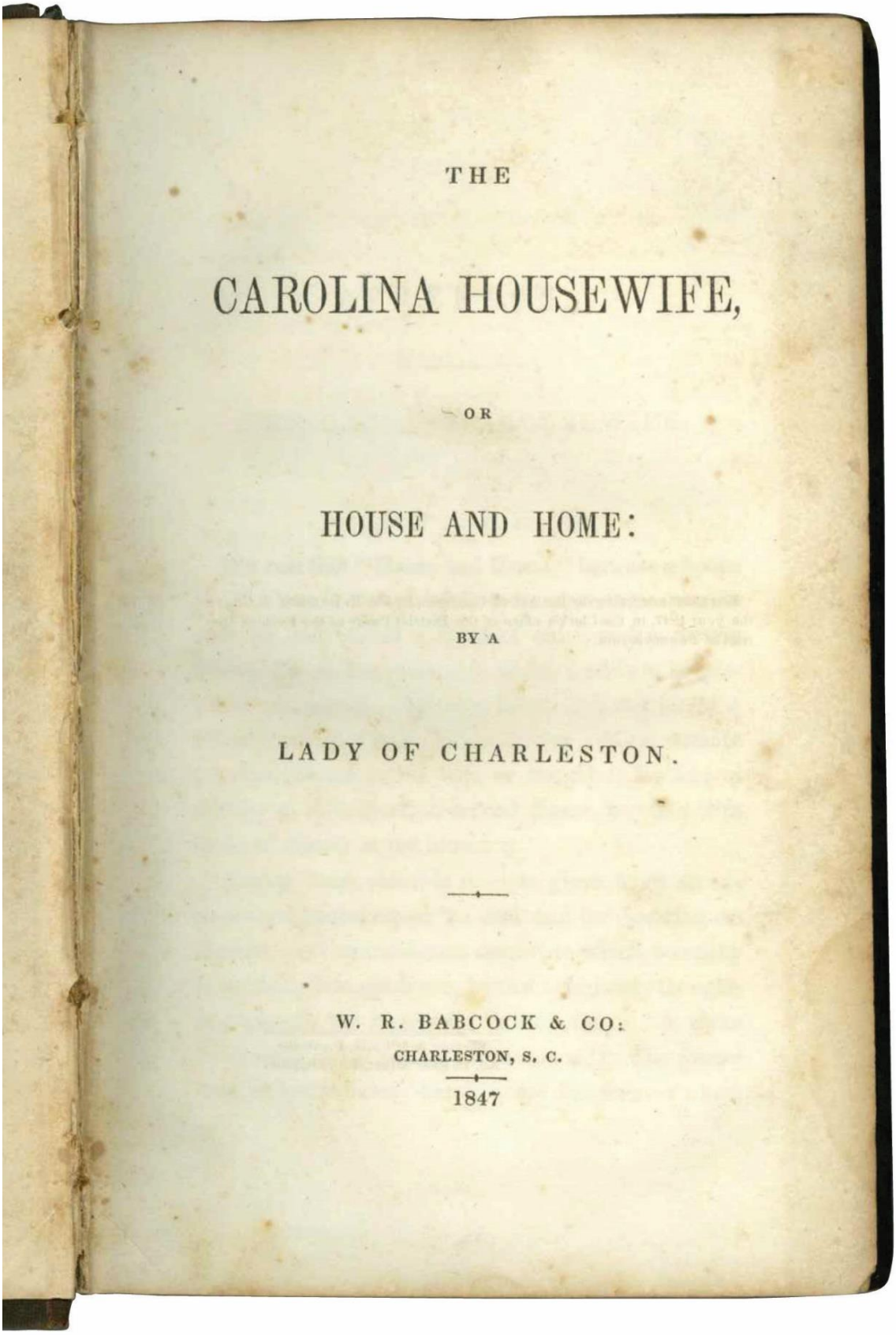
The Carolina Housewife, by a Lady of Charleston (Sarah Rutledge)

Few American cookbooks are as genuinely iconic as *The Carolina Housewife, Or House and Home: By a Lady of Charleston*. Few have offered as creative a presentation of any region's cuisine. Fewer have so epitomized the political and economic tensions of its era. And fewer still have featured as unlikely an author as Sarah Rutledge, its titular Lady of Charleston. Rutledge's *Carolina Housewife* is the last of what are widely recognized as the first three regional American cookbooks, together with Mary Randolph's *The Virginia House-Wife* (1824) and Lettice Bryan's *The Kentucky Housewife* (1839). It is the first cookbook to feature rice as an American staple and the first to focus on the foodways of the Lowcountry; Randolph's work stands as a record of early foodways in the Tidewater country, Bryan's in the Bluegrass region. First published at Charleston in 1847 and reprinted twice during the decade before the Civil War, all antebellum editions of *The Carolina Housewife* are extremely rare in the antiquarian market. **We locate no copies of the first edition in its original binding, as here, offered in more than a century**.


CAROLINA HOUSEWIFE,

The Carolina Housewife was published anonymously, as ladies of Charleston were only expected to have their names in print three times: when they were born, when they wed, and when they died. Yet it was hardly a secret among her family and friends that the author was Miss Sarah "Sally" Pinckney Rutledge (1782-1855), daughter of Edward Rutledge--a signer of the Declaration of Independence--and niece of another South Carolina signer, Arthur Middleton. She was as close to royalty as one could be in the post-revolutionary South. During her youth, Rutledge lived in England with the family of her father's legal partner, Thomas Pinckney, who was U. S. minister to the Court of St. James (i.e., the U. S. ambassador to the United Kingdom). On returning to the United States, she would spend the remainder of her 73 years in Charleston, whether at her family home at the corner of Broad and Orange streets (which still stands today as the Governor's House Inn); at the home of her brother, Henry Middleton Rutledge; or at various locations in town with her widowed stepmother, Mary Rutledge, and cousin, Harriet Pinckney.

All of these homes and their different kitchens--and different kitchen staffs--undoubtedly gave Rutledge a broad range of experience with Lowcountry foodways, and in 1847, at the age of 65, she produced the first edition of her famous cookbook, featuring about 550 recipes. Reprinted in 1851 and 1855, it promised its readers "principally receipts for dishes that have been made in our own homes, and with no more elaborate *abattrie de cuisine* than that belonging to families of moderate income: even those dishes lately introduced among us have been successfully made by our own cooks" (1847, p. iv). Nearly a hundred of these dishes include corn or rice, including the first published recipe for Hoppin' John, a traditional Lowcountry favorite of long-grain rice, black eyed peas, and salt pork. There are more than five pages of tomato recipes, including directions for stewing, frying, baking, pickling, and preserving this distinctly American product. Her recipe for "*Macaroni al la Napolitana*" was among the first published in America combining the tomato



THE

CAROLINA HOUSEWIFE,

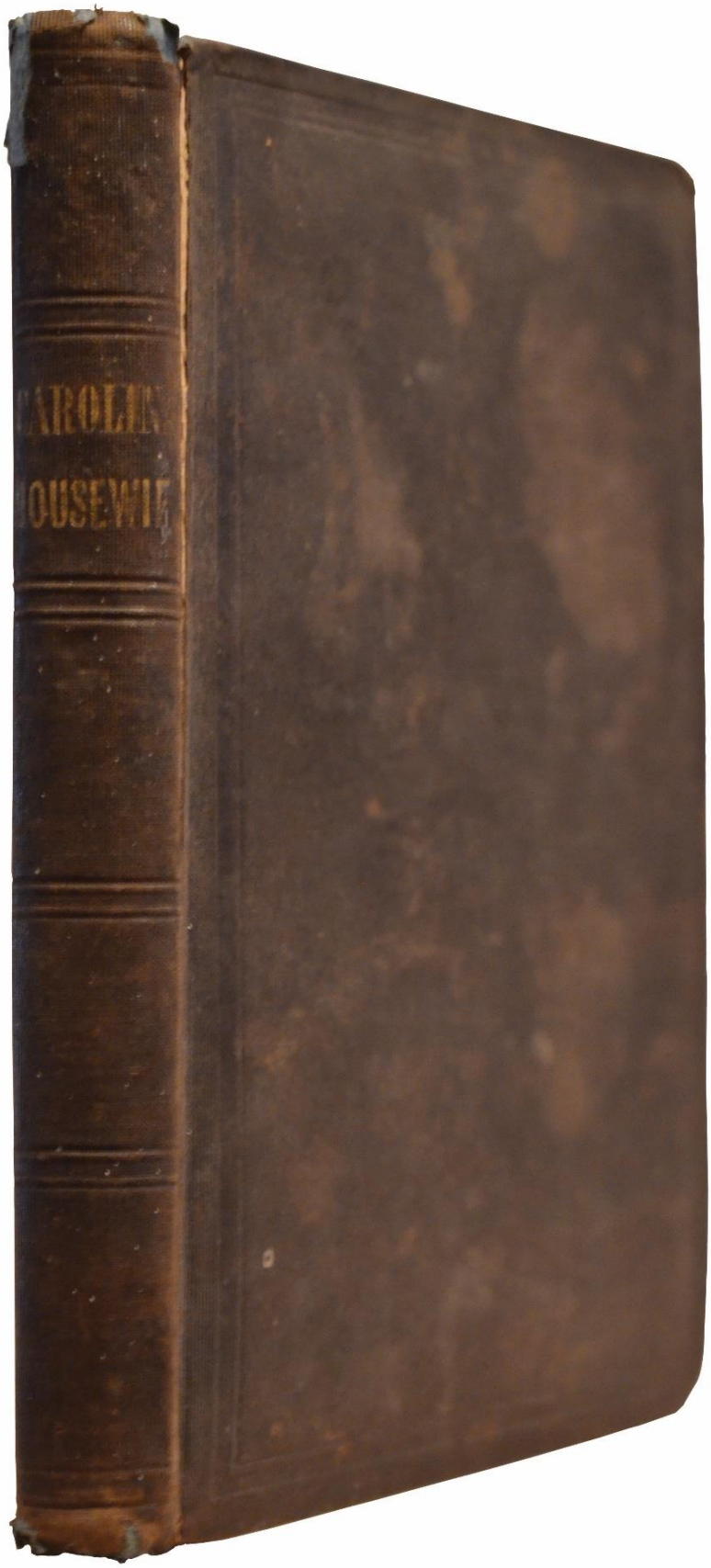
OR

HOUSE AND HOME:

BY A

LADY OF CHARLESTON.

W. R. BABCOCK & CO:
CHARLESTON, S. C.
1847


AROLIN
OUSEWIF

with a pasta. There are recipes for cooking tomatoes in omelets and with okra, one for "Knuckle of Veal with Tomatoes," and another for "Baked Shrimps and Tomatoes." Her rice dishes, besides Hoppin' John, include rice crumpets, waffles, sponge cake, flummery, blancmange, golden crusted casseroles, and a "Poor Man's Rice Pudding." As Karen Hess writes, "Miss Rutledge recognized the peculiar genius of South Carolina cookery and set about to record it" (1992:86).

Yet Rutledge likely prepared few of these Lowcountry dishes herself, and certainly not on a regular basis. Instead, most all of the meals that she and her family enjoyed, as ranking members of Charleston's elite, would have been prepared by enslaved women. Indeed, Rutledge's family owned a large rice plantation near the city that enslaved more than fifty people. The great majority of enslaved domestic workers could neither read nor write. As such, *The Carolina Housewife* was written not for them, but for their mistresses, the 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 bennie (sesame) soup, two different okra soups, groundnut soup, and even the traditional Hoppin' Johns. This cookbook, so 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). Each of these three cookbooks is extremely rare, particularly in the first edition. We trace no sale or auction records for firsts of either *The Carolina Housewife* or *The Kentucky Housewife*; two badly worn copies of *The Virginia House-Wife* appeared in 2011 and 2016, bringing $1320 and $2125, respectively. **An important book--and in remarkably nice, original condition**.

Relevant sources:

Hess, Karen
1992 *The Carolina Rice Kitchen: The African Connection*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Rutledge, Anna Wells
1979 Introduction. In *The Carolina Housewife, A Facsimile of the 1847 Edition*, pp. vii-xxvi. 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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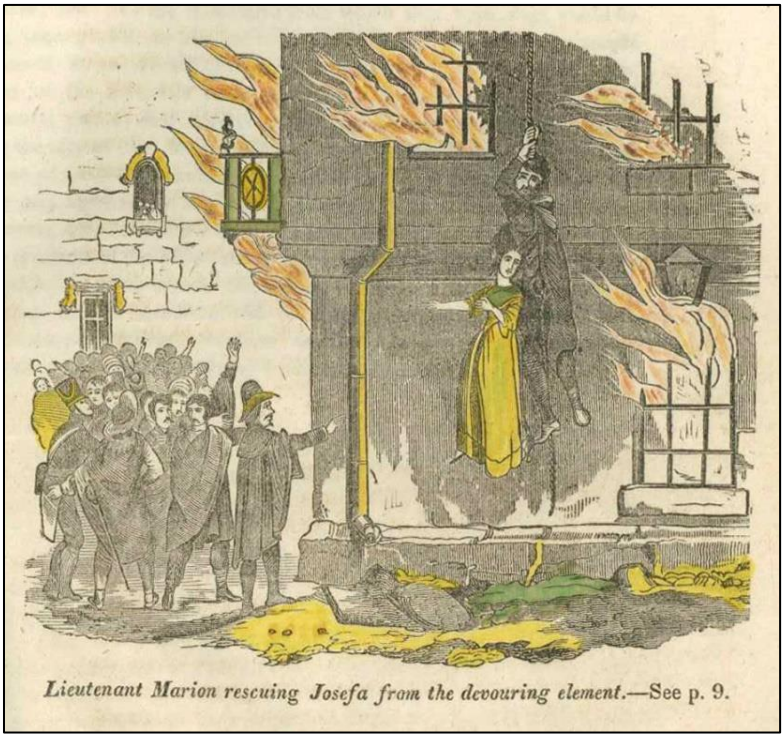
[South Carolina--Southern Foodways]. [Sarah Rutledge]. THE CAROLINA HOUSEWIFE, OR HOUSE AND HOME: BY A LADY OF CHARLESTON. W. R. Babcock & Co., Charleston, 1847. xiv, [1], 12-221, [1] pp. 12mo (19 cm). Original brown cloth binding with ruled boards and spine, gilt title on spine. Old spotting and light staining on boards, front outer hinge partially split but firm; wear to spine tips and corners, scattered interior foxing. Overall very good.

9. SOLD.

The Prisoner of Perote: A Romance of the Mexican War

The American dime novel tradition formally began on June 9, 1860, when brothers Erastus and Irwin Beadle issued *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*--serialized two decades earlier by author Ann Stephens--as the first of their Beadles Dime Novels. The original series ran through 321 issues and lasted well into the 1920s, by which time dozens of rival publishers had issued hundreds of titles by the millions. The roots of the dime novel tradition, though, date back to the story papers and novelettes, or pamphlet novels, of the 1840s. And among the most popular subjects of this earlier genre was the series of American and Texan interventions against Mexico from 1842 to 1848, culminating in the Mexican-American War. Perhaps the earliest such episode to inspire a pamphlet novel treatment was the 1842 expedition of Texas militia forces against the frontier city of Mier, located in Tamaulipas state near the Rio Grande. This operation and the fate of its survivors captured the American public's imagination, especially after participant William Stapp published *The Prisoners of Perote* in 1845, supposedly based on a diary he kept during his captivity at Perote Castle. Three years later, author and editor John E. Tuel would capitalize on this notoriety with his pamphlet novel romance, *The Prisoner of Perote: A Tale of American Valor and Mexican Love*, issued by the so-called father of illustrated journalism, Frederick Gleason. **We have located only five institutional holdings of this rare work, and we trace no copies in the trade since Eberstadt offered a "worn" example in 1936.**


THE PRISONER OF PEROTE.


Lieutenant Marion rescuing Josefa from the devouring element.—See p. 9.

The Mier expedition was an ill-fated--and ill-advised--effort by Texas militia forces to push back against the Mexican Army, which still routinely invaded parts of South Texas despite having lost the War of Texas Independence just six years earlier. A contingent of 350 Texans, ignoring orders from President Sam Houston, attempted to take the Mexican town of Ciudad Mier but were ambushed on entering by a much larger Mexican force and compelled to surrender. Nearly 250 survivors were marched to El Rancho Salado in Coahuila state, where Santa Anna commanded that every tenth man be executed in what came to be known as the Black Bean Lottery. For each prisoner, a bean was placed in a pot. Ten beans were black, the remainder white. Those who drew a black bean were shot by firing squad. The rest marched on to Mexico City, were they were held in the infamous Perote Castle, which lent its name to the title of both Stapp's memoir and Tuel's pamphlet novel. Several of these prisoners escaped, and a few remained in Perote, but most were eventually released by order of Santa Anna after two years in captivity.

In this potboiler, Tuel piggybacked on the public's familiarity with Perote and set a small part of his own story there during the Mexican War. Julius Marion, a captain of dragoons on a secret mission for General Taylor, is disguised as a ranchero in Vera Cruz. There he encounters his former adversary, Captain Don Fernando Alvarez, whom Marion had wounded in the arm at the Battle of Rasaca de la Palma. As they talk, an alarm arises, and Marion rushes into a burning home to save "the beautiful, dark-eyed, dark-haired, Josefa" (p. 8), daughter of General Alcortez and betrothed to Alvarez. When Marion's identity is revealed, he is sent to Perote Castle. Josefa disguises herself as a Mexican cavalry officer and visits Marion in the prison, assisting his escape by trading her disguise for his. Ultimately, Marion safely reaches the American fleet, but beautiful Josefa is killed in the American attack on Vera Cruz. **We trace five copies: at Ohio State, the California State Library, AAS, Texas, and LOC**.

Relevant sources:

Johanssen, Robert W.
1985 *To the Halls of the Montezumas: The Mexican War in the American Imagination*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Tinnemeyer, Andrea
2006 *Identity Politics of the Captivity Narrative After 1848*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

Streeby, Shelby
2014 Cheap Sensation: Pamphlet Potboilers and Beadle's Dime Novels. In *The Oxford History of the Novel in English : Volume 5: The American Novel to 1870*, edited by J. Gerald Kennedy and Leland S. Person, pp. 229-261. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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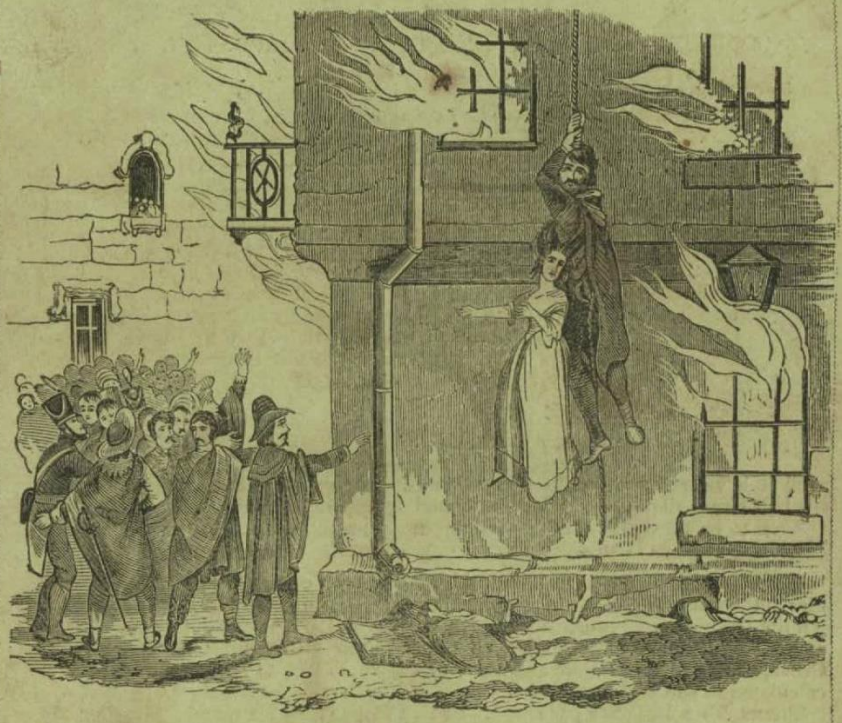
[Mexican War--Novel]. John E. Tuel. THE PRISONER OF PEROTE: A TALE OF AMERICAN VALOR AND MEXICAN LOVE. F. Gleason's Publishing Hall, Boston, 1848. [5]-50 pp. 8vo (23 cm). Untrimmed in original illustrated wrappers; minor edge wear to spine and covers, light occasional foxing; handcolored woodcut reproducing cover illustration. Very good.

10. SOLD.

THE PRISONER OF PEROTE.

A TALE OF AMERICAN VALOR AND MEXICAN LOVE.



Lieutenant Marion rescuing Josefa from the devouring element.—See p. 9.

BY I. E. TUEL.

F. GLEASON'S PUBLISHING HALL,
CORNER OF TREMONT AND COURT STREETS, BOSTON.
S. FRENCH, 293 Broadway, New York. A. WINCH, 116 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. STRATTON & BARNARD, 121 Main St., Cincinnati. J. A. ROYS, 37 Woodward Avenue Detroit. E. K. WOODWARD, 91 Chestnut Street, St. Louis. WM. TAYLOR, North Street, Baltimore. JOHN SELLERS, Rue Champs Elysees, New Orleans.

The Pacific Pioneers: A Connecticut Gold Rush Company of 1849

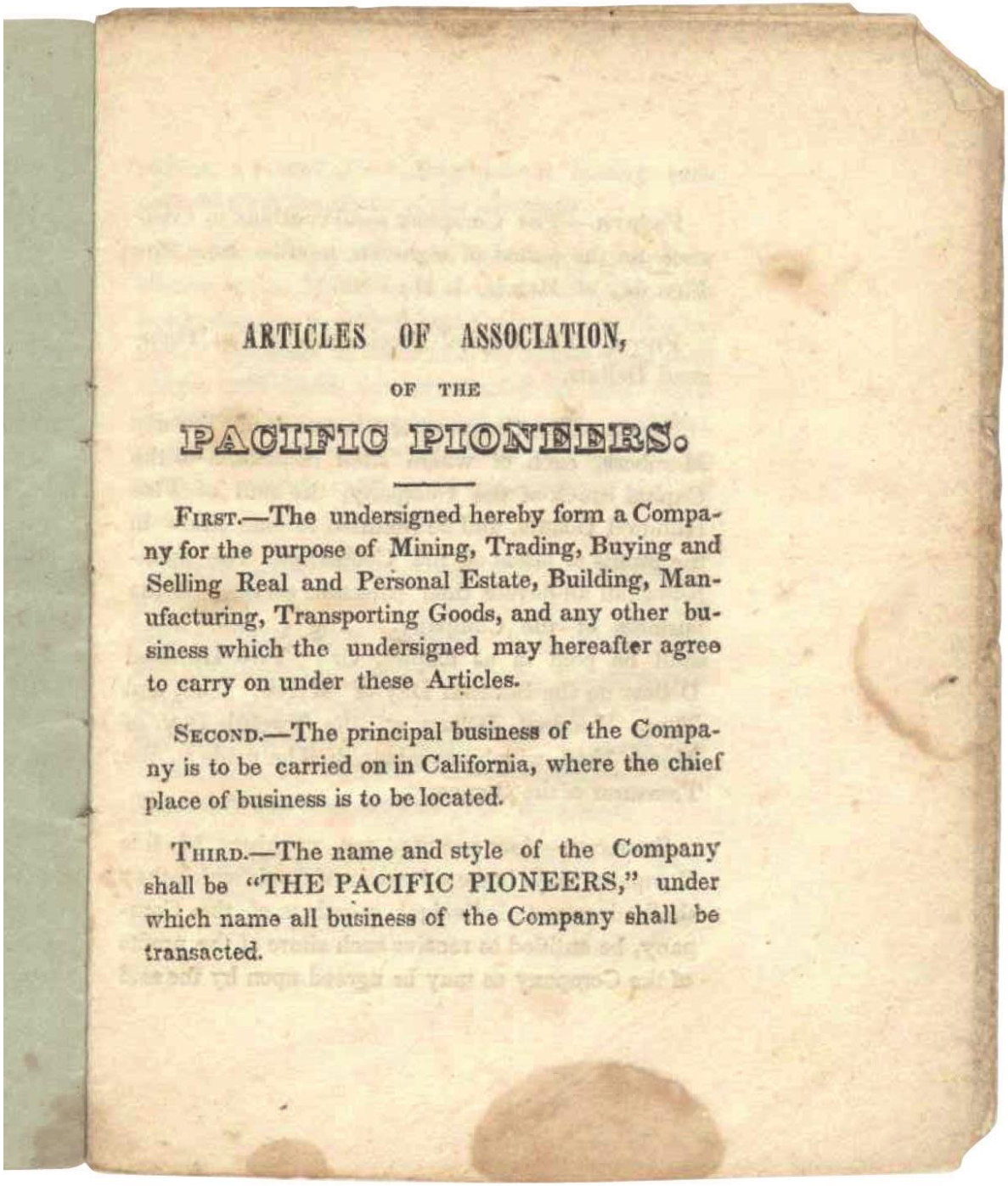
When President James K. Polk formally announced the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill during his State of the Union address on December 5, 1848, it set off what is still the largest mass migration in American history. Over the next three years, more than 300,000 people would make their way to what was soon to become the Golden State. Yet despite the hope of great reward, the risk of failure--or worse--was far higher. Many of those preparing to depart sought ways to spread their risk, even if that meant spreading any reward, as well. The most popular way of mitigating risk was to form a mining company or association prior to embarking for the West. Each member bought one or more shares in the company and then shared equally in both its responsibilities and rewards. Robert W. G. Vail noted that nearly 150 such organizations sprang up in Massachusetts alone in 1849 and hundreds more in other eastern states. Of these associations,

> few bothered to have their constitutions and by-laws printed, and it was inevitable that most of this ephemeral literature should have disappeared long before our day. It is so rare, in fact, that less than half a dozen examples have been mentioned previously in any of the bibliographies of California and the Gold Rush" [Vail 1949:250].

Vail identified only two dozen different bylaws, constitutions, and articles of confederation that were printed in 1849, more than half from the Thomas W. Streeter collection. **Remarkably, this little pamphlet by the Pacific Pioneers of Meriden, Connecticut, is only the third example of an imprint from Vail's list to appear since the Streeter auction in 1968**.

The Pacific Pioneers were organized on March 1, 1849, by Julius Howard Pratt, who would self-publish an autobiography, *Reminiscences, Personal and Otherwise*, in 1910. Pratt was born in Meriden in 1821. His father had grown prosperous from the manufacture of ivory combs, and Pratt joined the family business shortly after taking his A. B. from Yale in 1842 (he also received his A. M. three years later). In 1848 the comb factory was destroyed by fire, and nearly a year was needed to replace their particular machinery. Pratt, in the meantime, had considerable debt, a wife and daughter, and little to do while he was waiting. Fortuitously, "as we were then receiving the astounding news of the gold discoveries in California, I concluded to join the host of pilgrims to Eldorado, with a view to returning in one or two years" (Pratt 1910:22). He organized a company of twenty men, "each of whose services were to be given for two years as an equivalent for five hundred dollars in cash paid into the treasury by others who remained at home. Some of the active members also contributed the five hundred dollars in money and became owners of two shares" (Pratt 1910:22-23). The Rev. George W. Perkins delivered an address to the men of the company before their departure (itself published in 1849), and the twenty active members boarded a train to New York. There, on March 22, having decided on the Panama route to the gold fields, they took passage on a 140-ton brig named *Mayflower* bound for Chagres.

Pratt's account of their passage was published in *Century Magazine* in 1891 and fills two chapters of his *Reminiscences*. After an exciting trip across the Isthmus, Pratt separated from the rest of his association at Acapulco. While they continued north aboard the *Humboldt*, an old ship previously used for storing coal, Pratt had expected to catch a faster steamer headed north and thus



ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION,

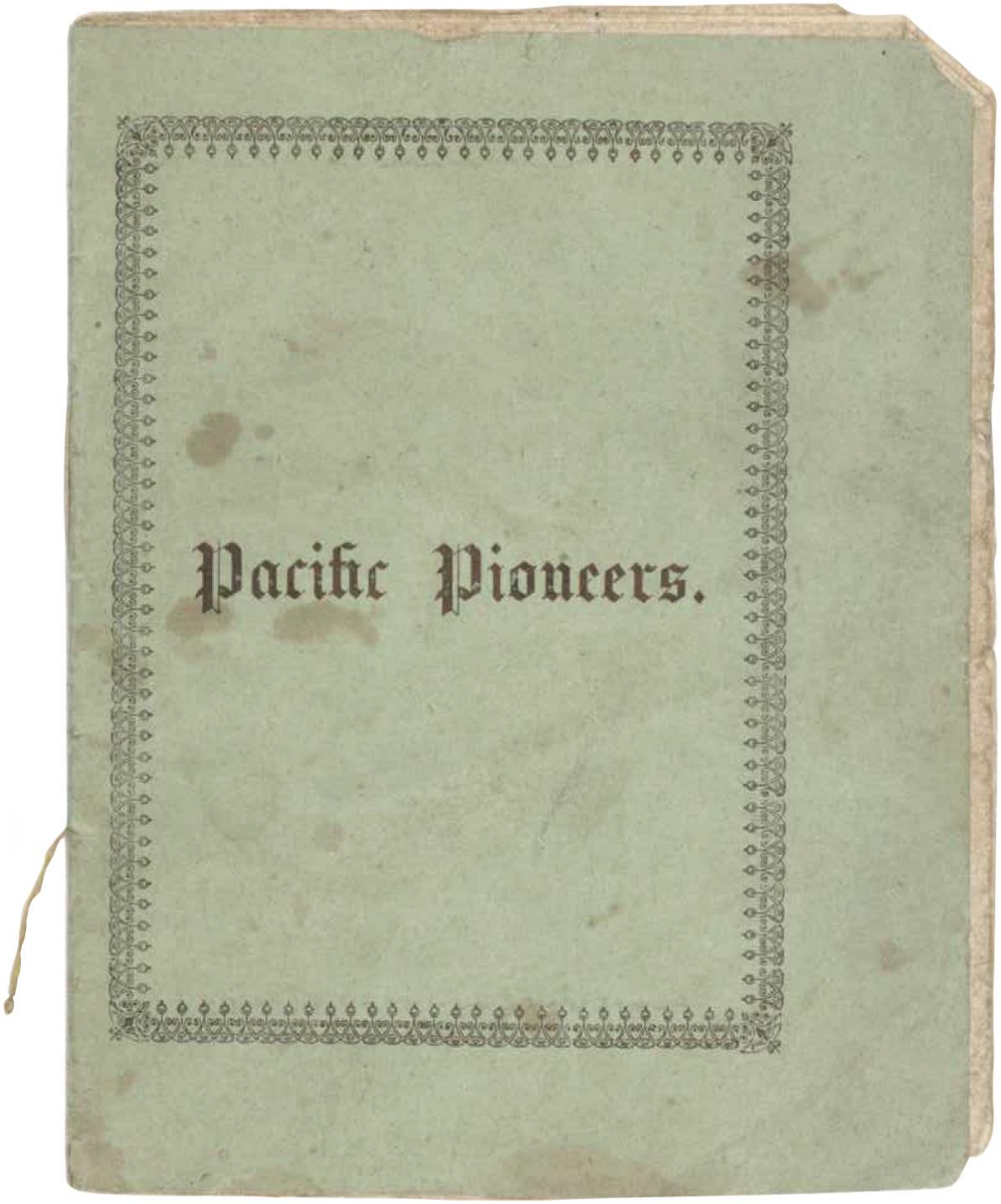
OF THE

PACIFIC PIONEERS.

FIRST.—The undersigned hereby form a Company for the purpose of Mining, Trading, Buying and Selling Real and Personal Estate, Building, Manufacturing, Transporting Goods, and any other business which the undersigned may hereafter agree to carry on under these Articles.

SECOND.—The principal business of the Company is to be carried on in California, where the chief place of business is to be located.

THIRD.—The name and style of the Company shall be "THE PACIFIC PIONEERS," under which name all business of the Company shall be transacted.


Pacific Pioneers.

to arrive in California ahead of his companions, so that he could get the company's affairs in order prior to their arrival. Yet there were no steamers to be had for more than three weeks. Pratt ended up arriving in San Francisco long after the rest of the Pioneers, who had taken an advance from Pratt's agent--to whom he had consigned supplies by shipment around the Horn--and headed for the mines. It took Pratt days to gather the scattered members of the company, but after just three months working together washing gold, "the more intelligent and conscientious of our company had reached the conclusion that it was inadvisable to continue the organization, a conclusion I had already reluctantly accepted" (Pratt 1910:72). And so like practically every other eastern company to reach the mines, the Pacific Pioneers disbanded. The supplies and rations were divided among the members, and each went his own way. When Pratt settled the company's financial affairs, he was able to pay back to the stockholders sixty percent of the original capital. Pratt himself would remain in California until 1851, when he returned to his family and work in Meriden.

Despite its diminutive 16mo size, the *Articles of Association of the Pacific Pioneers* is an ambitious document with an elaborate program including "Mining, Trading, Buying and Selling Real and Personal Estate, Building, Manufacturing, Transporting Goods, and any other business which the undersigned may hereafter agree to carry on" (p. 1). Its seven pages contain 23 articles that outline the association's rules, regulations, finances, and corporate structure. Only one other example is known, the Streeter copy now held by the Connecticut Historical Society; at the auction of Streeter's collection in 1968, it made $300, more than any other such document in the sale. In the years since, we trace only two comparables in the market: the *Constitution and Bylaws of the New-England and California Trading and Mining Association*, sold by John Howell for $1200 in 1979, and a broadside, the *Form of Copartnership of the Mount Hope and California Mining and Trading Association*. Making $90 at the Streeter sale, the lowest price for the genre, a second copy brought $4320 at Swann in 2011. No less an authority than Archibald Hanna noted that "Among the most elusive of California gold-rush ephemera are the constitutions and by-laws of the various mining companies organized on the east coast in 1849" (1981:22).

Relevant sources:

Hannah, Archibald
1981 Additions to the Western Americana Collection. *Yale University Library Gazette* 56(1/2):22-24.

Pratt, Julius Howard
1910 *Reminiscences, Personal and Otherwise*. Privately Printed.

Vail, Robert W. G.
1949 Bibliographical Notes on Certain Eastern Mining Companies of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1850. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 43(3):247-278.

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[California Gold Rush--Mining Company]. ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC PIONEERS. [n.p., n.d., but likely Meriden, Connecticut, March 1849]. 7 pp. [on 4 ll.]. 16mo (12 cm). Pale green printed wraps, light edge wear, light creasing and soiling. Very good.

11. SOLD.

The Only File of St. Louis's *Daily Organ and Reveille*

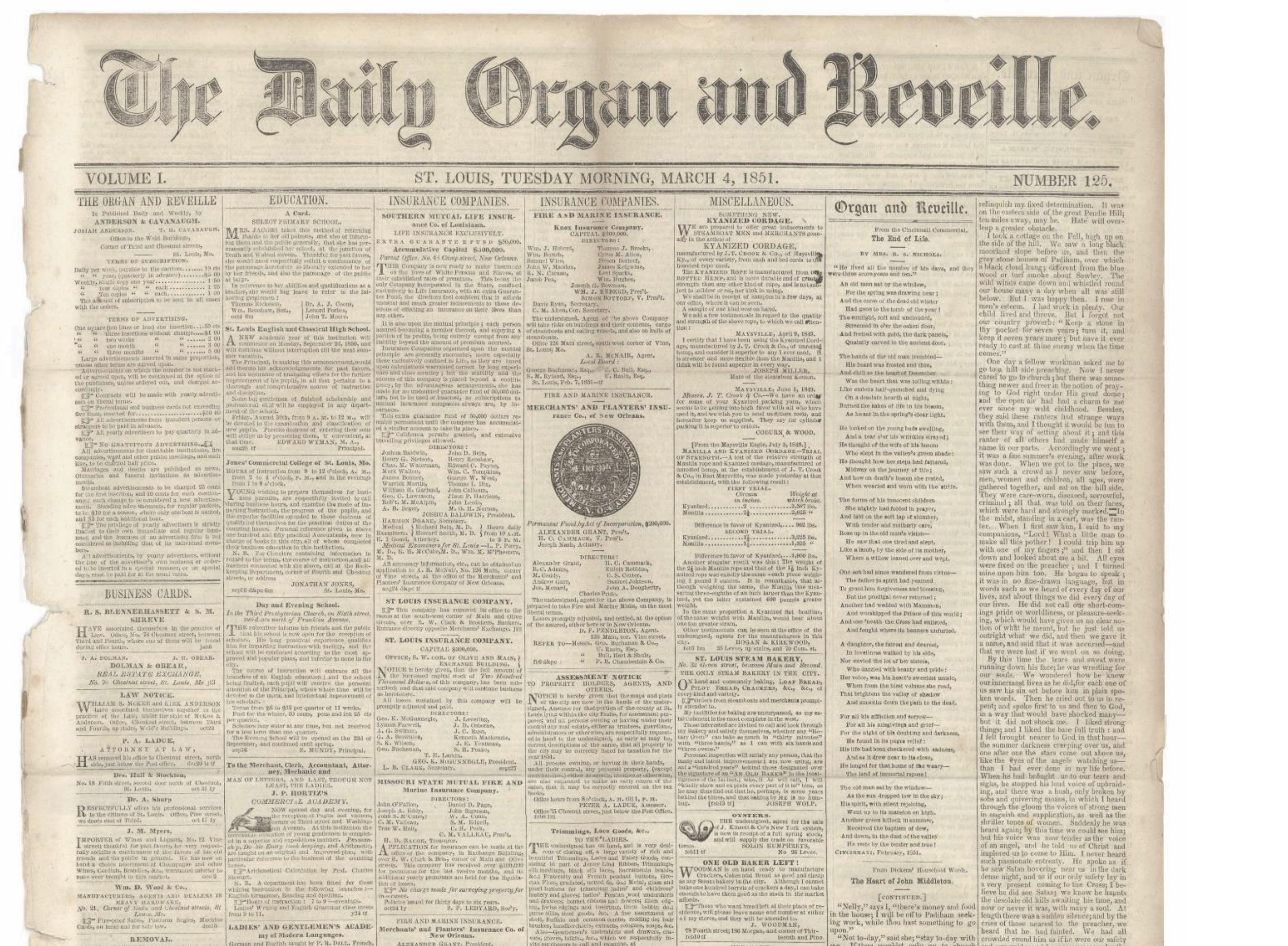
The first newspaper published in St. Louis--indeed, the first newspaper published anywhere west of the Mississippi River--was the *Missouri Gazette*, the first issue of which came from the press of Joseph Charless on July 12, 1808. More than a dozen others would appear over the next four decades, during which period the city's population exploded from just about 1200 people to more than 75,000. By midcentury, St. Louis was the largest city west of Pittsburgh and the second largest port in the United States, after New York City. Accordingly, the city and its environs were served by no fewer than nine newspapers, including the *Missouri Republican*, the *New Era*, the *Western Watchman*, the *Union*, the *Times*, the *Intelligencer*, the *Reveille*, the *People's Organ*, and the German-language *Deutsche Tribüne*. In October 1850, two of these merged to form the *Daily Organ and Reveille*, which would apparently not survive beyond its second volume. Although the Missouri Historical Society and the St. Louis Mercantile Library have long and diligently collected early newspapers from the St. Louis region, only two numbers of this title are held in institutional collections. **The issues offered here, 130 sequential numbers from January to May 1851, thus appear to comprise the only existing file of this important title**.


The Daily Organ and Reveille.

Both the *Reveille* and the *People's Organ* had been established in the decade prior to their merger. Russell Higgins had started the *People's Organ* about 1840, having come to St. Louis as a printer the year before and briefly partnered with Abel Rathbone Corbin on the existing *Missouri Argus*. The *Organ* was the first penny newspaper west of the Mississippi and, according to Walter Stevens, was one of the few paying newspapers of the period. "Mr Higgins," he observes, "was almost alone of the newspaper proprietors of those days who could show a good balance at the end of the year" (Stevens 1911:159). Higgins sold the paper for a tidy profit in 1846.

The *Saint Louis Reveille* was started in 1844 by Charles Keemle, one of the city's earliest newspapermen, and brothers Joseph and Matthew Field. According to Stevens, Keemle "was one of the boldest men in the St. Louis newspaper field" (1911:158). Raised by his maternal uncle in Norfolk, Virginia, after the death of his mother, he had begun an apprenticeship at the office of the *Norfolk Herald* before he was ten. At 16, with partner Samuel Dilworth, he opened a job-printing office at Norfolk, but left before the end of the year for the Indiana town of Vincennes, where he and Dilworth launched the *Indiana Centinel*. Keemle left for St. Louis after only four months and by 1817 was editor of the *St. Louis Enquirer*. From 1820 to 1824 he worked as a clerk and trapper for the Missouri Fur Company, participating in an expedition to the Yellowstone River. Returning to journalism, he would own or edit a half-dozen more papers before partnering with the Fields on the *Reveille*. Joseph and Matthew Field had immigrated from Ireland to New York City as children and had both found careers on the stage. In 1839, Matthew accompanied a party of merchants and tourists on the Santa Fe Trail, a journey he documented in 85 articles published in the *New Orleans Picayune*. The *Picayune* called to Joseph, as well, and he gained widespread recognition for the humorous sketches he contributed to the paper before relocating to St. Louis.


The Daily Organ and Reveille.
VOLUME I. ST. LOUIS, THURSDAY MORNING, FEBRUARY 27, 1851. NUMBER 121.
The Daily Organ and Reveille.
The Daily Organ and Reveille.
The Daily Organ and Reveille.
VOLUME I. ST. LOUIS, TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 4, 1851. NUMBER 125.



The Daily Organ and Reveille.

VOLUME I. ST. LOUIS, TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 4, 1851. NUMBER 125.

THE ORGAN AND REVEILLE

EDUCATION.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Organ and Reveille.

BUSINESS CARDS.

HORACE E. DIMICK & CO.,

IMPORTERS, Manufacturers and Dealers in RIFLES, SHOT GUNS, COLT'S and all other kinds of Revolving PISTOLS, Powder Flasks, Shot Belts, Hunter's Knives, Powder, and all other articles connected with the Gun Trade. Agents for rifle and mining powder, and water-proof safety fuse. Rifle barrels and gun mounting, and gun materials suitable for the trade, which are offered at wholesale and retail much below the former prices of such goods. No. 42 Main street, between Chestnut and Pine. oct9 1y d&w

St. Louis Carriage Manufactory and Repository.

No. 68 Third street, opposite Theatre,

On hand and for sale, Rockaways, Baronches, Buggies, Gigs, &c., warranted good materials and workman-

au30 d&wtf D. T. CARD.

T. McCaskey Daguerreian.

Rooms No. 103 *South-east Corner of Fourth and Olive streets*

MR. E. has a rich and rare collection of specimens, for which the first premium was awarded to him by the Mechanics' Institute, at their late Fair. Every description of Daguerreotype work done at this establishment on short notice, and in the best possible manner. feb3 d&wtf

Both the *Reveille* and the *People's Organ* witnessed their offices destroyed in St. Louis's Great Fire of May 17, 1849; the *Reveille's* headline for the next morning's edition, its type put into place as flames neared the building, shrieked "Appalling Calamity!" (Arenson 2011:10). Although Arenson notes that each was back in production in little more than a week (2011:23), this disaster that reshaped the city's midcentury landscape may have played a role in the merger of these two papers the following autumn. By then the *Organ* was published by Charles Ladew, whose brother Augustus was owner of the St. Louis Type Foundry and Printing Warehouse--the largest supplier of printing materials west of Cincinnati. Meanwhile, responsibility for the *Reveille* seems to have passed entirely to Joseph Field, as its publisher after 1847 was identified simply as 'Everpoint,' a pseudonym that Field used as a byline for his prose sketches. His brother Matthew had died a few months after the paper's founding in 1844, and Keemle retired from journalism in 1849. With the merger, the *Organ and Reveille* was issued by Josiah Anderson and T. H. Cavanaugh. Anderson was also editor of the *St. Louis Price Current*, while Cavanaugh would establish the *St. Louis Daily Ledger* in 1851, several months before publication of the *Organ and Reveille* ceased.

The *Organ and Reveille* was an impressive production, four pages in large folio size, with a very clean and professional appearance. If there was ever an explanation for its demise, it has long been lost. What is clear is that very few numbers remain today. We locate only two physical issues of this paper: one for February 25, 1851, held by the Chicago Historical Society; and one for January 29, 1852, held by the Missouri Historical Society. That January 1852 issue is also the only number available in microfilm. Several publications of the Kansas State Historical Society published during the 1880s suggest that a file of the *Organ and Reveille* for 1851 was among the Society's holdings, but no record of the title is found in its current catalogue. **Extensive files of any antebellum midwestern newspapers are not often encountered today, especially when so few other examples of the title are reported in institutional collections**. These 130 sequential numbers, from February 11 through July 24, thus represent a rare and exciting find.

Relevant sources:

Arenson, Adam
2011 *The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War*. Harvard University Press.

Stevens, Walter B.
1911 *St. Louis: The Fourth City, 1764-1911*. Vol. I. The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co, St. Louis.

Taft, William H.
1964 *Missouri Newspapers*. University of Missouri Press, Columbia.

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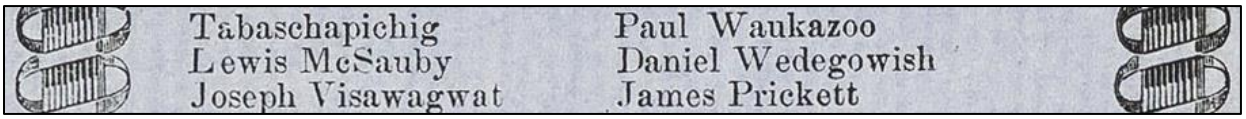
[St. Louis--Early Newspapers]. THE DAILY ORGAN AND REVEILLE. VOL. 1, NO. 107 TO VOL. 1, NO. 245 (FEBRUARY 11 TO JULY 24, 1851). St. Louis, Missouri. Published daily and weekly by Josiah Anderson & T. H. Cavanaugh. 130 sequential numbers (lacking ten issues). [4] pp. ea., folio. Untrimmed and never bound. Edge wear, edge tears, and some splits at folds; some light dampstaining and foxing. Overall very good.

12. SOLD.

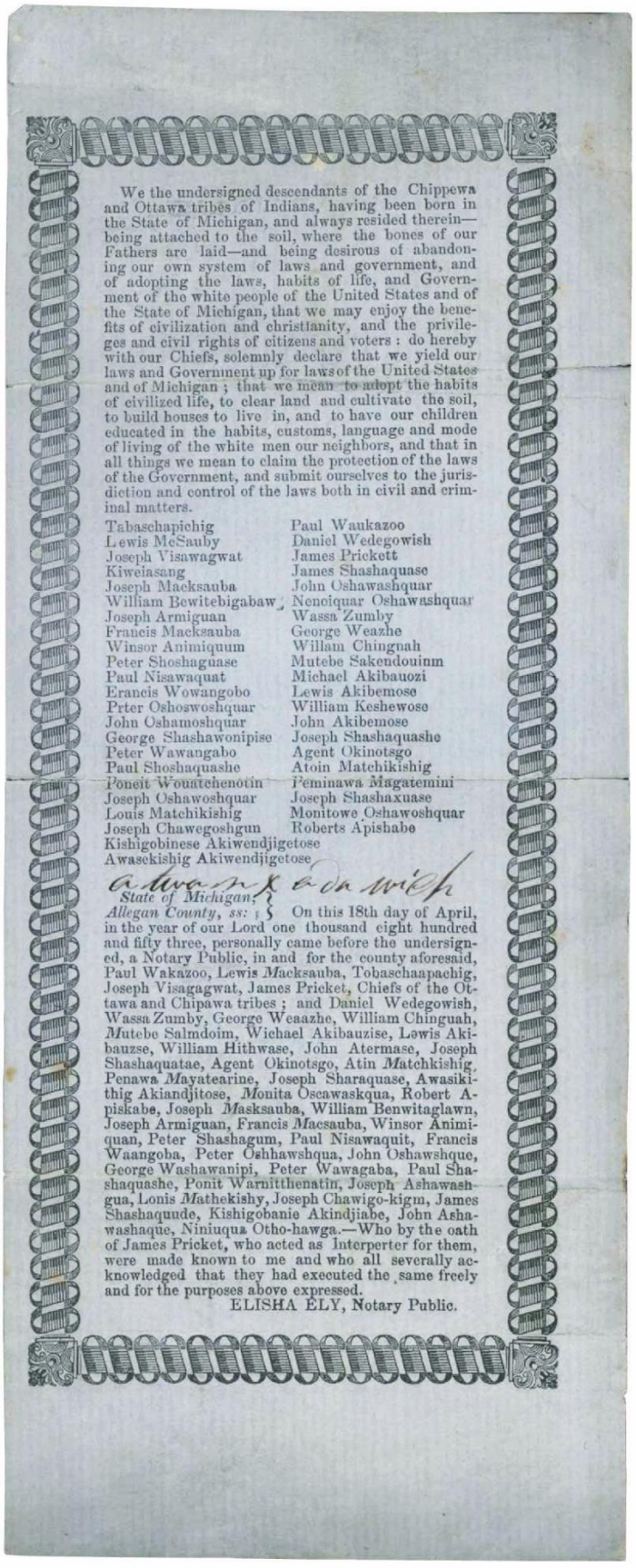
Michigan's Chippewa and Ottawa Indians Cede Their Sovereignty in 1853

With the scratch of his pen, Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law on May 28, 1830, forever transforming United States Indian policy. That year, nearly 400,000 Native peoples lived in territories east of the Mississippi River. A quarter-century later, the number was only 18,000. Removal policy in the South, through which the so-called Five Civilized Tribes--the Cherokees, Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles--were forcibly marched to the Central Plains, has long dominated our historical imagination. Less well known is how Removal unfolded in the North during that same period, shaping the destinies of Native peoples living across the Old Northwest in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and parts of Minnesota. Here Removal was more of a piecemeal process, given these tribes' smaller size and fragmentation. Many were forced west all the same, on Trails of Tears as horrific as those traveled by southern tribes. Yet in Michigan it was different; by the 1850s, the tribes residing there made up one-third of all Native peoples remaining east of the Mississippi. Remaining, though, did not come without sacrifices of sovereignty and self-determination. This small broadside or handbill tells part of that story. With it, Chippewa (Ojibwa) and Ottawa (Odawa) chiefs in Allegan County agreed to abandon their own system of laws and government, exchanging land rights for American citizenship, and hopefully the right to remain. **This example is one of three known copies**.



During the 1830s, efforts to remove Michigan Indians generally focused on what Elizabeth Newmeyer (1971) has referred to as a Northern Removal Policy: rather than force Native peoples from Michigan and other midwestern states west to Kansas and the Plains, government agencies discussed sending them into present-day northern Wisconsin and Minnesota. This was considered a more agreeable alternative to the Plains, since the northern climate, terrain, and wildlife had far more in common with the Michigan environment. As Walter Laurie, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions put it in 1851, "They have been engaged all their lives catching fish, in making sugar from the maple trees, and living in the forest; and they cannot think of going where none of these are" (in Newmeyer 1971:277). There were two main problems with the plan, from the perspective of its advocates. First, the government would need to purchase land from tribes in Wisconsin and Minnesota; second, moving Anishinaabe peoples into Minnesota would bring them too close to their long-time enemies, the Sioux. Given these obstacles, the Northern Removal plan failed to obtain broad support at either the state or federal level. Of about 8000 Native peoples in Michigan in 1830, only 651 were ultimately removed, most of whom were Potawatomis removed from the southern part of the state in the mid-1830s. Other Michigan tribes struggled to remain in their ancestral homelands, all too aware that policies could change at any time.

This chronic uncertainty about Removal, not surprisingly, compelled Michigan's tribes to contemplate extraordinary steps in preserving their right to remain. This small broadside, printed on the authority of Allegan County's notary public, Elisha Ely, records one such step taken by 45 chiefs of the united Ojibwa and Odawa tribes, representing some 5000 people (44 names appear in print; one, "Atiwan Adiwich," is in manuscript). In this declaration, they attest that:



We the undersigned descendants of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes of Indians, having been born in the State of Michigan, and always resided therein—being attached to the soil, where the bones of our Fathers are laid—and being desirous of abandoning our own system of laws and government, and of adopting the laws, habits of life, and Government of the white people of the United States and of the State of Michigan, that we may enjoy the benefits of civilization and christianity, and the privileges and civil rights of citizens and voters: do hereby with our Chiefs, solemnly declare that we yield our laws and Government up for laws of the United States and of Michigan; that we mean to adopt the habits of civilized life, to clear land and cultivate the soil, to build houses to live in, and to have our children educated in the habits, customs, language and mode of living of the white men our neighbors, and that in all things we mean to claim the protection of the laws of the Government, and submit ourselves to the jurisdiction and control of the laws both in civil and criminal matters.

Tabaschapichig	Paul Waukazoo
Lewis McSauby	Daniel Wedegowish
Joseph Visawagwat	James Prickett
Kiweiasang	James Shashaquase
Joseph Macksauba	John Oshawashquar
William Bewitebigabaw	Nenoiquar Oshawashquar
Joseph Armiguan	Wassa Zumby
Francis Macksauba	George Weazhe
Winsor Animiquum	Willam Chingnah
Peter Shoshaguase	Mutebe Sakendouinm
Paul Nisawaquat	Michael Akibauozi
Erancis Wowangobo	Lewis Akibemose
Prter Oshoswoshquar	William Keshewose
John Oshamoshquar	John Akibemose
George Shashawonipise	Joseph Shashaquashe
Peter Wawangabo	Agent Okinotsgo
Paul Shoshaquashe	Atoin Matchikishig
Poneit Wouatchenotin	Peminawa Magatemini
Joseph Oshawoshquar	Joseph Shashaxuase
Louis Matchikishig	Monitowe Oshawoshquar
Joseph Chawegoshgun	Roberts Apishabe

Kishigobinese Akiwendjigetose
Awaseckishig Akiwendjigetose

State of Michigan,
Allegan County, ss: } On this 18th day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty three, personally came before the undersigned, a Notary Public, in and for the county aforesaid, Paul Wakazoo, Lewis *Macksauba*, Tobaschaapachig, Joseph Visagagwat, James Pricket, Chiefs of the Ottawa and Chipawa tribes; and Daniel Wedegowish, Wassa Zumby, George Weaazhe, William Chinguah, *Mutebe* Salmdoim, Wichael Akibauzise, Lewis Akibauzse, William Hithwase, John Atermase, Joseph Shashaquatae, Agent Okinotsgo, Atin *Matchkishig*, Penawa *Mayatearine*, Joseph Sharaquase, Awasikithig Akiandjitose, *Monita* Oscawaskqua, Robert Apiskabe, Joseph *Masksauba*, William Benwitaglawn, Joseph Armiguan, Francis *Macsauba*, Winsor Animiquan, Peter Shashagum, Paul Nisawaquit, Francis Waangoba, Peter Oshhawshqua, John Oshawshque, George Washawanipi, Peter Wawagaba, Paul Shashaquashe, Ponit Warnitthenatin, Joseph Ashawashgua, Lonis *Mathekishy*, Joseph Chawigo-kigm, James Shashaquude, Kishigobanie Akindjiabe, John Ashawashaque, Niniuqua Otho-hawga.—Who by the oath of James Pricket, who acted as Interperter for them, were made known to me and who all severally acknowledged that they had executed the same freely and for the purposes above expressed.

ELISHA ELY, Notary Public.

> We the undersigned descendants of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes of Indians, having been born in the State of Michigan, and always resided therein—being attached to the soil, where the bones of our Fathers are laid...that we may enjoy the benefits of civilization and christianity, and the privileges and civil rights of citizens and voters : do hereby with our Chiefs, solemnly declare that we yield our laws and Government up for laws of the United States and of Michigan ; that we mean to adopt the habits of civilized life, to clear land and cultivate the soil, to build houses to live in, and to have our children educated in the habits, customs, language, and mode of living of the white men our neighbors, and that in all things we mean to claim the protection of the laws of the Government, and submit ourselves to the jurisdiction and control of the laws both in civil and criminal matters.

To spare their children and their children's children the physical and spiritual dislocation of Removal, the chiefs of the Ojibwa and Odawa tribes came before a white holder of public office to relinquish their sovereignty--the right to occupy their land according to traditional lifeways, to educate their children, to enforce tribal law. Doing so, they hoped, would earn them the protections and civil rights accorded citizens, not least of which was to live where they chose. These Ojibwa and Odawa would remain in Michigan. But the full rights of citizenship would not come until the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, and many of their descendants still await federal recognition. We trace only two other copies of this rare broadside: one is held at the University of Tulsa, the other sold at Swann Galleries in 2022 for $8750.

Relevant sources:

Blackbird, Andrew J.
1887 *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan: A Grammar of Their Language, and Personal and Family History of the Author*. Ypsilanti Job Printing House, Ypsilanti, MI.

Bowes, John B.
2016 *Land Too Good for Indians: Northern Indian Removal*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Newmeyer, Elizabeth
1971 Michigan Indians Battle Against Removal. *Michigan History* 55:275-288.

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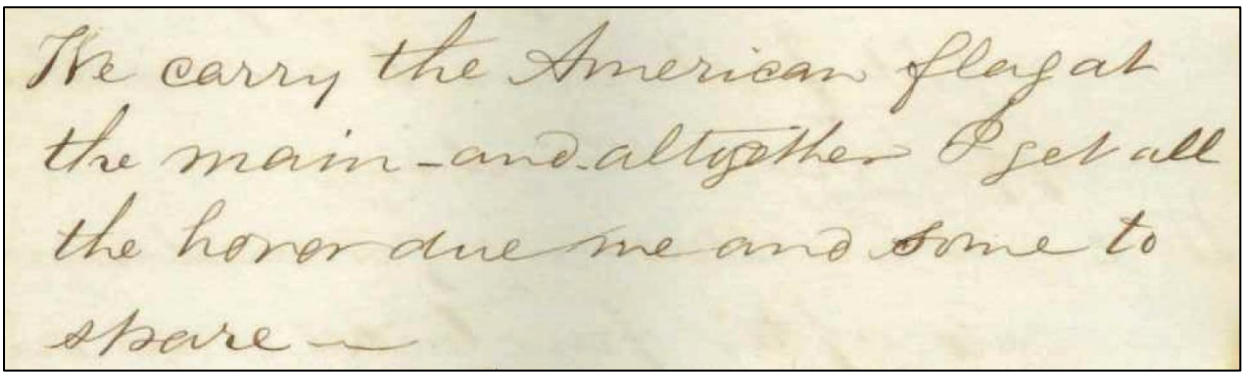
[Michigan--Ojibwa and Odawa Indians]. WE THE UNDERSIGNED DESCENDANTS OF THE CHIPPEWA AND OTTAWA TRIBES OF INDIANS...[caption title]. Allegan County, Michigan, April 18, 1853. Letterpress handbill, 9 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (24 x 9.5 cm) . Pale blue paper, signed in type by 44 tribal leaders with a 45th signing in manuscript. Three horizontal folds, split neatly in half across the center fold with no loss. Otherwise minimal wear, uncut. Very good.

13. SOLD.

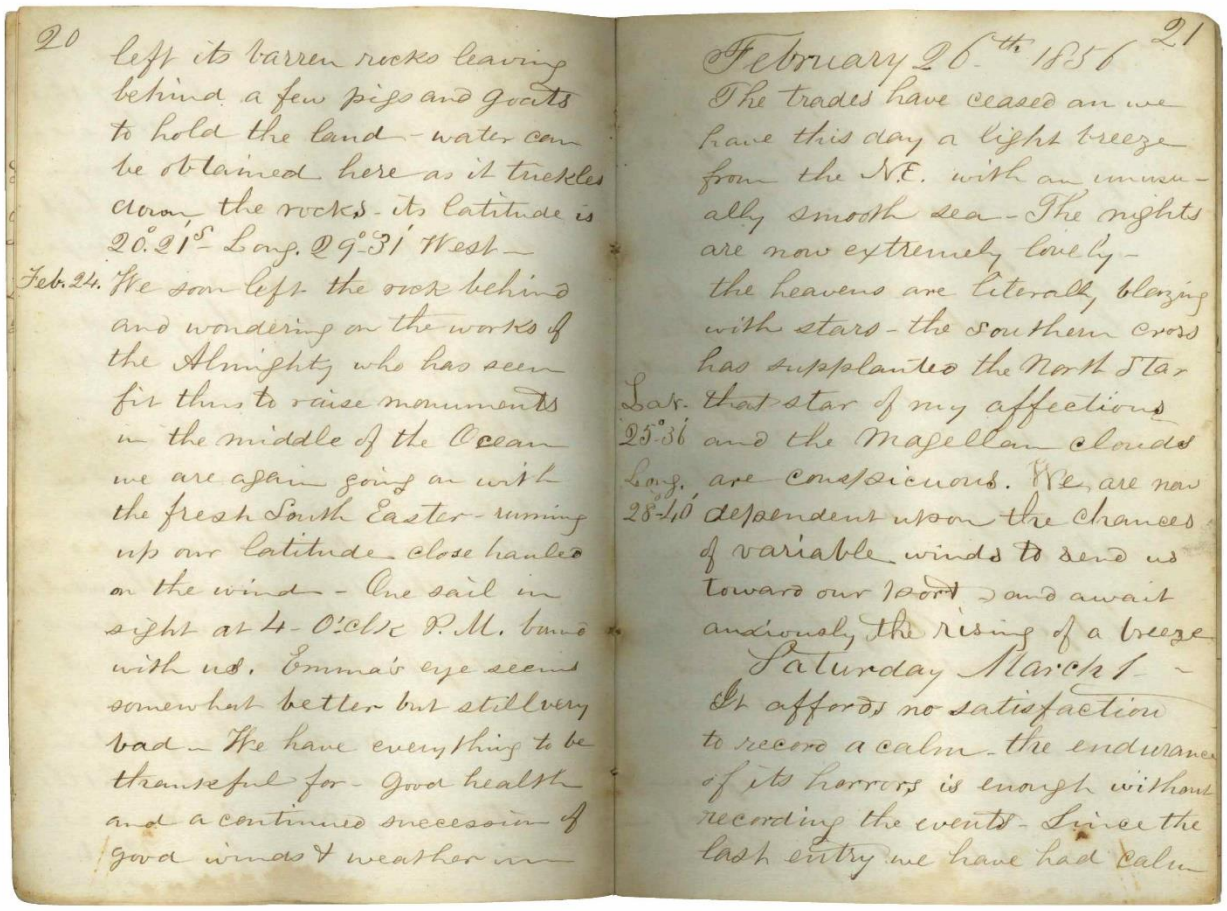
Sailing for Mauritius: The Diary of American Consul George Fairfield

As early as 1786, the first American ships began to ply the Indian Ocean, filling the trading gap caused by British and French warships preying on one other's vessels. Among the friendliest locations for Americans was Port Louie on the French-controlled island of Île-de-France, known today by its colonial Dutch name, Mauritius. Mauritius was largely unoccupied before the modern colonial era, during which period it became the most populous of the Mascarene Islands, a small archipelago about 600 nautical miles east of Madagascar. In 1794, George Washington signed the commission of the first U. S. Consul to Mauritius, William McCarty. McCarty's primary duty was to safeguard the interests of U. S. whaling and cargo ships stopping at Port Louie, a role that would change little in the decades that followed, even as control of Île-de-France shifted in 1810 from France to Britain, which restored the name Mauritius. By the time that George H. Fairfield was appointed U. S. Consul in 1855, the island had become one of the most important sugar producing colonies in the British Empire. **This is the original shipboard diary that Fairfield kept during the journey from Boston to the Mascarenes after assuming his consular role**. With clear and detailed entries spanning the five-month voyage--January 26 to May 14, 1856--it is one of the few surviving accounts written by a 19th-century U. S. diplomat en route to his post.


We carry the American flag at the main - and altogether I get all the honor due me and some to spare —

George Fairfield was born at Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1832. The 1850 U. S. Census lists him as a clerk; his father was a schoolmaster. Four years later, Fairfield was residing in Cape Town, South Africa, where the *South African Commercial Advertiser* of February 4, 1854, reports that he was married in Trinity Church to Miss Eliza Dickenson, second daughter of a captain in the service of the East India Company. We do not know what work took Fairfield to Africa, but it was likely some form of business interest, as one year into his post at Port Louis he was accused (and apparently cleared) of violating the 5th section of the consular act by engaging in commercial activity. Fairfield's appointment lasted until 1861, when he was replaced by Thomas Shankland of New York. On their return to the United States in November 1862, the Fairfields and their three young daughters were aboard the East India trader *Thomas B. Wales* when it was overtaken on its run from Calcutta to Boston by the Confederate screw sloop-of-war *Alabama*. They soon became great favorites of the *Alabama's* officers, who gave up their staterooms to the former consul and his family. After the war, when its legendary pilot, Captain Raphael Semmes, was facing a trial for cruelty to prisoners, Fairfield wrote a letter on his behalf. Fairfield's diary fills 47 pages and contains about 5500 words, starting with their departure from Boston and continuing through their arrival at St. Denis, the capital of Mauritius's southern neighbor, Réunion.

On
Saturday January 26th 1856
the Bark Bounding Billow left
Boston for Cape Town C. G. H. having
for Capt- Ch. L. Small - mate F. Howes
2d mate Nickerson - Passengers -
G. S. Holmes & wife of Cape Town G. H.
Fairfield U. S. Consul for Mauritius
wife & child & servant 6 men
& a steward: in all 16 persons
The Bark is a new vessel 357 tons
register. Clippes built - Left the
end of Commercial wharf at 3. o'clk
P. M. with a fresh breeze from the west-
ward - passed Cape Cod and on the
following morning no land in sight
spoke the Bark ~~Hunches~~ Wiscasset
bound in - Proceeded with plenty
of wind and a very rough sea.
The bark being very sharp was
completely swept at times by
the sea - the weather cold and
cabin wet comfort was a quality
not to be found - but fortunately


20

left its barren rocks leaving behind a few pigs and goats to hold the land — water can be obtained here as it trickles down the rocks. its latitude is 20°.21'S. Long. 29°.31' West —

Feb. 24. We soon left the rock behind and wondering on the works of the Almighty who has seen fit thus to raise monuments in the middle of the Ocean we are again going on with the fresh South Easter — running up our latitude close hauled on the wind — One sail in sight at 4 O'Clk P.M. bound with us. Emma's eye seems somewhat better but still very bad — We have every thing to be thankful for — Good health and a continued succession of good winds & weather in —

21

February 26th 1856

The trades have ceased and we have this day a light breeze from the N.E. with an unusually smooth sea — The nights are now extremely lovely — the heavens are literally blazing with stars — the Southern Cross has supplanted the North Star

Lat. 25°.36 Long. 28°.40 that star of my affections and the Magellan clouds are conspicuous. We are now dependent upon the chances of variable winds to send us toward our Port and await anxiously the rising of a breeze

Saturday March 1 —

It affords no satisfaction to record a calm — the endurance of its horrors is enough without recording the events — Since the last entry we have had calm

Saturday, January 26th, 1856

The Bark Bounding Billow left Boston for Cape Town C. G. H. having for Capt. G. S. Small—mate F. Howes 2d mate—Nickerson—Passengers—G. S. Holmes & wife of Cape Town G. H. Fairfield U. S. Consul for Mauritius wife and child & servant. 6 men and a steward: in all 16 persons. The Bark is a new vessel 357 tons register. clipper. built. Left the end of Commercial wharf at 3'o clk P.M. with a fresh breeze from the Westward—passed Cape Cod and on the following morning no land in sight...Proceeded with plenty of wind and a very rough sea. The bark being very sharp was completely swept at times by the sea—the weather cold and cabin wet comfort was a quality not to be found...

February 3

Never did I know of such a fine run off the coast and in the past seven days we have done well. We appear to have a good crew—Capt S. is from Chatham a man of 35 years of age and partaking of some of the peculiarities of that class of men who have never possessed the advantages of early education or a refined taste—his standard of generosity and of the obliging ways of gentlemanly courtesy is low—very low indeed—his heart seems to have frozen up or to have been so cased in by the experience of the selfishness of life that the genial rays of what may have been a noble nature cannot pierce though the crust of acquired selfish narrow mindedness. But I anticipate a pleasant time. Capt. Holmes (a former acquaintance in Cape Town) a christian man and gentlemanly in demeanor with his wife will fill up the void...On leaving home and

parents at this time I feel more than ordinarily sad—I leave parents advanced in age & one of them in sickness and in adversity for an absense so indefinite in duration & uncertain in issue—they feel a new pang in that they now part from their grandchild the little Emma the pet of their age in whom the whole affection of their hearts seems centered...

February 4
Capt. H. is deep in Allison's Europe and oblivious of the events in the present century is communing with Napoleon of Corsica and the events of his day. Napoleon's greatness is not lessened by time—future generations will give him increased homage and long after England will have ceased to be more than a secondary power the slight glimpse of mankind will get of the majesty of France under Bonaparte will rise transcendent over the little meanesses of England at the same era. National greatness is the working of the designs of the Almighty—and as each nation & generation fill the place & perform the part allotted them in the drama of time so they pass off the stage and are no more prominent.

February 5
This is the pleasant period of sea life—dry docks—warm weather and smooth sea the sick ones are all well and doing for themselves—the cabin well ventilated and a feeling of content arising from being comfortably settled and all baggage satisfactory arranged....wonderfully does the skill of man manifest itself in pursuing his straight path along the pathless deep.

February 6
Fine weather with light baffling winds from the Southward & Westward. At noon spoke the British Bark Majestic of Yarmouth N. S. from Newport for Savannah whom we desired to report us. We glide along finely with the light air—leaving hardly a ripple to mark our path. The sky about looks like a change of wind and the swell heaves from the Eastward. It seems good today to see another ship and to hear an english voice hail us across the water—the meeting of two little worlds for an instant and in a few moments separated again we are once more alone.

February 12
the beautiful sky of the trade winds lends its soothing influence and with its fleecy clouds presents a most beautiful scene to the eye of an admirer of nature—the flying fish are skimming about and this morning we had quite a mess for breakfast they having flown aboard during the night....Reading history we divert our attention from the present monotony and learn wherein nations sinned and fell and wherein an overruling providence has ordered all for the wisest ends using the minds and oftentimes the failings of rulers to work out the final consummation of its purposes—What the destiny of our own beloved Republic is to be is a matter of anxious thought—Our National sins are such as to leave no room for surprise at a summary punishment.

February 15
Light airs from the Northward almost a dead calm—the smooth surface of the water is hardly broken by a ripple—glassy smooth—the heavy banks of clouds settle down around the horizon assuming a variety of fanciful shapes while high up in the sky the sun looks pale as polished silver—the air is hot and one seems borne down by the sultry scorching heat. Such scenes are wild and majestic in the extreme and are to be found nowhere but here near the Equator—the bark scarcely moves through the water and the fish—bonita & the Porpoise seem to laugh in

scorn at our helplessness as they shoot about us playfully sporting in their native element This is what is called the Doldrums—

February 21
Strong trade winds with heavy sea....The Bark pitching severely she is so sharp that she makes clean work never stopping till her bow is under—Amidst all our troubles little Emma has had for several days a very badly inflamed eye swollen enormously and causing great pain—It is agonizing to hear & see her in her sufferings.

Sunday, February 24
This morning at six o'clk made the Island of Trinidad [Ilha da Trindade in the South Atlantic Ocean] on the weather bow and noon were abreast of it about 6 miles distant the huge irregular form of this rock is picturesque in the extreme—rising abruptly from the water and ascending in high sharp pinnacles with a huge steeple like rock at each extremity elevating their heads perpendicularly to the heights of 1700 feet it would seem that nature must have produced a tremendous convulsion to have heaped up such monstrosities...

February 26
The trades have ceased and we have this day a light breeze from the N. E. with an unusually smooth sea. The nights are now extremely lovely—the heavens are literally blazing with stars—the Southern Cross has supplanted the North Star that star of my affections and the Magellan Clouds are conspicuous. We are now dependent upon the chances of variable winds to see us toward our port and await anxiously the rising of a breeze.

Saturday, March 1
It affords no satisfaction to record a calm—the endurance of its horrors is enough without recording the events. Since the last entry we have had calm weather—no wind—a sun almost vertical pouring down heat the glassy surface of the ocean reflecting back the heat & glare rendering our suffering extreme. Patience almost exhausted hope on the decline...But there is an end to all things—this morning ushered in a light breeze from the Eastward and we are again in motion....Anything but a calm....Our passage is lengthened out and we can have no opportunity to boast of an unusually short passage.

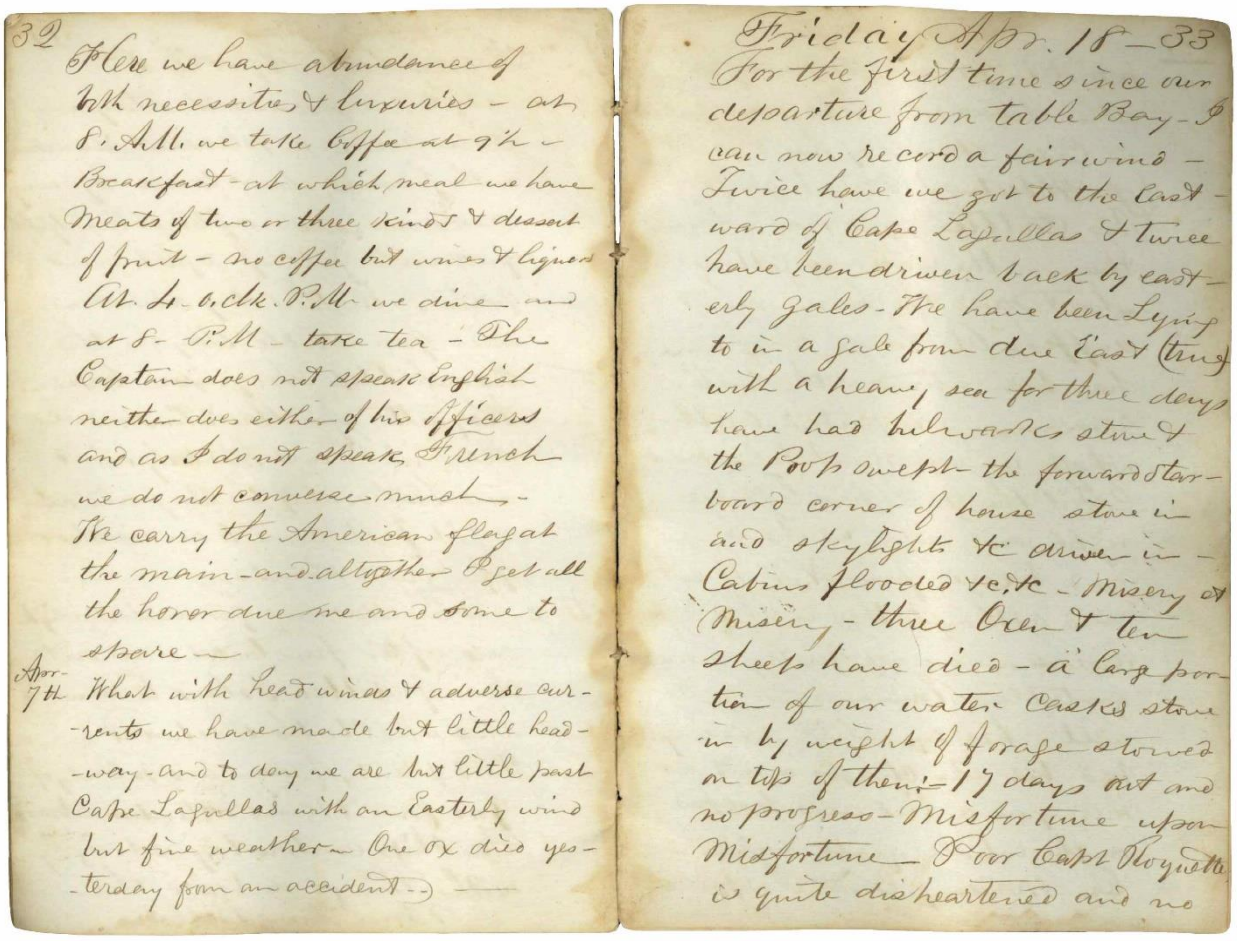
March 4
Calm weather has again held us back on our course Yesterday and day before gave us no wind. The bark has been painted outside and is much improved thereby—nothing occurs to break the monotony of our life....Emma's eye still continues troublesome and we anxiously look forward to our arrival at the Cape for medical advice.

Sunday, March 9
This day we have a light breeze with a heavy S. W. sea rolling us about. Sunday at sea appears to many of our number a long day. To a conscientious ship master it is often a day of perplexity and anxiety: oftentimes after a week of unfavorable weather Sunday brings a favorable change—he hesitates between inclination and duty—to make sail and crowd along his ship thereby calling his whole company to work & breaking into the day of rest or to regard God and let his ship go on under short sail...

March 10
Albatrosses begin to hover about us and several unsuccessful shots from the Capt. warn them not to approach too near.

March 14
We are now experiencing the result of obstinacy and ignorance in the conduct of our Captain. Although repeatedly told of the local wind & current of the Cape and advised to keep well to the Southward so as not to fall to leeward of his port yet he persisted in his adherence to his own views and harkened not to the voice of experience....The bark did all that could be expected of her but this morning we made the land about St. Helena Bay and Paternoster Point—70 miles to the Northward of our port and a headwind blowing—now we have to beat about here for an indefinite time waiting for the South Easter to cease & the springing up of a northerly breeze. Had we been where we should have been two days ago we should now have been in Table Bay and have made the shortest voyage ever made to our port...

Wednesday, March 19
After beating about for five days we have at length arrived in Table Bay 53 days out. Yesterday P. M. we got a light wind from the Westward and stood down the coast—at 11 o'clk P.M. tacked off Robbin Island and in the morning found ourselves becalmed under the land...I find all my friends well and receive a hearty welcome from all—Indeed I find myself at home again...


32
Here we have abundance of
the necessities & luxuries – at
8. A.M. we take Coffee at 9 h –
Breakfast – at which meal we have
Meats of two or three kinds & dessert
of fruit – no coffee but wines & liquors
At 4 o'clk P.M. we dine and
at 8 – P.M. – take tea – The
Captain does not speak English
neither does either of his Officers
and as I do not speak French
we do not converse much –
We carry the American flag at
the main – and altogether I get all
the honor due me and some to
spare –
Apr. 7th What with head winds & adverse cur-
-rents we have made but little head-
-way – and to day we are but little past
Cape Lagullas with an Easterly wind
but fine weather – One Ox died yes-
-terday from an accident –

Friday Apr. 18 – 53
For the first time since our
departure from table Bay – I
can now record a fair wind –
Twice have we got to the East-
ward of Cape Lagullas & twice
have been driven back by east-
erly gales – We have been Lying
to in a gale from due East (true)
with a heavy sea for three days
have had bulwarks stove &
the Poop swept the forward star-
board corner of house stove in
and skylights &c driven in –
Cabins flooded &c. &c – Misery &
Misery – three Oxen & ten
sheep have died – a Large por-
tion of our water Casks stove
in by weight of forage stowed
on tops of them – 17 days out and
no progress – Misfortune upon
Misfortune – Poor Capt Noyes is
is quite disheartened and no

Tuesday, April 1st
After a pleasant stay in Cape Town—a pleasant reunion with friends dear to me by many associations—after a heartfelt farewell full of regret and pain—We this day at noon sail from Table Bay in the French ship Arequipa Capt. Roquette for Mauritius—we start with a S. Westerly wind and beat out of the bay and at night fall come to an anchor off Green Point.

April 2
Find plenty of room and plenty of good fare & kind attention aboard the ship contrasting strongly with things aboard the Bounding Billow. We have an abundance of necessities & luxuries....The Captain does not speak English neither does either of his officers, and as I do not speak French we do not converse much. We carry the American flag at the main—and altogether I get all the honor due me and some to spare.

April 18
From the first time since our departure from Table Bay I can now record a fair wind. Twice we have got to the Eastward of Cape Lagullas [i.e., Cape Agulhas, the southernmost tip of Africa, which divides the Atlantic and Indian oceans] & twice have been driven back by easterly gales. We have been lying to in a gale from due East (true) with a heavy sea for three days have had bulwarks stove & the poop swept—the forward starboard corner of house stove in and skylight &c, &c—misery et misery—three oxen & ten sheep have died—a large portion of our water casks stove in by weight of forage stowed on top of them—17 days out and no progress—misfortune upon misfortune....But the gale has left us right side up—we have a good breeze from N. N. West....Blow!! good breeze Blow!!! don't be backward—give us a <u>shove</u>=I pledge a bottle of Champagne to old Neptune & ditto to Boreus (I can't spell his name) Mother Partington calls him Old Borax) to get their favors. Let my foot feel Mauritius under its sole and I will feel pleased. Where is the man who sang "A life on the Ocean wave") I should like to go one voyage with him—would like to make him drink salt water.

April 22
On account of our disasters in the gale we have been obliged to put in to Port Elizabeth Algoa Bay...I find the place a new town of fine buildings....the news here from the Mauritius proclaims the cholera sweeping of its 100 per diem. So we must consider our detention as providential.

Sunday, April 27
This morning at 10 o'clock weighed anchor and got under weigh in a light breeze from S. W.

Friday, May 2
This is my birth day anniversary. What a wanderer—the last seven of my birth days have been away from home and no two at the same place—I should love dearly to take a peep into the old homestead to day and meet the loved ones....I am bound for one of the most deadly climates in the world and it seems hardly probable that I shall ever again tread my native shores.

May 7
Since the 2nd inst. we have been favored with light breezes from the Westward and fine weather. The old ship has been jogging on slowly but steadily toward her destination. The Indian Ocean is peaceful & quiet and we hope to get on with no more bad weather.

May 12
Calms have now delayed our progress—no wind has been heard from for several days. The weather is growing decidedly tropical and is especially warm with no wind to temper the heat of the sun who although far off in the northern hemisphere designs to give us a blistering touch of his power....To my utter amazement the Capt. has signified his intention to go into Bourbon (i.e., Réunion) before proceeding to Port Louis. Such a course is by no means to my satisfaction. The voyage has already been sufficiently long and I am heartily fatigued and sick of it. But I can only protest against it.

Wednesday, May 14
The monotony to day varied by a most painful occurrence....About 9 o'clk A. M. as two of the crew were about descending the after hatch the mate who was standing near seemed to have some words with one of them and without any apparent cause stamped upon his back as he was going down—and then following them down beat and stamped upon them for I should judge one minute & a half. I really expected to see the men killed by this brutal treatment....I hope never again to witness such a scene.

May 15
Made the land this morning about ten o'clock....Cast anchor in St. Denis at 3 1/2 o'clock.

———————————

Here the narrative ends. After returning to the United States in 1861, Fairfield settled his family in Camden, New Jersey, where he worked as a merchant, a wool broker, and a real estate investor. He died there in 1914. His diary offers a thoughtful account--at times both harrowing and entertaining--of the long journey to his diplomatic post on the far side of the world.

Relevant sources:
Bowman, Larry
1996 The United States and Mauritius 1794-1994: A Bicentennial Retrospective. *The American Neptune* 56(2):145-159.
Smith, Walter Burges
1986 *America's Diplomats and Consuls of 1776-1865: A Geographic and Biographic Directory of the Foreign Service from the Declaration of Independence to the End of the Civil War*. Occasional Paper No. 2. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

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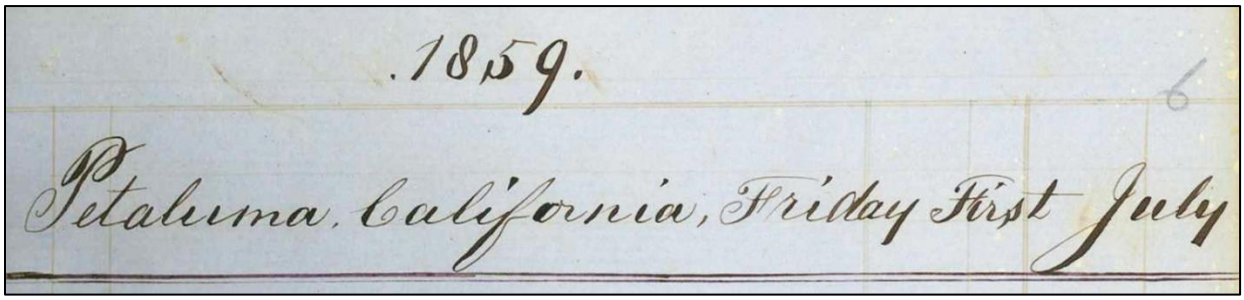
[Mauritius--American Diplomacy]. George H. Fairfield. [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF GEORGE H. FAIRFIELD, U. S. CONSUL TO MAURITIUS, RECORDING THE JOURNEY TO HIS POST]. [At sea and port, January 26-May 14, 1856]. 12mo (18 cm). 47 pp., about 5500 words, all in ink and entirely legible. Gathered signatures, stitched, without wraps. Some soiling and staining to outer leaves, occasional foxing. Overall very good.

14. SOLD.

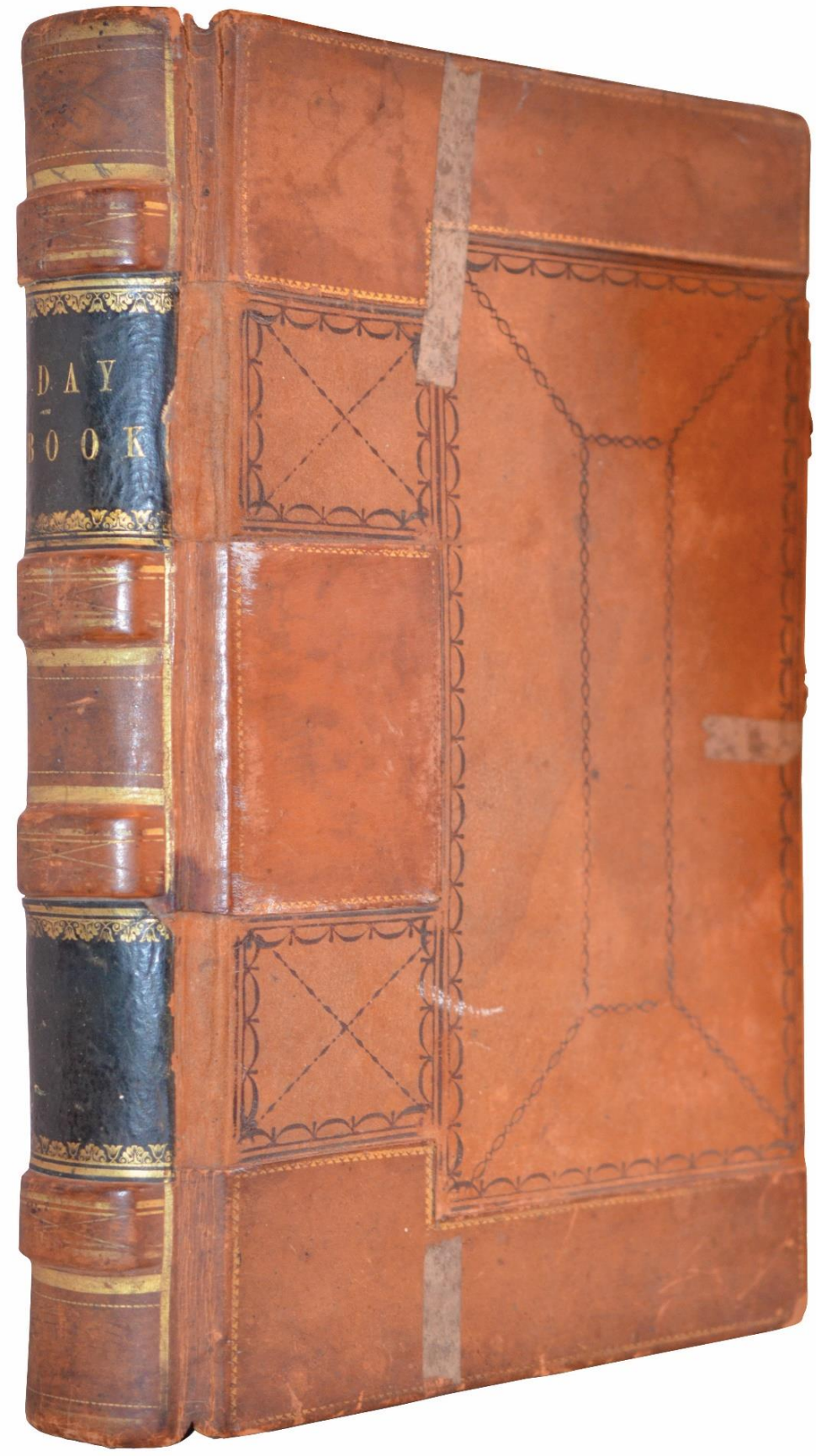
Food for San Francisco: A Cargo Ship Ledger from Petaluma

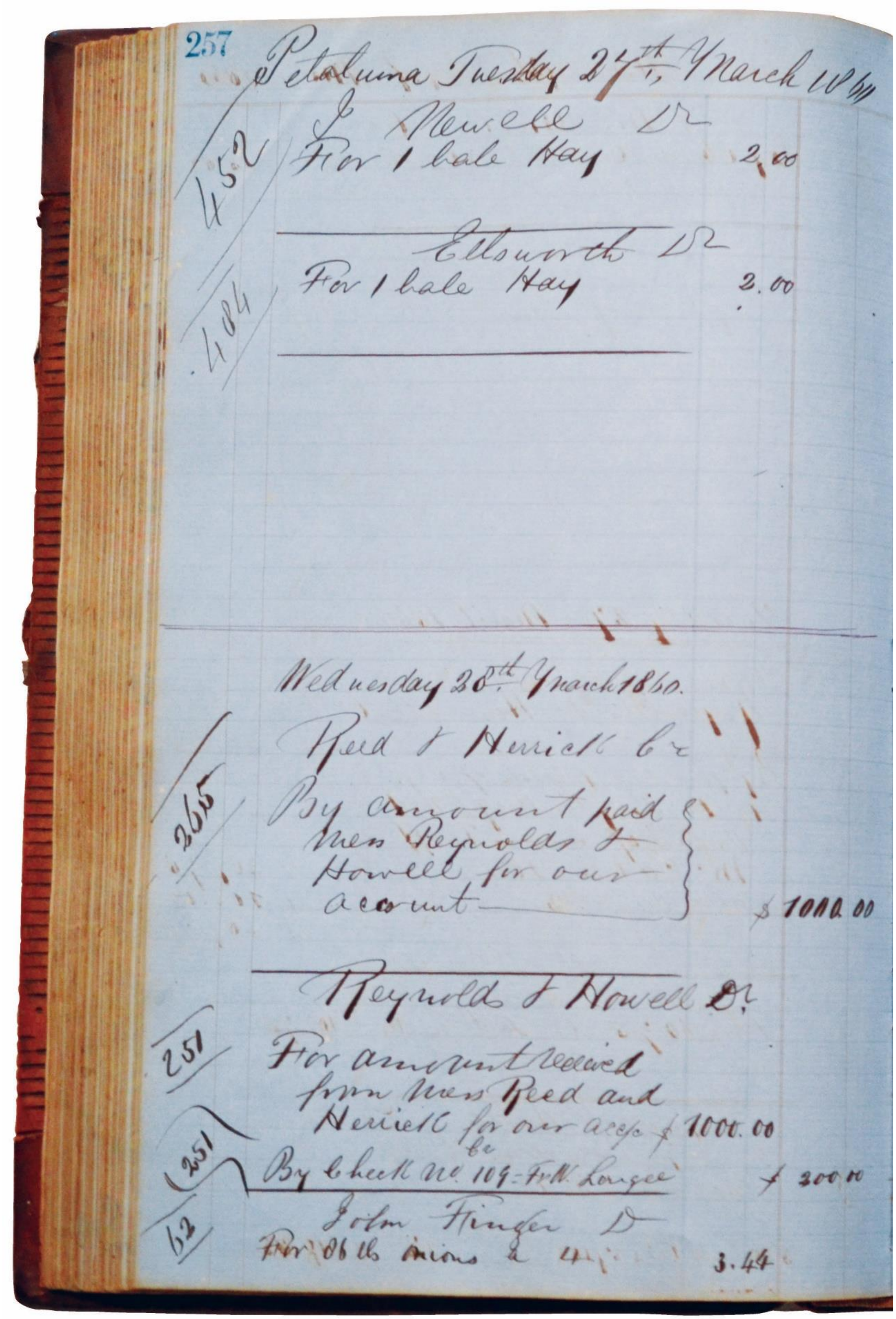
In 1848, San Francisco had a total population of between 800 and 1000 people. A decade later, its population had surged to more than 50,000. One of the most immediate civic challenges during these early years of explosive growth was feeding the multitudes now calling the Bay Area home. No boomtown, after all, has ever developed into a city without a predictable and dependable supply of food. California's agriculture at the start of the Gold Rush era was primarily limited to a few large cattle ranches in the Central Valley and small, privately owned plots for growing fruits and vegetables. At first, San Francisco and neighboring communities had no choice but to import staples--including wheat for flour--from the East. Foodstuffs from Michigan, Ohio, and New York were moved by land or canal to coastal ports, then loaded onto ships and sent around the Horn, a journey that took six months. Prices in San Francisco, as expected, were outrageously high. Yet by the mid-1850s, California was starting to unlock its own staggering agricultural potential, and one of the first places to experience the boom was the valley of the Petaluma River, which empties into San Pablo Bay across from Oakland. The town of Petaluma was subsequently incorporated in 1858. This ledger, begun just one year later, documents the cargo ship business of town pioneer Thomas F. Baylis and the range of agricultural goods he shipped through Petaluma. **We trace no comparable record of early river boat commerce in California**.



The name Petaluma derives from that of a Miwok village, *Péta Lúuma*, that once sat along the banks of the stream. The origins of the modern town go back to the Rancho Petaluma, an 1834 land grant of 66,000 acres from the Mexican government to renowned Californio Mario Guadalupe Vallejo. Vallejo sold most of the rancho during the mid-1850s, as new settlers poured into what is now Sonoma County. The first known American resident of the area did not arrive until early 1850, when Dr. August Heyermann built a log cabin just south of what would become Petaluma's townsite. Later in the year, a party of hunting companions in search of game came up the river in a whaleboat and spent two months camped at the river's head. Several more hunters arrived in January 1851, including soon-to-be business partners Thomas Baylis and David Flogdell, and for a time the entire party continued to hunt game for the San Francisco market. A participant in these earliest hunts remarked years afterward that:

> there is little to say except the mention of the extraordinary wealth of game that then existed in the county--elk by the hundred, antelopes on the plains like flocks of sheep, deer in the woodlands so numerous that at every clump of bushes a buck seemed hidden, jumping out as we passed like jackrabbits in the Fresno country now [in Lewis Publishing Co. 1889:110].


DAY
BOOK



257 Petaluma Tuesday 27th March 1860

452 J. Newell Dr
For 1 bale Hay 2.00

484 Ellsworth Dr
For 1 bale Hay 2.00

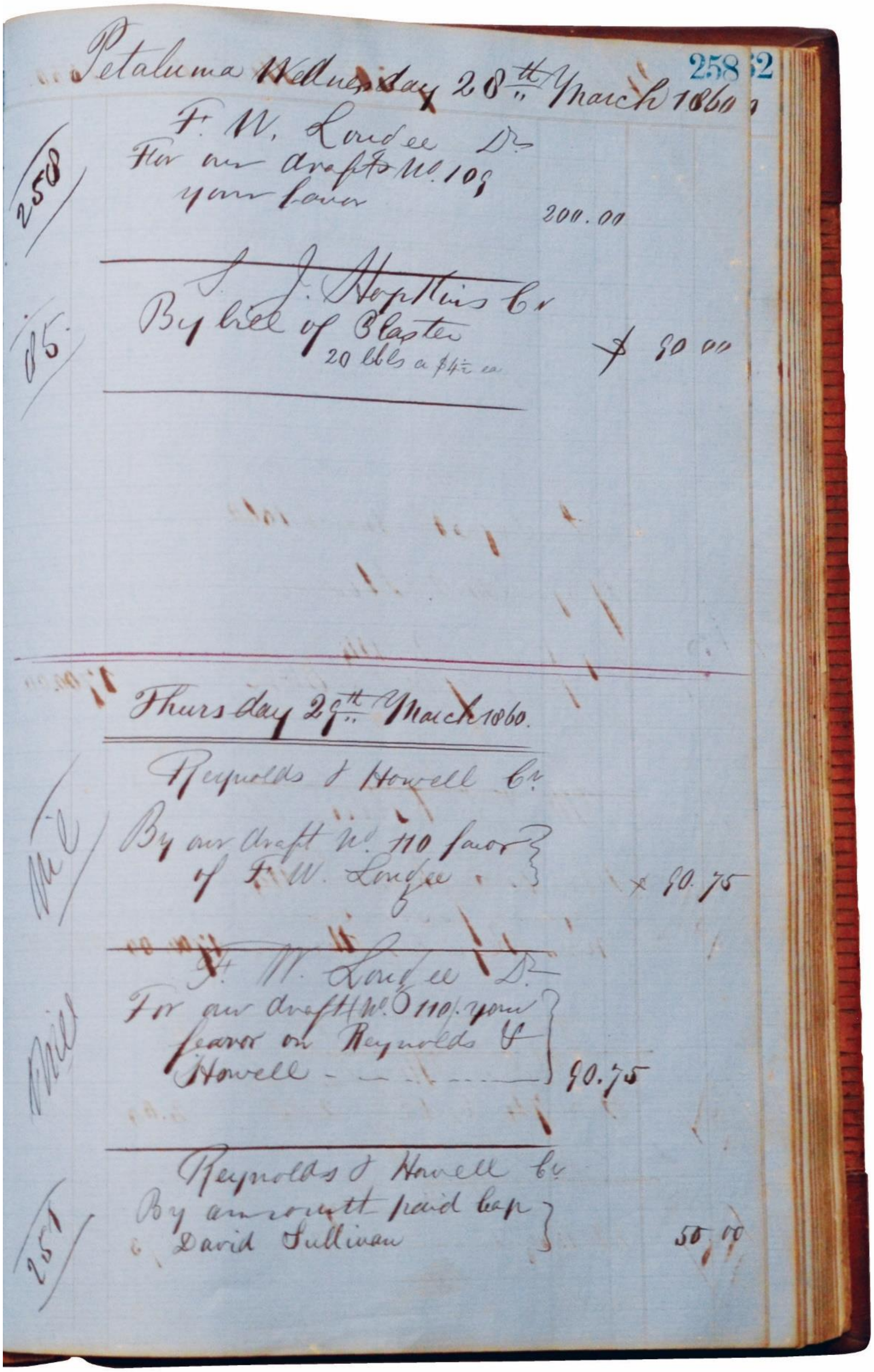
Wednesday 28th March 1860.

265 Reed & Herrick Cr
By amount paid Mess Reynolds & Howell for our account $1000.00

251 Reynolds & Howell Dr.
For amount received from Mess Reed and Herrick for our acc/c $1000.00

251 By Check No. 109 - F.W. Lougee $300.00

62 John Finger D
For 86 lbs onions @ 4 3.44



Petaluma Wednesday 28th March 1860 — 258 2

F. W. Lowdee Dr
For our drafts No. 109 your favor — 200.00

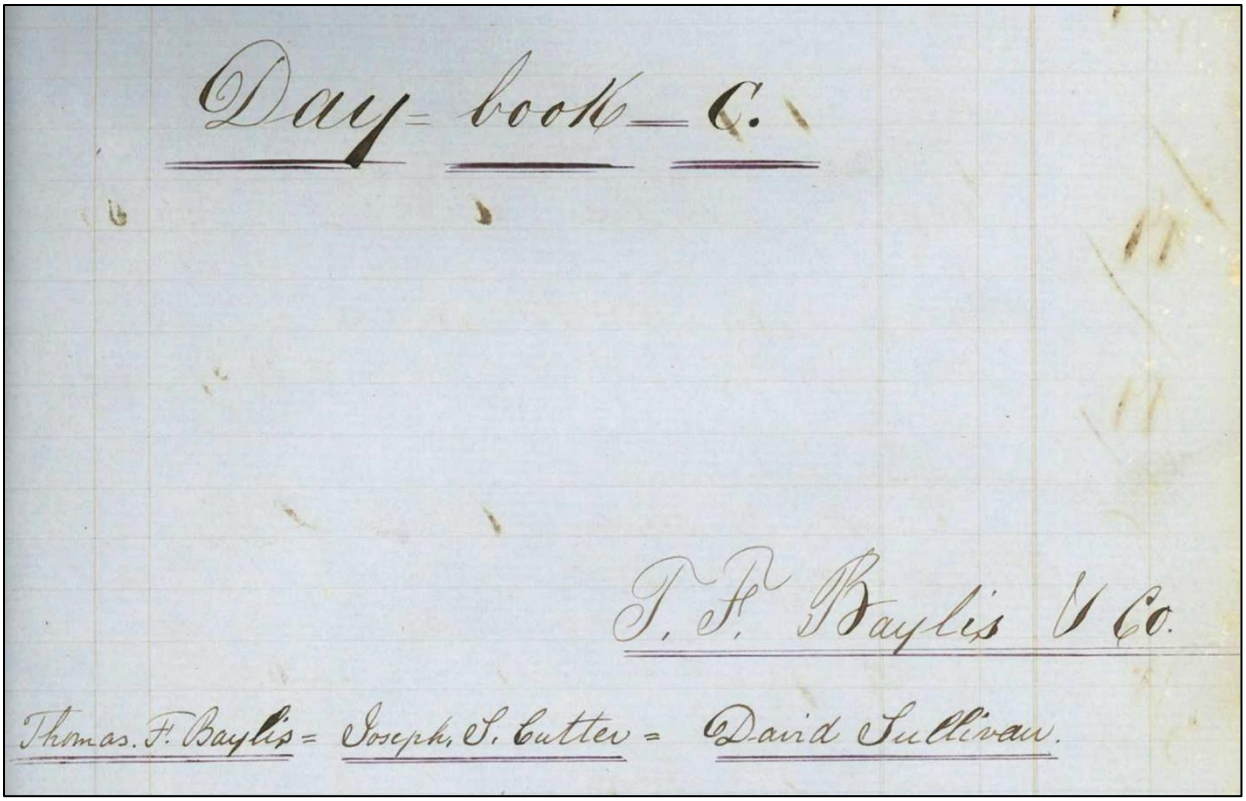
J. J. Hopkins Cr
By bill of Plaster 20 bbls a $4½ ea — $ 90.00

Thursday 29th March 1860.

Reynolds & Howell Cr
By our Draft No. 110 favor of F. W. Lowdee — 90.75

F. W. Lowdee Dr
For our draft No. 110 your favor on Reynolds & Howell — 90.75

Reynolds & Howell Cr
By amount paid Capt David Sullivan — 50.00



Some of these men decided to stay, among them Baylis and Flogdell, who used a schooner to carry the hunters' game to San Francisco. Little is known today of Flogdell, who died just five years later. Baylis, however, soon became one of Petaluma's most prominent citizens. Thomas Fulsher Baylis was born Dublin, Ireland, in 1823, but was baptized into the Anglican Church in London. He was raised and educated in Australia, where his father--a solider in the British Army attached to the 17th Royal Infantry--had moved the family when he was a child. As a young man Baylis trained as a merchant seaman before turning up in California with Flogdell and Flogdell's wife, Honora. The partners built a trading post and store on the west bank of the river in October 1851, among the first buildings constructed on the site of the town. The following year they built a hotel, which they named the Pioneer, attached to the side of the store.

The town of Petaluma was laid out in 1853, and within two years its population had grown to 1200 people. With its thriving port--the only suitable shipping outlet connecting the farmlands of Sonoma and Mendocino counties with the markets of San Francisco and Oakland, the Petaluma River soon became the busiest waterway in the state of California. Baylis and Flogdell's business thrived, but when Flogdell died in 1856, Baylis and Honora Flogdell dissolved the partnership; she took charge of the hotel, while he took over the fledgling shipping business. Over the next several years, as the region's agricultural bounty began to reap enormous rewards, so too did Baylis's own investments. He acquired a succession of schooners and then moved on to steamboats, carrying people and freight to San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton. He built three warehouses, one with stone walls 18 inches thick that is the oldest surviving structure in town, known today as the Great Petaluma Mill shopping center. He and Honora even married in about 1860, reuniting their business interests. Baylis was a charter member of the town's fire brigade, and the first fire house was built on his own land. He was involved in two local militias and helped to organize Petaluma's

first public library, donating two thousand books to the cause. In early September 1867, at the age of 44, he developed a sudden respiratory illness and died only a few days later. His funeral was an event: stores closed, flags throughout town were lowered to half-mast, bells tolled, and the long procession included much of the town. He is buried at Cypress Hills Cemetery.

This ledger is Day Book C for the shipping company of Baylis, James Cutter, and David Sullivan, all of whom captained sloops, schooners, and steamers for the firm. The ledger contains 434 pages of entries, opening on July 1, 1859, and running through June 29, 1861. Included are hundreds of entries for hundreds of tons of barley, wheat, oats, potatoes, and sweet potatoes; there are entries for onions, beans, and cabbage; for butter, chickens, and eggs (Petaluma would become "the egg basket of the world" before the end of the century, and this is one of the earliest records of that development); for building supplies including lime, plaster, lumber, cement, and brick; and for materials like salt and bails of hay. Ships noted include the sloops and schooners *Sierra*, *Santa Rosa*, *Petaluma*, *Cleopatra*, *Mary Hart*, and *Franklin*, as well as the steamer *Anna*. We have been unable to identify any comparable records of early river commerce in California, much less that document so well the unlocking of the agricultural potential that made the Bay Area possible. This commerce--the regular stream of staple crops--is what fueled San Francisco's rapid growth during the decade of the 1850s. What came before, the tremendous cost of importing eastern grain, was unsustainable. Baylis and his fellow pilots shipped the basic foods that enabled Bay Area grocers to feed the multitudes, who still were coming by the thousands. **That fact alone makes this ledger as significant as any contemporary gold or silver mining records**. After all, by 1855 the vast majority of newcomers never set eyes on a gold mine, but everyone broke bread.

Relevant sources:

Lewis Publishing Company
1889 *An Illustrated History of Sonoma County, California*. Lewis Publishing Col, Chicago, IL.
Lotchin, Roger W.
1974 *San Francisco, 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Munro-Fraser, J. P., editor
1880 *History of Sonoma County, Including its Geology, Topography, Mountains, Valleys, and Streams*. Alley, Bowen, & Co., Publishers, San Francisco.
Thompson, Robert A.
1877 *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Sonoma County, California*. L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia.

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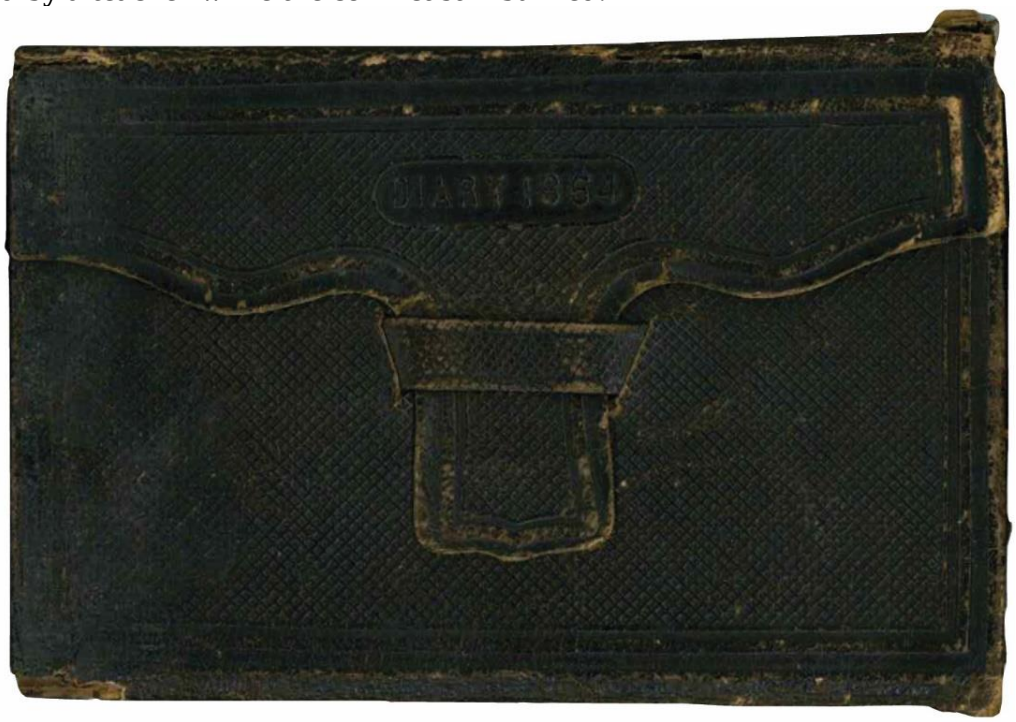
[California--River Commerce]. [Thomas F. Baylis]. MANUSCRIPT DAY BOOK OF THOMAS F. BAYLIS & CO., OF PETALUMA, CALIFORNIA, DOCUMENTING EXPORTS TO THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA. Petaluma, July 1, 1859-June 29, 1861. 477 pp. (pp. 435-477 with later use). 14 x 9 1/4 in. (35.5 cm x 23.5 cm). Reverse calf boards, brown morocco panels with gilt decoration and tooling; raised bands and black morocco spine labels; marbled edges and end papers. Very light edge wear and scuffing, old tape marks on front board. Very good.

15. **$7250**.

Teaching Freedmen in North Carolina: Annie Merriam's Civil War Diary

On March 14, 1862, Union forces under the command of Gen. Ambrose Burnside took the port city of New Bern--North Carolina's second oldest town--from a poorly trained contingent of Confederate defenders. It would remain under Federal control for the remainder of the war. From across the Coastal Plain, thousands of enslaved peoples escaped from plantations and made their way to New Bern and the Pamlico region, seeking safety behind Union lines. After Emancipation in 1863, they arrived in even greater numbers. Although New Bern had long been home to one of the largest Free Black communities in the state, made up mostly of urban artisans, the number of refugees living within Federally controlled portions of eastern North Carolina had swelled to more than 17,000 by January 1864. These newly freed peoples, known at the time as contrabands, were distributed among five camps established at New Bern, Plymouth, Roanoke Island, Beaufort, and Washington; the camp at New Bern housed nearly as many as all of the others combined. Camp residents endured overcrowded conditions, poor sanitation, food and clothing shortages, and the constant threat of danger--whether from Confederate attack or from violence at the hands of Union soldiers. Yet many also found protection, gained access to education and paid employment, and began to restore the bonds of family and social life.

Few such opportunities meant more to camp residents than education, a privilege they were denied by law in all Confederate states. Northern teachers, many of them young women, journeyed south to live and work among refugees, both during the Reconstruction period and even before the war had ended. Their letters and diaries, although very rare, are among the best surviving primary sources for daily life in the camps. This 1864 diary, written by Annie P. Merriam while teaching in the camps at Washington and Beaufort, is one of the most remarkable of its kind. **With entries for each day's events and totaling more than 20,000 words, it is among the only such records composed by a teacher while the conflict still burned**.



ALMANAC FOR 1864.

NOVEMBER.

Moon's Phases.	D.	H.	M.
First Quarter,	6	6	45 Ev.
Full Moon,	13	0	25 Ev.
Last Quarter,	21	2	8 Mo.
New Moon,	29	2	9 Mo.

D of M	D of W	Sun rises. H. M.	Sun sets. H. M.	Moon sets. H. M.
1	Tu	6 30	4 57	6 30
2	We	6 31	4 56	7 22
3	Th	6 32	4 55	8 19
4	Fr	6 33	4 54	9 20
5	Sa	6 34	4 53	10 25
6	B	6 35	4 51	11 33
7	Mo	6 36	4 50	morn.
8	Tu	6 38	4 49	40
9	We	6 39	4 48	1 50
10	Th	6 40	4 47	3 0
11	Fr	6 42	4 46	4 10
12	Sa	6 43	4 45	5 19
13	B	6 44	4 44	rises.
14	Mo	6 46	4 43	5 46
15	Tu	6 47	4 42	6 40
16	We	6 48	4 41	7 36
17	Th	6 49	4 40	8 34
18	Fr	6 50	4 40	9 33
19	Sa	6 51	4 39	10 29
20	B	6 52	4 38	11 26
21	Mo	6 53	4 38	morn.
22	Tu	6 54	4 37	21
23	We	6 55	4 36	1 18
24	Th	6 56	4 36	2 13
25	Fr	6 58	4 35	3 12
26	Sa	6 59	4 35	4 9
27	B	7 0	4 35	5 10
28	Mo	7 1	4 35	sets.
29	Tu	7 3	4 35	5 14
30	We	7 4	4 34	6 10
..	....	....	....	.....

DECEMBER.

Moon's Phases.	D.	H.	M.
First Quarter,	6	2	36 Mo.
Full Moon,	13	2	4 Mo.
Last Quarter,	20	11	54 Ev.
New Moon,	28	4	13 Ev.

D of M	D of W	Sun rises. H. M.	Sun sets. H. M.	Moon sets. H. M.
1	Th	7 5	4 34	7 11
2	Fr	7 6	4 34	8 17
3	Sa	7 7	4 33	9 16
4	B	7 8	4 33	10 33
5	Mo	7 9	4 33	11 41
6	Tu	7 10	4 33	morn.
7	We	7 11	4 33	49
8	Th	7 12	4 33	1 57
9	Fr	7 13	4 33	3 4
10	Sa	7 14	4 33	4 11
11	B	7 15	4 33	5 17
12	Mo	7 16	4 33	rises.
13	Tu	7 16	4 33	5 22
14	We	7 17	4 33	6 19
15	Th	7 18	4 34	7 18
16	Fr	7 18	4 34	8 17
17	Sa	7 19	4 34	9 13
18	B	7 19	4 34	10 10
19	Mo	7 20	4 35	11 6
20	Tu	7 20	4 35	morn.
21	We	7 21	4 36	1
22	Th	7 22	4 36	58
23	Fr	7 22	4 37	1 55
24	Sa	7 23	4 37	2 54
25	B	7 23	4 38	3 54
26	Mo	7 23	4 38	4 55
27	Tu	7 23	4 39	5 53
28	We	7 23	4 39	sets.
29	Th	7 23	4 40	6 2
30	Fr	7 24	4 41	7 12
31	Sa	7 21	4 42	8 22

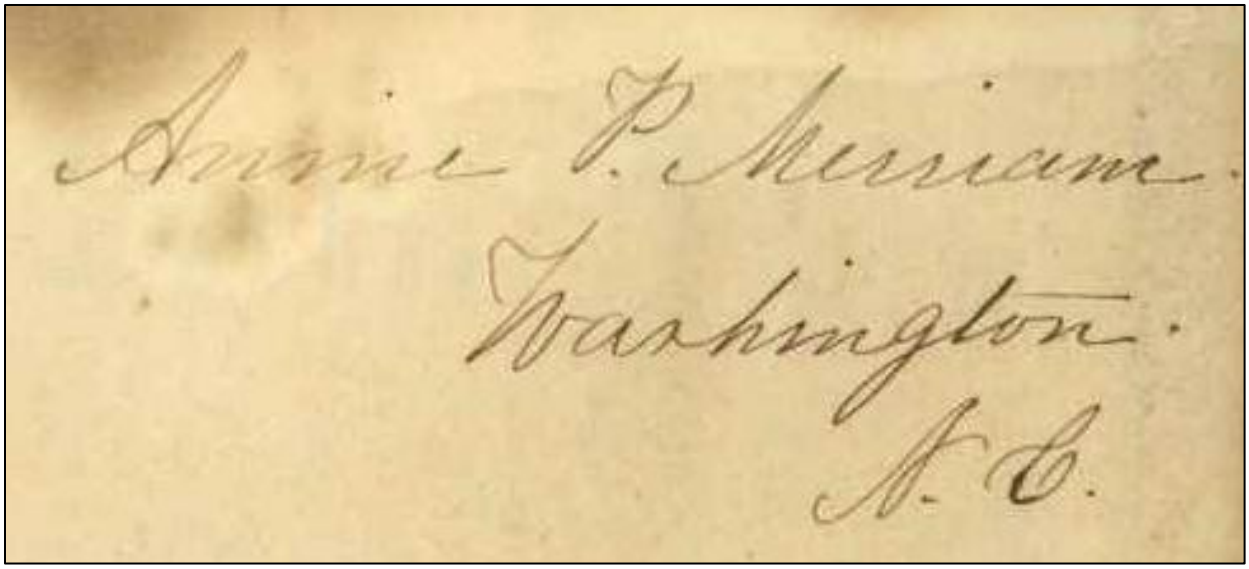
January, 1864.

FRIDAY, 1.

SATURDAY, 2.

SUNDAY, 3.

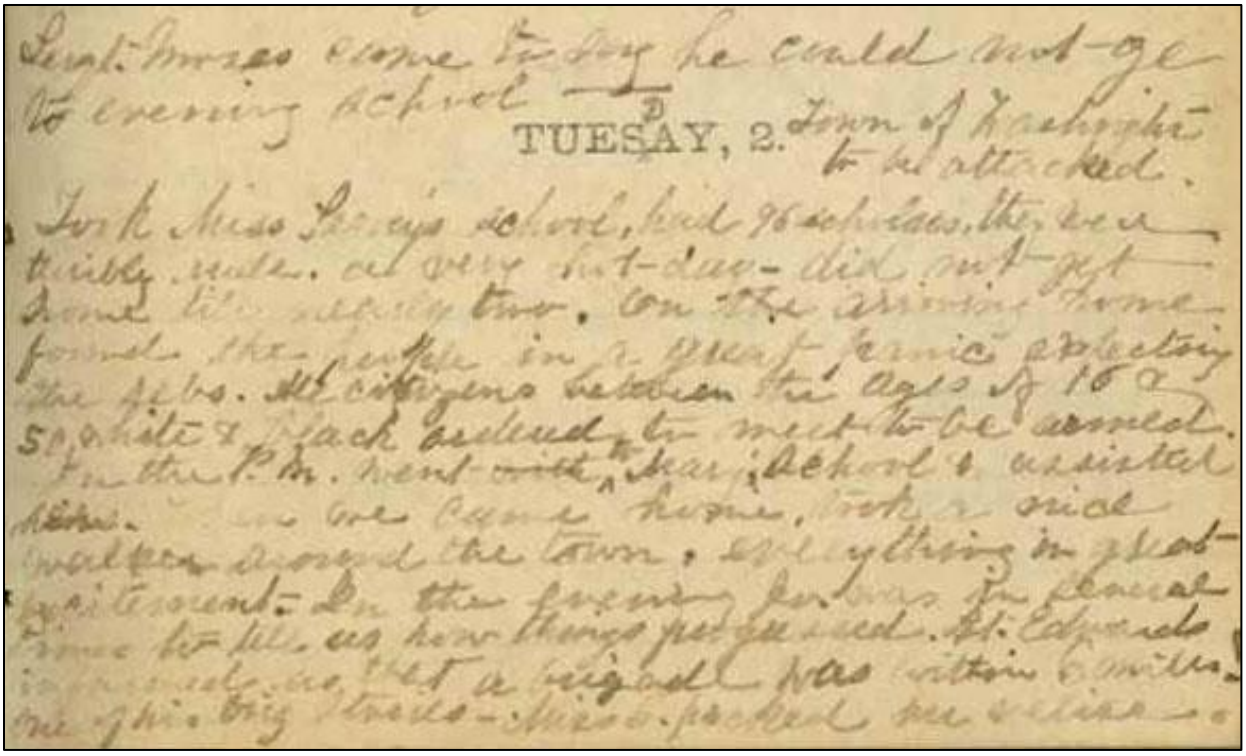
July, 1864.
TUESDAY, 26,
WEDNESDAY, 27,
July, 1864.
THURSDAY, 28.
FRIDAY, 29,
SATURDAY, 30,
SUNDAY, 31.



Anna Parker Merriam was born on September 22, 1839, near Grafton, Massachusetts, the second of three children to parents Charles and Caroline (Parker) Merriam. Her family moved to Worcester in 1853, and she was educated at that city's Oread Collegiate Institute before pursuing additional studies at its Salisbury Mansion School, at Miss Green's Young Ladies School in New York City, and at the Ladies' College in Worcester. In 1862, her elder brother, Charles, was killed at Antietam, an event that may have been a catalyst for her decision--as well as that of her younger brother, Lucius--to heed the call of Worcester clergyman and Army Chaplain Horace James, tasked with managing the care and education of freedmen in North Carolina in 1863.

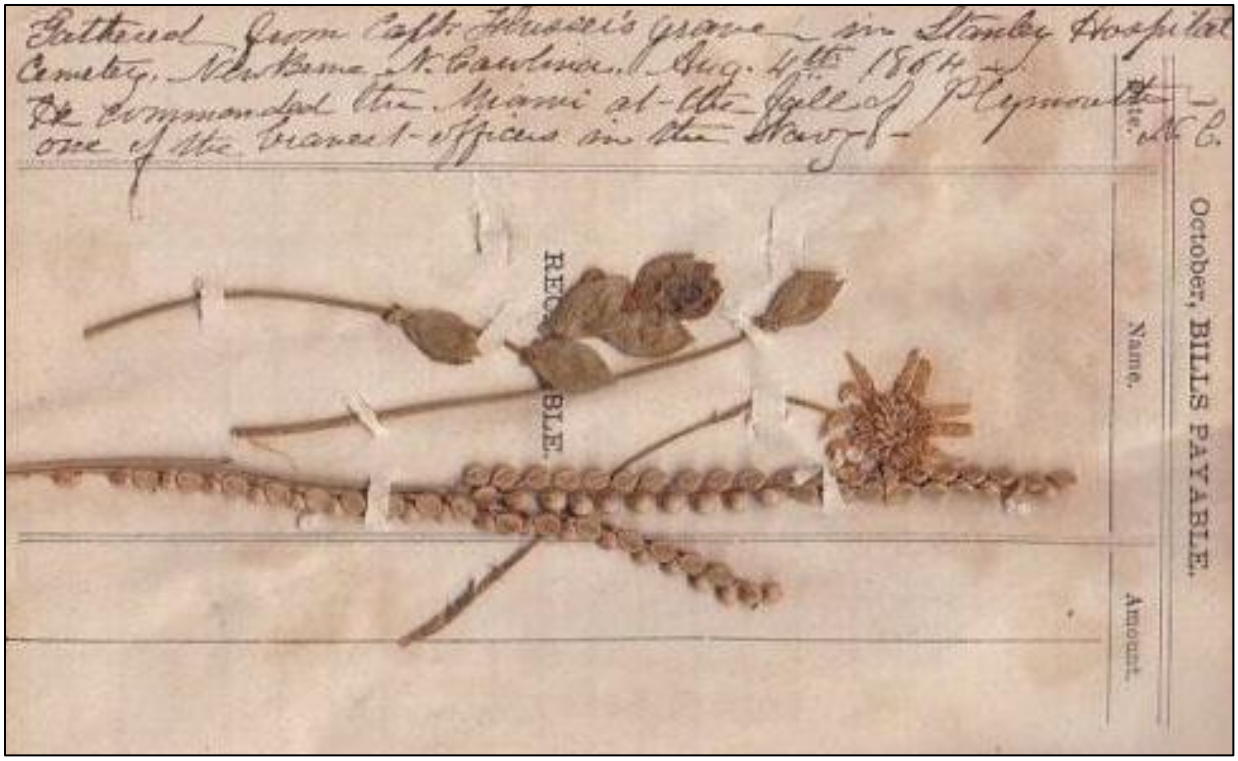
Merriam's diary begins on January 1, 1864, while she was en route to the camps at New Bern and Washington. New Year's Day found her riding horseback along the picket lines near Plymouth with "Captain C." (likely Capt. Aaron L. Cady), then attending a ball that evening with "Col. [Wilson C.] Maxwell." The next day, both Cady and Maxwell accompanied her to Roanoke Island onboard the steamer *USS Massasoit*, on which she enjoyed a comfortable stateroom. After a stay of four days at Camp Reno, she continued her trip by sail and arrived at New Bern on January 8. Her ship had missed the boat to Washington, so she remained in New Bern for three days, long enough for her to meet fellow teachers Sarah Dickenson, Mary Burnap, Annie Canedy, and Esther Warren. She finally arrived at Washington on January 12.

On Wednesday morning, January 13, Merriam went into her school for the first time and "found it beautifully decorated with evergreen." That evening, "Sergt. Moses came, & Mr. Fowle brought us apples & had a reading lesson about which we had some laughter. Related some of my Plymouth experiences." Mr. Fowle is probably Washington businessman Samuel R. Fowle, while Sergt. Moses is perhaps Sgt. Moses Turner, an African American machinist who had been recruited at Plymouth earlier that month into the 37th U. S. Colored Infantry. Initially, Merriam alternated between teaching at her own school for freedmen and at the white school--as its teacher had taken ill--and she sometimes taught in the African American evening school. She writes on February 1, for example, that "Sergt. Moses came by to say he could not go to evening school." But most of these first two weeks passed uneventfully. The weather was mild ("flowers are beginning to bloom in the open air"); she wrote and received letters from friends and family back home; she taught her



usual half-day and evening classes; she enjoyed frequent visits from fellow teachers and Federal officers, took long afternoon walks around Washington and its environs, attended Sunday services at the Episcopal church, and dined with local families. The war itself seemed distant. The fact of its proximity became all too apparent during the first week of February:

> [2/2/64] Town of Washington to be attacked. Took Miss [Anna] Leavey's school. Had 96 scholars. They were terribly rude. A very hot day. Did not get home until nearly two. On arriving home found the people in a great panic expecting the rebs. The citizens between the ages of 16 & 50, white & black ordered to meet to be armed. In the P.M. went to Mary's [probably Jones] school & assisted her. When we came home, took a nice walk around the town. Everything in great excitement. In the evening Jo was in several times to tell us how things progressed [Jo was apparently a Black worker in the camp, perhaps a cook. On January 26, Merriam had noted "Had a call from our good friend Jo. Every day he is doing something for our comfort]. Lt. Edwards informed us that a brigade was within 6 miles! One of his brig stories. Miss G. packed her valise.
>
> [2/3/64] The "<u>brigade</u>" did not get here last night. We went to school as usual. Lieuts. Edw. & Woods called with some material to make cartridge bags wh. we did in the P.M. They called in the evening for them and we made great fun about that 'brigade.' They expect the rebs before morning.
>
> [2/4/64] "All quiet along the Tar." no boat yet. Ten of the cavalry went through to Plymouth & captured some commissary stores on the way back.



> The "Trumpeter" was flying to Hills Point & back all night to deceive the rebs [USS Trumpeter, Army transport]. Jo was here till quite late. Lt. Edwards called with more bags wh. we made that night.
>
> [2/5/64] All quiet. Boat came in from Newbern today. Letter from Nel P. An attack was made on Newbern last Sunday night. Lt. Millen came back and spent the evening with us. Jo was here & made a fuss as usual...
>
> [2/6/64] ...Lt. E. called about ten & pretended he drew his pistol to search for refugees. Jo just escaped before he came in.

The rest of the winter passed into a routine of teaching and visiting, with occasional events such as the capture of "notorious slave driver Dick W. Huntley [?]" on February 12. Jo continued to visit regularly (February 15: "In the evening Jo brought some apples & fiddle & sang Rodman's Battery" [later Company C of the 40th NC Artillery]). The weather turned much colder (February 18: "A dreadful cold day, looks like snow, suffered much in our school"), but there were no further threats to either the town or to Federal control of the area. As the weather warmed through March and April, her students began returning to school. Sometimes in February there had been too few students to hold classes, but now there were often more than 180 in attendance, such that Merriam and her fellow teachers were in the school for much of the day. Whenever she could she took the opportunity to ride horseback, accompanied by different officers. On Sundays she attended service at the local churches, sometimes followed by colored Sunday school in the camp.

The war returned on Tuesday, April 19, with Merriam's note that there had been "firing at intervals during the day in the direction of Plymouth," located about 35 miles north of Washington

near the mouth of the Roanoke River. She and the other teachers seem not to have known that two days earlier, on April 17, Confederate forces under Major General Robert Hoke had launched an attack against the Roanoke's Federal defenses. On the 19th, when she first reported the sound of firing, the CSS ram *Albemarle* had appeared in the river and sank the *USS Smithfield*, then badly damaged the gunboat *USS Miami*. The *Miami's* senior officer, 31-year-old Lieut. Commander Charles Flusser--who was commanding all of the Union gunboats in Albemarle Sound--was killed during the encounter. At the back of her diary, Merriam later attached several small dried flowers with the brief notation: "Gathered from Capt. Flusser's grave in Stanley Hospital Cemetery, New Berne, North Carolina, August 4, 1864. He commanded the Miami at the fall of Plymouth. One of the bravest officers in the Navy." After taking control of the Roanoke, Confederate troops took Fort Comfort, forcing its Union defenders into Fort Williams. A day later, on April 20, the garrison surrendered. Word of the disaster soon reached Washington:

> [4/21-22/64] ...One of the 17th Mass. came in & sang with the children. About 1 Mary came to tell us that Plymouth was taken. Capt. Flusser killed & that we must leave on the tug-boat wh. brought the dispatches. Hurried home. Packed our most valuable things & went down to the wharf. Lt. M. went with us...had a sail of 12 hours, arrived in New Berne this A.M...took breakfast and left for Morehead City at 9:30. Mr. Briggs went with us & we arrived at 11:30. Had nice qts. furnished us at the Mansfield Hospital...

On April 28, the unionist families from around Washington and New Bern, most of whom were attached to the Federal camps, also began to arrive: "The families of the 1st N. C. Reg. came down from Washington & were quartered in the Hosp. grounds. 300 of them. A sorry looking set they were. I recognized many as having been in Miss Leavy's [white] school." After staying at the hospital for several days, waiting for an opportunity to return to Washington, Merriam and the other teachers learned on April 29 that they were being reassigned--at least for a time--to hospital duty at Mansfield, which was suffering a measles outbreak; Merriam was to take charge of the 2nd ward. "The said 'duties,'" she observes, "were neither pleasant nor agreeable. Various sick ones were needing attention. Tried to have the beds made neatly & the room clean. Carried meals to those who were not able to go for them. Some grumbled. Some were grateful. Their condition is certainly very pitiable." Merriam adapted to the daily routine of ward duties, as reports of rebel actions continued to reach the teachers: [5/5/64]...Train did not come & we had news that it was captured. Telegraph wires cut, etc. Heavy firing was heard all the P.M. in the direction of New Berne. We were all hourly expecting an attack..." Merriam fell sick herself for several days (she does not specify or describe the illness) before returning to the wards, where more than thirty of her patients came down with the measles and two young children died.

On June 16, Merriam and several of the other teachers took the *Massasoit* to Roanoke, and then reached New Bern the following day. On the afternoon of Monday, June 20, she and teacher Fanny Graves attended a meeting of the Colored Ladies Benevolent Society, later enjoying a party given by Sarah Dickenson at the teachers' home on Broad Street. Their old friend Jo appeared "& performed some of his 'sleight of hand' performances." After helping Annie Canady at her school on Tuesday, she "went with Mr. Filts to see an old colored woman about 115 years of age." On Wednesday, Merriam and the other Washington teachers returned to Beaufort--joined by bridge to Morehead City--where they were to begin teaching in its school for freedmen.

Northern teachers in front of their home on Broad Street, New Bern, ca. 1863-64

At Beaufort, they found an eager community of freedmen, with more sixty scholars in class the first day, a number that continued to grow. It seems clear that the school at Beaufort was much better attended than the Washington school. Once again, Merriam developed an everyday routine of teaching, taking walks, and seeing guests, among the most regular of whom was Army Chaplain Horace James. Jo had also accompanied the community in its evacuation of Washington and was a frequent visitor. On Sunday, July 17, she and a fellow Beaufort teacher "went down to Refugee Camp for service. Heard the Chap....He walked home with us & was here in the eve....Discussed politics, moonlight, & other nonsense." On Friday, July 29, the freedmen's school closed for the summer, and the following Monday she and Mary Jones made a visit to New Bern. They stayed in the teachers' house and rode horseback with New Bern gentlemen, including a trip beyond town to "Bell's Plantation" (likely Bellair). After they were back in Beaufort a week later, Jo came on the evening of August 11 "and told me something which nearly made me faint-away. I could not have felt worse..." Merriam writes in her next entry that she was "very sad all day in consequence of the news last night," and then on the 14th reports that "The prisoners were shot today at New Berne for desertion from our army. It was a fearful sight for those who witnessed it." We can find no other record of this event, but we suspect that Jo brought news of it on August 11; given her reaction, Merriam may well have known one or more of the condemned.

On Monday, August 29, Merriam left Beaufort to spend several weeks with her family in Worcester. Jo begged her not to go, but many of her friends and fellow teachers saw her off at the wharf. The journey was uneventful, and she arrived in Worcester on September 4. She remained at home for three months--mostly, it seems, recuperating from eight months in the war zone. There

was little relief, though, for those still in the South. On October 11 she received a letter from her friend Mary Jones, "telling of the alarming ravages of the Yellow Fever in New Berne." That fall nearly a thousand civilians would die in New Bern and Beaufort, the two towns most stricken, as well as more than 300 Union soldiers. Among the dead was one teacher, Elizabeth M. Tuttle, who like Merriam was commissioned by the New England Freedmen's Aid Society. Merriam made a note of Tuttle's death in her entry of October 12: "Lizzie Tuttle died at Beaufort today at 4 p.m. of yellow fever." Yet by the end of November, Merriam was ready to return to her work. She packed her bags on the 29th, took the train from Worcester to New York City, and boarded a steamer for the Carolinas. She arrived at Fort Monroe, Virginia, on December 6 and reached New Bern three days later. She taught full classes there for a week before continuing on to Beaufort. On Christmas Eve, "Some of our household went for evergreens to trim our rooms," but on Christmas Day itself she simply went to church and to Sunday School in the camp with her brother, Lucius, then "had a good class in my 1st reader." The diary ends with Merriam dispelling "the blues" through her teaching and excitedly preparing for a New Year's celebration.

Black socialist historian and intellectual, W. E. B. Du Bois, writing nearly a half-century after the Civil War, was among the first scholars to take an active interest in the contributions of teachers in the refugee camps and early freedmen's schools. He wrote:

> Behind the mists of ruin and rapine waved the calico dresses of women who dared, and after the hoarse mouthings of the field guns rang the rhythm of the alphabet. Rich and poor they were, serious and curious. Bereaved now of a father, now of a brother, now of more than these, they came seeking a life work in planting New England schoolhouses among the white and black of the South. They did their work well [1903:28-29].

Merriam herself, writing in the Union-controlled *North Carolina Daily Times* in 1865, proclaimed her commitment to "make education follow closely in the rear of our victorious armies; 'planting a schoolhouse behind every cannon," and "to strengthen that element which, in North Carolina, as in all other hitherto slaveholding states, is destined to constitute the *base* of the social fabric, and to make 'the stone which the builders rejected to become the head of the corner'" (in Greenwood 2009:78). Annie Merriam would work in the freedmen's schools of North Carolina through the end of the war and then in Georgia and Alabama during the first six years of Reconstruction: seven years in all, or three times longer than the average northern teacher. In 1873 she married a Georgia Republican, Lyman Brooks, who owned a lumber business but was actively engaged in registering Black voters in his own state and in neighboring Alabama during the Reconstruction years. They removed to Worcester about 1880, shortly after Lyman's critical testimony before Congress about efforts to intimidate Black voters in Alabama. Later they followed their son, William Eugene, out west, where he would serve as the Speaker of the Arizona State Legislature. In 1923, Anna Parker Merriam died in Riverside, California, at the age of 83.

Diaries composed by women who served in any capacity during the Civil War, whether for North or South, are extraordinarily rare. Of the handful that exist, nearly all were kept by women who served as nurses. Indeed, there are more surviving home front diaries written by Confederate women on plantations than by those who served either side in camps or near the lines. We locate no other examples of diaries written by freedmen's teachers working in an active war zone. A few

teacher diaries do exist for the Reconstruction period, including those of Martha Schofield (1865-1871: Swarthmore); Jacob Yoder (1866-1867: Library of Virginia); Sarah Ely (1864-1866: Duke); Annie Heacock (1864-1867, 1869: Marshall); Philena Carkin (reminiscences, 1866-1875: UVA); and Esther Douglass (reminiscences, 1865-1895: Tulane). Reproductions of original manuscripts include the diaries of Margaret Thorpe (photocopy reminiscences, 1866: Colonial Williamsburg); Lizzie Edwards (photocopy, 1866: Earlham); and Robert Fitzgerald (microfilm, 1867-1871: UNC-CH). Published diaries include those of Sarah Jane Foster (1990); Mary Ames (1906); and Laura Towne (1912). Several collections of correspondence to and from freedmen's teachers have also survived, but the overall volume of primary source material relating to the lives of these dedicated women and men is surprisingly small. We can trace no records of any similar items ever appearing at auction or in the trade. **The diary of Annie Parker Merriam thus offers rare and significant insight into the experiences of freedmen's teachers along the North Carolina coast, unbowed by the war that still raged around them**.

Relevant sources:

Click, Patricia C.
2001 *Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862-1867*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

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2019 *The Women's Fight: The Civil War's Battles for Home, Freedom, and Nation*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

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2009 *First Fruits of Freedom: The Migration of Former Slaves and Their Search for Equality in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1862-1900*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

James, Horace
1865 *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Negro Affairs in North Carolina. 1864*. W. F. Brown & Co., Boston.

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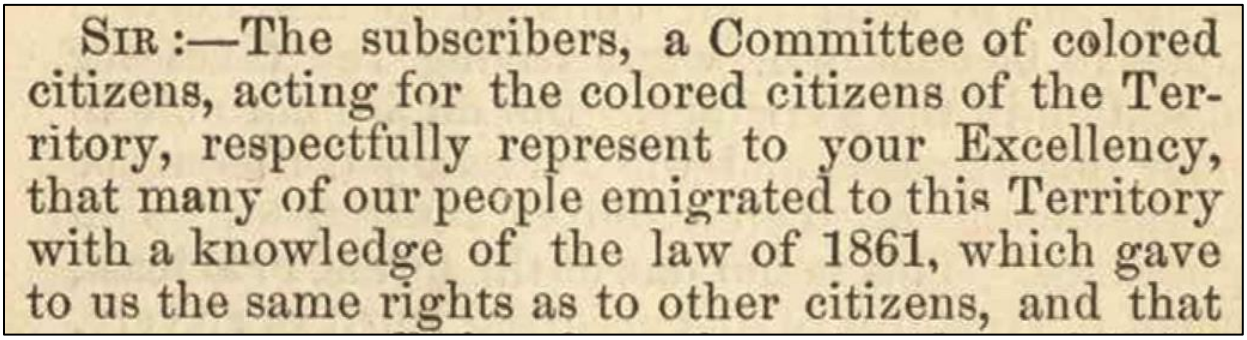
[Civil War--Freedmen's Education]. Annie P. Merriam. [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF ANNIE P. MERRIAM, DOCUMENTING THE LIFE OF A FREEDMEN'S TEACHER IN COASTAL NORTH CAROLINA DURING THE CIVIL WAR]. Pocket Diary for 1864, New York. [Washington, New Bern, and Beaufort, North Carolina. January-December, 1864]. 16mo (16.5 cm). Entries for all but two days, more than 20,000 words total. All but two or three entries written in ink; most entirely legible, but cross-writing in some entries more difficult to read. Daily diary bound into original brown leather wallet-style binding with flap, very light edge wear, very clean internally. Very good.

16. SOLD.

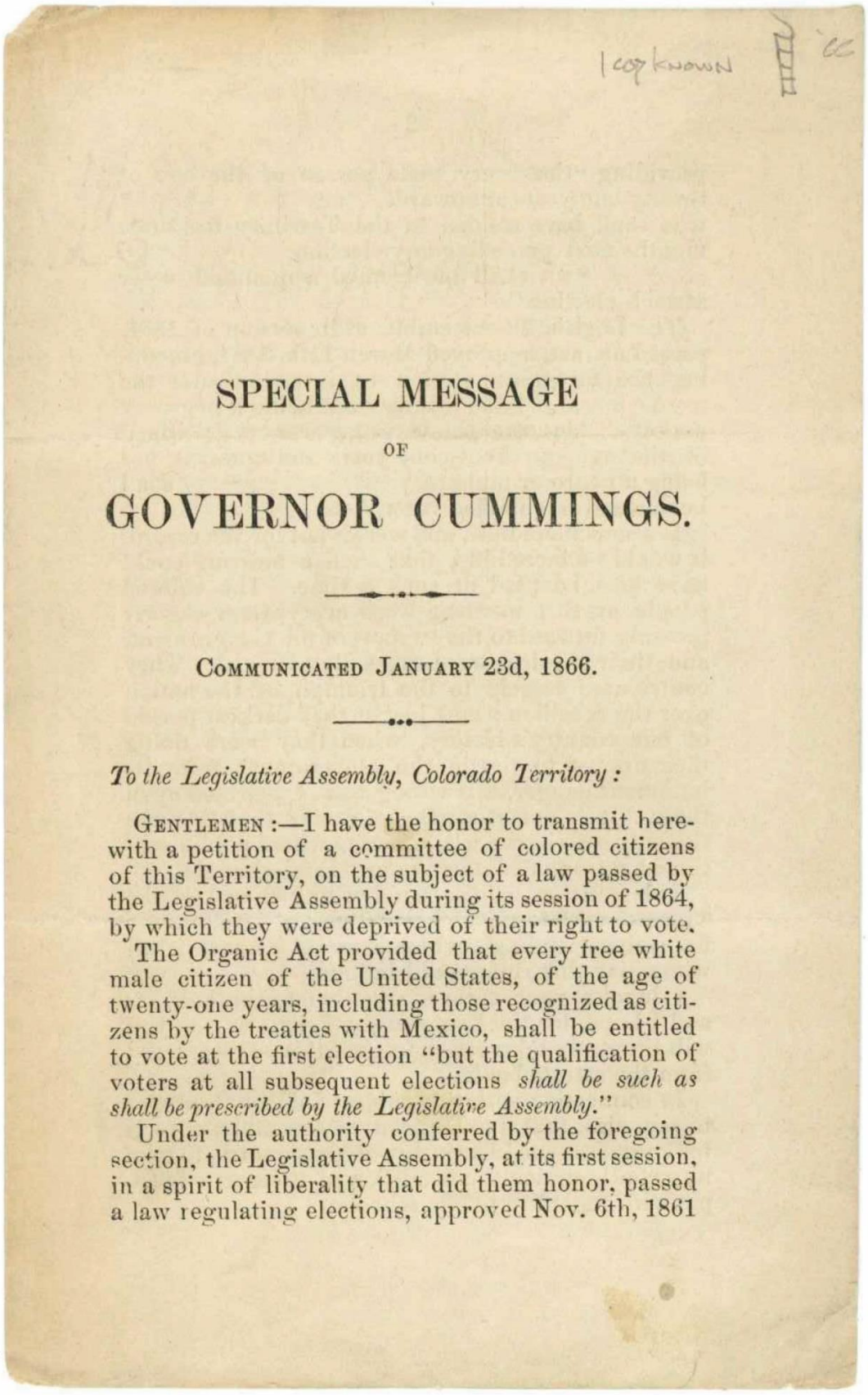
The Black Citizens of Colorado Territory Petition for Civil Rights

Between the 1858 discovery of gold in the Pike's Peak country of what was then western Kansas and the creation of Colorado Territory three years later in 1861, more than 100,000 gold seekers were drawn to the heart of the Rocky Mountains. Among the hopeful were a small number of African Americans seeking both the gold that drew so many others but also opportunities not available elsewhere in the South and East; their population grew tenfold over the next decade, from fewer than 50 in 1860 to about 500 by 1870. Colorado's first election statutes of 1861 extended voting rights to all male residents aged 21 and older. But in March 1864, its territorial legislature enacted a new amendment stipulating that "male persons" did not include African Americans, who were explicitly denied the right to vote. Colorado's Black residents immediately began to fight for equal suffrage, sending delegations to the 1864 and 1865 state constitutional conventions. And when white Colorado voters rejected equal suffrage in September 1865, Black residents refused to accept the decision, petitioning the territorial governor directly and urging the U. S. Congress to deny the territory statehood until their voting rights were restored. Their first *Petition*, issued as a broadside in December 1865, is known in a single copy. Their second was printed in January 1866 by order of the territorial governor, Alexander Cummings, together with his own *Special Message* in its support. **This is the third recorded copy of that document, one of the earliest and most important imprints pertaining to civil rights in the American West**.



SIR :—The subscribers, a Committee of colored citizens, acting for the colored citizens of the Territory, respectfully represent to your Excellency, that many of our people emigrated to this Territory with a knowledge of the law of 1861, which gave to us the same rights as to other citizens, and that

The first African Americans to live in what is now Colorado were fur trader and mountain man James Beckwourth, who had escaped slavery as a young man in Virginia about 1820, and the Green family--married couple Charlotte and Dick, and Dick's brother Andrew--who were enslaved by Charles and William Bent at Bent's Fort during the 1830s and 40s. On the heels of the Pike's Peak Gold Rush, citizens of Denver City and Golden City began pushing for territorial status, but the issue of slavery prevented any action in Congress, which was bitterly divided between a Senate controlled by pro-slavery Democrats and a House controlled (after 1859) by Republicans. Then in February 1861, when the first seven southern states seceded from the Union, their congressional delegations promptly resigned. Republicans took control of both chambers, and with the deadlock broken, Congress created three new free territories in three days: Colorado (February 28), Nevada (March 1), and Dakota (March 2). Despite pockets of southern sympathizers who formed guerilla groups, or Confederate Partisan Ranger units, in different parts of the territory, Colorado would remain firmly Union throughout the war. Some of the pioneering members of Colorado's African American community had immigrated during the Gold Rush years, but most began arriving during the Civil War and after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863.



1 copy known

SPECIAL MESSAGE

OF

GOVERNOR CUMMINGS.

COMMUNICATED JANUARY 23d, 1866.

To the Legislative Assembly, Colorado Territory:

GENTLEMEN:—I have the honor to transmit herewith a petition of a committee of colored citizens of this Territory, on the subject of a law passed by the Legislative Assembly during its session of 1864, by which they were deprived of their right to vote.

The Organic Act provided that every free white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, including those recognized as citizens by the treaties with Mexico, shall be entitled to vote at the first election "but the qualification of voters at all subsequent elections *shall be such as shall be prescribed by the Legislative Assembly.*"

Under the authority conferred by the foregoing section, the Legislative Assembly, at its first session, in a spirit of liberality that did them honor, passed a law regulating elections, approved Nov. 6th, 1861

providing "that every male person of the age of twenty-one years or upwards, * * * * who shall have resided in the Territory for three months next preceding any election, * * * * shall be deemed a qualified voter at such election."

The Legislative Assembly, at its session of 1864, passed an act, approved March 11th, 1864, amending the foregoing section by inserting after the word "upwards" the words "not being a negro or mulatto," so as to make it read, "every male citizen of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, not being a negro or mulatto, * * * shall be deemed a qualified voter," etc.

It seems incredible, and were it not for the record, it would be incredible, that such a measure could have been adopted at such a time. The colored people at that moment were everywhere eagerly pressing forward to the support of the Government, and their services were as gladly accepted. They contributed largely to the triumph of the nation over the rebellion; and just at that darkest period of our country's history, when they were doing their utmost to rescue the Government from its imminent danger, this wrong was perpetrated upon them. It is a fact worthy of notice that this was the only case in the whole nation where public sentiment retrograded during our fearful struggle.

This petition, in the handwriting of one of the signers, evinces an ability to exercise intelligently the right of suffrage, which it would be well if all who enjoy that right could imitate.

I invoke your earnest attention to this subject, and I hope, for the honor of the Territory, that you will promptly take action to erase this odious record from the statute book.

In connection with this subject I deem it proper to say, also, that the Legislative Assembly owes it to the enlightened sentiment of the country, to take into consideration the condition of the colored people with regard to public schools.

Under the law of 1861, offering them equal political privileges with others, they came here in considerable numbers, and to an equal, if not greater extent than any other class of immigrants to the Territory, as I am informed, they brought their families and have kept them here. The evidences of their industry, frugality and thrift, are to be seen in various parts of Denver—some of the finest property in the town belonging to them. They are subject to the tax laid for the support of public schools, while their children are not permitted to attend them.

In consequence of their exclusion from both public and private schools, some of these people have been compelled to send their children to the Eastern States to be educated, while paying the taxes for education in the Territory. But all are not able to incur this expense, and the necessary consequence is, that many of their children must grow up in ignorance. This is but one of the forms, or at least, one of the features of the accursed spirit of slavery, from whose thraldom the nation has just emerged, by which the children of one man are educated at the expense of another.

I do not propose, in this connection, to discuss the question of equality of race, about which so many words and so much labor have been wasted, but I submit, without argument, the fact that the colored people in Denver and various parts of the Territory, are taxed to pay for educating white children, while their own children are excluded from the public schools, and your action will determine how long this humiliating spectacle shall be presented to the world.

Justice to the living, and gratitude to those who died that the Nation might live, forbid that the state of things against which these petitioners protest, should longer prevail.

I discharge my duty in calling your attention to these subjects; for the rest, the responsibility is with you.

ALEXANDER CUMMINGS.

PETITION.

DENVER, January 20th, 1866.

To his Excellency, Alexander Cummings, Governor of Colorado Territory:

SIR:—The subscribers, a Committee of colored citizens, acting for the colored citizens of the Territory, respectfully represent to your Excellency, that many of our people emigrated to this Territory with a knowledge of the law of 1861, which gave to us the same rights as to other citizens, and that we are now suffering from the unjust law of 1864, which deprives negroes and mulattoes of the rights of citizenship; and we are suffering from a further injustice, which we have personally called your attention to, in reference to the exclusion of our children from the public schools.

We most respectfully and earnestly solicit from your Excellency, such action as you may deem best adapted to secure to us these rights, which unjust laws have taken from us.

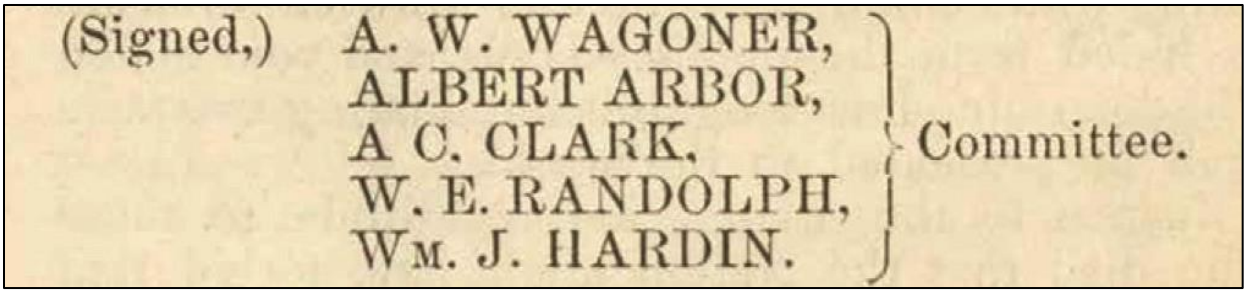
(Signed,) A. W. WAGONER,
ALBERT ARBOR,
A. C. CLARK,
W. E. RANDOLPH,
WM. J. HARDIN.
} Committee.

As earl y as March 1864, when Lincoln signed the Congress's Enabling Act for the State of Colorado, statehood for the territory seemed imminent. Its backers organized a constitutional convention that July, drafting a constitution inspired by the Wyandotte Constitution passed five years earlier in Kansas. Colorado voters rejected it, however, due to fears of increased taxes and the enforcement of federal conscription laws. Pro-statehood advocates tried again the following August--the end of the war had made the federal draft a moot issue--organizing another convention and drafting another constitution. This time voters approved by a thin margin. Republicans swept the state elections, and in November the territorial legislature elected two Republican senators then promptly adjourned, awaiting President Johnson's proclamation of statehood.

It never came. Governor Cummings--appointed by Johnson only the month before--was against statehood. His position was primarily based on the territory's financial instability and low population, but he seems to have been genuinely sympathetic to Black Coloradans on the issue of voting rights. On December 11, 1865, Black residents led by William J. Hardin, J. G. Smith, and Henry O. Wagoner, delivered their first petition to the governor's office. A broadside signed in type by 137 African Americans from Denver and elsewhere in the territory declared that the denial of equal suffrage ignored "the bloody lessons of the last four years." By changing the words "all male citizens" to "all *white* male citizens [italics in original]", the amendment of March 1864 had made "color or caste and not intelligence and patriotism, the test for the right of suffrage." They addressed the petition to the U. S. Congress, beseeching "your Honorable Body not to admit the Territory as a State until the word *white* be erased from her State Constitution" and asked Governor Cummings to forward it to Washington. Cummings did, and the only known copy of this printed document is in the State Department's Colorado Territorial Papers at the National Archives. The original manuscript petition is also included in Cummings' dispatch to Secretary of State William Seward, along with the letter from the petitioners. In his own cover letter to Seward, Cummings writes that, in complying with the petitioners' request, "I feel that I perform a simple, plain duty which I neither could, nor would, avoid." He also indicates that copies of the printed petition were likewise submitted to the presiding officers of the U. S. House and Senate, but we have been unable to trace the whereabouts of these congressional copies.

A month later, on January 20, 1866, the activists led by Wagoner (mistakenly identified as "A. W." rather than "H. O."), Hardin, Albert Arbor, A. C. Clark, and W. E. Randolph delivered a second petition to Cummings. This one reiterates the cause of the first petition--reinstating voting rights to Black and mixed race citizens--while introducing another injustice. Although they were taxed for the purpose of funding public schools, their own children were excluded from receiving an education there. Writing on behalf of their community, they concluded that they "respectfully and earnestly solicit from your Excellency, such action as you may deem best adapted to secure to us these rights, which unjust laws have taken from us." Three days later, on January 23, Cummings printed a *Special Message* for the territory's legislative assembly. With it, he declares, he has "the honor to transmit herewith a petition of a committee of colored citizens of this Territory, on the subject of a law passed by the Legislative Assembly during its session of 1864." With regard to the law itself, "by which they were deprived of their right to vote," he states:

> It seems incredible, and if not for the record it would be incredible, that such a measure could have been adopted at such a time. The colored people at that moment were everywhere eagerly pressing forward to the support of


(Signed,) A. W. WAGONER,
ALBERT ARBOR,
A C. CLARK,
W. E. RANDOLPH,
Committee.
Wm. J. HARDIN.

> the Government, and their services were as gladly accepted. They contributed largely to the triumph of the nation over the rebellion; and just at that darkest period of our country's history, when they were doing their utmost to rescue the Government from its imminent danger, this wrong was perpetrated upon them. It is a fact worthy of notice that this was the only case in the whole nation where public sentiment retrograded during our fearful struggle.

Issued in the form of a small bifolium with both his *Message* and the *Petition*, Cummings also forwarded a copy of this document to Seward, and that copy like the earlier broadside is held by the National Archives. One other institutional copy is known, which William Hardin sent from Denver to Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who presented the first *Petition* to Congress on January 24, 1866. Sumner's copy of the second petition is bound with other works related to Reconstruction among his papers held by Harvard. **The copy that we offer here is thus the third recorded example**. Given that the territory's legislative assembly--to which Cummings' *Message* is addressed--had only fifty members in January 1866, it is unlikely that more than a hundred of these documents were printed for distribution locally and beyond.

Cummings and the petitioners, especially the outspoken Hardin, were savaged in Colorado by pro-statehood advocates like the territorial secretary, Frank Hall, and the publisher of Denver's *Rocky Mountain News*, William Newton Byers. Byers even claimed that many of the signatures on the December 1864 petition were fraudulent. Yet despite the clear racism of these attacks, and over the opposition of Sumner and other Radical Republicans, Congress voted in April 1866 to admit Colorado Territory as a state. The statehood faction's victory was short-lived, however, as President Johnson subsequently vetoed the bill. Johnson's veto certainly had nothing to do with the petitioners or their civil rights--he was generally opposed to Black suffrage--but was due to his belief that the territory's population was too small. As many senators agreed, the upper chamber was unable to override his veto. So Colorado would remain a territory for another decade, during which it suffered another failed attempt at statehood, before finally joining the Union as the 38th state in 1876. It would seem, all things considered, that the African American petitioners achieved little in their stand for civil rights. While Colorado was denied statehood, the rejection had nothing to do with its disenfranchisement of Black citizens, and the territorial legislature had no compelling reason to reverse its 1864 amendment, which Johnson's veto left in place.

But the story did not end there. It is no coincidence that on the very same day that Johnson vetoed Colorado statehood, Rep. James Ashley--leader of Ohio's Radical Republicans--introduced a House bill for the regulation of territorial governments. The bill offered nine provisions, the last

of which gave all male citizens (excluding Native Americans) the right to vote. Ashley made no effort to refute his critics' contention that the first eight provisions were little more than window dressing aimed at forcing Black suffrage on the territories. The bill was passed in the House by a wide margin, but then was filibustered in the Senate until the session closed. Sen. Benjamin Wade of Ohio reintroduced the bill in the following session, openly acknowledging its association with the suffrage debates in Colorado, and he amended it to contain only the single, final provision. On January 10, 1867, both houses voted in support of the Territorial Suffrage Act, which became law the same day. Not only did it immediately restore the civil rights of Colorado's petitioners, but it ensured that no other territorial legislatures could pass laws restricting suffrage to whites. And as for the matter of education, Denver's public school authorities acquiesced in 1867 that all children would share the same building, albeit with Black children on a different floor. In 1873, the city's schools were fully integrated (until the 20th century) over white opposition.

In a footnote to his article on the struggle for civil rights in Colorado, Eugene Berwanger observes that "In the West itself, only a civil rights protest in California rivaled that of Colorado in importance; even so the endeavor was less successful" (1975:314). There, the 1856 Convention of Colored Citizens sought the right to vote and to serve on juries; in response, the state assembly passed a bill prohibiting Black immigration. The Colorado petitions were thus seminal documents in both the history of the West and the much broader history of civil rights in America. This is the only example of either petition to reach the market, whether at auction or in the trade.

Of the utmost rarity and significance.

Relevant sources:

Berwanger, Eugene H.
1975 Reconstruction on the Frontier: The Equal Rights Struggle in Colorado, 1865-1867. *Pacific Historical Review* 44(3):313-329.
1981 *The West and Reconstruction*. University of Illinois Press, Champaign.
Du Bois, W. E. B.
1935 *Black Reconstruction in America: Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Harcourt, Brace, and Co., New York.
Taylor, Quintard
1998 *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990*. W. W. Norton Co., New York.

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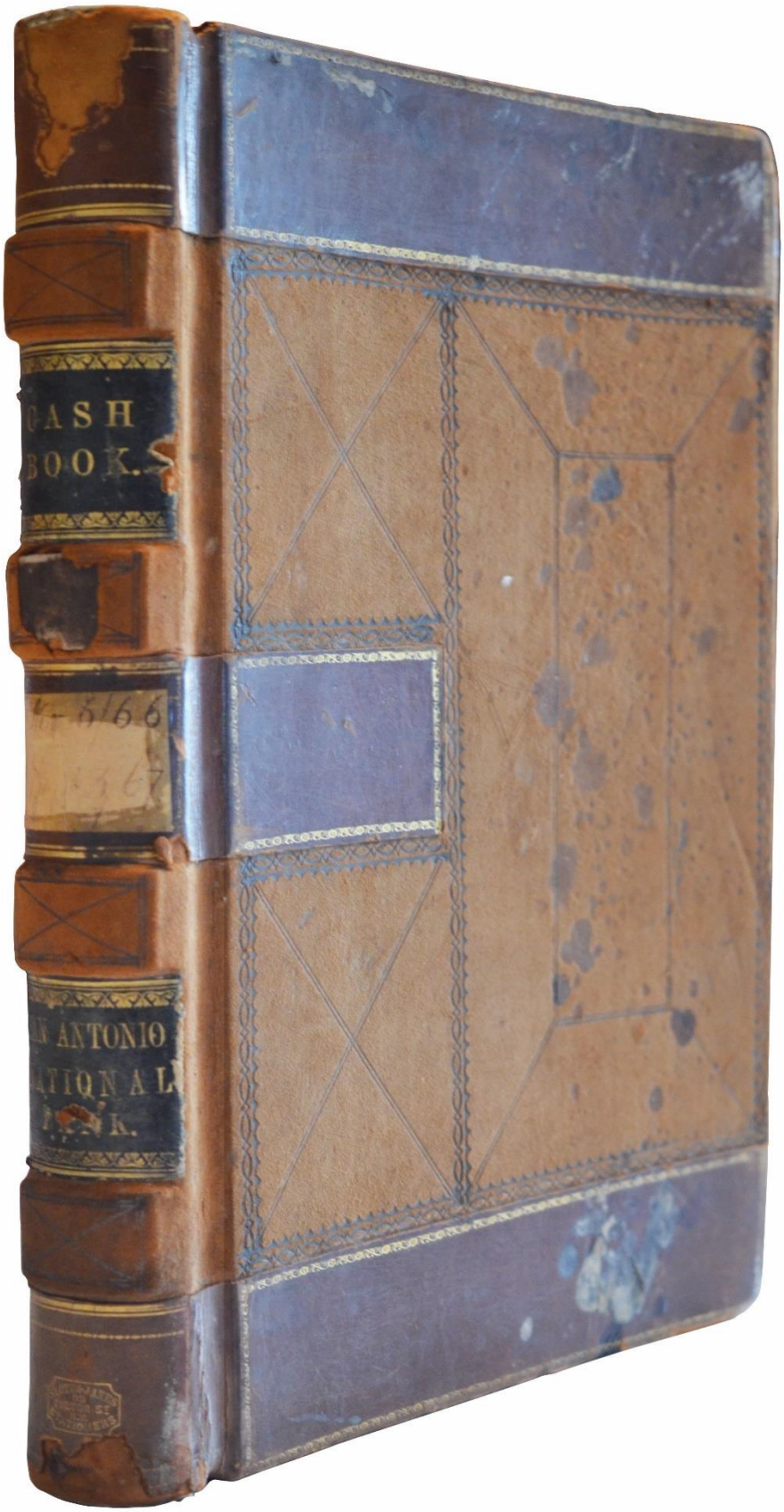
[Colorado Territory--African American Suffrage]. Alexander Cummings. SPECIAL MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR CUMMINGS, COMMUNICATED JANUARY 23d, 1866. [N.p., n.d., but Denver, Colorado, January 1866]. 4 pp. Small 8vo (20 cm). Bifolium, pp. 1-3 with *Message* of Governor Cumming, p. 4 with *Petition* of African American citizens. Light edge wear, upper left corner chipped, also lower right corner of p. 1-2; old horizontal folds. Very good.

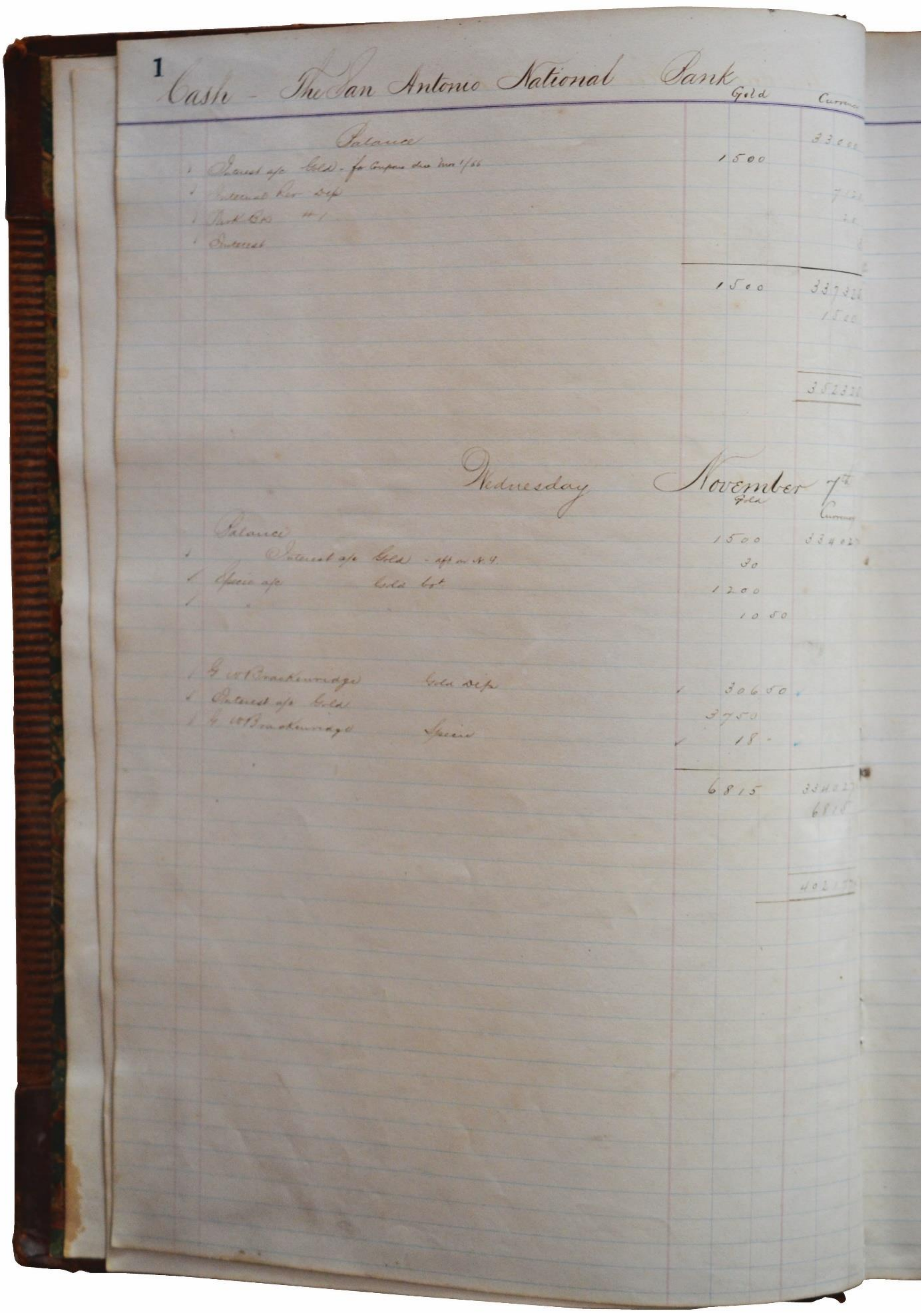
17. SOLD.

George Washington Brackenridge and the National Bank of San Antonio

In 1861, after South Carolina announced its intent to secede from the Union and launched a broadside against Fort Sumter, George Washington Brackenridge abandoned his legal studies at Harvard University and rejoined his family in Texana, Texas. The Brackenridges, originally from southern Indiana, were quite recent immigrants to South Texas, having only arrived in 1853 after 18-year-old George had demonstrated the region's potential to his father, John. Now the family was divided, with George, his father, and his sister Eleanor remaining loyal to the Union; George's three brothers, meanwhile, all enlisted with the Confederate Army. During the war years, while his brothers fought, George made a small fortune running Texas cotton from Matamoros to New York City despite Confederate export bans and Union blockades. After barely evading a lynching party in 1863, he was forced to flee and spent the remainder of the conflict in Washington, New Orleans, and Union-controlled Brownsville, Texas, with an appointment as assistant special agent in the Treasury Department. Here Brackenridge saw the future and began to develop an idea, one that would turn him from a carpetbagger with a small fortune into one of the wealthiest and most influential men in South Texas. **That idea became the National Bank of San Antonio, and this cash book documents its first year of operation, from the very first transaction**.

In 1863 and 1864, Abraham Lincoln signed into law two federal banking acts charged with organizing and administering a system of nationally chartered banks and creating a single national currency. Even today, these National Banking Acts provide the basic governing framework for America's financial system. Besides the immediate aim of generating funds to finance the ongoing war effort, these acts enabled a shift from state banks--each issuing its own paper banknotes--to nationally chartered banks that could issue notes backed by the United States Treasury and printed by the government itself. Brackenridge, in his role as an agent with the Treasury Department, was able to witness first-hand the establishment and early success of two such banks, the First National Bank of New Orleans and the First National Bank of Galveston, the latter of which was the first of these new federally chartered banks in Texas. Two more soon followed, the National Bank of Texas, also in Galveston, and the First National Bank of Houston. Brackenridge saw the potential of establishing a fourth along the western frontier at San Antonio. The city had hosted a significant U. S. military presence prior to the war, including an arsenal founded in 1859 for supplying arms and munitions to frontier forts and garrisons. With the end of the war, those troops (and their large federal payrolls for deposit) would soon return. Moreover, each national bank was guaranteed to open with deposits obtained directly from the Treasury, in exchange for investing a 1/3 portion of the required $50,000 minimum capital in U. S. bonds. All of these deposits, in turn, would supply the financing needed to develop the West and South Texas frontiers.


CASH
BOOK.



1 Cash - The San Antonio National Bank

	Gold	Currency
Balance		33000
Interest a/c Gold - for Coupons due Nov 1/66	1500	
Internal Rev Dep		7
Park Bro #1		2
Interest		
	1500	33732
		1500
		35232

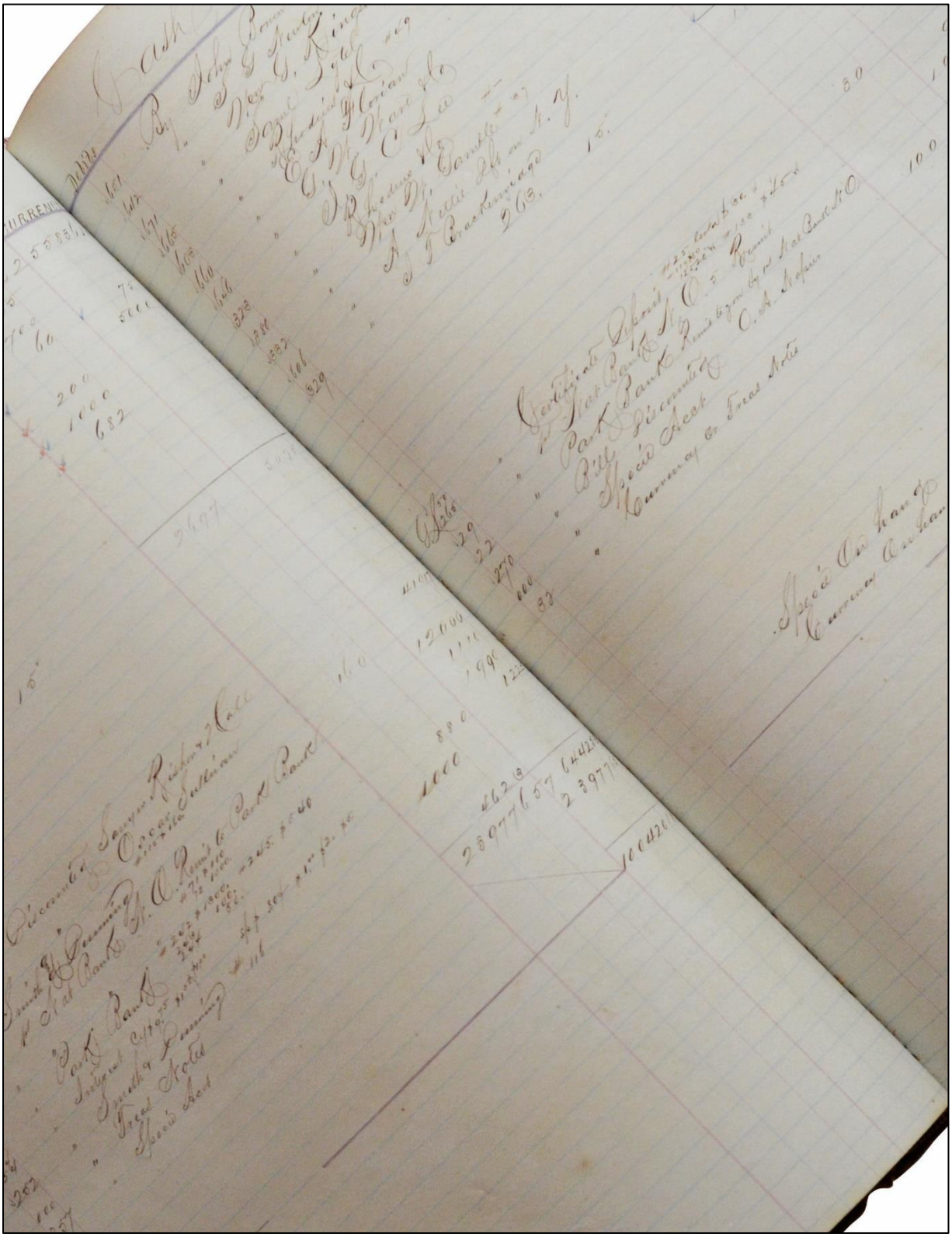
Wednesday November 7th

	Gold	Currency
Balance	1500	33402
Interest a/c Gold - app on N 4	30	
Specie a/c Gold bot	1200	
	1050	
G W Brackenridge Gold Dep	30650	
Interest a/c Gold	3750	
G W Brackenridge Specie	18 -	
	6815	33402
		6815
		402

Brackenridge moved quickly. In the fall of 1865 he returned to Seguin, Texas--where he had operated a branch of his family's mercantile business before the war--and worked in the land office of a relative. By the following spring he had established himself in San Antonio, 30 miles west, and began seeking backers for his idea. He drew together a small group of investors, most of whom were local German merchants who, like him, had remained steadfast Unionists during the war. On July 5, 1866, they formally organized the National Bank of San Antonio and elected Brackenridge as president, a position he would hold until 1912.

With the officers and board of directors settled, Brackenridge headed east shortly after to complete the necessary steps for making their bank a reality. He obtained a charter in Washington on July 30 before continuing on to New York City, where he met with an old friend and business partner, Charles Stillman, to complete the financial arrangements. Stillman, at the time among the wealthiest men in America, had founded the town of Brownsville, Texas, in 1848 and had used its ideal location--directly across the Rio Grande from Matamoros--to smuggle Confederate cotton with Brackenridge. Now having permanently relocated to New York, he would quietly back the venture. Brackenridge made one more stop in Washington to exchange the required government bonds for banknotes, then left for Texas on October 1, reporting to the comptroller that the bank would open on Monday, November 5. A currency shortfall, which Brackenridge met with $57,000 of his own money (at 7% interest), delayed the opening by a day (Sibley 1973).

This massive, elephant folio ledger opens with that first day's transactions of November 6, 1866. It contains 240 ruled printed leaves, numbered 1 to 240 for entries across facing pages. The ledger itself is over 17 inches tall, 12 1/2 inches wide, and two inches thick. It is bound in reverse calf with finely tooled boards and gilt-decorated, dark red morocco panels. The spine contains four raised bands and two black morocco labels, the top reading "CASH BOOK" and the lower reading "SAN ANTONIO NATIONAL BANK." Edges and end papers are marbled, and the inner front pastedown has a binder's label from New York stationers, printers, and blank book manufacturers Slote & Janes; we think it likely that Brackenridge obtained the ledger during his trip to meet with Stillman. A handwritten label on the spine reads "Nov. 6/66 / Sept. 3/67." There are entries for each business day during this period, with entries consisting of "charges" or "debits" on one side of facing pages and "credits" on the other. There are thousands of entries for some of the most important people and businesses in San Antonio's post-war history, including even an entry by Federal Capt. E. W. Whittemore--then serving as subassistant commissioner for the Texas Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands--on behalf of the "Colored Church" (credit for May 14, 1867). **We can trace no earlier surviving records for any of those first four national banks established in Texas from 1865 to 1866**.



The National Bank of San Antonio appears to have been a success from the beginning, but in August 1867, near the end of the period covered by this ledger, an event linking San Antonio to Abilene, Kansas, would transform the Texas economy and both Brackenridge's bank and personal fortune along with it. On August 15, O. W. Wheeler arrived at Joseph McCoy's new stockyards in Abilene, leading a herd of about 2400 steers that he had purchased in San Antonio and driven up what was soon to be called the Chisholm Trail. More than five million cattle followed that path to Kansas over the next two decades, and few men earned more from it than George Washington Brackenridge, who almost immediately became one of the most aggressive financiers of the cattle industry in Texas. His bank was soon known as one of the friendliest in the state for ranchers, and among his clients were such notables Mifflin Kenedy, Richard King, Abel "Shanghai" Pierce, Ben Ward, Charles Goodnight, and J. R. Blocker. By 1875, Brackenridge estimated that at least 3/4 of the bank's profits came from cattle drives to Kansas.

During the years that followed, Brackenridge put his wealth to good use as one of the most generous philanthropists in Texas. He funded dozens of hospitals, parks, and schools--including hundreds of thousands of dollars devoted to African American education. As the longest serving regent in the history of the University of Texas, he insisted that lands in West Texas set aside for the university by the Legislature be transferred from state to university control. At the time, much of this land was little used and covered in scrub, but when oil was discovered there in 1920, just after Brackenridge's death, millions of dollars flowed to the university. And Brackenridge was a lifelong supporter of women's rights; when women were unable to attend the university medical school in Galveston due to a lack of housing, he donated the money to build their dorms. **All of it began here, with the first cash book from his bank in San Antonio**.

Relevant sources:

Carlson, Avery Luvere
1929 A Monetary and Banking History of Texas, from the Mexican Regime to the Present Day, 1821-1929. The Fort Worth National Bank, Fort Worth, TX.

Holland, Richard A.
2006 George W. Brackenridge, George W. Littlefield, and the Shadow of the Past. *In The Texas Book: Profiles, History, and Reminiscences of the University*, edited by Richard A. Holland, pp. 85-104. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Sibley, Marilyn McAdams
1973 *George W. Brackenridge: Maverick Philanthropist*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

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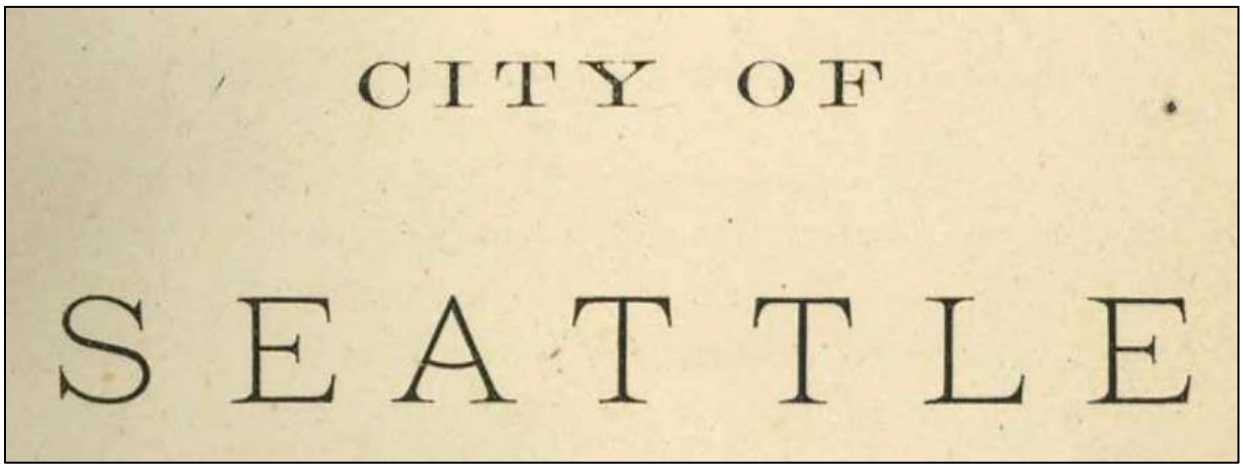
[Texas--San Antonio Banking]. National Bank of San Antonio. [MANUSCRIPT CASH BOOK DOCUMENTING THE NATIONAL BANK OF SAN ANTONIO DURING ITS FIRST YEAR OF OPERATION]. [San Antonio, Texas, November 6, 1866-September 3, 1867]. 240 leaves. 17 3/4 x 12 1/2 in. (45 x 32 cm). Reverse calf boards with red morocco panels, gilt decoration and tooling; raised bands and black morocco spine labels; marbled edges and end papers. Edge wear and scuffing at head of spine, front board slightly bowed. Very good.

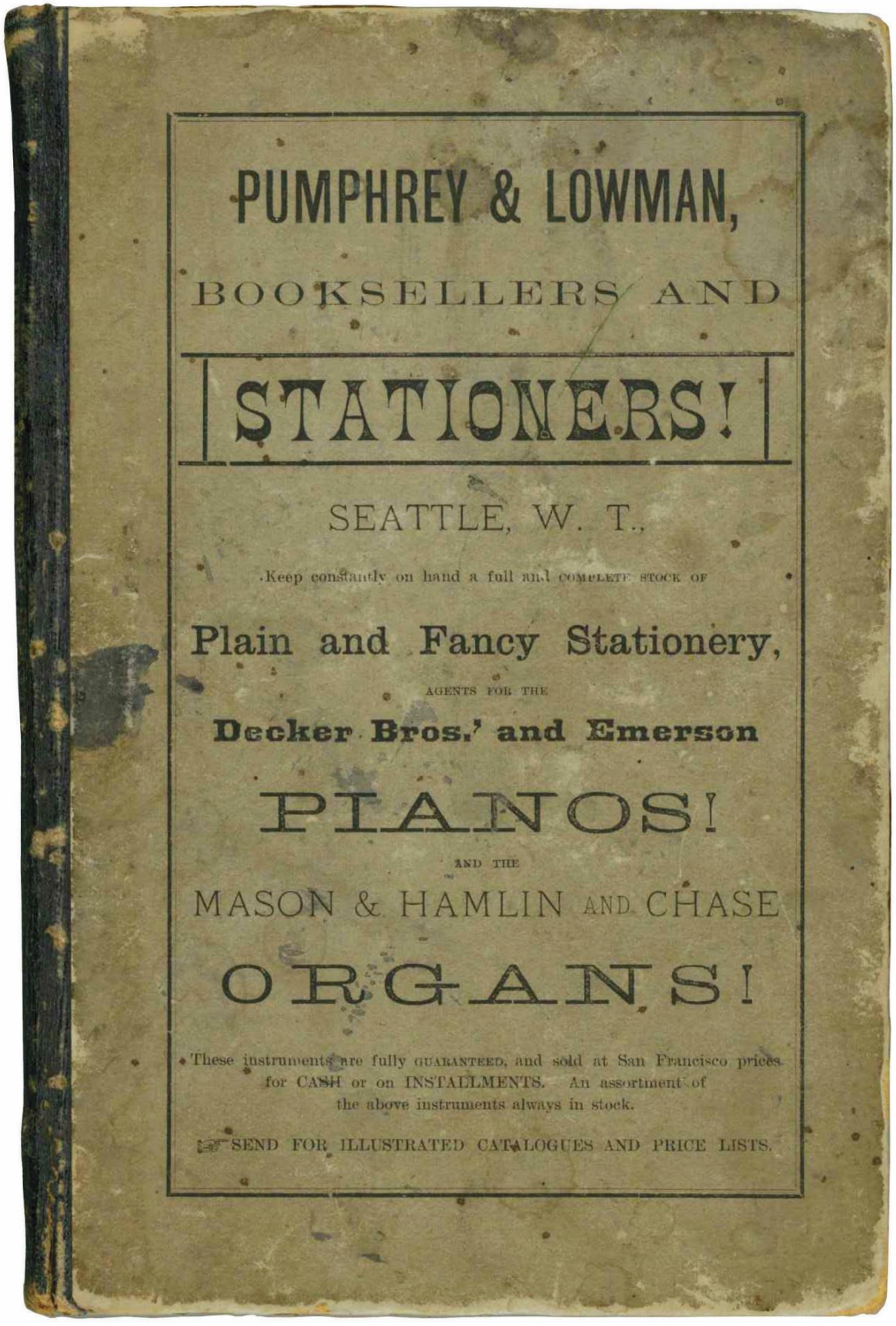
18. **$12,500**.

Elliot & Sweet's 1882 *Residence and Business Directory* for Seattle

Today, with nearly 750,000 people in its urban core and a metropolitan population of more than 4,000,000, Seattle is both the largest city in Washington state and the largest along the entire Northwest Coast. Named after the prominent Suquamish chief Si'ahl, the original townsite was claimed by members of the Arthur Denny Party in 1851 and 1852, first at Alki Point (modern West Seattle) and later on Elliott Bay (modern downtown). Seattle was actually incorporated twice, the first charter of 1865 voided two years later because of corruption by its civic leaders, the second charter gaining approval in 1869. Between the two charters, the city's population had tripled from 350 people to 1000. Over the next decade it tripled again to 3500, just 55 residents behind Walla Walla, then the largest town in the territory. But from 1880 to 1890, Seattle's population expanded more than tenfold (an astounding 1100%) to 42,800 people, primarily on the back of a burgeoning lumber industry. This rare directory, the city's fourth, was published by Seattle printers Elliot and Sweet in 1882, just as the boom was beginning. **It is one of five known copies**.



The *Puget Sound Business Directory and Guide to Washington Territory* was published at Olympia in 1872, but the first such work devoted entirely to Seattle was issued four years later by Kirk C. Ward. Titled *Business Directory of the City of Seattle for the year 1876; comprising a history of the first settlement, after development, and present population and business of the city*, Kirk's guide was, as the title suggests, an overview of the business community and not intended as a full directory of its residential population. Five copies are recorded in institutional holdings (UWash, Seattle Public Library, Whitman College, UC Berkeley, and Yale). The second Seattle directory was published in 1878 by Melody Choir--an alias used by a colorful businessman, Joseph Calentine--and with 14 copies is the best represented in modern holdings. This is due no doubt to the fact that it was printed not along the frontier of the Pacific Northwest but in the eastern town of Pottsville, Pennsylvania. Arthur J. Brown suggests that no fewer than 25,000 copies of Choir's *Pioneer Directory of the City of Seattle and King County* "were circulated throughout every state of the union and in foreign countries" (1945:9), where it served as a promotional piece for the city and region. In 1879, R. D. Pitt published the city's third directory, the ambitiously titled *Directory of the City of Seattle and Vicinity, 1879: containing a description of Seattle and the Puget Sound country, its resources, agricultural advantages, export, climate, and future prospects*...etc. Only a single copy survives, at the University of Washington.



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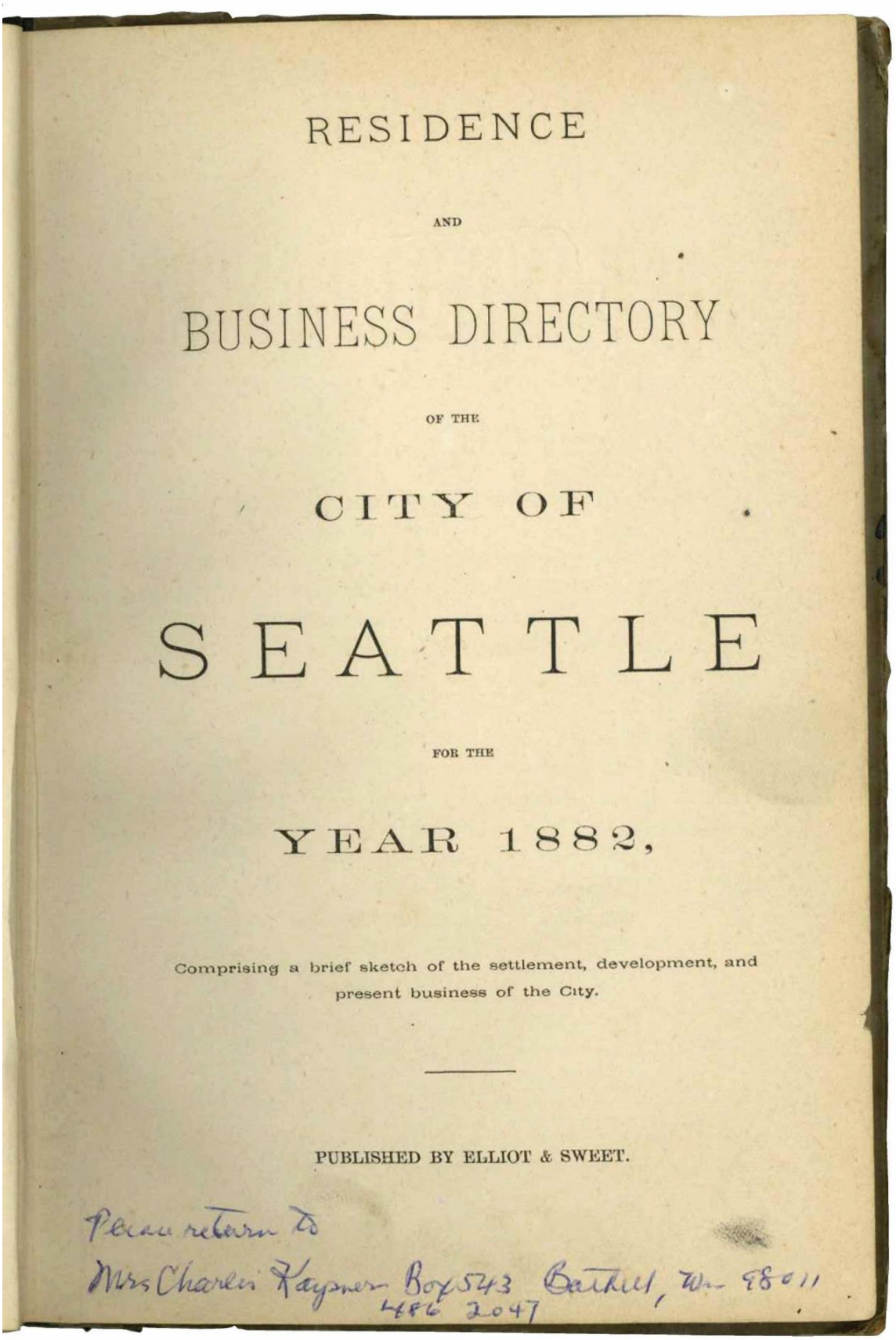

RESIDENCE

AND

BUSINESS DIRECTORY

OF THE

CITY OF

SEATTLE

FOR THE

YEAR 1882,

Comprising a brief sketch of the settlement, development, and present business of the City.

PUBLISHED BY ELLIOT & SWEET.

This copy of Elliot & Sweet's *Residence and Business Directory of the City of Seattle for the year 1882, comprising a brief sketch of the settlement, development, and present business of the City,* as noted, is the fifth recorded copy; the four known institutional examples are held at the University of Washington, the Seattle Public Library, the Newberry, and the Huntington. The last example offered at auction appeared in the Streeter sale in 1968 (the Newberry copy), having been purchased by Streeter from Eberstadt ten years earlier. In fact, that Streeter copy was the last of any of these first four Seattle directories to appear at auction; we likewise trace no examples in the trade during the past half-century. The copy that sold at the Decker sale in 1947 is described in the catalogue as "The rarest of the early directories of Seattle. Only two copies have been located of the K. C. Ward Directory of 1876, and 3 copies of the Choir's Pioneer Directory of 1878. We can locate no other copy of the Elliott and Sweet Directory of 1882" (RBH). While a few copies of each directory have been added in the past 75 years, this assessment of scarcity is still generally accurate, save for the single known copy of Pitt's issue.

Their 1882 directory appears to be the only recorded imprint to bear the names of Elliot & Sweet. Neither partner is listed in this directory, nor does either name appear in any of the other Seattle directories issued from 1876 through 1886. Their identity remains a mystery. The printer Clarence Hanford is listed as "steam job printer, r Fourth bet. James and Cherry," and the firm has a listing in the business section. The directory contains numerous early advertisements, including that on the front cover for "Pumphrey & Lowman, Booksellers and Stationers!" African American residents are not segregated in different section or designated as such, but pioneers like William Grose--proprietor of Our House restaurant and hotel and the wealthiest member of the city's Black community--is listed in both the residential and business sections of the directory. **An extremely rare and early directory of Seattle, on the cusp of its population boom**.

Relevant sources:

Bagley, Clarence B.
1916 *The History of Seattle: From the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*. Vol. I. S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago.

Brown, Arthur J.
1945 The Promotion of Emigration to Washington 1854-1909. *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36(1):3-17.

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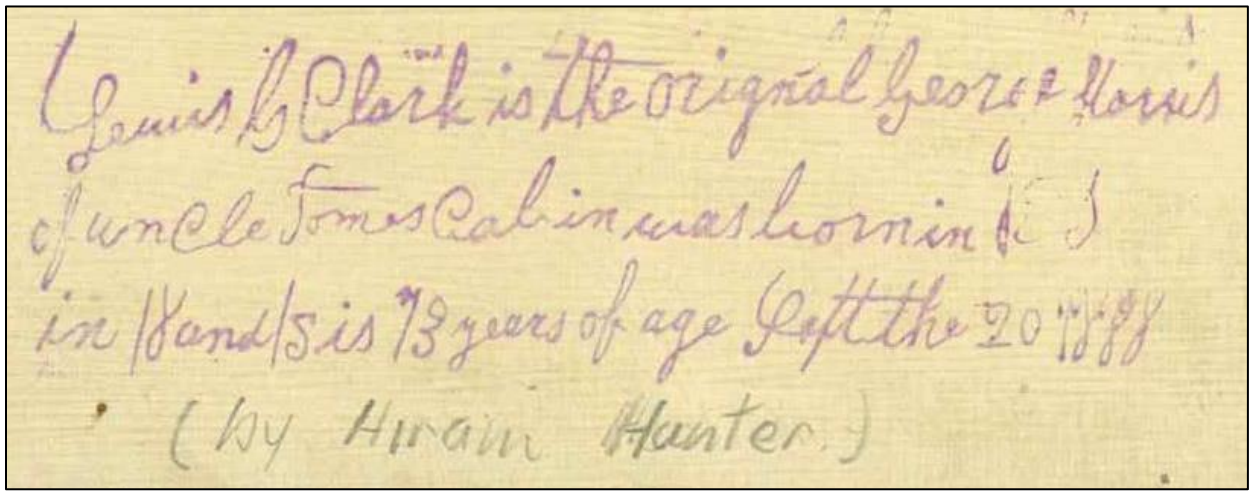
[Seattle--Early Directories]. RESIDENCE AND BUSINESS DIRECTORY OF THE CITY OF SEATTLE FOR THE YEAR 1882, COMPRISING A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE SETTLEMENT, DEVELOPMENT, AND PRESENT BUSINESS OF THE CITY. Published by Elliot & Sweet. C. Hanford & Co., Printers, First Building, Seattle, 1882. iii-vi, 87, [1], vii-x; advertisements on inside front and back covers. 8vo (20.7 cm). Original leather-backed, printed boards with gilt title on spine. Light rubbing and edge wear to spine and boards. Previous owner (20th century) ink inscriptions on front pastedown and title page. Very good. [Howes 9136, Smith 3300].

19. SOLD.

A Signed Cabinet Card Photograph of Black Abolitionist Lewis Clarke

Perhaps the most fully realized character in Harriet Beecher Stowe's iconic novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, is George Harris, who takes his destiny into his own hands and leads his wife and child--along with two older fugitives--from bondage in Kentucky into Canada and freedom. Just two years after its 1852 publication, and following questions about the accuracy of its portrayal of slavery, Stowe published *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which she revealed the real-life people and events that inspired her novel. Regarding her inspiration for George Harris and the incidents that shaped his character's development, she notes:

> Lewis Clark[e] is an acquaintance of the writer. Soon after his escape from slavery, he was received into the family of a sister-in-law of the author, and there educated. His conduct during this time was such as to win for him uncommon affection and respect....The reader is now desired to compare the following incidents of his life, part of which he related personally to the author, with the incidents of the life of George Harris [1854:23].



Lewis Clarke's story is more remarkable than that of his fictional counterpart. Not only did he successfully escape his bondage in Kentucky, he returned a year later to lead his younger brother, Cyrus, to freedom, as well (their older brother, Milton, had escaped on his own several years earlier). Clarke then became an active abolitionist speaker throughout the Northeast, and in 1843 he dictated his story to Joseph C. Lovejoy, who published it later that year as *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke*. This rare cabinet card, from a Detroit photographer's studio, shows Clarke in the last decade of his life, sitting at a spinning wheel similar to the one that played such an important role in his childhood labor. **It is signed and dated by Clarke on the verso, along with his self-identification as "the original George Harris of Uncle Tom's Cabin**."

Clarke was born in Madison County, Kentucky, in 1812 (or possibly 1815, depending on the source; his inscription here gives the correct year as "18 and 15"). His mother, Letitia, was a daughter of plantation owner Samuel Campbell and an enslaved woman named Mary; his father was a Scottish weaver named Daniel Clarke who had fought as a Minuteman at Bunker Hill in the


82 Gratiot Ave.
New York Gallery.
Detroit, Mich.

American Revolution. Before his parents married, Campbell had sworn to Clark that Letitia--who was still enslaved--and any children they had together would be made free in his will. When Lewis was a child, his father taught him to spin flax, a skill that the son would practice throughout his life. Despite promises to the contrary, Letitia Clarke and her nine children remained enslaved after Samuel Campbell's death in 1821. Shortly after, Lewis was given as a wedding present to one of his mother's half-siblings, Betsy Campbell Banton. In his *Narrative*, he describes this time as the most miserable of his life, detailing the daily abuse he suffered at the hands of Mrs. Banton, who forced him to spin flax and hemp from dawn to dusk. The Bantons sold Clarke to General Thomas Kennedy of neighboring Gerrard County, where as a young man his conditions improved but his yearning for freedom only intensified. When Kennedy died in 1836, he became the property of the general's son. Then when the son died just a few years later, and Clarke learned of rumors that he was to be sent south and sold in Louisiana, he began to plan his escape.

Clarke's *Narrative* was the first book ever copyrighted by a former slave. It went through multiple printings over the next decade, including an expanded edition of 1846 that included the experiences of his brother, Milton. Clarke became a prominent speaker, lecturing on the horrors of slavery in abolitionist circles through the Civil War, then about his life experiences well into the 1880s. He moved to Canada in the 1850s, where he met his wife, Emiline Walker, formerly of Lexington, Kentucky. The Clarkes had nine children and lived in Essex County, Ontario, across the river from Detroit, until 1874, when Lewis relocated the family to Oberlin, Ohio. Emiline died of tuberculosis there two years later, and Lewis left their children with Emiline's brother and sister while he spoke on the lecture circuit. About 1880 the younger children went to live with Clarke's younger brother, Cyrus, in Detroit. This cabinet card photograph, from the New York Gallery of Hiram Hunter and dated September 20, 1888, was probably taken during one of Lewis's frequent visits. Clarke died on December 16, 1897, while at Lexington, Kentucky. The governor, William O'Connor Bradley, ordered that his body lay in state at the Lexington City Auditorium, the first time this honor was ever accorded a Black man. **A powerful image**.

Relevant sources:

Clarke, Lewis G.
2012 *Narrative of the Sufferings of Lewis Clarke, During a Captivity of More Than Twenty-Five Years, Among the Algerines of Kentucky*. Facsimile edition, with an Introduction by Carver Clark Gayton. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

Gayton, Carver Clark
2014 *When Owing a Shilling Costs a Dollar: The Saga of Lewis G. Clarke, Born a "White" Slave*. Xlibris Publishing, Bloomington, IN.

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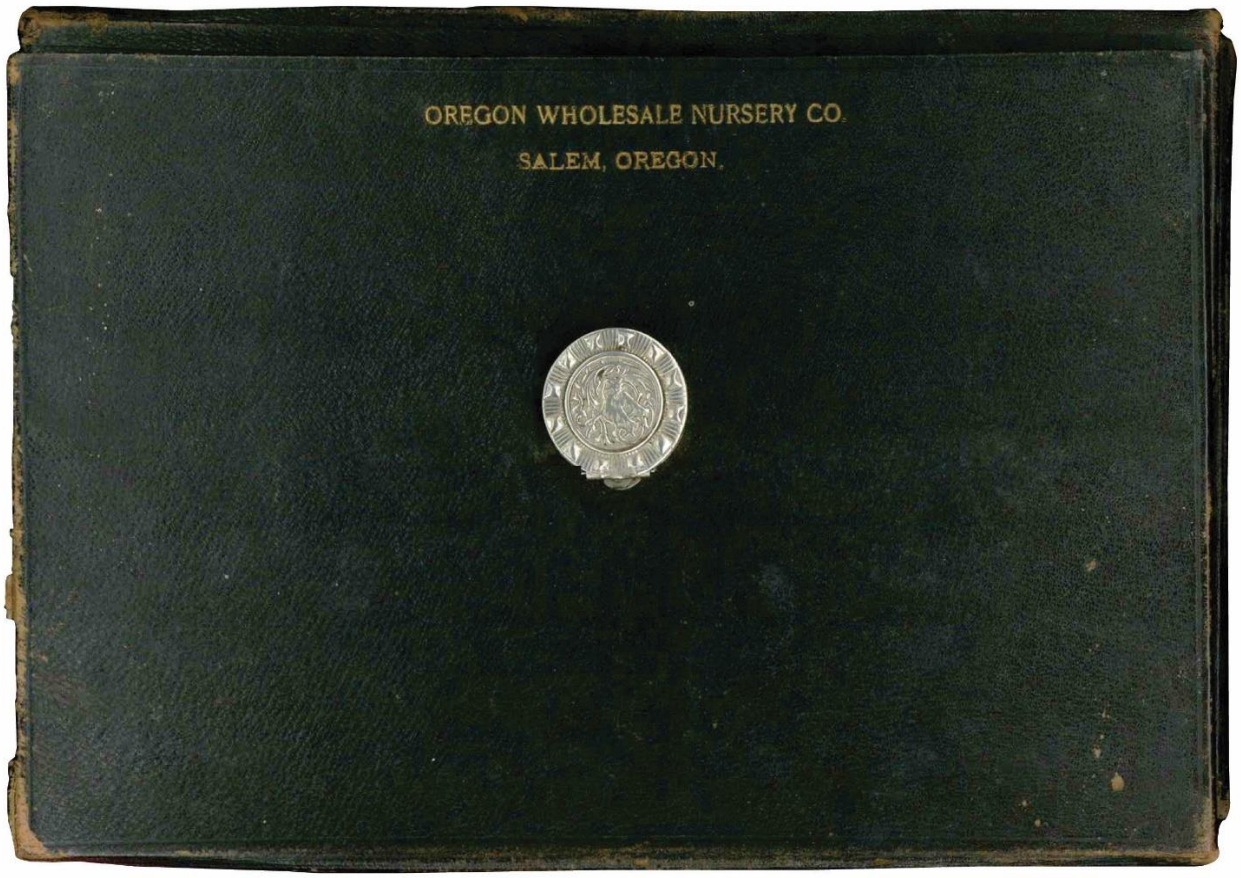
[Photography--Slavery and Abolition]. Lewis G. Clarke. [CABINET CARD PHOTOGRAPH OF LEWIS GARRARD CLARKE]. New York Gallery, 82 Gratiot Ave., Detroit. [September 20, 1888]. Card-mounted albumen, 6 1/2 x 4 1/4 in. (16.5 x 10.8 cm). Inscribed and signed in ink by Clarke on verso, mild soiling to edges of mount, light wear to corners. Very good.

20. SOLD.

The Only Recorded Specimen Book of the Oregon Nursery Company

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

The roots of Oregon's nursery industry began in 1847, when Henderson Luelling of Henry County, Iowa, decided to establish a nursery on the Pacific Coast. Arranging nearly 700 fruit trees, shrubs, and vines in two large boxes placed in an ordinary wagon, he set off on the Oregon Trail and arrived at the Dalles six months later with almost all of his plants alive. After several decades of steady growth and development, Oregon's nurseries experienced an unprecedented boom in the 1880s, driven by demand from California, Idaho, and Washington, as well as in Oregon itself. The




SNYDER BLACKBERRY.
EVERGREEN BLACKBERRY.
LUCRETIA DEWBERRY.
GREGG RASPBERRY.
Cuthbert or Queen of the Market.
Earhart Ever-bearing Raspberry.


CLEMATIS JACKMANII.
Hall's New Japan Honeysuckle.
TREE PÆONIA.
SPECIMEN ROSE TREE.
PERPETUAL RED MOSS.
MARECHAL NIEL.

collapse of 1893-1894, unexpected as it was, ruined many growers, but it also created opportunities for younger nurserymen to enter the West Coast industry with new ideas and methods.

Two such men were a pair of Canadian Scots from Western Ontario, Malcolm McDonald and Archibald McGill. Neither was even 35 years old when they established the Oregon Nursery Company at Salem in 1894--McDonald was 33, McGill just 28--yet by 1904 it had "far surpasse[d] in volume of business any other nursery on the Pacific Coast" (Anonymous 1903:87). Indeed, the company grew so large that in 1908 McDonald and McGill established their own company town in Washington County, called Orenco, on more than 1200 acres. Built to house recent Hungarian immigrants added to the company's workforce, Orenco at its height had a population of 500 people and included a church, a school, a city hall, and a fire department. The company expanded again about 1915, intending to enter the European nursery market. But the disruptions of World War I soon ended any such hopes, and the business began to lose money, eventually filing for bankruptcy in 1927. The Oregon Historical Society holds a significant collection of archival materials related to the Oregon Nursery Company, but this is the only known example of a nursery specimen book compiled for the company's nurserymen. Most of the chromolithographic plates were produced by the Nicholson Co. of Rochester, New York, which operated from 1891 to 1896, thus dating this specimen book to the earliest years of the company's history.

We trace only one other example of a nursery specimen book from Oregon, a contemporary album from the Tangent Nurseries of Tangent, located in Linn County, held in the Nurserymen's Color Plate Book Collection at the University of Rochester. Given the amount of use these plate books received, particularly in the wallet-style format, as here, the condition of this volume is very strong. Fortunately, the nurseryman who used and carried it did so carefully, as a workman would his tools. **A scarce example, with fresh and beautiful color**.

Relevant sources:

Anonymous
1903 M. McDonald. *The National Nurseryman* XI(8):87.
Anonymous
1904 A. McGill. *The National Nurseryman* XII(6):69.
Kabelac, Karl Sanford
1982 Nineteenth-Century Rochester Fruit and Flower Plates. *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 93-113.

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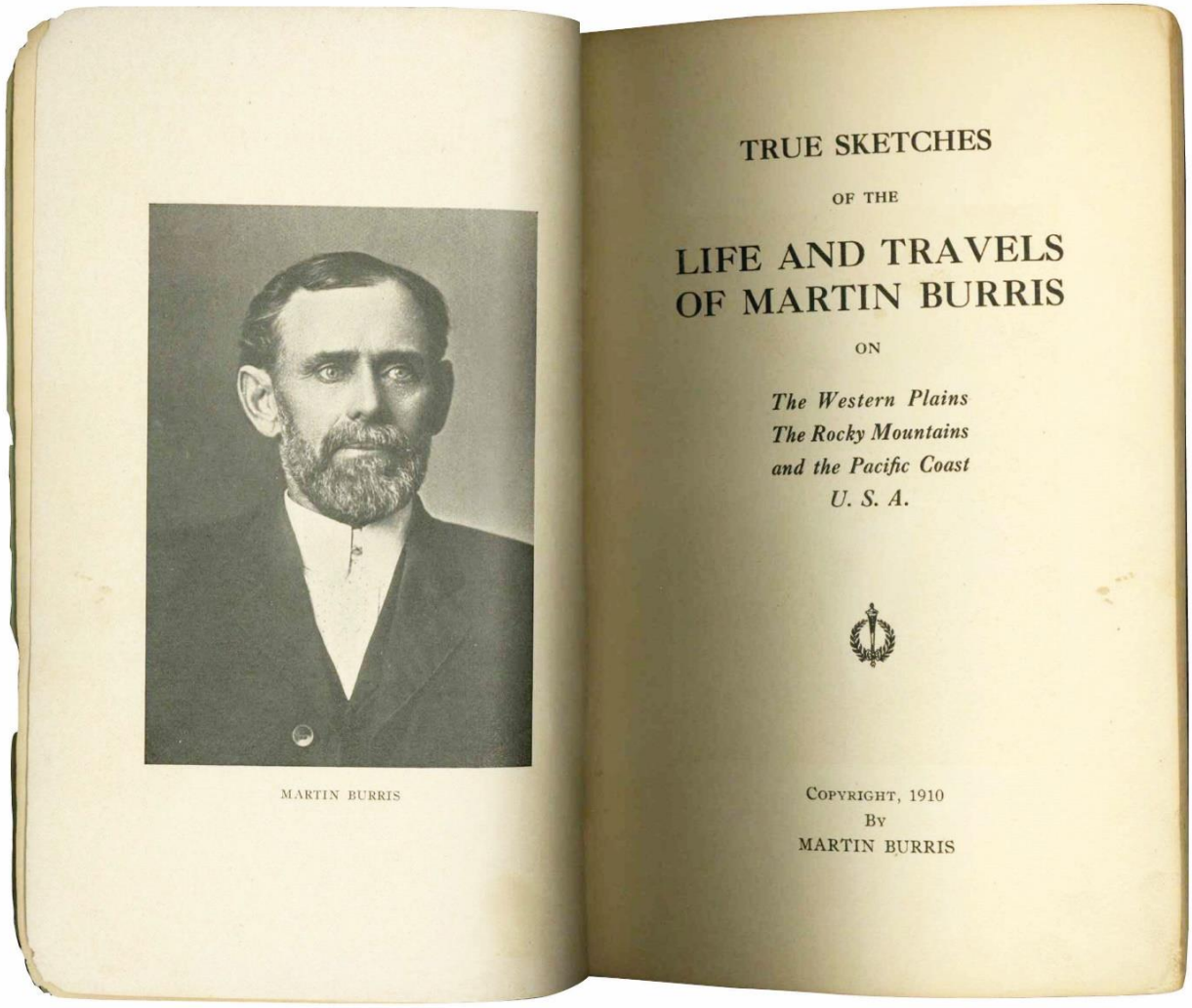
[Oregon--Nursery Specimen Book]. [Oregon Wholesale Nursery Co.]. NURSERY SPECIMEN BOOK FROM SALEM, OREGON, WITH CHROMOLITHOGRAPHIC PLATES OF FRUITS AND FLOWERS]. [n.d., but compiled ca. 1895-1910]. 99 plates (3 missing) illustrating a range of fruits and flowers offered by Oregon Wholesale Nursery Company of Salem, Oregon. 9 x 6 in. (23 x 15 cm). Original leather wallet-style binding, metal clasp; leaves in tri-fold sections, joined by pink linen straps. Light wear to binding, scuffing to final plates, very good.

21. SOLD.

True Sketches of the Life and Travels of Martin Burris

Few genres of western writing bring us as close to the lived experience of those who were there as the personal narrative. In 1910, Martin Burris privately published his autobiography in an edition of 250 copies for friends and family. Today, his *True Sketches of the Life and Travels of Martin Burris on the Western Plains, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Coast, U.S.A.* remains one of the scarcest of all western reminiscences. Born in 1856 in Morgan County, Indiana, Burris' family moved to the plains of Dallas County, Iowa, while he was still an infant, and over the next five decades he would witness the transformation of the American West. From homesteading in post-war Kansas, to laying railroad lines in southern Arizona, to logging in the evergreen forests outside Tacoma, to clearing a farm near Seattle, to proselytizing in Texas and Oklahoma--whether on foot or by wagon, boat, or train--Burris covered thousands of miles over the lifetime of western travel and experience he outlines in *True Sketches*. Written in the clear and direct narrative style of a natural storyteller, the work itself is surprisingly uncommon. **We locate only eight copies in institutional holdings and trace no examples at auction or in the trade since the Lester Bauer collection of Western Americana was auctioned by Parke-Bernet in 1958**.



MARTIN BURRIS

TRUE SKETCHES

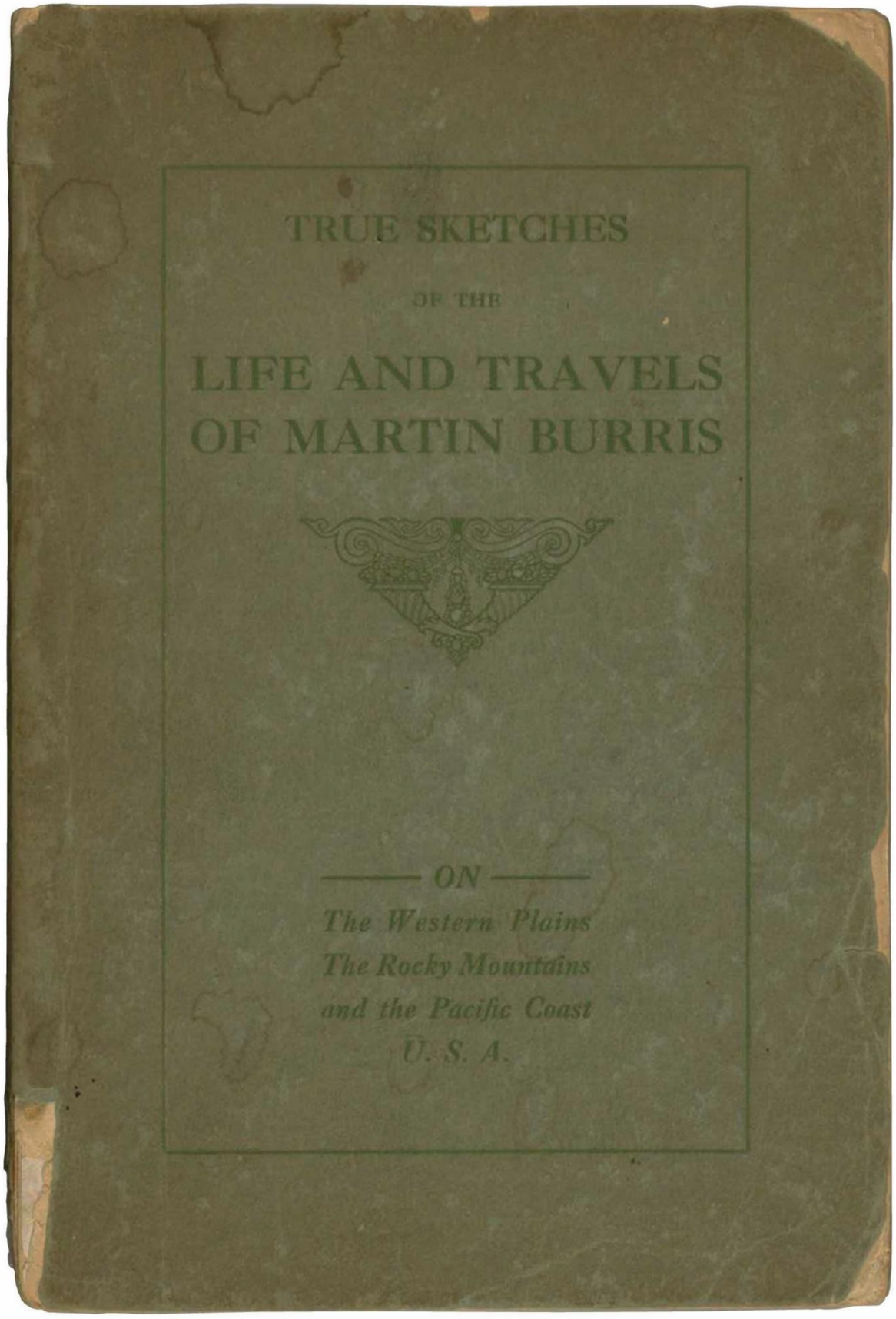
OF THE

LIFE AND TRAVELS
OF MARTIN BURRIS

ON

The Western Plains
The Rocky Mountains
and the Pacific Coast
U. S. A.

COPYRIGHT, 1910
BY
MARTIN BURRIS


TRUE SKETCHES
OF THE
LIFE AND TRAVELS
OF MARTIN BURRIS
ON
The Western Plains
The Rocky Mountains
and the Pacific Coast
U. S. A.

Burris may have taken his wandering (or adventurous) spirit from his father, Caleb, who moved the family again when Burris was still a child, this time purchasing a farm near Albany in northwestern Missouri. In 1875, as the family was planning another move, this time to homestead in Kansas, Caleb Burris suddenly became ill and died. Undeterred, his wife and children filled a wagon and departed the following year, settling down at Caldwell in Sumner County, just across the border from Indian Territory. Burris notes: "The traders, cattlemen and cowboys, gave a lively coloring to the scene and their entanglements were often settled in real frontier fashion--many a grave having an occupant who died with his boots on as the result of their disputes" (p. 18). As soon as he turned 19, Burris struck out to take a small homestead in Rush County, located about 200 miles to the north and west, where his "principle occupation was breaking prairie and raising wheat" (p. 21). But he was not to remain there long.

In the fall of 1881, he set out for the Southwest, walking 52 miles in two days (through a bitter wind and early snow on the second day) from his farm to the town of Great Bend. There he took a westbound train, his destination nearly a thousand miles away at Benson, Arizona. West of Fort Dodge, he writes that:

> one could see countless thousands of cattle and horses as far as the eye could reach. These were the pioneers of civilization, they formed the skirmish line of the army of industry. The cattlemen and their cowboys, themselves harsh and violent, were in reality the tamers of the West, and made it possible for the settler to build his home on the plains [p. 25].

Evening brought him to Colorado: "Pike's Peak was now plainly visible in the hazy distance--its lofty brow being covered with snow down to the timber line" (p. 25). The railroad "followed a torturous course, following narrow valleys and still narrower canons back and forth as if struggling all but in vain to master the impossible mountain heights" (p. 26). On entering New Mexico:

> the brakes on the train got out of working order as we were descending Raton Mountain and for a time we rushed down at terrifying speed....Some of the passengers were badly frightened, and with good excuse, I should say, as a run away train down a mountain side cannot be counted less than dangerous at the best [p. 26].

Finally reaching Arizona, he found that Benson, located thirty miles from Tombstone and about sixty from the Mexican line, was "a small berg of a few houses, built of adobe....I had landed in the heart of the sage brush desert, many hundred miles from civilization, with a few Mexicans and Indians to provide for me companionship" (p. 27). He found work for the railroad, working on the grade in Barbacoma Canon, "a narrow valley of cheerless aspect" (p. 28). The dangers of life in southern Arizona were numerous, perhaps none more so than the ongoing conflict between whites and the Indigenous populations:

> The Apache Indians were on the war path at the time of my sojourn in that country, having shortly before killed some railroad tie makers in the mountains. I saw them a number of times within a quarter of a mile from our camp, creeping along the bluffs or out on the flat country among the

> sage brush. The white settlers were compelled to live in communities or colonies for mutual protection [p. 28].

After a few months in the canon, Burris and seven other men decided to move on, walking 65 miles to "Tuscan [i.e., Tucson]" (p. 30): "On this trip I counted nearly twenty different kinds of cactus, all very thorny and some bearing beautiful blossoms. In places we saw some veritable cactus forests that extended for many miles over the level country" (p. 30). In Tucson he took a train for the Pacific, crossing the Colorado River into California at Fort Yuma. Later he arrived at Los Angeles, which was "quite a lively little town, growing rapidly, and in a delightful climate. It is surrounded by a rich country on all sides and is situated about fifteen miles from the ocean. All kinds of semi-tropical fruits and plants grow here" (p. 31). From Los Angeles, Burris continued through the San Joaquin Valley and on to San Francisco, where "The interests seemed to be wholly material and where this is the case it is only a step to the sensual. 'Frisco seems to have taken that sad step..." (p. 32). Staying for just two days, he was soon on the Pacific steamer *George W. Elder* and bound for Washington. Five days out, when the *Elder* entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca, he beheld "a land of great scenery, the grandest I had ever seen:"

> Behind us lay the grandest body of water on earth, the Pacific; to the left the hills and mountains covered with evergreens; to our right the towering, rugged Olympic mountains, all forest covered except three or four snow covered peaks that lifted their heads so high they seemed to pierce the very vault of heaven. In front lay the bay and behind the mighty Cascade Range, robed in snow and forming a magnificent background for the lower mountains dressed in their garb of evergreen.
>
> How could a sight be more inspiring! [p. 34].

Burris found work in a logging camp about three miles from Tacoma, but his wanderlust soon called him on again, and he hiked with a single companion for more than a hundred miles through dense forest to the Columbia River, where he boarded a steamboat for Portland. There he worked on a railroad gang as in Arizona, laying lines for the Northern Pacific: "Our wages were good and our working days short--extending from noon to eight in the evening--so that we counted ourselves quite fortunate and all the camp seemed well satisfied" (p. 40). On August 22, 1882, he boarded the ocean steamer *Grand Columbia*, bound for San Francisco. At Oakland he began the long journey home on the Union Pacific, traveling through the Great Salt Lake region ("We found a few Christians here") and "the grassy plains of Wyoming" (p. 44), arriving back in Kansas after nearly a year of travels. Over the next few months he returned to work on the ranch he owned with his brother and even found time to marry.

Three years passed before the Pacific West called again. Burris answered, but this time he set out with his wife, Emeline. They journeyed by train to Shoshone Falls on the Snake River in Idaho--still in the midst of a gold and silver rush--then continued west through Portland and up the Willamette Valley to Newberg, where they visited old friends. Eventually they reached the town of Sidney on Port Orchard Bay, Washington, across Elliott Bay from Seattle, where they bought a small piece of land and built a house. As they cleared the land, they began growing a variety of fruits and berries, vegetables, and grasses. They stayed put for three years before deciding to move

once again, back to Kansas. They would make additional trips to El Paso and Fort Worth, Guthrie and Oklahoma City. In 1905 they revisited their old home in Port Orchard, this time with children coming along for the trip. Burris died at Hutchinson, Kansas, in August 1922, a dozen years after publishing *True Sketches*; he is buried at Fairview Cemetery in nearby Elmer. His reminiscences come in at just under 67 pages, and it seems safe to say that few personal narratives have covered as many miles of travel in a work of comparable size.

True Sketches of the Life and Travels of Martin Burris is rare work. Per OCLC, we locate only eight institutional holdings: Yale, Indiana University, LOC, Washington State, University of Oklahoma, BYU, Seattle Public Library, and the Hutchinson (KA) Public Library. A handful of copies reached the market between 1942 and 1958, but none appears to have been seen since. The Lester Bauer copy--the last example we can trace--brought $100 in 1958. Vinson (2016:115) notes that Edward Eberstadt obtained a duplicate from the Denver Public Library in 1950, together with copies of the *Laws of the Eureka District* (Denver, 1860) and the *Revised Laws of the Spanish Bar District* (Denver, 1861). Eberstadt offered his copy of *True Sketches* in 1951 for $75, writing in the catalogue that "[of] this privately printed story of Burris' western adventures, his son says: 'No more of my father's books are available; only 250 were printed. The only ones left are in the hands of children and grandchildren" (RBH). Our copy is signed on the front free end paper by Charles Mendenhall, a neighbor of the Burris family in Kansas.

Relevant sources:

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1917 *History of Reno County, Kansas: Its People, Industries and Institutions*. Volume II. B. F. Bowen & Co., Indianapolis, IN.

Vinson, Michael
2016 *Edward Eberstadt & Sons: Rare Booksellers of Western Americana*. The Arthur H. Clark Company, an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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[Western Travel--Personal Memoirs]. Martin Burris. TRUE SKETCHES OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF MARTIN BURRIS ON THE WESTERN PLAINS, THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, AND THE PACIFIC COAST, U.S.A.. Padgett's Printing House, Salina, Kansas, 1910. 67 pp. 8vo (20 cm). Original printed front wrapper with titles in green, lacks rear wrapper. Edge wear to front wrapper, corners and lower spine. Frontis. portrait of author, previous owner's name on ffep. Overall about very good. [Howes B1020, aa].

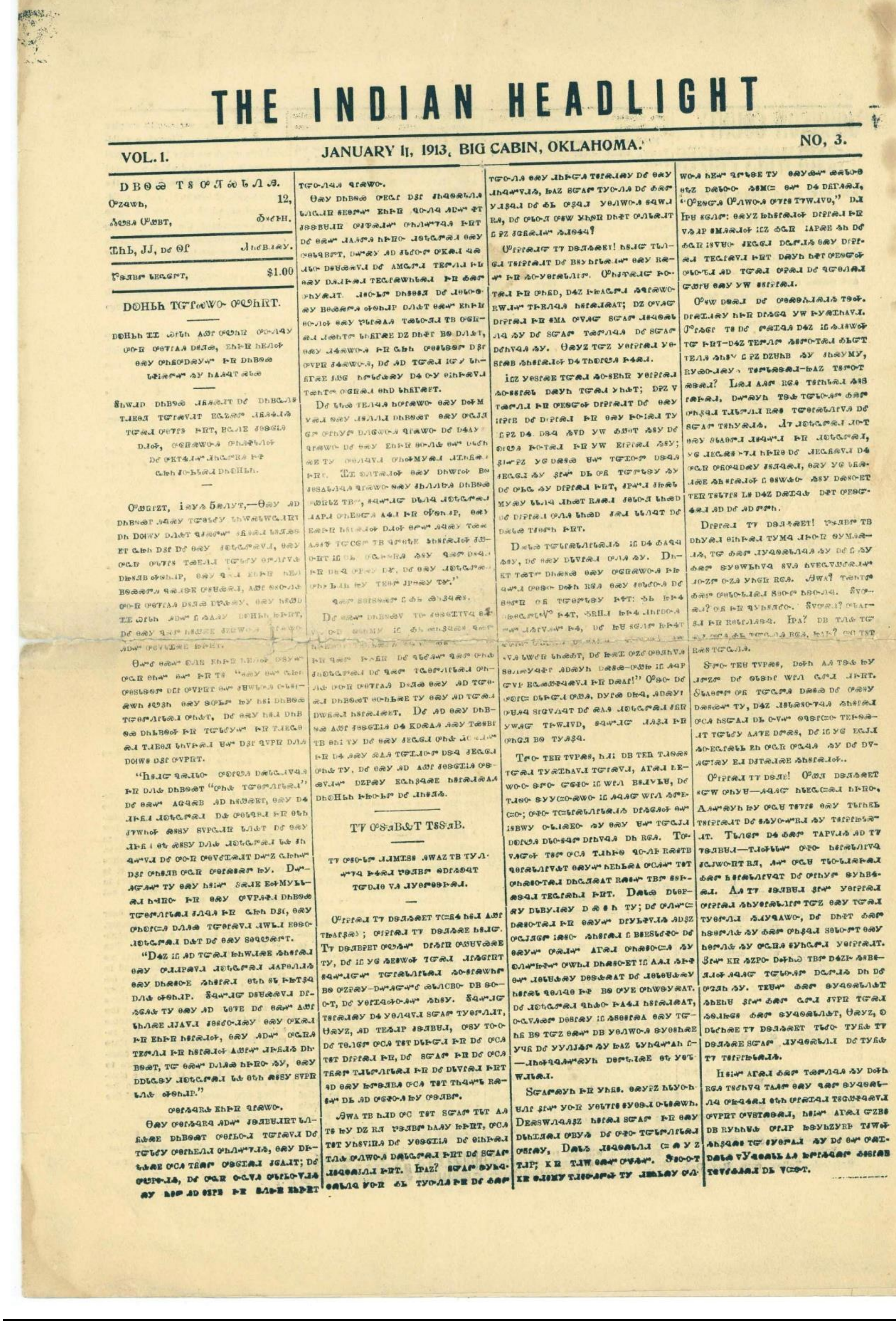
22. SOLD.

The Indian Headlight: A Big Cabin, Oklahoma, Newspaper in Cherokee

About 1821, the great Cherokee polymath Sequoyah (George Gist or Guess) completed his syllabary of the Cherokee language, and in just a few years it spread among Native speakers from Arkansaw Territory (where he had found the first adults willing to learn it) to North Carolina and Georgia. The Cherokee Nation formally adopted it for all official affairs in 1825, and two years later the Cherokees' General Council allocated funds to establish a newspaper, including support for production costs and salaries for editor and printer. Elias Boudinot, the New England-educated son of a Cherokee leader, was to be the former, while missionary Samuel Austin Worcester would acquire type and manage the printing. Boudinot and Worcester received their press and specially made type from Boston in January 1828, and three weeks later, on February 21, they released the first issue of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, both the first newspaper published by Native Americans and the first published in a Native language. Over the next few decades, a handful of other newspapers would appear in the Cherokee language, all of which are extremely rare today. Among the latest of these--and one of the rarest--is the *Indian Headlight* of Big Cabin, Oklahoma, which was only published from December 1912 to January 1913, **The only other known examples are held by the Oklahoma Historical Society Research Library in Oklahoma City**.

We trace four general circulation periodicals printed bilingually in Cherokee and English during the century from 1825-1925. Three are newspapers: the *Cherokee Phoenix*, printed at New Echota, Georgia, from 1828 to 1834 (renamed the *Cherokee Phoenix, and Indians' Advocate* in 1829); the *Cherokee Advocate*, printed at Tahlequa, Indian Territory, from 1844 to 1853 and after the Civil War from 1870 to 1906; and the *Headlight*. There was also a short-lived magazine, the *Cherokee Messenger*, published at Baptist Mission, Indian Territory, from 1844 to 1846. To these we can add another newspaper, the *Telephone*, published at Tahlequa in the 1890s with occasional articles printed in Cherokee, and two student periodicals: *Cherokee Rose Buds*, published at the Park Hill Female Seminary in the 1850s and likewise printing occasional pieces in Cherokee (only one issue is known), and the *Interpreter*, a fully bilingual weekly issued from 1916 to 1918 at the Cherokee Orphan Training School in Park Hill. It was "the last periodical to be published regularly in English and Cherokee" (Littlefield and Perins 1984:246). Both the *Phoenix* and the *Advocate* were official newspapers of the Cherokee government. The *Messenger* was issued by a mission press, both the *Rose Buds* and the *Interpreter* by training schools.

The *Indian Headlight* is thus an unusual addition to this group, as it was published without institutional affiliation in a small town with few historical associations to either the presses of the Cherokee government (New Echota, Tahlequa) or the major Cherokee missions (Park Hill, Baptist Mission). Big Cabin, located in Craig County near the heart of the modern Cherokee Nation, was named for a large plank cabin that sat near the spot where the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway installed a switch 1872. The name was not used, though, until a local post office was established in 1892, and the townsite itself was only platted in 1904. The *Headlight* was four pages in length with pages 1 and 4 in Cherokee and pages 2 and 3 in English. It measures 11 by 15 3/4 inches and



THE INDIAN HEADLIGHT

VOL. 1. JANUARY 11, 1913, BIG CABIN, OKLAHOMA. NO, 3.

THE INDIAN HEADLIGHT

VOL. 1. JANUARY 18, 1913, BIG CABIN, OKLAHOMA. NO, 4.

DROP THE LAW.

Ozawh, 18,
Agent Office, Big Cabin.

The Law be The Law, Judge.

Single Year, $1.00

Ra DhGWY Onzi'ody.

Adi sgo agesa;

Tsa dzi sdayawo- DhBge DhGWY De Ghh Osgsgsa- Dsi Ovpet Jnvayawo- qtawo- gas owbt, ovst ea 22k la 1785, osjbvjht.

Jologagaga htawa DhGWY Oo-ba- DhWetgt, le ayts' Bwnji Dagsejeb in ok esgage ti yoto- De sgalvd ov sgte tji Shgagela da 1803 osjbvjht. Jgaay Tegnca Dhgs so-vj Jhagegla to- owb Oo-bibagt tyno- ohnh hlgnhgna. Oniavha Dsoa Dh sh De Oojgwa ti jolgo-jt. De aay ostpa aay Dho-Te p-t Sgsgo-t, De hsp DhBge Shbetbt, ea ohsp Oa-bsa tjawa le, Do.ina Dhebi Dhbept, Oetlaga Tgaa Oiewpot, De hsp sc Dhsqle Sowjt De Sh-bs Tjwp- Dhoga De away le, ea Dhib De Jhbi hgja Sgat. De Jaaay Tebte- Dhenge Jtwp- Dhsbaap- otey, Dz Sgast Dhenge bto. Dava Da wtjp tb Tebne Jovqawp- Vsof ogeqt, De Oejipw- Tgaa Dgtat hajqt, tbh owb owjhq Tjp- SnMt De awpe Sngog De Oaji owb Gjaga GhMt Dh ea pe Shawa ezf. De aay Obtar Oojgwa Vsoa- owb Gsaga tb GhMaejt De aay owb Oo-bine aa by bhiib svd otjsof Oejowhqa. Do owaoiaa p4 1809 osjbvjht, De ot Shfks apa Taap aaa osjbvjht, ea De ogsqht, owvdo4 aay Vsoa- owb De pe Ojbe- p-t De ozagq aay De sge jap kyjp vjsbe owb De Oo-tibi Ohcpa ogsiaet, ojwa owb owjhq otbiga jap Shcpe Dhghb, De jocbe qtawo- Shbyza Dhgub.

Ib ebpe hscje aay Dhby Dhgub Tgz Segzaq ot Dhyge De jesejpe hpro- p-t gayz ky secjo-awjt Da Ptaga Tgcse te- ot De vjqaet aa by Oojhcpa hjtawoy ohpaa. Jd hsp sqqae De ecgsp ot Da Dhgub Oetis ohsqqt De yg De Ohcpja Ohwo-wo-a p4 Dhbl thhcge fpp jeghsila hlo-jpt aay ocgbe Dhbge Dhwsbq Ohcpja hbiejoe, Daayh ib ie aay Tgaa Ojba ap4t, ie Gcqgq aay Tgaa jhaga ppt sbeat De ocjgq otis Tecpeva p-p Tgtby Bcy ea p-t, gayz Ohcpja qtawa De sqqaet, DhGWY Oesjgetst De Ohcpja De ea vjio-pe tjp Shgaq.

Daayh hisjsgp DhGbl De DhGWY Oepajpe De, De aay ad qejgelipep yaaaqe aps caa sois jsjbvjht tajp, ea ib Ssalvd ovjpe Tcgaa aay De sqqaet. Jd hscjd Dhesge bpgge Dhsay Tebgpajay: sqqe hsqwjt hsp ojbh, eaz hsp Dpaoe sgcagga p4 Bosgawa Bapoe Owjpp ojcjmy.a De Dpaoe jsfe qsajgelio-jt, gayz jhcbia ic ibc. Ecjpaja apat hshcgpo-ayh pipajqelio bbc ojio- gajt, aay DhWeblq bllala hsp bbc Daiva pp p4 ktjp tbp ghrt De hsp ad Dhesge Dzap jghlyp jpgpp-at.

Tpayejwjat ggaajaq tjp sg4t De 6mt ot vjsqaet p4 jbapk ova p4 oagqe ojsjbvjht sits, De Scqpp Dhba ojojo-tawzo-y ot vjsqaet Dasgeajb ojesga sc5. Dhgwy pp sgq bnjpp, p4z oca ehp Dhba sigjae jhala, ea aaay jhasp ojpqa p4 osjpe tjp p4 wtaaa tgcgp tb ojbo-4 Dhcbb, Dva jape ehmtt, jca jgaeva bqsbs aa by Dh ea'e sgcbp, p4z Dbae tpapavot Dh ea tgcja ojbo-4t, Dbae ojpje tjp qojjwjat scb vjhaq ggcawjt, aay jvawo-a ty sqae jg bqsbs sc5t. Sqwjg tha ola pd Db ojcbw ocgs- qet De sqe tjp tajot ty aqay tg- cgp tesjo-.

Ib ocqgp p4 aay Dhcbb ygbe- sae ogb aap shfkpt ytbbp jsjo-e aay, pcgp tb sqe tjp ajae sc5 sbb bp, ea'z osjcawhvqa qtawo- ova- o4 aay ytbbp jsjo-e ojbio-pae ppt wtop sqpq aay ojpcpe ajet to- ose- cawasy ty sapo ehpe qcajc aay sqwj tjsa vjaqtqe siae tgcgp tb opp tjp ojbot, ojpza ova ib De aay bbajaet Sanco Sslbqbsnp ohbm4 Dhcbb pp ajaa ojbo-4 ozagq4 jay ba ppt ic Tcaeaay Abbaeio oe bssfawhpt, va Dhoar Dhgwy jyc- Zaeas Taap, ea' Ua' Tebjap Dhio- Dhbb Sqolmvpet, Tba pp hsp Sbaqbpt De aay bhas Dbbb Shcaaj De ojsw- aa jbio-jpe sowjt.

Dapjaa ojbaq.

jbdo-e sgshaaj—.

Daan ojbcwat De ojghaa Dhash jhajha, nvz lgpjabajt ea ojpqtaj Taa p4aa?

Dash ohojpca ojbsbpt; Jnajz jhajpc hbpp jhajha, ay lgojaejt? Jojbapaa hbgae ojbqae ojbgc Dash De Dash pp ojbgc sqqas.

Ph je ojoc rpj; oawo-a ojpjabe ojp rpj, ba db bsplhaisy kallo-c, Dbsip Daswjt Dapaj, bsj yg aey- ad aeyms, ojibb p4 Bo agct, De ojs- bbaay ocapt, Bo ojibo- p4t.

Ra ojaaaj ov hcqhp ygabp De ea tgblcbp Dz4pt, xjmb bp4 900 ogpaaj tgsabp qtawjt D4qaz pp wws tgblcbp ov ea tgblobp ppt D4 stpaaa ajq aap jsabp ohnvpt Jobcjpaj D4aa ocb eclqaawjaa hpho-, kt Tcaaa aaa.

Sa oc ohnvja jsawhbaja, oawo-a ea jsawo-a ay eablcbaa hpho-, ol bsjhvp tbf, ojbaq De ola ogm4 ol ol tjp ajae aaa Jojbapaj, Tqsbdbz ei paa gt4 vjhpk ojpaa hhzyae De Dbpaxaet, De slo-o- ozby ohzbpag Dojpjpy, ojmbq ogbbb gs Dyo- Jcgae- wo- Dbyjpblja ol owwb24 sqpbawja sbawjt aaa Jojbapaj—i yg asjof ea tgabo-ca Jecjbawzaaja pp aaa Jojbapaj, Tqbm4 jcpp4j aaa Jbjo- cpaj De 5mco owwb2p p4 owwo-a De jsawo-a p4 hsp jhaaja tbf, ol ea Dbo-tae ajaje, paj ojbo-—ayapp ba Dba ea tgaa tjbe jea tbo-tae tec. pat owwo-a!

Ghh Dsf JhWoy.

sqwj Dhait.

Adi Jobcjpaj tsjajay oh- gawo- oay jovpa pswpaae ay jblajtaj tejp pbajsj p4aj.

Ophegpa sovb bsq ojpasqvj ohcbo- Dtsajay Dbohj aagj ae ast4 Dhapj jcbwo-a ajt.

Ohbjo-j ojcp ohjcbp bay Dbsjvj jjajay Dhapj.

Sqwj jswoy ahh ads opo- y Dbjqay ohbjaj pbvj bsjc pjbsy bbc ojpaq.

Dbohj ebpp tgo-jq Dbjqay oay djbvj sovj Dtsbajay jq- ajay jtvvtqa ohgaaj aa jsjbv- j Dtsajae taap ojpasqvj.

Dbjqay Jhwoy ojpasqvj De bsp dsf jhqaabja ad dwbaa Dbjaj $35,385,714 ohgaaj.

Sajhy 4:40 Dtsjpt pbf pbc taap.

Rwj Dhait.

Oo-jo-wo-y ohmq ajv jastaj ojcj Dbjqay:

Tapjajaj ohba Dbohj ohe- tjbo-y dawjaj djbajaj pp De jasjo- De jbjy Dqab ojbo-by.

Ibc. Dsjae xab. Adi spjqy Rwj Dh>o- Dbohj bay osqp hsjpajaj Db kt hg bbc tva jwwjajt.

Sa sjht 6, Dtsjp pbf ts taap.

Ojpja sghp Dqv't.

De Dbswa pp ovag Dbjae De aay tghga ojpajv jecjhqaabja sjjaj. Ajjz Aajao-jq gpag tg yw Jepaj.

(Gh w. Jeay ogshjt.)

Osjhvzt, Ozawh. 8tjt.—Ora raa oag Datjae pqsqaevj Dbbqa ojcj Bjjqay bsq, Bgrke (bc.je e.) aay tgaj jvtp jeep vkkq essy ra ehpp qcjqy aay sdv ojpajaj iaya hqq wwsba taa wtjp kdaaa sjvy ejp hsp pp jhqaabja tjwv- jsqaabja ovpht Dhvp Dbohh Dh- ai De aav Dbbqa jsjht xaay sstj dz ojcjjsv- ohjtawbvq pp aay aayjp tb ehi jjqaabja ehpp bo-jb khw6: tesjp, De aav oag tb daaa by ad tst bsq sohi ppt $3,442,506 aay bbvjasp 163 qvpp bsq jbvjavj ahjbh essy ofhjp.aay Dbbqa ojpa- sqvj, De ehpp hej aay essy jesb- aaai Dbbqa jsjqa jo-bp $650,000 tb shasqaj Dbbqat Abv pt jsjbe- jht De suvaae ty aay $150,000 ojvvaj bbjaj aay tgabcy ojbo-jbo-a khw- qbq ofhjp.

Rwj jswoy jbvajay, bjpp hej aay $150,000 sjqaav hi ojpasqvj jhvp Dbohh De aav Dbbqa jsjht De Dbbq sohb aay aayjp tb ehi Dja jhqaabja xaay jqaqaabja ovpht. "Ihp aay jhqaabja jjqaa- ajaw", Dajo Rwj jswoy jbvajay jjqaabja Dbbqa oo-p qo-bo- Dbb- o-tae tgo-jjbajt." Dbbqa jsjht sjqaav hsp $25,000 abbjqaa ybpbp hsptawhp ojpasqvj' Dajo jswoy.

Rwj jswoy jqvay, Hbpw essy ra ehpp hej aay adjaw hbo- pp hbecbjo- sqpb ipp4 tba jsjhqa Db tcows De aay jcja by aay ozpay qbbpbp jsja jvpj bjavb jp essy ajhjp. Dhbqat ib Dbbq tgo-jh ay bqph essy Dja ajhjp De xaay sba sissqt ty oo-jo- at jhotqaj sbpt, "jaotqaz pp tehbay osqj hsjaj ojpasqvj jsbja jhqaabja: Sbaajaw bwpa jsqqabja Da bjph ajhjp aay Dqvbqaja Dhbqa ojcjf jbo-o- qajjo-t."

Rwj jswoy Owt, ebpp hej aay Dhvp Dhohh $20,000,000 dsq ohp- o-a pp hjbhay ojpo-a shqaabja at Tcaaj.

Ghh Dsf JhWoy $300,000 dsq

Jaqbjwh Dhbqa ojcjf jsqgtajt.

Dlmjay hpho- ajbjwh aa jsjbvj tehbay Dsf Dfbj ssawo-t.

Ojsjbzt, Ozawh 13.—(ojtjp)—Sgaa dsp tcqajoj tfja Dqvaa ktjp Tesbf dsq ojbjwh aay oqe tjp Dja bjpjh essy Dsjpt Jhsf Dqsgtjay ojpasqvj Dbwp Dhcbh Dsf Jhwoy tehbay qsp ssawo- jqwo- jqajaqvt ra yw ajaa ppbt aay ad ajaj "jaj bb st Dsf jojba jsbpa hpho, aay ogqw ohsqp jqqaajaj qp- ajbj oo-h ojpja Dqaa Dc Dqaib jsqqajaj Dsayh sqwj- Jhwoy ajaa pp ozagpv- ty sf tgo-jaa pp hsjp ejmybaj pbt.

Jd teh tgo-jjbaj ohawaj ojbq hsp Dajwo-a pp ktjp Tesbf dsqt, adp jcjjj teh Dqvaa;

Jjbja jsqgaj essy svpcjp ot Dh- bs .josgtaj Djbt aay aay Tesv taap $52, 370, Dja Daqa ojtjp Dc jqajaof sovgtaqt $11,405; Daqa Dbbpop tbt ojtjp tsjajay pp aay sjtaaa aay hbbpe jqsgtaj bovtaqe bov hsgp- awbht, aay sjw Tesv taap jqsg- Taaj pp ysjbp sqgaet; ad Dbja pp Dbbpop Dhaaf ojtjp tsjajay pbt Dabbqsv- paaaj aay Dhapge jovct ay ohgjaajeeo ahsjaa wjaaa bov hsjaqaet $75,000 Dbbpop Dhaaf. hsp pblqaae $50. 000; aay shyb.ip ojpaqvj, aaa Tesbf jaja wws Te- sbf hgp pbt wjtf kss Tesbf sjv'yjp sjtaaa aay Daqa.

Jdz ebpp Dhb ay Daq ajaj ewb- taa Dc jjajaaj ojpasqvj jovct- aj svpcjp aay Dhbqa jhsf jqqgt- ay ojbo-, pp Dc aay pjbv Tesv taap jovcaay svpcjbt aay hsp sc- bc- ktjp Tesbf Daq hsjaqjof.

Tgsu ooob.

hIpb TIrSW.a P4ool ObbY Of, jVTp f Ov' Dofh Aof JsfB V.I Of'Ib ay ObbYZ Pba Daq 3hJ1Pwa Aof.lbaay hgmjbt Osjbbpa Op Bajp Yw bhwpaaj hvsrheet. Dh.' $qwjp Sovi Ipa pq Jb Teh T.B. Or.

was printed on an unusually thick, cream colored paper. The primary publisher was a white Illinois newspaperman, Charles Rolfe Barnes, who also acted as editor-in-chief, but we have been unable to learn what brought him to Indian Territory. Its Cherokee editor was William Penn Sevier, who had attended school at the Cherokee Orphan Asylum and had previously worked as a printer for the *Advocate* (the *Advocate's* long run had ended in 1906, when the U. S. Government dissolved the Cherokee Nation. Emmet Starr, in his now iconic *History of the Cherokee Indians and their Legends and Folklore*, noted in 1921 that Sevier was "one of the best interpreters in the Cherokee Nation and is one of the few Cherokee typesetters. It is thought that there are not more than three in the tribe, if that many" (1921:587). He very likely handled printing for the *Headlight*, and he would go on to print the Training School's *Interpreter* after the *Headlight* folded.

There are only three recorded issues of the *Indian Headlight*: Vol. 1, No. 2 was published on December 21, 1912; Nos. 3 and 4 appeared on January 11 and 18, 1913, respectively. The date of the first issue is unknown, as are the dates of any issues after January 18; it is unknown when publication ceased. The only existing physical copies are at the Oklahoma Historical Society, but OCLC does report a single facsimile of Vol. 1, No. 2 at the University of Tulsa. These examples of Nos. 3 and 4 are entirely original and thus are remarkable survivals. Both are generally in very good condition, with professional archival repairs along the center folds and margins. **Extremely rare, and one of the very few newspapers published in the Cherokee language**.

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1921 *History of the Cherokee Indians and their Legends and Folklore*. The Warden Company, Oklahoma City, OK.

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[Oklahoma--Cherokee Newspaper]. THE INDIAN HEADLIGHT. VOL. 1, NO. 3, JANUARY 11, 1913 [and] VOL. 1, NO. 4, JANUARY 18, 1912. Big Cabin, Oklahoma. Williams, Butler & Barnes, publishers. [4] pp., small folio. Untrimmed and never bound. Old center fold, light edge wear with unobtrusive archival repairs. Both issues very good.

23. SOLD.

The First Directory by the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce

Up until the mid-20th century, city directories across the United States routinely identified Black residents and businesses with the letters 'col' or with the single letter 'c,' both abbreviations for the term 'colored.' African Americans were also segregated in different directory sections or departments, all of which was in keeping both with explicit Jim Crow laws in the American South and with the no less pervasive discrimination elsewhere in America. Today it is easy to view the widespread appearance of African American city and business directories from 1900 to 1950 in a similar light, as works produced in the service of institutional racism.

On the contrary, though, most such directories were products of Black agency, published by and for the use of Black communities. African American civic groups typically sponsored their production, while the advertisements of Black-owned businesses were featured throughout--front and center--an opportunity not afforded in directories that catered to white audiences. Few civic groups have been as successful in the promotion of Black commercial interests as the Dallas Black Chamber of Commerce, established in 1926 as the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce. In 1941 and 1947, the DNCC sponsored two directories of Black residents and businesses, each of which is among the best-produced works of its kind. The 1947 issue, while scarce, is well represented in institutional collections and is not infrequently offered in the trade. **The earlier 1941 issue, which we offer here, is actually rare, and especially so in this condition: we locate only eight library holdings and just one copy at auction in the past half-century**.

The DNCC was founded by a group of Black businessmen from the Dallas area frustrated by what they perceived to be a lack of direction from the National Negro Business League, itself established by Booker T. Washington a quarter-century before. From its beginnings, the DNCC identified its core aim as "integrating the Negro community into the life of Greater Dallas" (Tyler 1986:1188). The driving force during its early years was Texarkana native Antonio Maceo Smith (1903-1977), who had received an MBA degree at New York University in 1928 and then pursued additional graduate work in economics and business law at Columbia University. Before moving to Dallas in 1932, he had owned an advertising agency in New York and a real estate company in Texarkana. In Dallas, he taught business administration in the city's Independent School District and served as publisher of the weekly *Dallas Express*, which billed itself as the oldest and largest Black-owned newspaper in the American South.

Smith became the DNCC's first executive secretary in 1933, and over the next few years he almost single-handedly reorganized it. He would hold this position until 1939 when the United States Housing Authority appointed him as the regional relations advisor. Even so, he remained the DNCC consulting secretary after Dallas lawyer R. C. Mason assumed the position of executive secretary. Beginning with the period of Smith's leadership and continuing through the present day, the full-time staff of the DNCC (now DBCC) has counseled Black owners of small businesses such as barber shops and beauty salons, grocery stores and restaurants, gas stations and funeral homes. It has lobbied on behalf of Black unions and labor associations; it has advocated for better schools and improved educational opportunities for Black residents; it has sponsored projects of urban renewal; and it has long encouraged African Americans to patronize businesses owned by members of their own community. This first directory was essential to that aim.

DALLAS, TEXAS

Negro City Directory

1941–1942

CONTENTS

This publication offers its readers a general directory of citizens, enterprises, professions, firms and corporations, containing the following information:

1. The name, address, occupation, telephone (if any), property status, auto registration or ownership and family relationship of every Negro of high school age or older, residing in the City of Dallas.
2. A complete list of local and state officials.
3. A directory of Negro churches, educational institutions, secret and benevolent socities, state institutions and other organizations.
4. A complete list of Negro schools and school teachers in Dallas and Dallas County.
5. A complete classified business and professional index of Negro ownership and management.
6. A cross reference telephone directory of Negro telephone subscribers.

The information for this directory was gathered by actual canvass and is compiled in a way to insure maximum accuracy.

While the sponsors cannot and do not guarantee that all information furished them to be 100 percent accurate and complete, they do assure the public that only persons of high character and proven efficiency as well as ability were employed to make the canvass and compile the information.

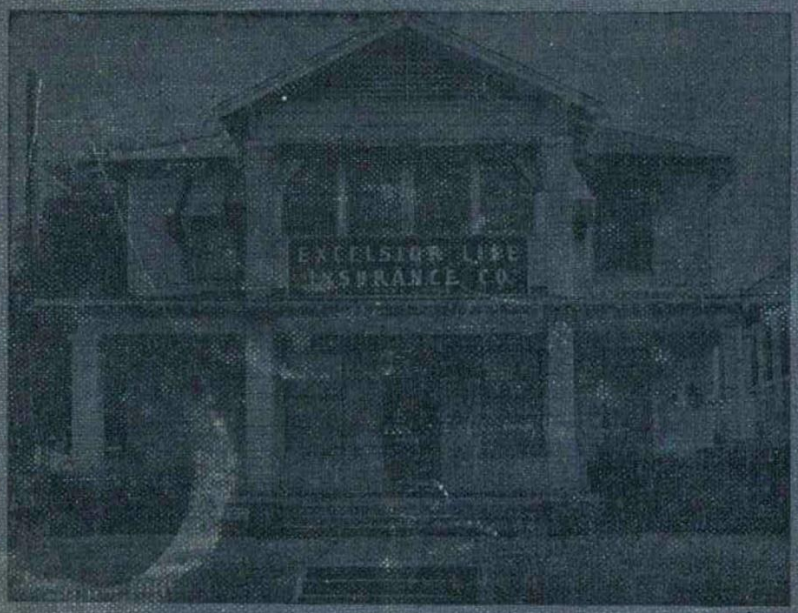
The sponsors earnestly request the bringing to their attention any inaccuracy or errors so that same may be corrected in the next edition of the directory.

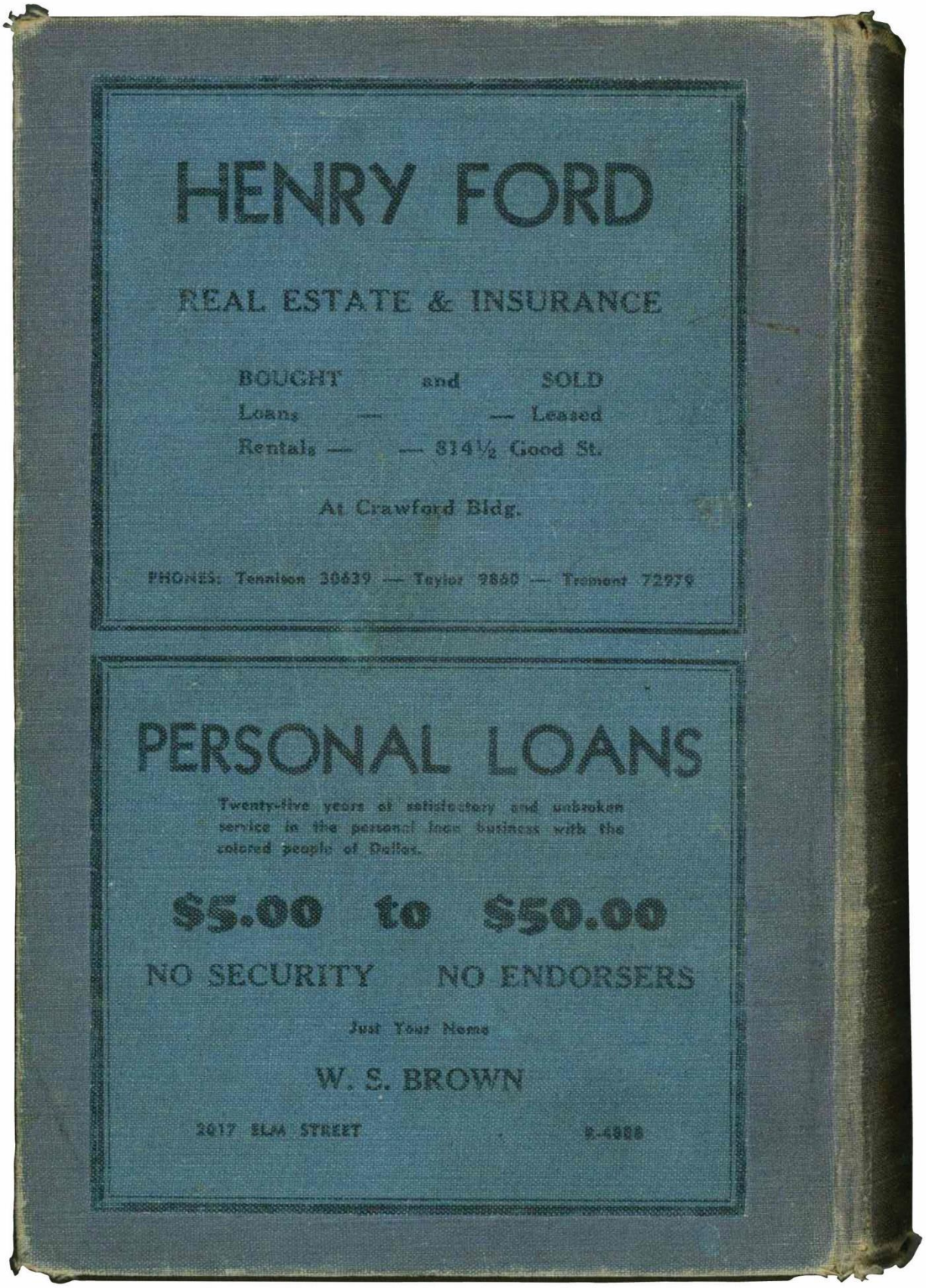
DALLAS NEGRO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, Sponsor

DALLAS, TEXAS

Negro City Directory

1941-1942




HENRY FORD
REAL ESTATE & INSURANCE
BOUGHT and SOLD
Loans — — Leased
Rentals — — 814½ Good St.
At Crawford Bldg.
PHONES: Tennison 30639 — Taylor 2880 — Tremont 72979
PERSONAL LOANS
Twenty-five years of satisfactory and unbroken service in the personal loan business with the colored people of Dallas.
$5.00 to $50.00
NO SECURITY NO ENDORSERS
Just Your Name
W. S. BROWN
2017 ELM STREET
8-4888

The *Dallas, Texas, Negro City Directory, 1941-1942* was the first significant publication sponsored by the DNCC, and with 528 pages it is one of the largest such directories ever produced by and for Black residents of a major American city. In a preliminary 80-page section (paginated I-LXXX), it introduces the officers of the DNCC, many with full-page photographs, and Smith's photograph is accompanied by a full-page biography. There are photographs of each Black school in Dallas, as well as many of the churches that serviced the city's Black community. The directory contains a complete guide to Dallas's African American civic organizations, clubs, churches, and state institutions; a complete list of all schools and school teachers in Dallas and Dallas County; a complete list of all state and local officials; a classified business and professional index; and "The name, address, occupation, telephone (if any), property status, auto registration or ownership and family relationship of every Negro of high school age or older, residing in the city of Dallas." The directory is, in sum, a remarkably comprehensive guide to African American civic life in a major southern city. It is also quite rare. We locate eight copies, five in Texas (UT-Austin, UT-Permian Basin, UT-San Antonio, Baylor, and SMU) and three elsewhere (Yale, Duke, and Chicago Public Library). We locate only a single copy at auction, which brought $1800 at Swann in 2013. We likewise trace a single copy in the trade, offered by Between the Covers in 2009 (Catalogue 145) for $2950. One reason for its scarcity is undoubtedly the paper quality, which is is little better than newsprint. **A major publication and a significant rarity**.

Relevant sources:

Gillette, Michael L.
2007 The Rise of the NAACP in Texas. In *The African American Experience in Texas: An Anthology*, edited by Bruce A. Gladrud and James M. Smallwood, pp. 258-278. Texas Tech University Press, Lubbock.

Keaton Jr., George and Judith Garrett Segura
2022 *Our Stories: Black Families in Early Dallas*. University of North Texas Press, Denton.

Mjagkig, Nina
2001 *Organizing Black America: An Encyclopedia of African American Associations*. Garland Publishing, New York.

Shabazz, Amilcar
2004 *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education in Texas*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

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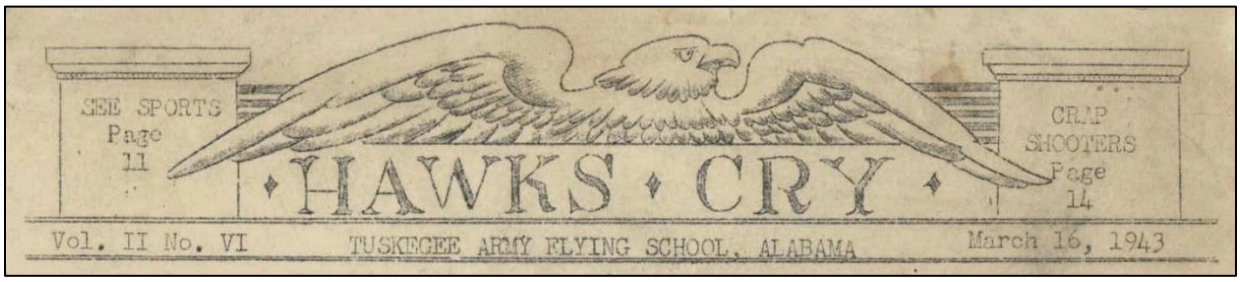
[Dallas, Texas--African American Directories]. Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce. DALLAS, TEXAS, NEGRO CITY DIRECTORY, 1941-1942. Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce, Sponsor. [n.p., n.d., but Dallas, Texas, 1941]. lxxx, 448 p. illus., ports. 8vo (21 cm). Blue printed cloth, minor spotting to front board, light edge wear and fraying to head and foot of spine; pages uniformly toned; pp. 385-416 on pink paper, p. 400/401 loose. Occasional marginal tears to pages (produced on cheap newsprint), binding very slightly loose. Overall very good.

24. SOLD.

Hawks Cry: The Newsletter of the Tuskegee Army Flying School

Perhaps no aerial unit in American military history is more renowned today than the pilots and crew who formed the 332nd Fighter Group, better known as the Tuskegee Airmen, who rose to fame for their record of combat service during World War II. What is all the more extraordinary is that they achieved this renown despite the challenges they faced as the first African American squadron in the segregated U. S. Army Air Force or AAF, the direct predecessor to the U. S. Air Force. From April 1943, when the unit was assigned combat duty, through the end of the war in Europe, the all-Black 332nd Fighter Group--which was composed of the 99th, 100th, 301st, and 302nd fighter squadrons--flew 1578 combat missions and 179 bomber escort missions, destroyed 112 enemy aircraft in the air and another 150 on the ground, and received three distinguished unit citations. Its pilots received 96 Distinguished Flying Crosses, a Silver Star, and at least 60 Purple Hearts. Of the 992 men who flew in the 332nd, 80 would give their lives in service and another 31 were captured as prisoners of war. Here we are pleased to offer a rare issue of *Hawks Cry*, the newsletter of the Tuskegee Army Flying School at the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, from which the flyers took their name. **This issue of March 16, 1943, appears to be unique**.


SEE SPORTS Page 11

HAWKS CRY

CRAP SHOOTERS Page 14

Vol. II No. VI TUSKEGEE ARMY FLYING SCHOOL, ALABAMA March 16, 1943

Prior to the service of the Tuskegee Airmen, no Black pilot had ever flown for America's armed forces. During World War I, when the United States began to more fully develop its aerial capabilities, African American applicants were rejected even from serving as aerial observers in reconnaissance work. Two decades later, after years of advocacy by civil rights leaders, Congress passed Appropriations Bill Public Law 18 on April 3, 1939, designating funds for training African American pilots. The U. S. War Department then allocated the funds to civilian flight schools that were willing to train Black recruits. Four months earlier, the Civilian Pilot Training Program had launched in December 1938 with the stated aim of increasing the number of civilian pilots, though the military implications of its purpose was clear. Among the first schools to partipate in the CPTP program was the Tuskegee Institute of Tuskegee, Alabama, which had opened its doors to students on July 4, 1881, with an ambitious 25-year-old graduate of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute named Booker T. Washington as its first principal. It was here that the men of the 332nd would complete their training, and it was from here that they took their name.

In March 1941, the all-African American 99th Pursuit Squadron was activated, but without pilots, at Chanute Field in Illinois. While its 271 enlisted men began training in aviation ground support, five young men gained admission to Officers Training School as aviation cadets. These five would become the first commissioned officers in the Black Army Air Corps. The 99th was soon transferred to Tuskegee in July, and within a year there were more than 3000 Army personnel

SEE SPORTS Page 11

HAWKS CRY

CRAP SHOOTERS Page 14

Vol. II No. VI TUSKEGEE ARMY FLYING SCHOOL, ALABAMA March 16, 1943

SGT GETS SOLDIERS MEDAL

SGT. FREEMAN GETS MEDAL FOR BRAVERY

For heroism displayed in rescuing an eight-year old child from drowning in Michigan's icy Flint River, Arthur W. Freeman, 28 year-old sergeant of the 889th B. F.T.Sqd., Tuskegee Army Flying School, recently received the Soldier's Medal for valor, here last week.

The medal was presented by Major General Ralph Royce commanding the Army Air Forces Southeastern Training Center who flew here to make the presentation at a ceremony which massed Squadrons of enlisted men, aviation cadets, and tactical officers.

Sergeant Freeman, at the time of the rescue, was on leave to attend the funeral of his grandmother at his home, Flint, Mich., and was returning from the funeral when shouts for help called

(Cont'd On Page 7)

NEGRO TROOPS TOTAL 450,000

The War Department announced this week that Negro personnel in the Army, enlisted and commissioned, now totals more than 450,000, serving in every arm and branch of the service.

Of that number, more than 60,000 are serving outside the continental United States with other American forces. In the far Pacific, there are more than 25,000 Negro soldiers on duty. Approximately 10,000 are stationed in North Africa.

In addition, a completely organized and well-trained Army Air Force Pursuit Squadron composed of Negro personnel will be committed to combat soon.

Negro officers now on duty with troops number nearly 2,000. This number is being augmented from time to time as additional Negroes graduate from the various candidate schools.

T.A.F.S. WINS TOURAMENT

(See complete story on Page 11).

WOMANS TEARS BRING GALA SOLDIERS SHOW

During a tour made by the Women's Club of Tuskegee of this field, one of the members broke down in tears as she stared at one of the almost barren day rooms on this post. The club decided to do something about this condition.

Promptly the club arranged with Capt. Minnis of the Special Service Dept. to sponsor a musical composed of Tuskegee girls and TAFS talent, expressly for a Day Room Fund.

On the evening of Mar.19 at Logan Hall, the jumping, jiving, fast-paced extravaganza, "From Broadway to Cheehaw", "came on". Transportation was provided by the Special Service Dept.

Hundreds of tickets were readily sold to Tuskegee patrons for $1.00 each, killing two birds with one throw. All were thrilled & are demanding its return.

TO THE SNUG and WARM

To That Regiment (?)Stationed near "Civilization"!
We haven't time to "cap" you saps,
We're too busy a-waiting Japs.
At least we ha ve the nerve to roan,
And take a chance away from home.
You stall around looking tall and neat
But the Solomons aren't just across the street.
You sit in a juice joint with gals and gas;
With no fear of a bomber flying past.
You sit around with a hundred crumbs;
Winning the war beatin' up your gums.
You say "take out" we aren't there;
Where were you boys when we were near?
If wars were won by empty noise,
You would be the fightingest boys.

You speak of "leaves" your're going to make;
Ask your girls back home about the "Snake".
At least we did it fair and square;
We took your women while you were there.
We haven't naught against you chaps;
But your tactics work just like the Japs. (REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR?)
From here back home is an awful jump
Don't worry, Jack, we have the trump.

We're still the boys from New York town;
You're just the hicks that came around.
You get your kicks at bulbs so bright;
But we have seen them every night.
When we return if we don't roost here; there.
And who do you think will stand and cheer?
The same sweet gals we left last year.

We have been here and we have been there;
But you, ole man, ain't been nowhere.
You'll read your war on pages faded,
But we heroes went out and made it.
We're glad you know our girls are fine,
But what of the chicks you left behind?
And now its time to call out "whoa",
To you, Jake,
From just One Snake. (E Pluribus Unum!!! Collar?)
(Pvt. Ira E. Blueford and Cpl. James F. Springer, "E" Battery, 369th C.A. (A.A.) A.P.O. 953 c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, California.

from the Chicago Defender

stationed at the base. The 332nd Fighter Group was established in July 1942, originally consisting of the 100th, 301st, and 302nd squadrons (the 99th would join in 1944). With an additional year of flight training, the 99th Squadron was deemed ready for combat in April 1943 and deployed to the Mediterranean Theater. Its first combat assignment was to attack an Axis-held island named Pantelleria in preparation for the Allied invasion of Sicily, and following the island's surrender the squadron continued on to Italy. Despite an overtly predjudicial report by their white commanding officer, the 99th received a Distinguished Unit Citation for its combat performance.

The 99th was joined in February 1944 by the 332nd Group, under command of an African American officer, Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who would retire in 1970 as a three-star Lieutenant General in the Air Force (Bill Clinton later awarded Davis his fourth star in 1998). Through the rest of the war in Europe, the combined Tuskegee Airmen proved themselves to be among the very best pilots in the U. S. Army Air Forces, due both to the prewar training that many had received at Tuskegee and to the extraordinary drive that pushed them to excel. This issue of *Hawks Cry*, the newsletter of the Tuskegee Army Flying School, is a very rare survival. Printed on a mimeograph machine by the cadets, the newsletter was apparently published from 1942 to 1946, but we have been unable to trace any issues from the first volume. *Hawks Cry* contained news of the war, base gossip, sports stories, jokes and cartoons, and coming attractions at the base theater. **Dated just a month before the 99th Squadron was first deployed for combat, this is the only known copy of Vol. II, No. 6, and indeed we can identify no earlier surviving issues**. The extensive holdings at Yale--the largest listed in OCLC with a few dozen issues--begin with Vol. II, No. 35 for October 29. Stanford has nine issues, while single issues are held by WHS, UNC-CH, the Gilder Lerhman Collection, and Xavier University; additional issues from 1944 may be at the Tuskegee University Archives, but these are not accessible in the online catalogue. An exceptional link to one of the most accomplished and pathbreaking combat groups in American history.

Relevant sources:

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2017 *The Tuskegee Airmen Chronology: A Detailed Timeline of the Red Tails and Other Black Pilots of World War II*. New South Books, Montgomery, AL.

Moye, J. Todd
2010 *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Scott, Lawrence P. and William M. Womack
1992 *Double V: The Civil Rights Struggle of the Tuskegee Airmen*. Michigan State University Press, Lansing.

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[African American, World War II--Tuskegee Airmen]. HAWKS CRY. VOL. II, NO. 6, MARCH 16, 1943. Tuskegee Army Flying School, Alabama. 16 pp. Small 4to (28 cm). Stapled (first leaf separated at top staple), mimeographed typescript, illustrated throughout. Minor edge wear and tanning, occasional foxing. Very good.

25. SOLD.