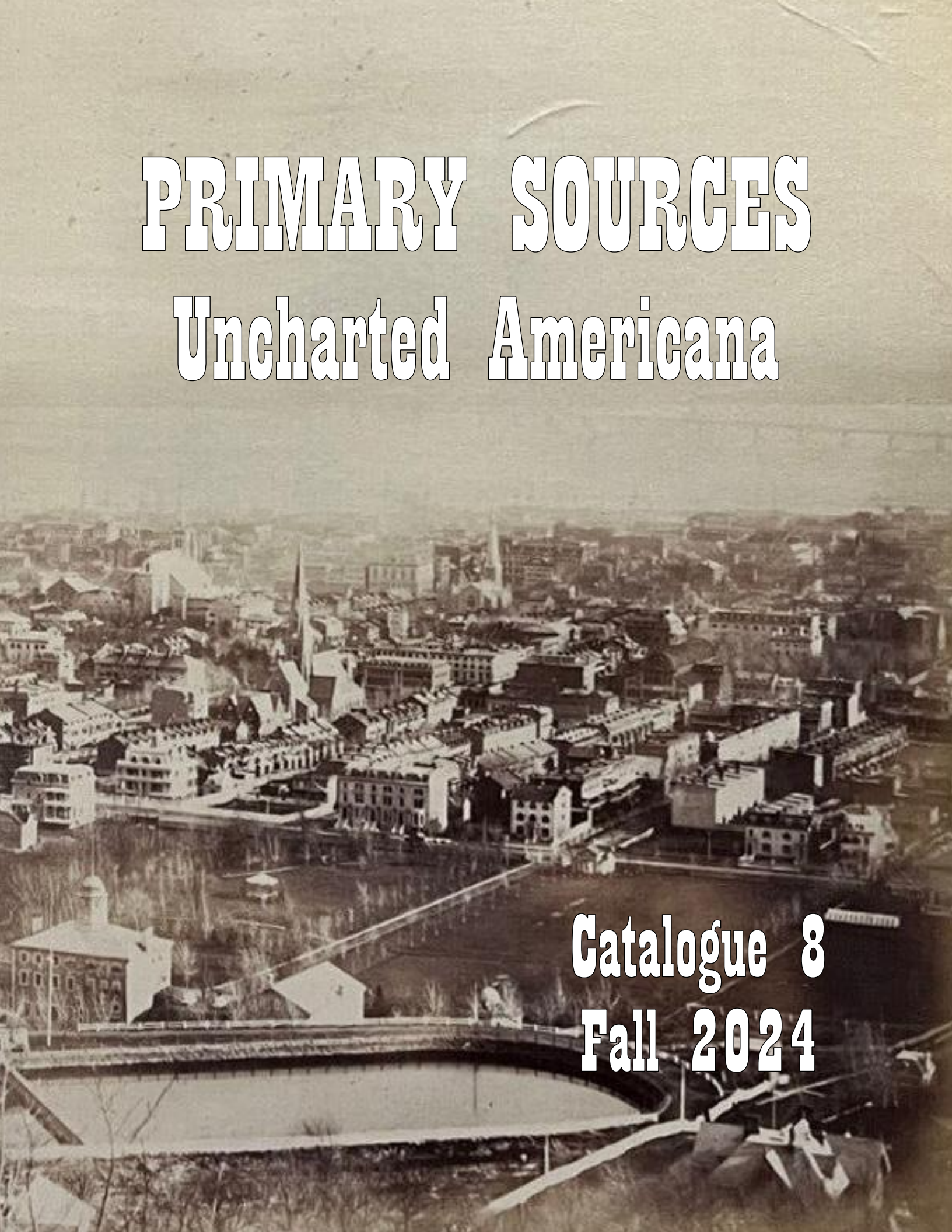
PRIMARY SOURCES

Uncharted Americana



Catalogue 8

Fall 2024

PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

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Robin and Laoma Beck

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-- Michigan residents please add 6.25% sales tax.

On the covers: 17. Montreal from Mount Royal, 1872 (detail).

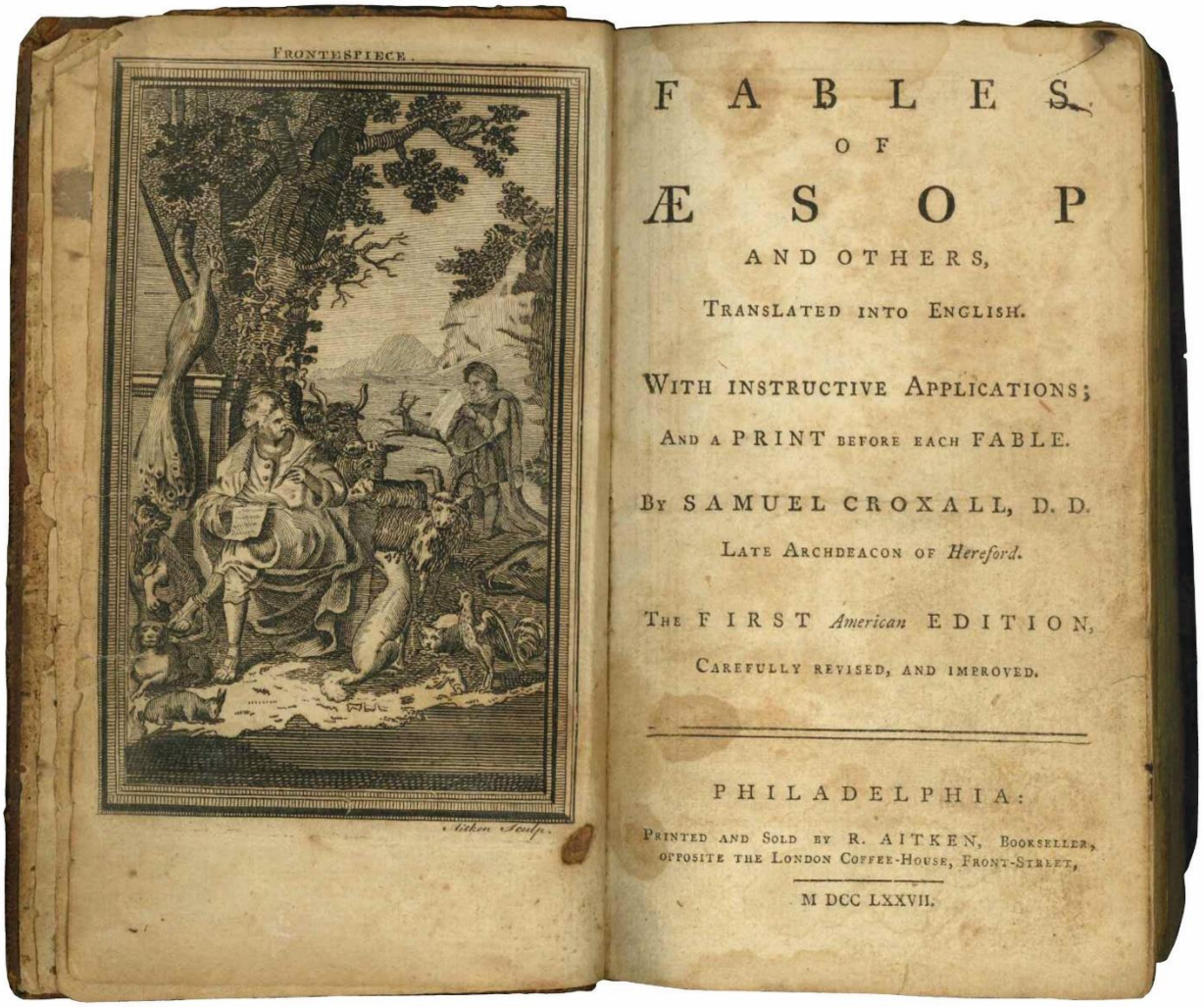
PRIMARY SOURCES
Uncharted Americana

Catalogue 8, Fall 2024

Contents

One of Four Known Copies: Robert Aitken's First American *Aesop*

Few works aimed at a juvenile audience were more popular in British North America than *Aesop's Fables*. Alongside school books like primers, spelling and ABC books, grammars, and dictionaries, more than a dozen editions of *Aesop* in Latin, Greek, and English were available in colonial bookstores throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Unlike typical school books, however, children read *Aesop* at times of leisure and for their own pleasure, despite its didactic purpose of moral instruction. Yet for all of its popularity, if not ubiquity, every copy in America was imported from publishers and booksellers on the other side of the Atlantic. Not until a year after the Declaration of Independence formally broke political ties with Great Britain did an American publisher issue an American edition. In 1777, as Revolution raged, Philadelphia printer, binder, and bookseller Robert Aitken--who later gained fame for publishing the first full English Bible printed in the United States--issued *Fables of Aesop and Others* in Samuel Croxall's translation and with nearly two hundred woodcut illustrations. In all, some 16 different American editions of *Aesop* would appear before 1800, but Aiken's first is a true rarity. **We trace only three institutional copies, and none has ever been offered at auction or in the trade**.


FRONTESPIECE.

Aitken Sculp.

FABLES
OF
ÆSOP
AND OTHERS,
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

WITH INSTRUCTIVE APPLICATIONS;
AND A PRINT BEFORE EACH FABLE.

BY SAMUEL CROXALL, D. D.
LATE ARCHDEACON OF *Hereford.*

THE FIRST *American* EDITION,
CAREFULLY REVISED, AND IMPROVED.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY R. AITKEN, BOOKSELLER,
OPPOSITE THE LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE, FRONT-STREET,
M DCC LXXVII.


FRONTESPIECE.
Aitken Sculp.

22 ÆSOP's FABLES.

FAB. XIV. *The* Boar *and the* Aſs.

A Little Scoundrel of an Aſs happening to meet with a Boar, had a mind to be arch upon him; and ſo, Brother, ſays he, your humble Servant. The Boar, ſomewhat nettled at his Familiarity, briſtled up to him and told him, he was ſurpriſed to hear him utter ſo impudent an Untruth, and was juſt going to ſhew his noble Reſentment, by giving him a Rip in the Flank; but wiſely ſtifling his Paſſion, he contented himſelf with only ſaying, Go, you ſorry Beaſt! I could be amply and eaſily revenged of you, but I do not care to foul my Tuſks with the Blood of ſo baſe a Creature.

The APPLICATION.

Fools are ſometimes ſo ambitious of being thought Wits, that they run great Hazards in attempting to ſhew themſelves ſuch. This is not the firſt Aſs, who, after a handſome Rebuke from one ſuperior to himſelf, both in Courage and Merit, has continued his awkward Rallery even to the laſt degree of Offence. But ſuch a dull Creature is ſo far from raiſing himſelf the leaſt Eſteem by his ludicrous Vein, that he has very good Luck if he eſcapes with a whole Skin. Buffoons, like Dwarfs, ſhould be matched with thoſe of their own Level; a Man, in Senſe or Stature, would be aſhamed

ÆSOP's FABLES. 23

aſhamed to encounter either of them. But, notwithſtanding all this; and though the Boar in the Fable is a very good Example to Men of generous brave Spirits, not to give themſelves up to Paſſion, nor to be diſtempered with Thoughts of Revenge upon the inſolent Behaviour of every Aſs that offends them, becauſe their Hands would be diſhonoured by the Tincture of a baſe Man's Blood: yet, among human Creatures the Correction of an Aſs that would be unſeaſonably witty, may be performed with Juſtneſs and Propriety enough; provided it be done in good humour. The Blood of a Coward, literally ſpeaking, would ſtain the Character of a Man of Honour; when we chaſtiſe ſuch Wretches, it ſhould be done, if poſſible, in the utmoſt calmneſs of Temper. It takes off ſomething from the Reputation of a great Soul, when we ſee it is in the power of a Fool to ruffle and unſettle it.

FAB. XV. *The* Frogs *and the fighting* Bulls.

A FROG, one Day peeping out of the Lake, and looking about him, ſaw two Bulls fighting at ſome diſtance off in the Meadow; and calling to one of his Acquaintance, Look, ſays he, what dreadful Work there is yonder! Dear Sirs, what will become of us! Why, pr'ythee, ſays the other, do not frighten yourſelf ſo about nothing; how can their Quarrels affect us? They are of a different Kind and way of living, and are at preſent only contending which ſhall be Maſter of the

 Herd.

The text itself, of course, requires little introduction. Attributed to a quasi-mythical Greek (or perhaps African) storyteller and philosopher of the 6th century B. C., perhaps enslaved, perhaps from the colony of Mesembria in ancient Thrace (or perhaps from Phrygia, Sardis, Lydia, or even Ethiopia), the *Fables of Aesop* is the most widely read, translated, printed, and illustrated work of classical antiquity. It was the very first such text to appear in print, published by humanist scholar Bonus Accursius in Milan c. 1478, with William Caxton producing his famous illustrated edition in English in 1485. Anthropomorphic animals, as often as not, take center stage as the primary protagonists and villains, their humorous antics imparting serious lessons--or morals--on ethical life. Originally intended for adults, the *Fables* have come to be seen as didactic tales for children since the beginning of the printing press era. Indeed, even Accursius himself, in an opening note that precedes his printing of the *Fables* in Greek and Latin, dedicates his work "For the sake of the children...that they may readily understand both languages" (in Keidel 1903:306).

Robert Aitken, too, expected his edition of *Aesop*--itself a first--to reach an audience of children; the lines of his brief dedication read, "To the parents, guardians, and governesses; of the United States of America: This new edition of Croxhall's Fables of Esop, is humbly inscribed by their most obedient humble servant, R. Aitken, the editor." But Aitken's declaration was far more significant than mere salesmanship, a pandering appeal to customers. It was fundamentally an act

of treason, and a bold one at that. For in 1777 the "United States of America" was little more than a squabbling band of breakaway colonies and their temporary government, its army under General Washington suffering a series of defeats that would culminate in the loss of Philadelphia after the Battle of Brandywine in September 1777. Just two years earlier, as publisher of the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Aitken had sought to maintain a neutral stance on the emerging political crisis, as much a practical reality of business as a reflection of his own beliefs. That aim, however, was challenged almost immediately thanks to his choice of contributing editor, Thomas Paine, whose tenure at the magazine began with its second issue of February 1775. Paine had only turned up in Philadelphia the previous November, at the urging of Benjamin Franklin, having left behind a string of personal and professional failures in London. Aitken hired him on the strength of Franklin's letter, and it was there at the magazine that Paine developed the unique authorial voice that soon would move a generation of royal subjects to declare themselves free.

One of Paine's favorite literary genres during his time at the magazine (he left in September over a dispute about compensation) was the fable, which he found especially useful for delivering his more radical or dangerous political ideas. He even used 'Esop' as one of his pen names. Thus it comes as little surprise that Aitken himself would publish America's first edition of *Aesop*, nor that he would select the version of English writer and translator Samuel Croxall, which had first appeared in London in 1722. Croxall, like Paine, saw the fable as a means for conveying political lessons to adolescent readers, and he ended the Preface of his volume with a statement--included in Aitken's edition--that centers the political spirit of his translation:

> Professing (according to the Principle on which the following Applications are built) that I am a Lover of Liberty and Truth; an enemy to Tyranny, either in the Church or State; and one who detests Party Animosities and factious Divisions, as much as I wish the Peace and Prosperity of my Country [in Larkin 2005:43].

Such words were radical enough in Croxall's own time and place, but in the context of Philadelphia in 1777 they were defiant indeed. **We should recognize Aitken's edition, printed only months before British troops marched into his city, as the Revolutionary text it is, perhaps the first literary work intended for the children of the would-be American nation**. With the exceptions of Robert Bell's *Fables* (Doddley's translation) published later that same year, an edition or two of the *New England Primer*, and Anthony Benezet's *Philadelphia Spelling Book* (1776, 1779) and *First Book for Children* (1778), practically no works aimed at a juvenile audience were produced in the United States during the years from 1776 to 1781.

The first Aitken *Aesop* of 1777 contains 196 fables, each illustrated by a preceding woodcut engraving; eleven of these are signed by " J.[ames] Poupard," one of the most renowned American illustrators of the late 18th century, and the full-page frontis. is signed by "R. Aitken" himself. **We have located only three institutional copies--AAS, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Johns Hopkins--making it among the rarest of all American children's books**. Each of these is imperfect. The AAS copy lacks two leaves; the frontis. and thirteen leaves are mutilated; and ink splotches mar illustrations on five pages. The Hopkins copy lacks signatures B2-5, K4-6, and gathering L, with many other leaves torn and stained. Finally, Welch (1963:190) notes that pages 127-131 of the HSP copy are worm eaten. We can trace no copies ever appearing at auction or in

the trade, nor do we find any examples in the great private collections of the past, not even in the libraries of Pennypacker, Rosenbach, or Snider, famed Philadelphia collectors all.

This recently discovered example, which opens Catalogue 8, does have condition issues of its own, but even with these it ranks second only to the HSP copy, depending on the extent of the latter's insect damage. In our copy, gathering K is proud so that pages 87-106 have moderate edge wear, with loss into the central portions of three leaves. Pages 97/98 and 99/100 of this gathering have each lost the lower half of the leaf, costing three woodcuts and a section of text. There is an old (but professional) tape repair to pages 61/62 and 63/64, while pages 3-10 have a small hole in the center of the page that is slightly larger in pages 5-8, with some loss of text. There are several page tears, most of which are short and marginal, but otherwise the text is clean save for an old historical society stamp on the verso of the title page. The leather binding is worn but altogether original. In sum, it is a good, unsophisticated copy of an excessively rare and important American children's book, **the first and only example ever to reach the market**.

Relevant sources:

Kiedel, George C.
1903 The Editio Princeps of the Greek AEsop. *American Journal of Philology* 24(3):304-317.
Larkin, Edward
2005 *Thomas Paine and the Literature of Revolution.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Welch, D'Alté A.
1963 A Bibliography of American Children's Books Printed Prior to 1821, A-C. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 77:121-324.
Wolf, Edwin II
1988 *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City: Philadelphia Books, Bookmen, and Booksellers*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

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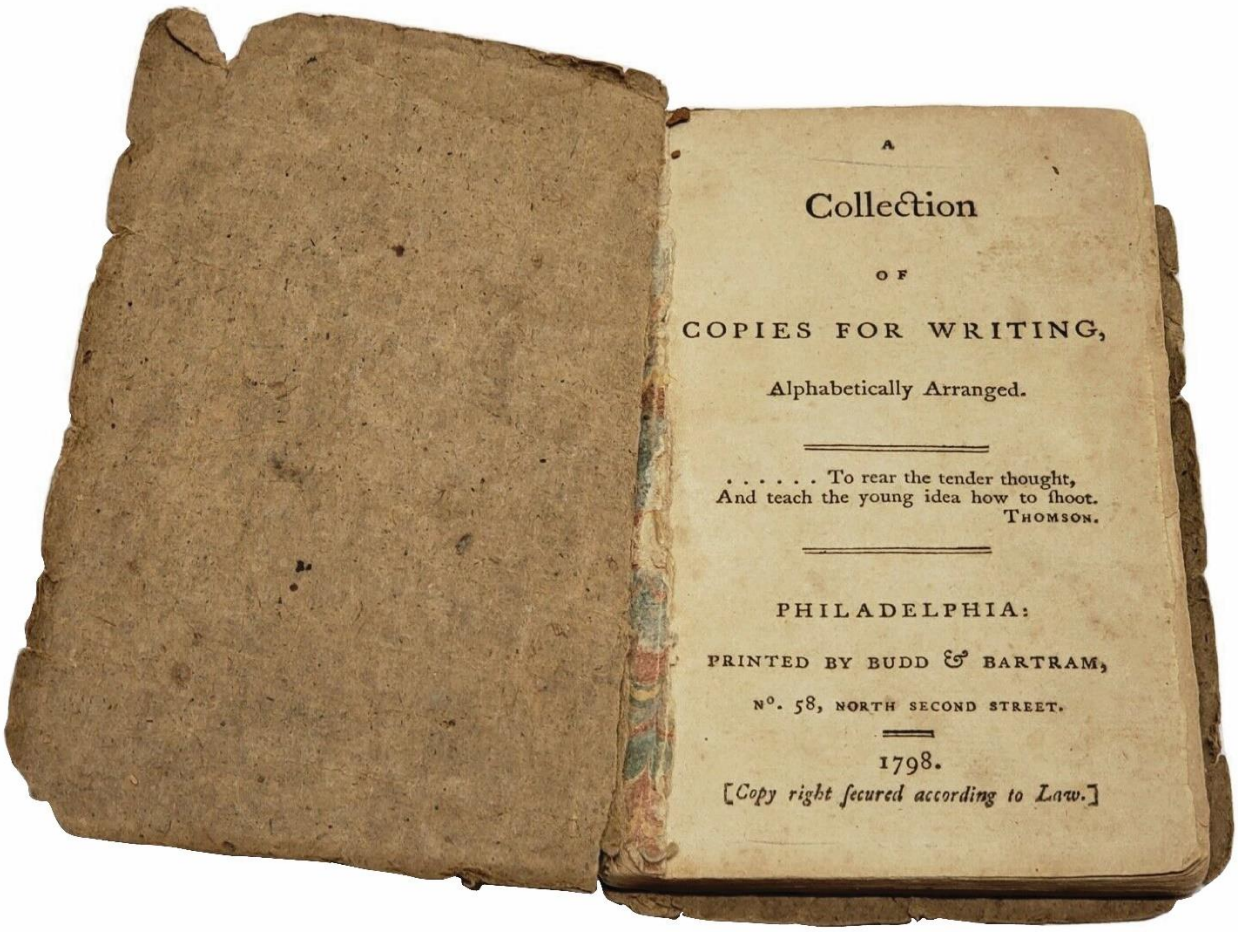
[Children's Literature--*Aesop's Fables*]. FABLES OF AESOP AND OTHERS, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH. WITH INSTRUCTIVE APPLICATIONS; AND A PRINT BEFORE EACH FABLE. BY SAMUEL CROXALL, D.D. LATE ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD. THE FIRST AMERICAN EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED, AND IMPROVED. Printed And Sold By R. Aitken, Bookseller, Opposite The London Coffee-House, Front-Street, Philadelphia, 1777 [MDCCLXXVII]. Frontis.[ii], t.[i], [ii-xvi], [i], 2-318, [319-331] pp. 12mo (16.5 cm). Bound in original sheep with five raised bands, worn, hinges split but holding. Old historical society stamp on verso of title page. Damage to gathering K (see above description), else interior good. In a box by Wiering [Welch 18.1; Evans 15230; ESTC W6760; not in Rosenbach].

1. **SOLD**.

The Only Located Example: Jeremiah Paul's *Copies for Writing*

Of all the fundamental skills, if not arts, deemed superfluous in a digital age, few have felt the sting as keenly as penmanship. Yet before Times Roman, before typewriters, formal training in the rules of good handwriting was as essential to a proper education as spelling, grammar, and arithmetic (all of which seem to be following a similar path to digital oblivion). By the middle of the 18th century, writing schools were common throughout Great Britain and its North American colonies, particularly New England, commanded by imperious writing masters loathed by students for their high-handedness and severity. Most students learned, at a minimum, the so-called "round text" and "round hand" scripts favored in commerce--the former is essentially a larger version of the latter--using British texts complete with engraved copperplate illustrations.

The first copybook produced in the colonies, Fisher's *The American Instructor: Or, Young Man's Best Companion*, was issued by Benjamin Franklin and David Hall in 1748. This work and its many 18th-century editions, however, were faithful copies of British prototypes. The first truly American copybook was *The Writing Scholar's Assistant*, compiled and printed by Isaiah Thomas in 1785. More than a dozen others would appear by 1801, including Jeremiah Paul's *A Collection of Copies for Writing*, printed at Philadelphia in 1798. **This is only the third known example; of the two recorded copies, one is incomplete and neither can be located**.



A

Collection

OF

COPIES FOR WRITING,

Alphabetically Arranged.

. . . . . To rear the tender thought,
And teach the young idea how to ſhoot.
THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY BUDD & BARTRAM,

Nº. 58, NORTH SECOND STREET.

1798.

[*Copy right ſecured according to Law.*]

DIRECTIONS FOR HOLDING THE PEN, AND SITTING TO WRITE.

THE pen should be held loosely, with the nib rather more than three quarters of an inch from the end of the middle finger; the fore finger lying close on the pen, and both nearly straight. The thumb about three quarters of an inch higher than the end of the middle finger, bending outward; so that, in making a long full stroke, it may extend, or draw down the pen at pleasure; and, the upper part of the right shoulder. The pointing directly to the end of the little finger hand should rest upon the end of the little finger, a little inward, so much, as not to touch the middle finger, nor yet to be in the way of the thumb.

An easy posture in sitting should be observed; with the breast free from the table; not awkwardly stooping. The right arm should rest near the body; but not too close; the left, from the elbow, in a direction with the line; the middle finger, of that hand, above the pen, and nearly even with it, the fore finger below the line, and both held a little arching; the ends pressing gently upon the paper, to keep it steady.

Attend these rules; write slow; take care; And, in due time, thou wilt write fair.

A COLLECTION, &c.

A.

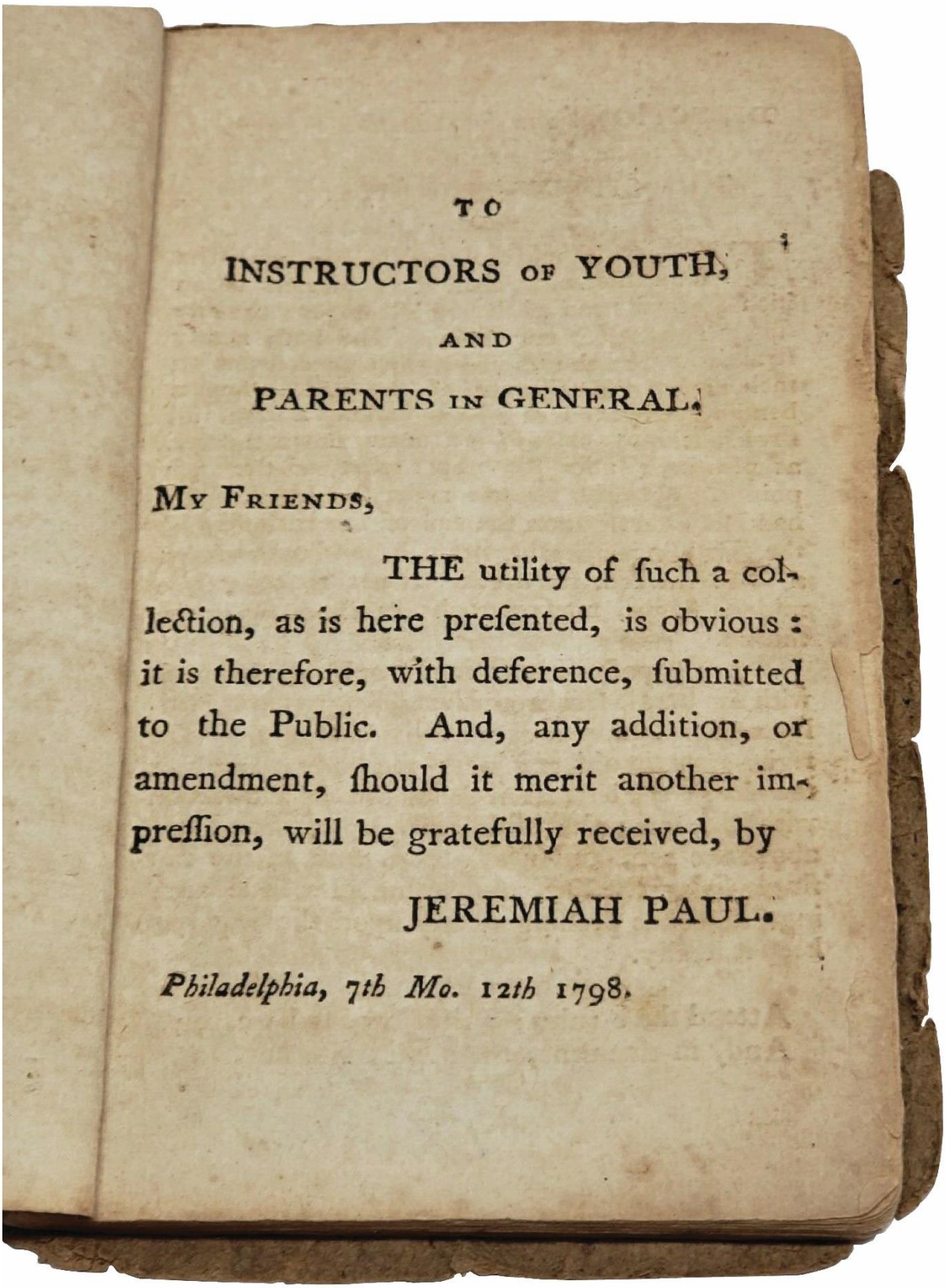
AVOID idleness.
Abandon sinners.
Avoid contention.
Act prudently.
Avoid extremes.
Avoid controversy.
Avoid strife.
Avoid temptation.
Avoid bad men.
Act with caution.
Avoid every sin.
Avoid dissimulation.
Amend thy ways.
Avoid bad boys.
Accuse none falsely.
Abandon every sin.
Avoid evil companions.
Abstain from evil.
Affectation is odious.
Associate with the wise.
Alms impoverish none

Acquire useful knowledge.
Avoid ensnaring company.
Attempt nothing rashly.
All vice is infectious.
Accuse not the absent.
A bad example is infectious.
Art is gained by labour.
Attend to good advice.

A 2

Relatively little is known of Jeremiah Paul himself. He was a member of the large Quaker community at Woodbury, New Jersey, as early as 1774, when he became the first master of the town's first schoolhouse, the Deptford School. Among the rules of the school, stipulated perhaps by Paul himself, was that "The teacher shall suffer no scholar in ye school that hath the itch or any other infectious distemper" (Carter 1938:19). About ten years later, Paul moved his family across the river to Philadelphia, where he took a better-paying position as schoolmaster of the prestigious Friends Academy on Fourth Street near Chestnut, founded by Willian Penn in 1689. He was also paid to serve as caretaker and sweeper of the Latin School. In addition to his *Collection of Copies for Writing*, Paul wrote or compiled at least two other instructional texts, *The American Preceptor's Assistant: Containing a System of Practical Arithmetic* (1801) and a second edition, *The Child's Assistant: Containing, a Plain and Easy Introduction to Arithmetic* (1804).

A Collection of Copies for Writing opens with a brief dedication to instructors of youth and parents, signed in type and dated Philadelphi, 7th Mo. 12th 1798, which is followed by a set of instructions for holding the pen and sitting to write. Pages 5 through 36, comprising the bulk of the volume, consist of lines for copying--adages, aphorisms, and turns of phrase--all arranged alphabetically from A to Z. After this collection is an appendix of sorts with examples of business forms such as receipts and orders, bills of exchange, penal bills, bonds, and stamp duties upon bills



TO

INSTRUCTORS OF YOUTH,

AND

PARENTS IN GENERAL.

MY FRIENDS,

THE utility of ſuch a collection, as is here preſented, is obvious: it is therefore, with deference, ſubmitted to the Public. And, any addition, or amendment, ſhould it merit another impreſſion, will be gratefully received, by

JEREMIAH PAUL.

Philadelphia, 7th Mo. 12th 1798.

(pp. 37-45). He also includes a set of arithmetical tables for numeration, addition, subtraction, and multiplication; tables for the denominations and converting of both British and Federal currencies (pp.48-50); and a range of weights and measures (pp. 51-54). He ends with a short note:

> I am persuaded, that, if young beginners would commit the preceding tables to memory, previous to any attempt at calculating, they would not stumble, as many do, at the very threshold of the science. At least, a perfect knowledge of each table ought to be acquired, before any example, dependent thereon, is undertaken.
>
> J. P.
>
> Philadelphia, 2d Mo. 25th, 1799.
> No. 35, S. 4th Street.

This, as noted, is the third recorded copy of Paul's *Collection of Copies for Writing*. In his definitive bibliography, *American Writing Masters and Copybooks*, Ray Nash identifies one other copy, in Marian S. Carson's extraordinary collection of Americana. Much of the Carson collection was gifted to the Library of Congress, but Paul's work does not appear in the LOC catalogue. Like our copy, Carson's was bound in marbled wraps with the front wrap missing. Unlike the Carson copy, which lacked page 49/50, this one is complete. There is no record of copies at auction, but Midland offered an unbound copy for $20 in 1946, current whereabouts unknown. **As such, ours is likely the only complete surviving example of this early American copybook**.

Relevant sources:

Carter, Benjamin F.
1939 *History of Woodbury, New Jersey, from 1681 to 1936*. Volume 1. Gloucester Publishing Co., Gloucester, NJ.

Nash, Ray
1959 *American Writing Masters and Copybooks: History and Bibliography through Colonial Times*. Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Boston.

Straub, Jean S.
1967 Teaching in the Friends' Latin School of Philadelphia in the Eighteenth Century. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91(4):434-456.

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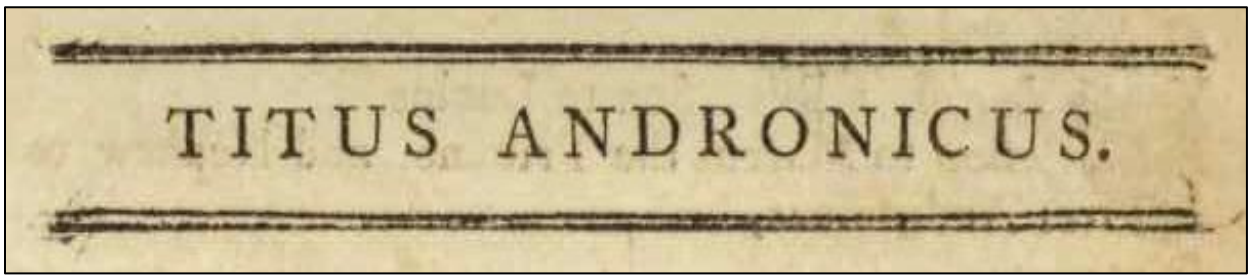
[Penmanship--Early American Copybooks]. Jeremiah Paul. A COLLECTION OF COPIES FOR WRITING, ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED. Printed by Budd & Bartram, No. 58 North Second Street, Philadelphia. Copyright secured according to law, 1798. 54 pp. 16mo (14 cm). Stab-stitched as issued in marbled paper wraps, lacking front wrapper; enclosed in later drab gray paper covers, edgeworn. Chip on outer corner of p. 47/48 costing two letters on each page, light scattered soiling, overall very good [Evans 34315; Nash p. 62].

2. **SOLD**.

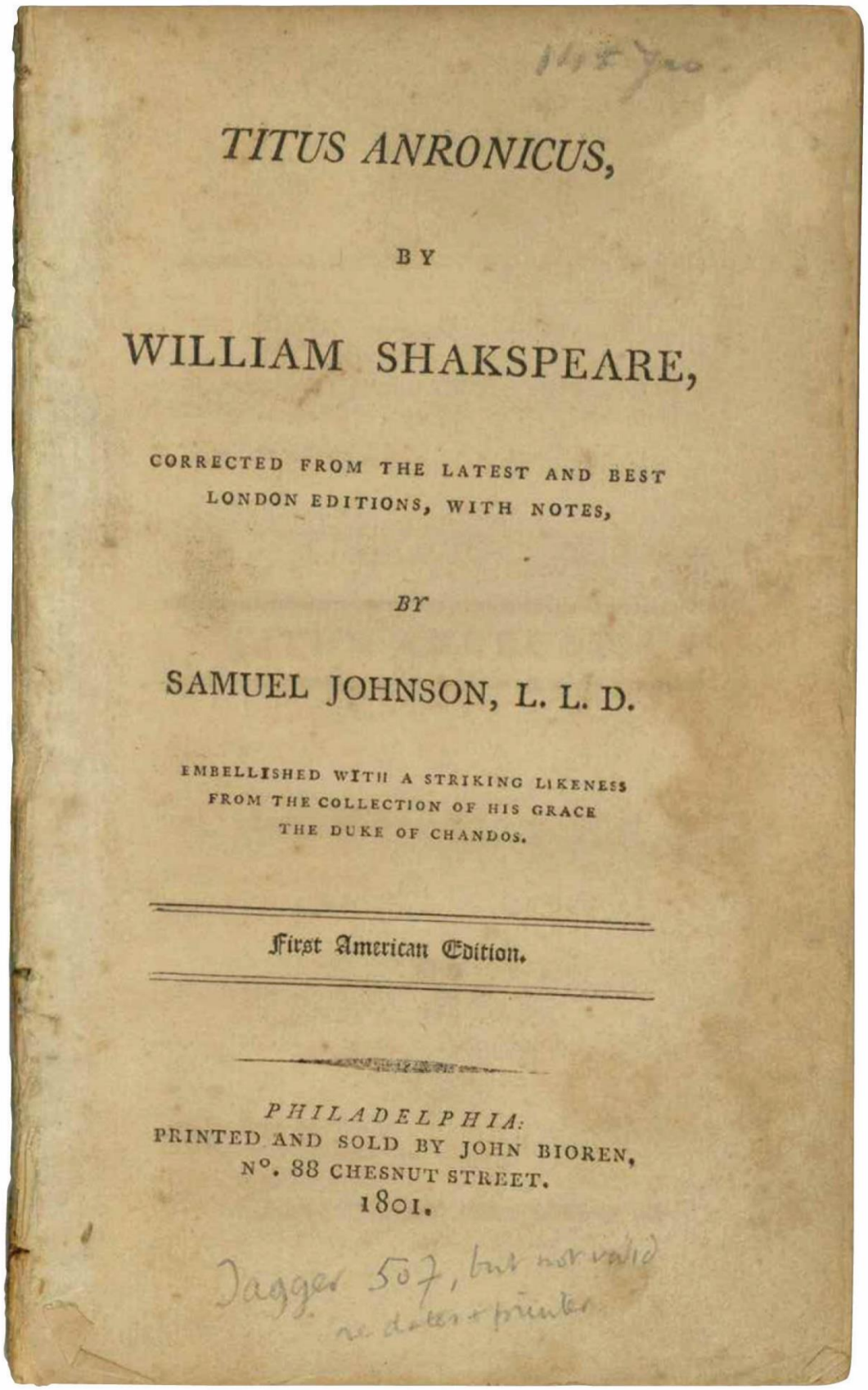
A Unique Shakespeare: The First American Edition of *Titus Andronicus*

In October 1774, the First Continental Congress passed the Articles of Association, barring all trade and cultural exchange with Great Britain. Although most of its stipulations dealt with the practicalities of enforcement, Article 8 was altogether different, demonstrating the patriots' resolve to put aside trivial pleasures for the duration of the coming conflict by prohibiting "all... exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments" (in Johnson 2006:91). Such bans on professional stagecraft extended into the Early Republic--not until 1793 did Massachusetts finally act to repeal its anti-theater laws--but once performances could legally be staged again the first American editions of Shakespeare followed. David and John West produced the earliest such editions of *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night* at Boston in 1794. Then, from 1795 to 1796, printers John Bioren and Patrick Madan of Philadelphia published *The Works of William Shakespeare*, complete in eight 12mo volumes. Five years later, Bioren (under his own name) issued an unknown number of these plays as separate editions. All but his *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night* represent the first separate appearances of any of Shakespeare's plays in the United States. **Here we are pleased to offer the unique and previously unrecorded first separate edition of *Titus Andronicus***. No other copies of Bioren's separate editions have reached the market in more than a century.


TITUS ANDRONICUS.

Titus Andronicus is both Shakespeare's earliest tragedy and his earliest work set in ancient Rome. Thought to have been written between 1588 and 1593--it was probably first performed in 1594--it is also one of his most controversial plays due to its disturbing, if not gratuitous, brutality and violence. Over the centuries some scholars have debated whether Shakespeare wrote *Titus* or whether it was co-authored with another playwright, but practically all modern scholars include it within the Shakespearean canon. *Titus* was the second tragedy published in the famous First Folio of 1623 and was the third play in Volume VII of the Philadelphia complete works, itself the first such gathering of Shakespeare's plays published outside of Britain and Ireland. Bioren and Maden note in their preface to the set that "In preparing this work for publication, the editors have exerted themselves as much as possible, by an elegant type and good paper, to do credit to the American press. Conscious of their solicitude to deserve approbation, they hope that their efforts have not been entirely unsuccessful" (I, p. xii). As Carson and Marshall observe in their brief biography of Bioren, "Certainly it fulfilled its promise" (1949:324).

In 1801, perhaps in response to the growing number of Shakespearean stage productions and the need for working copies, Bioren reissued as separate editions some of the plays previously published in the complete *Works*. We can locate ten such editions, including the *Titus Andronicus* that we describe for the first time here (see list on p. 13). Each of the ten known separates seems to consist of sheets from the original printing, possibly disbound from unsold sets and issued with



TITUS ANRONICUS,

BY

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,

CORRECTED FROM THE LATEST AND BEST LONDON EDITIONS, WITH NOTES,

BY

SAMUEL JOHNSON, L. L. D.

EMBELLISHED WITH A STRIKING LIKENESS FROM THE COLLECTION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF CHANDOS.

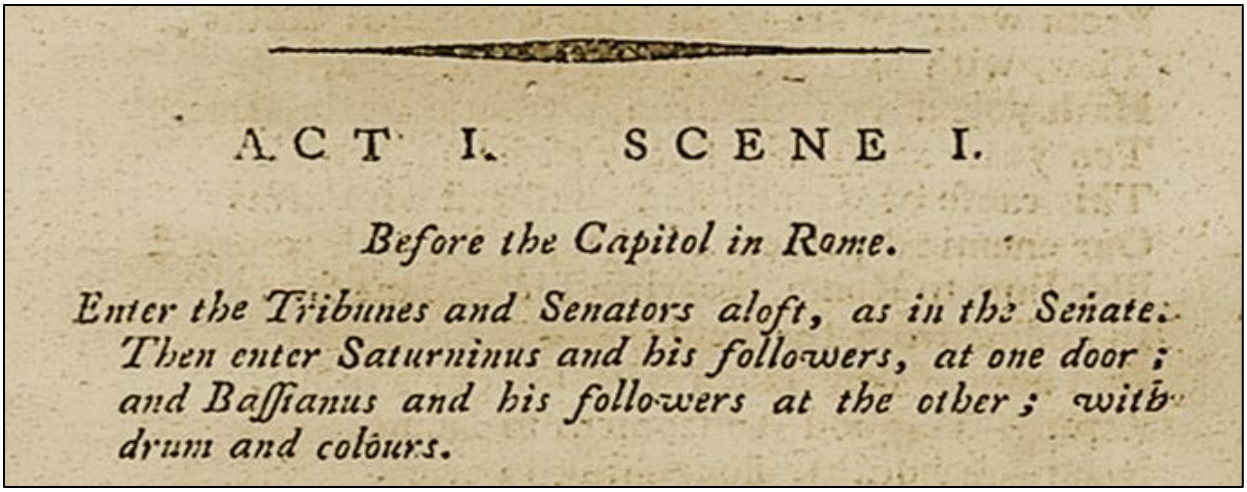
First American Edition.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOHN BIOREN,
N°. 88 CHESNUT STREET.
1801.

JOHN BIOREN SEPARATE EDITIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS ISSUED IN 1801

1) ***Twelfth Night; Or What you Will***.
OCLC: Folger. [three copies, likely all from trade records].
Sale: C. 1: ABPC (Vol. 5): Bangs (1899), sewed, lacks port. ($4.00); C. 2: Pennypacker, Henkels (1907), half morocco, with portrait ($23); C. 3: Henkels (1913), lacks port.
2) ***Timon of Athens***.
OCLC: Folger. Half-title, lacks port.
Sale: C. 1: Pennypacker, Henkels (1907), half morocco, lacks port. ($18.25).
3) ***King John***.
OCLC: Folger. Disbound, lacks port.
Sale: C. 1: Pennypacker, Henkels (1907), lacks port., cloth ($18).
4) ***Winter's Tale***.
OCLC: Princeton. Lacks port., manuscript additions for stage production.
Sale: No copies.
5) ***Romeo and Juliet***.
OCLC: AAS. Half-title.
Sale: No copies.
6) ***Hamlet***.
OCLC: State Library of Pennsylvania.
Sale: No copies.
7) ***Trolius and Cressida***.
OCLC: New York Society Library. Bound in pamphlet volume, lacks port.
Sale: No copies.
8) ***Much Ado about Nothing***.
OCLC: Yale. Imperf., wanting pp. 1-2 (half-title) and all after p. 72, lacks port.
Sale: No copies.
9) ***Midsummer Night's Dream***.
OCLC: Digital only.
Sale: No copies.
10) ***Titus Andronicus***.
OCLC: No copies.
Sale: **This copy only**.

a new title page identifying it as the "First American Edition." Some copies contain the portrait of Shakespeare included as the frontis. in Vol. I of the complete works, but other copies appear to have been bound without it. All retain their original pagination. That these editions were produced in something of a hurry is suggested by the poor orientation of the *Titus Andronicus* title page, the misspelling of the title itself (the dropped 'd' in *Andronicus*), and possibly by the dropped 'e' in Shakespeare, which differs from the titles in the complete *Works* and in some of the other separate issues. **We trace none of Bioren's separate editions at auction or in the trade since 1913, and only *Twelfth Night* is known in more than a single example**. In contrast, OCLC lists more than two dozen institutional copies of the Boston *Hamlet* of 1794, a copy of which sold at Sotheby's in 2010 for $8125. Another copy was more recently offered at the 2024 NYABF for $12,500. Three Bioren separate editions--*Twelfth Night*, *Timon of Athens*, and *King John*--made $23, $18.25, and $18, respectively, at the 1907 Pennypacker sale; all are now at the Folger.



ACT I. SCENE I.

Before the Capitol in Rome.

Enter the Tribunes and Senators aloft, as in the Senate. Then enter Saturninus and his followers, at one door; and Baſſianus and his followers at the other; with drum and colours.

An important new addition to American Shakespeariana.

Relevant sources:

Carson, Marian S. and Marshall W. S. Swan
1949 John Bioren: Printer to Philadelphia Publishers. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 43(3):321-334.

Johnson, Odai
2006 *Absence and Memory in Colonial American Theatre: Fiorelli's Plaster*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

McManaway, James G.
1964 Shakespeare in the United States. *PMLA* 79(5):513-518.

Murphy, Andrew
2003 *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

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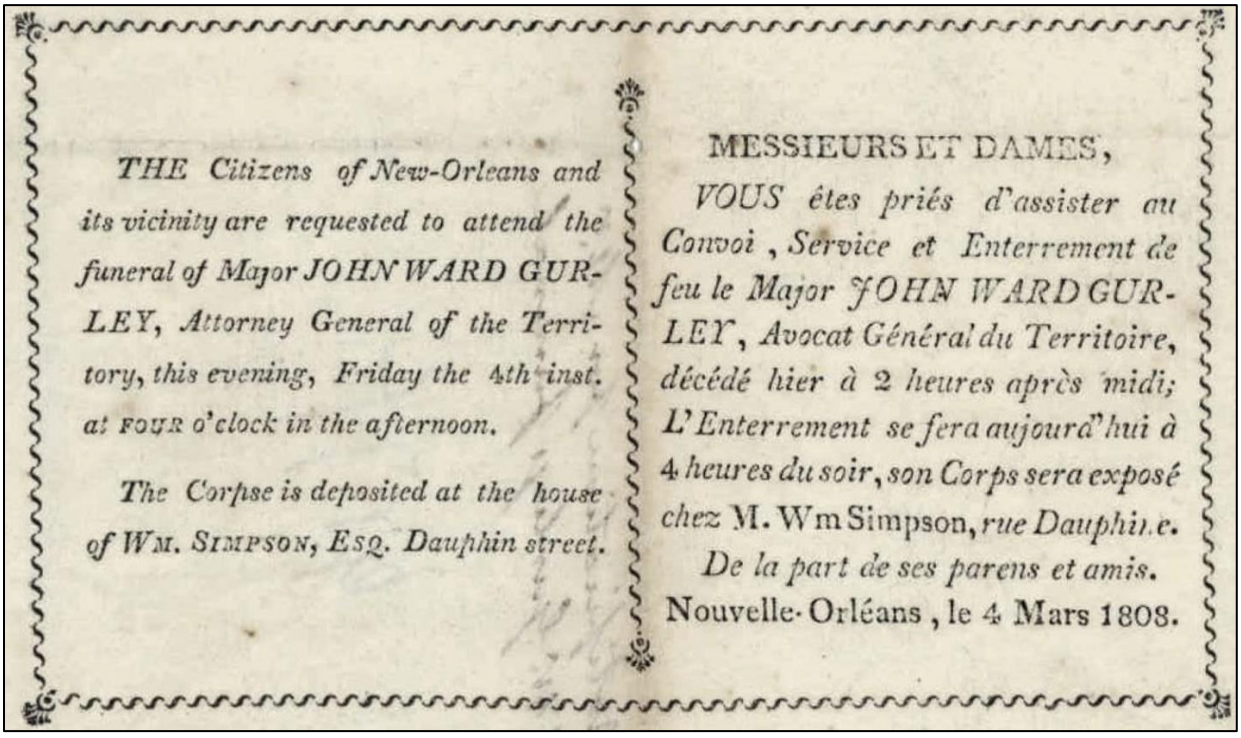
[Early American Theater--Shakespeare]. William Shakespeare. TITUS ANRONICUS [sic]. BY WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE [sic], CORRECTED FROM THE LATEST AND BEST LONDON EDITIONS, WITH NOTES BY SAMUEL JOHNSON, L.L.D. First American Edition. Printed and sold by John Bioren, No. 88 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1801. [5], 80-150. Lacks frontis. portrait. 12mo (17 cm). Disbound, light soiling and foxing. In a box by Wiering. Good.

3. **SOLD**.

John Gurley's Funeral Notice: A Spectacular New Orleans Job Printing

John Ward Gurley was struck dead in New Orleans on March 3, 1808, at the tender age of twenty-nine. At the time of his death, he was serving as attorney-general for the newly established Territory of Orleans, as registrar of the land office, and as aide-de-camp to the governor, William C. C. Claiborne, who had appointed the young man--holding a degree from Yale--attorney general four years earlier. By most measures, Gurley's future in frontier politics, and perhaps even at the national level, seemed preordained. Yet to his constituents in New Orleans, among whom he was as well known for his hot temper and quickness to duel as for his political acumen, it must have come as no surprise when pistol and ball sent him to his grave. Early the next day, his parents and friends issued a hastily printed notice in English and French, inviting guests to the funeral at four that afternoon, adding that "The corpse is deposited at the house of Wm. Simpson, Esq., Dauphin street [son Corps sera exposé chez M. Wm Simpson, rue Dauphine]." This remarkable imprint is surely among the most haunting such notices in the genre, especially for its time and place. **It also appears to be the earliest surviving specimen of New Orleans job printing**.

Born at Lebanon, Connectucut, in 1778, Gurley was the eldest son of Rev. John Gurley, a graduate of Yale College (1773) and first pastor of the Congregational Church in Lebanon's Exeter Parish. The younger Gurley seems not to have received a college education; in 1796 he was taken into the office of John Lowell, an attorney in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, to train for a career in law. Three years later, he was admitted to the bar and given an honorary Master of Arts degree from Yale. Soon Gurley was moving in prominent political and legal circles, even leasing a Court Street, Boston, house owned by John Adams in 1803. He broke the terms of his lease later that year, at about the same time as his announcement that he was leaving for New Orleans.



THE Citizens of New-Orleans and its vicinity are requested to attend the funeral of Major JOHN WARD GURLEY, Attorney General of the Territory, this evening, Friday the 4th inst. at FOUR o'clock in the afternoon.

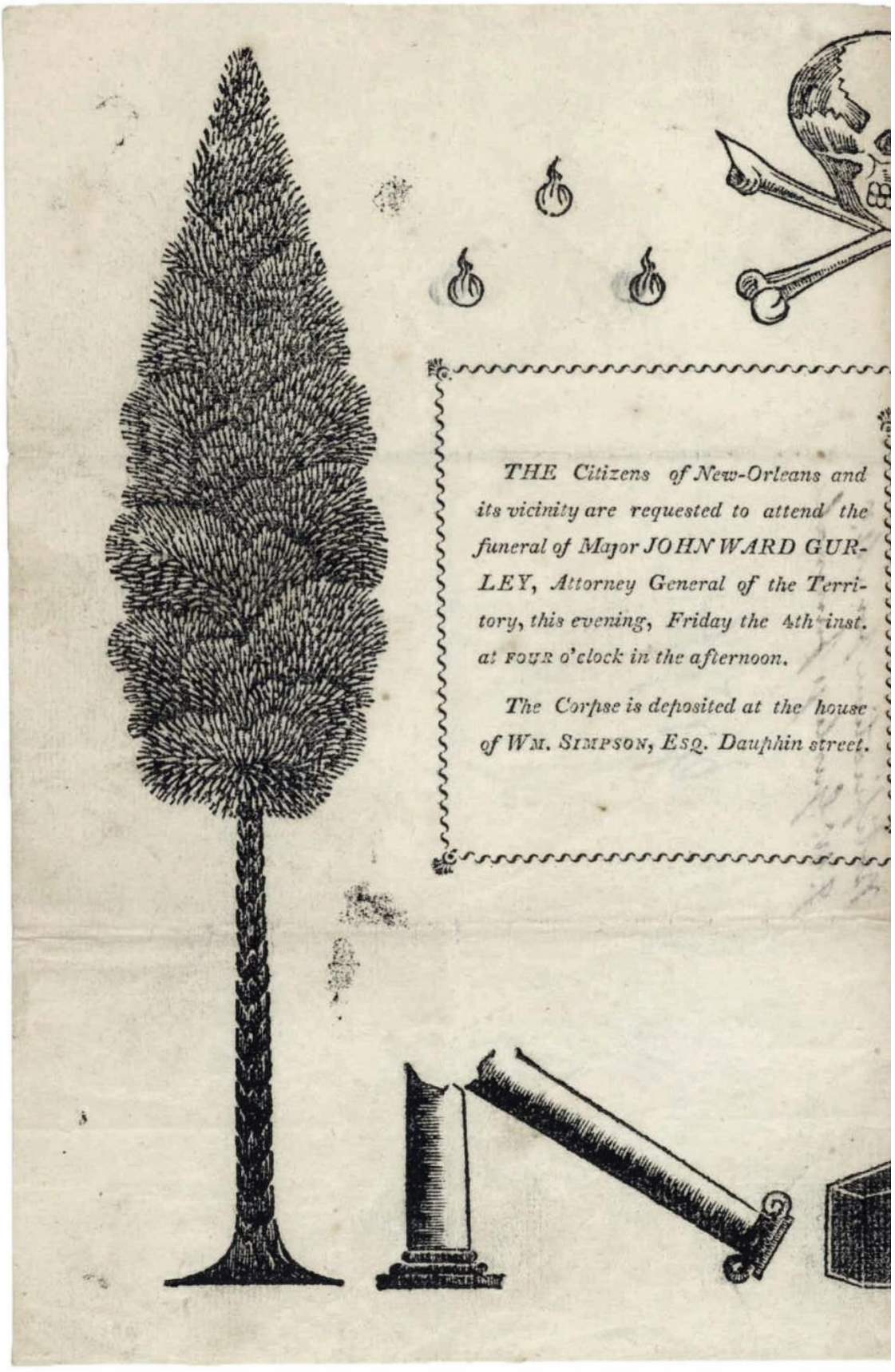
The Corpse is deposited at the house of WM. SIMPSON, ESQ. Dauphin street.

MESSIEURS ET DAMES,

VOUS êtes priés d'assister au Convoi, Service et Enterrement de feu le Major JOHN WARD GURLEY, Avocat Général du Territoire, décédé hier à 2 heures après midi; L'Enterrement se fera aujourd'hui à 4 heures du soir, son Corps sera exposé chez M. Wm Simpson, *rue Dauphine.*

De la part de ses parens et amis.

Nouvelle-Orléans, le 4 Mars 1808.



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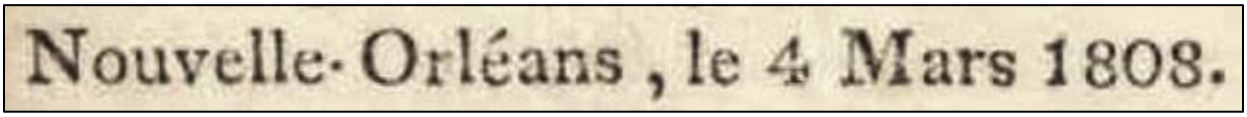
Nouvelle-Orléans, le 4 Mars 1808.

In 1718, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, governor of Louisiana, had established New Orleans on high ground in a crescent bend near the mouth of the Mississippi River, naming it in honor of the French regent, Philippe II, Duke of Orléans. It became the capitol of French Louisiana in 1722 and was soon the most populous city in the territory, although it still held only about 7000 people when Napoleon sold it to the United States as part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. New Orleans retained its capitol status under the American flag, but its charge was reduced to a much smaller portion of the former French territory. All of the newly purchased lands south of the 33rd parallel were organized as the Territory of Orleans, while the rest of the unorganized lands were designated as the District of Louisiana (later Louisiana Territory), its capitol at St. Louis. When the Territory of Orleans was admitted as a state in 1812, it took the name Louisiana, and the former Louisiana Territory became Missouri Territory. New Orleans would serve as capitol of the State of Louisiana until 1846, when the state legislature voted to move the seat of government upstream to Baton Rouge out of concern for the larger city's scurrilous reputation.


Nouvelle-Orléans, le 4 Mars 1808.

That reputation was no less scurrilous when John Ward Gurley arrived there in 1803. New Orleans was exotic, steamy, and fetid. It was multicultural, multiracial, multilingual. There were plagues of mosquitoes; there was smallpox and yellow fever. For some new residents, the citizenry were little better. Louisiana's first Catholic bishop, Luis Penalver y Cardenas, arrived in 1795 to find the diocese "completely depraved" with "prostitution, adultery, miscegenation, bastardy, and riotous living" (Labbé 1998:104). But for others, perhaps Gurley among them, the entrepot had its charm. Gurley was part of what Eberhard Faber refers to as the "generation of 1804," a crush of young men--many trained in the law--who fell upon Louisiana immediately after the American takeover. According to at least one contemporary, they were "ravaging the colony like hordes of grasshoppers" (in Faber 2018:133). They also earned a reputation for behaving badly. The city's first attorney general, Richard Raynal Keene of Maryland, had engaged in a pamphlet war with the father of his fifteen-year old wife, with whom he had eloped against her parents' wishes. Soon Keene was quarrelling with Governor Claiborne, who promptly replaced him with none other than John Ward Gurley. Keene and Gurley then took to the dueling field, but neither received serious injury. Shortly after, Gurley engaged in an escalating affair of honor with another lawyer, Edward Livingston, that nearly led to a duel but was eventually settled without bloodshed. Just two years later, Livingston's cousin Philip Livingston Jones would take offense at the rumor that Gurley had refused to recommend him to Claiborne for the post of sheriff. This insult led Gurley back to the dueling field on March 3, 1808, where Livingston's bullet found its mark.

This is the only known copy of Gurley's funeral notice, printed the day after his death. The printer is unknown--there is no imprint--but it was undoubtedly a rushed job; smudges in the lower half of the sheet are either from the printer's ink-stained fingers or from the notice being folded before the ink was dried. The sheet is quite large for the genre, measuring 9 1/2 by 7 inches. The text, set off by a decorative surround, is presented in both English and French (the French actually offers a bit more information than the English). Most striking, though, is the iconography of death and rebirth that fills the ample margins around the text: a broken column; an open coffin; a weeping willow; a cedar tree, often used as a symbol of endurance and immortality; and of course, the skull

and crossbones that loom above the entire tableau, bordered by small flames that seem to consume the paper itself. We are no less ephemeral than the thin printed sheet. And yet, the sheet survives after more than two centuries; the printer and all of the guests have long since passed.

Gurley's funeral notice would fall among the items numbered from 150 to 160 in Florence Jumonville's comprehensive list of New Orleans imprints, 1764 to 1864. Jumonville records only 29 imprints for all of 1808. Under the city's French and Spanish authorities, there seems never to have been more than a single printer working in the city, and save for official productions, almost nothing was printed--or at least has survived--from 1764 to 1803. Yet by 1804, only a year after the American takeover, New Orleans could boast as many as six active printers; in this same time the population grew from about 7000 to more than 10,000. There must have been many hundreds of items issued during these early years of the American press that simply have not survived, an expected loss given the city's tropical climate. **Using Jumonville's recent bibliography as a guide, we trace no surviving pre-1808 imprints of any kind other than books, pamphlets, and broadsides of an official (government), legal, religious, or masonic nature**. This notice of John Ward Gurley's funeral is surely among the most eye-catching of early New Orleans imprints, but it may also be the earliest surviving example of New Orleans job printing, any others like it long since lost to the unforgiving weather of the Big Easy.

Relevant sources:

Faber, Eberhard
2016 *Building the Land of Dreams: New Orleans and the Transformation of Early America*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

Dexter, George
1882 December Meeting, 1881. Record-Book of the Suffolk Bar. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 19(1881-1882):141-179.

Jumonville, Florence
1989 *Bibliography of New Orleans Imprints, 1764-1864*. Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans.

Labbé, Dolores Egger
1998 *The Louisiana Purchase and Its Aftermath, 1800-1830: The Spanish Presence in Louisiana 1763-1803*. Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.

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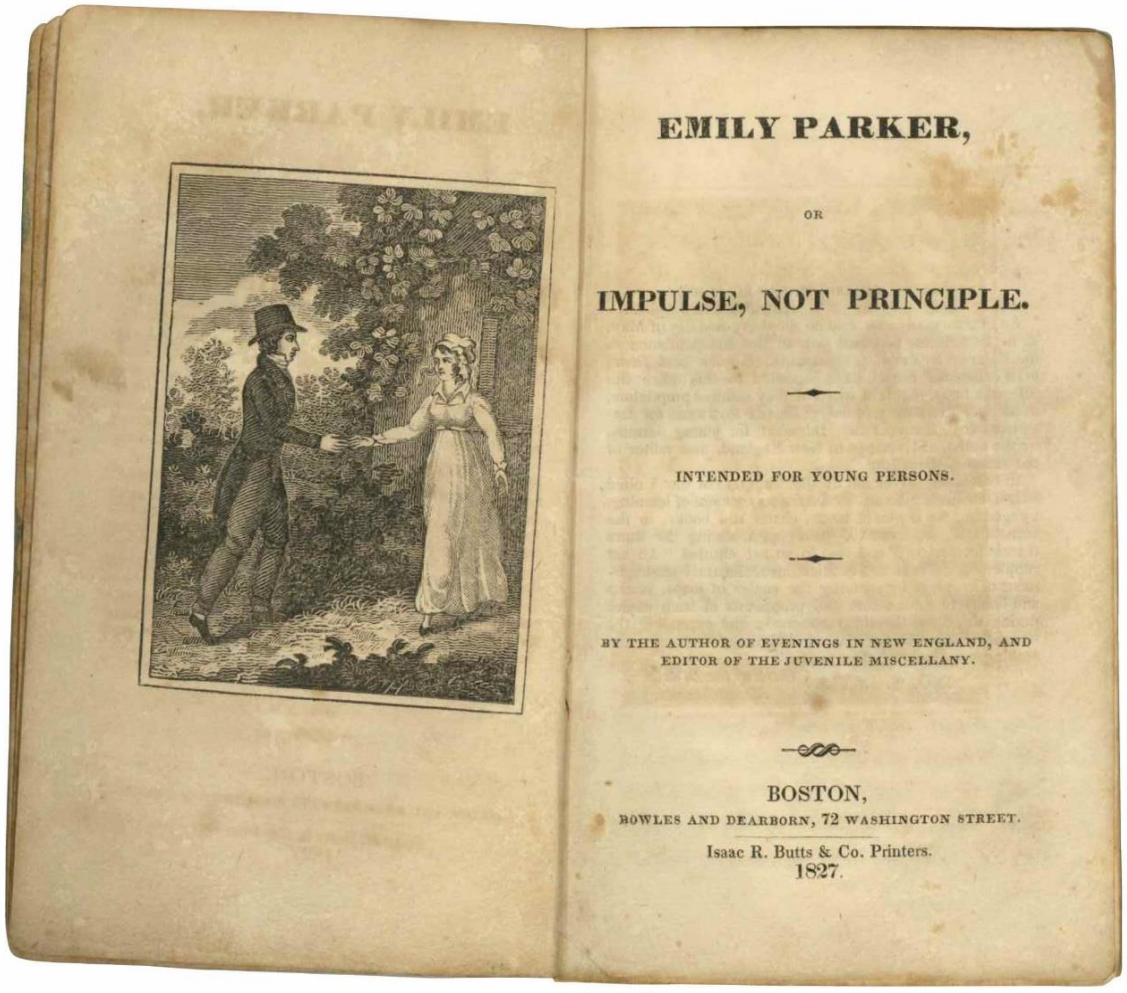
[New Orleans--Early Job Printing]. THE CITIZENS OF NEW ORLEANS AND ITS VICINITY ARE REQUESTED TO ATTEND THE FUNERAL OF JOHN WARD GURLEY...[caption title]. New Orleans, Louisiana, March 4, 1808. Letterpress funeral invitation, 9 1/2 x 7 in. (24 x 18 cm). English and French text in parallel columns, surrounded by decorative frame. Woodcut devices in margins around frame. Old folds, some ink smudging, docketed on verso. About fine.

4. **$4500**.

Lydia Maria Child's Rare Autobiographical Novel, in the Original Boards

Lydia Maria Child was among the 19th century's most prolific and widely read advocates for the abolition of slavery and the rights of women and Native Americans. Over a writing career that spanned more than fifty years, she penned novels, short stories, poetry, and essays. She wrote a hugely successful cookbook (*The American Frugal Housewife*) and an instructional manual for young mothers (*The Mothers Book*). She published articles in newspapers and magazines, founded the first monthly children's periodical in America (*The Juvenile Miscellany*) and was editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. And all before the age of 40. Child's first novel, *Hobomok: A Tale of Early Times*, appeared in 1824 when Child was only 22. *Hobomok* is a historical romance set in colonial New England and is based on the marriage of a white woman, Mary Conant, and a Native American, the eponymous *Hobomok*. Here we offer a copy of her subsequent novel, *Emily Parker, Or Impulse, Not Principle,* published three years later in 1827. Although described on the printed boards and title page as a book "Intended for Young People," it is actually her only work of autobiographical fiction. Both works are quite scarce at auction and in the trade, but *Hobomok* is well represented in institutional collections. **We locate only eight institutional copies of *Emily Parker*, and we trace no other copies at auction or in the trade**.



EMILY PARKER,

OR

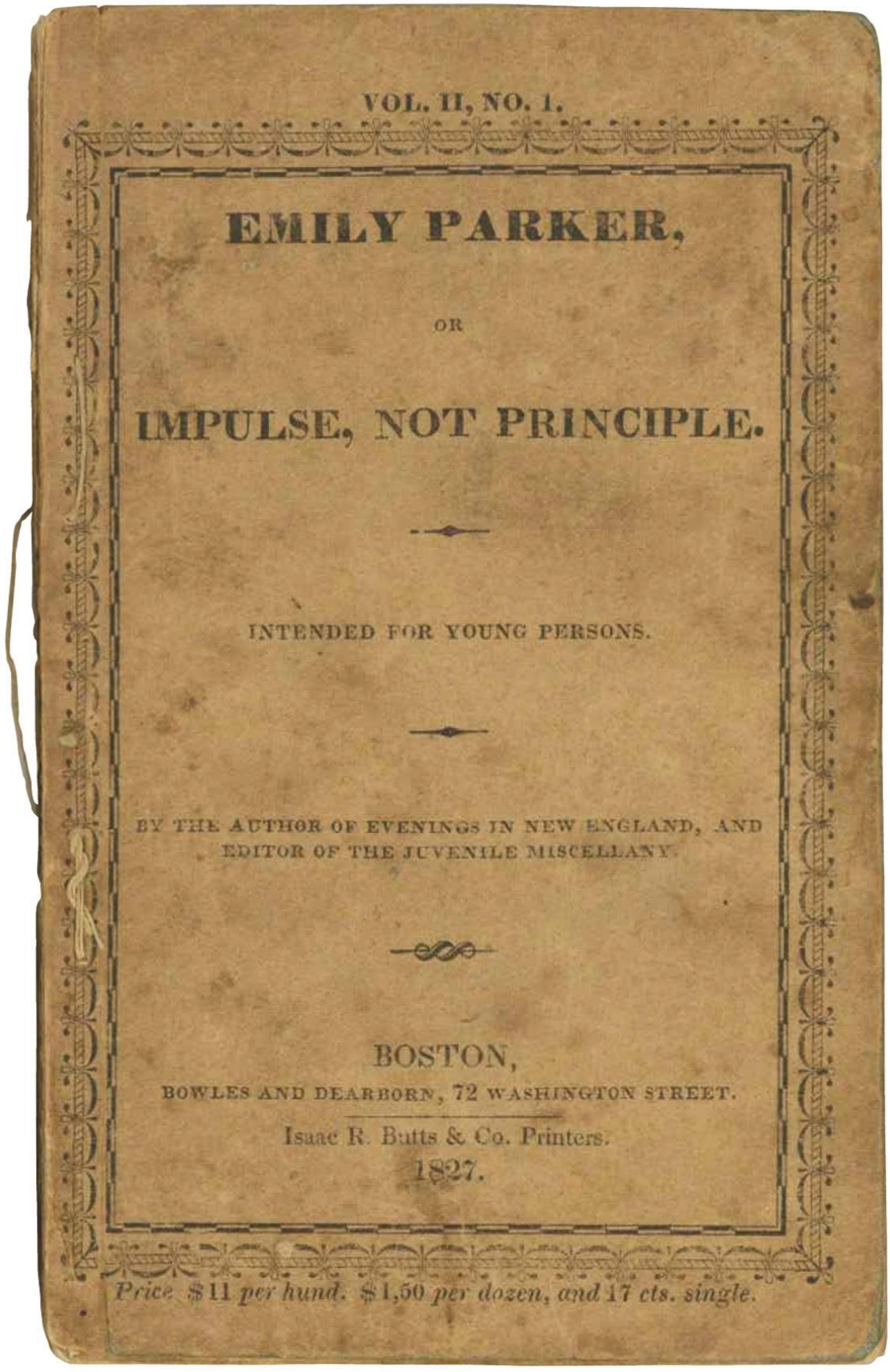
IMPULSE, NOT PRINCIPLE.

INTENDED FOR YOUNG PERSONS.

BY THE AUTHOR OF EVENINGS IN NEW ENGLAND, AND EDITOR OF THE JUVENILE MISCELLANY.

BOSTON,
BOWLES AND DEARBORN, 72 WASHINGTON STREET.

Isaac R. Butts & Co. Printers.
1827.



VOL. II, NO. 1.

EMILY PARKER,

OR

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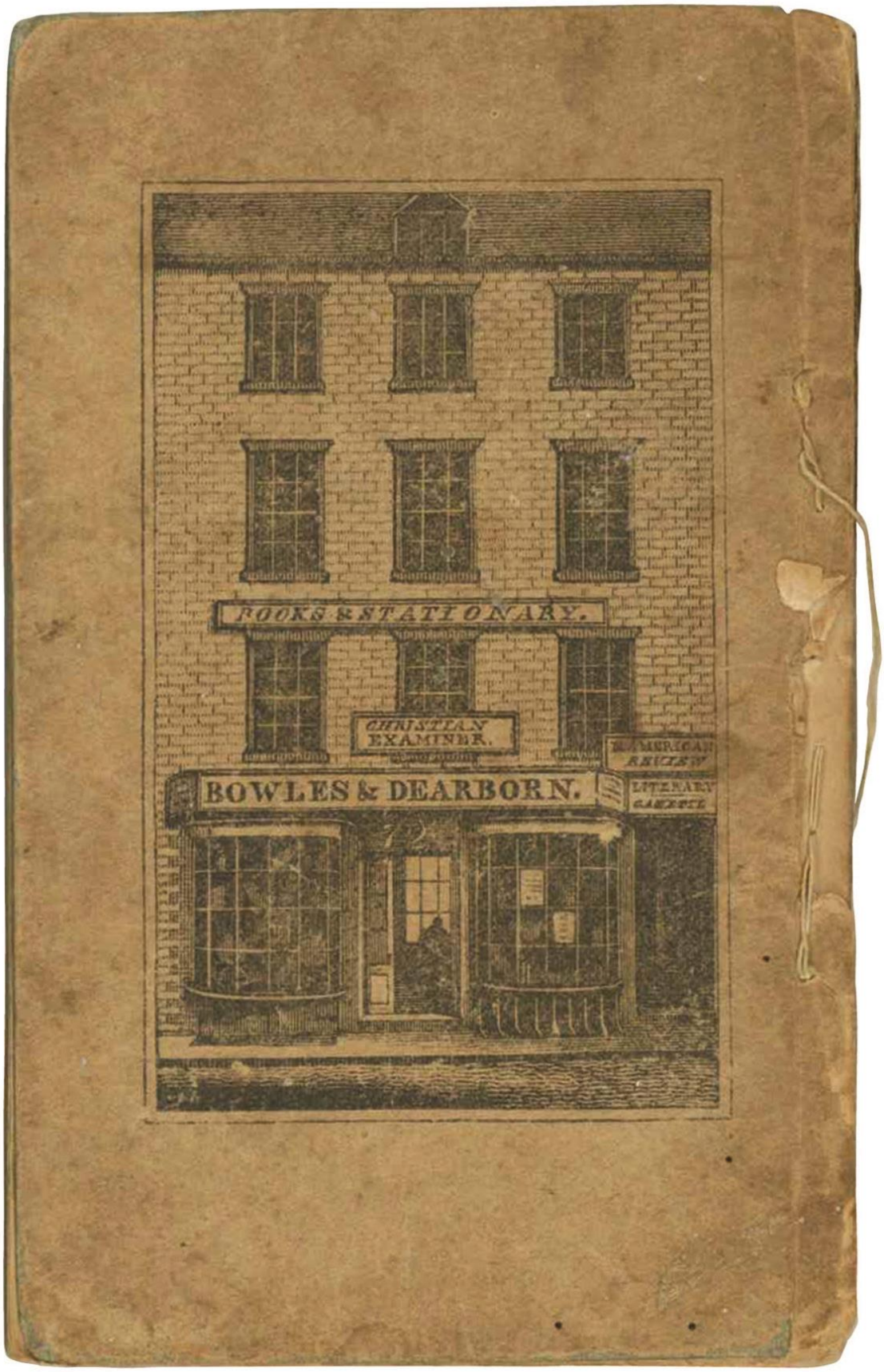
Isaac R. Butts & Co. Printers.

1827.

Price $11 per hund. $1,50 per dozen, and 17 cts. single.


BOOKS & STATIONARY.
CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.
BOWLES & DEARBORN.
72

Emily Parker closely tracks major events through the first three decades of Child's own life. Like Emily, whose mother died of consumption when she was ten, Child's mother died from the same illness in 1815, when Child was twelve. Both girls had strong and hardworking fathers who were emotionally distant and ill-prepared to raise a precocious daughter on their own. Child moved to Maine to live with her sister; Emily, whose story was set in Maine, went to live with the parents of her idealistic and industrious suitor. Both young women apprenticed as schoolteachers in Maine but left for Massachusetts when the opportunity arose. There they were taken into the world of Boston's intellectual elite, Emily through the widowed mother for whom she worked as a governess, Child through her Harvard-educated brother, Unitarian minister Convers Francis. But here their stories diverge. In 1828 Child married her idealistic young suitor, David Child, who had courted her for several years. Emily, however, rejected her first suitor in favor of an aristocratic rake, who all too soon turned his affections to other women and gambled away his fortune, leaving Emily bereft of both love and comfort. The moral of this didactic tale could not be clearer. And indeed, Child had counted among her suitors an aristocratic rake of her own, the flamboyant dandy Nathaniel Parker Willis. But as Carolyn Karcher asks of Child's purpose in *Emily Parker*, "Was she trying to convince herself that she had made the right choice?" (1994:84).

Only eight libraries hold copies of *Emily Parker*: UVA, Hofstra, AAS, Providence Public Library, Free Library of Philadelphia, Peabody Essex, UFlorida, and UWashington; there are no copies in either the Charvat Collection of American Literature at OSU or the Cairns Collection of American Women Writers at UWisconsin. In contrast, OCLC reports nearly 60 copies of Child's first novel, *Hobomok*, two copies of which have appeared at auction since 2010 ($3125 in 2011 and $5292 in 2023); a rebound example is currently available for $12,000. This is a superb copy of *Emily Parker*, in its original printed boards and featuring an illustration of the publisher's Boston bookshop on the rear board. **An extremely rare and personal work of autobiographical fiction by one of America's most important women authors of the 19th century**.

Relevant sources:

Karcher, Carolyn L.
1994 *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Kirk, Jeffrey
1975 Marriage, Career, and Feminine Ideology in Nineteenth-Century America: Reconstructing the Marital Experience of Lydia Maria Child, 1828-1874. *Feminist Studies* 2(2/3):113-130.

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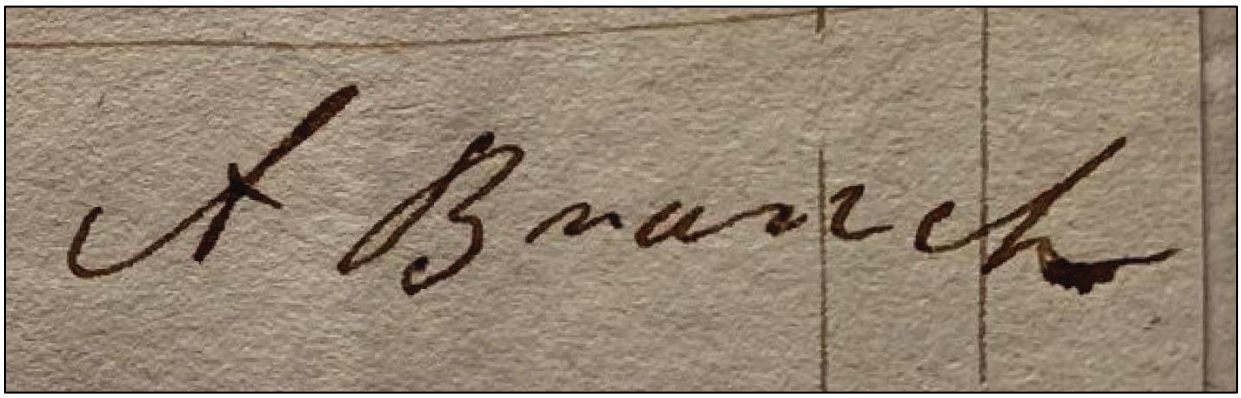
[American Fiction--Women Authors]. Lydia Maria Child. EMILY PARKER, OR IMPULSE, NOT PRINCIPLE. Bowles and Dearborn, 72 Washington Street, Boston, Isaac R. Butts & Co., Printers, 1827. 12mo (15 cm). 63 pp., frontis. Unidentified series statement "Vol. II, no. 1." on front board. Original printed boards, string binding loosening and light wear to spine, light scattered foxing. Very good [BAL 3091; not in Wright].

5. **SOLD**.

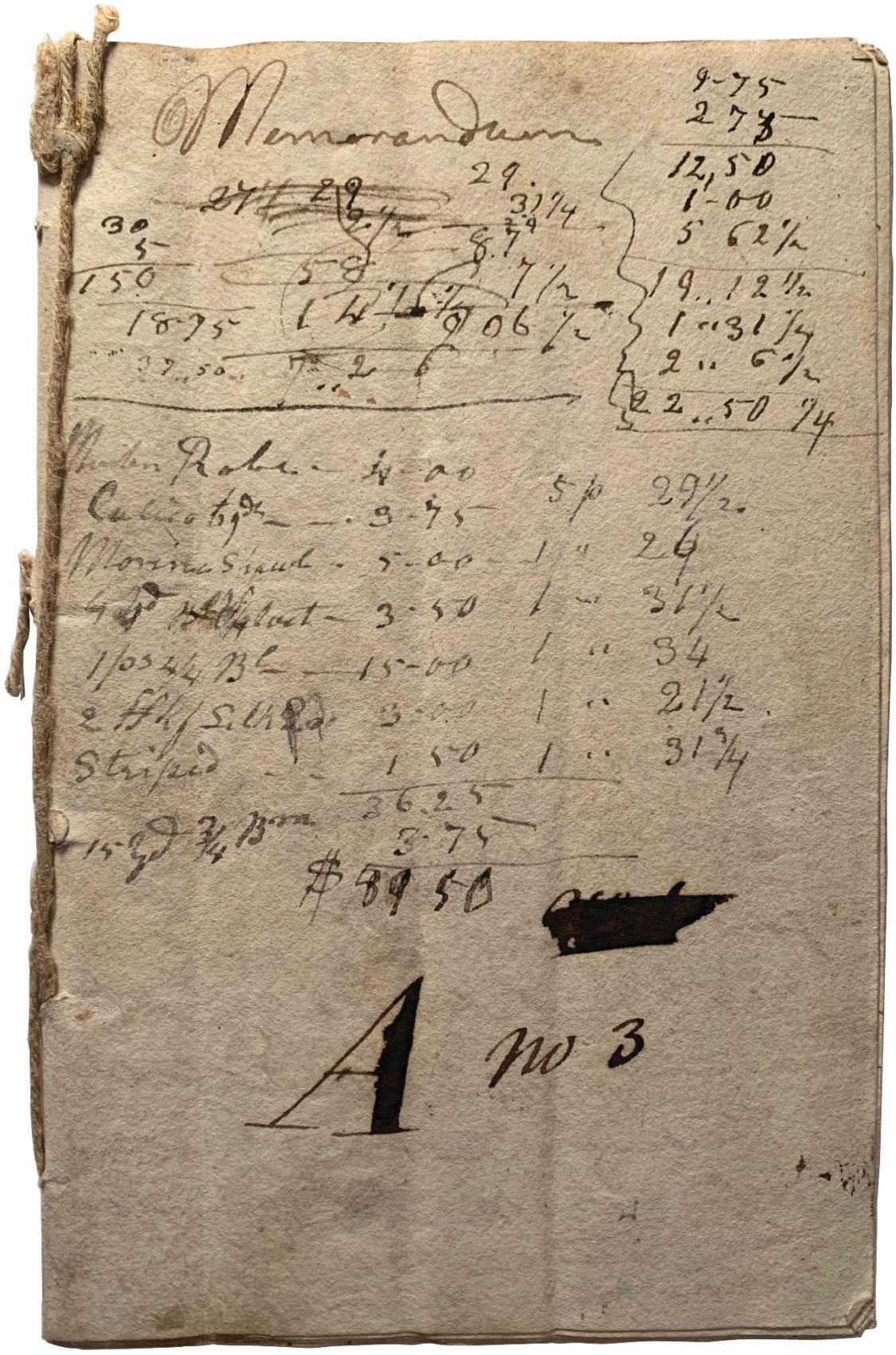
Taos Trader and Mountain Man Alexander Branch Keeps His Accounts

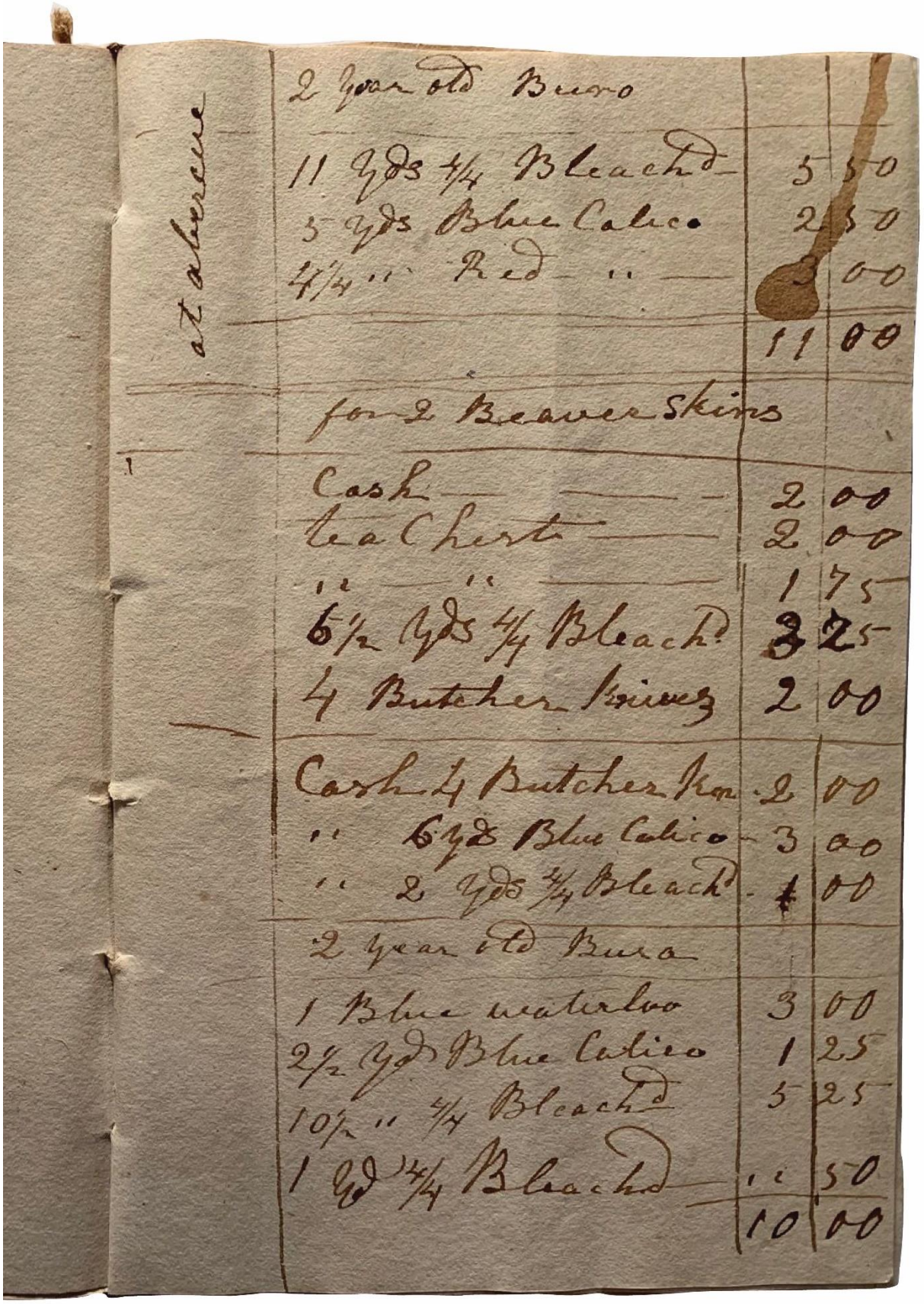
Among the most legendary figures in the history of the American West were the men who ranged the Rocky Mountains, from the Yellowstone to Santa Fe, during the early years of the fur trade. These so-called mountain men were legendary both because of their exploits and because of how few primary sources remain--or were ever created--to provide insights into the quotidian business of their everyday lives. Many were illiterate, or like Kit Carson learned only to sign their own names, while most of those who were able to read and write left little behind. Pen, paper, and ink, after all, were extravagances among such men. Thus the historical significance of this small manuscript, a handmade memorandum booklet or pocket ledger kept by mountain man, trader, and trapper Alexander K. Branch, recording business transactions in the neighborhood of Taos, New Mexico, from late July to early August 1828. In it, he tracks the sale of merchandise sold or traded in exchange for beaver pelts, items gifted to Native Americans, and livestock boarded or stolen. It contains, in sum, a microcosm of Branch's work as he prepared to shift his livelihood from trapper to merchant. **We have located practically no comparable manuscript material written by an American trapper and trader in New Mexico at such an early date**.



In his petition for Mexican citizenship dated December 10, 1829, after which time he would officially be known in New Mexico as José de Jesús Branche, Alexander K. Branch reported that he was born in Virginia in 1798 and came to New Mexico in 1825, settling in Taos. The beginning of a regular trade between Santa Fe and the Missouri River region had only begun about two years earlier, and a record compiled in Santa Fe in 1825 names just 52 Americans engaged in the trade there (Loyola 1939:43-45). Branch was likely the "Mr. Branch" who had participated in an 1824 expedition of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company that rediscovered South Pass, later to become the main route over the Continental Divide for immigrants along the Oregon, Mormon, and California trails. Branch was remembered for sighting down and shooting a mountain sheep from a vertical cliff above, providing a night of feasting for the party (Lecompte 1966:61).

About a year after arriving in Taos, where he claimed to be working as a merchant, Branch joined a trapping expedition led by William Sherley Williams and Ceran St. Vrain. This party was one of four American groups that would trap the Gila and Colorado rivers and their tributaries in the 1826-1827 season, the first major incursion by American trappers into what is now southern Arizona All such work by American mountain men was in direct violation of Mexican law, which


Memorandum
A No 3



at Clearance

2 Year old Buro

11 Yds 4/4 Bleach'd	5	50
3 Yds Blue Calico	2	50
4/4 " Red "	1	00
	11	00

for 2 Beaver Skins

Cash	2	00
Tea Chest	2	00
" "	1	75
6½ Yds 4/4 Bleach'd	3	25
4 Butcher Knives	2	00

Cash 4 Butcher Knives	2	00
" 6½ Yds Blue Calico	3	00
" 2 Yds 3/4 Bleach'd	1	00

2 Year old Buro

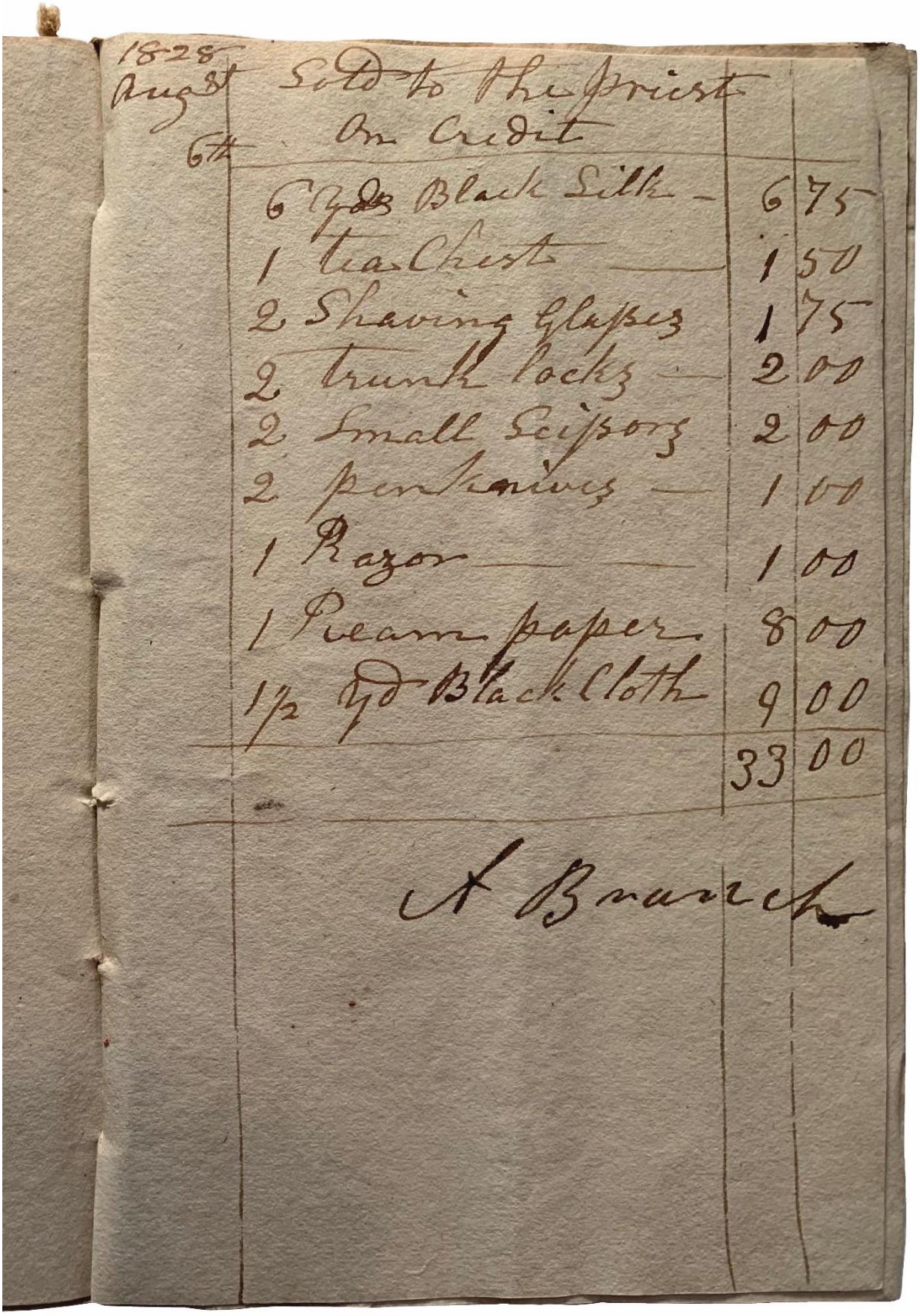
1 Blue waterloo	3	00
2½ Yds Blue Calico	1	25
10½ " 4/4 Bleach'd	5	25
1 Yd 3/4 Bleach'd	"	50
	10	00

prohibited non-citizens from procuring beaver. At some point during the season, Branch fell in with another party led by Ewing Young and William Wolfskill, and with Young was likely among the first group of Americans to explore the mouth of the Gila River (Weber 1971:122-125). Also among the party were such notables of the Rocky Mountain fur trade as Milton Sublette, Miguel Robidoux, Peg-leg Smith, and James O. Pattie. In the summer of 1827, Branch joined a trapping expedition organized by Sylvestre Pratt of St. Louis which went north from Taos to Park Kyack in the north-central Colorado Rockies. Pratt died in October, and the men elected St. Vrain, who was serving as clerk, to take the leader's role. They wintered on Wyoming's Green River and arrived back at Taos in May 1828 with nearly a thousand beaver skins.

Branch seems to have returned to Taos a changed man, or perhaps his proceeds from the expedition enabled him to make changes he was already contemplating. On June 8 he was baptized at Taos, taking the name José de Jesús Branche. Soon after he must have begun to engage actively in trading as a merchant. In her biography of Branch in Volume 4 of Hafen's *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (Branch is one of 292 men profiled in the 10-volume series), Janet Lecompte expresses doubt that Branch was truly working as a merchant before 1831, as he would assert in his petition for Mexican citizenship in 1829. She notes that on August 31, 1831, he was granted a *guia* to transport goods to Chihuahua and Sonora for Samuel Parkman: "From this time on, there are no more references to Branch as a beaver trapper, and we may assume that he finally became the merchant he claimed to have been some years before" (1966:65). Yet the handstitched memorandum booklet that we offer here clearly indicates that Branch was plying the trading circuit around Taos as early as July 1828, and given that he labeled it "Memorandum A No. 3," we can assume that there were two earlier records now lost. If these covered the same amount of time as No. 3, then we can place the beginning of Branch's work as a merchant to sometime in June, or just about the time he returned from Colorado and was baptized.

Memorandum A No. 3 consists of six leaves folded once and handstitched to make a 24 pp. booklet that measures 4 by 6 inches. Twelve of the pages have manuscript content in Branch's hand, while several pages near the end are unused (two leaves in this section are excised). Most of the ledger records Branch's mercantile transactions in Taos and neighboring communities such as Abiquiu, here spelled "Abercue" (65 miles southwest); El Rito, here spelled "The Rit" (55 miles west); and Rio Del Norte (15 miles north). Among the goods that Branch sold or traded at Abiquiu were several different kinds of cloth (11 yds of 3/4 bleached, 5 yds of blue calico, 4 1/4 yds of red calico). He seems to have exchanged these textiles, with a value of $11, along with a two-year old burro, for two beaver skins. Other sales recorded on this page, which may also have occurred at Abiquiu, include a tea chest ($2), four butcher knives ($2), and a variety of fabrics. Among other goods itemized in the ledger we find silk thread, velvet, snuff and snuff boxes, a trunk, a shaving glass, silk and muslin robes, and paper. Branch also sold and boarded livestock. He notes that he gave Indians three glasses, three knives and a fork, but writes as well that Indians took two of his mules; he briefly describes the animals, one of which was branded 7S.

One of the most interesting notes, perhaps made at El Rito, links several textiles--including four yards of red velvet--with the word "colchar." This is almost certainly a very early reference to the New Mexican folk tradition of *colcha* (from the Spanish word *acolchar,* to quilt), a kind of craft embroidery that originated in colonial New Mexico and southern Colorado. Today there is a resurgence of interest among New Mexican Hispanos in the maintenance and creative elaboration



1828
August 6th Sold to The Priest
On Credit

6 Yds Black Silk	6	75
1 tea Chest	1	50
2 Shaving Glasses	1	75
2 trunk locks	2	00
2 Small Scissors	2	00
2 penknives	1	00
1 Razor	1	00
1 Ream paper	8	00
1/2 Yd Black Cloth	9	00
	33	00

A Branch

of this art form, which has come to symbolize heritage and collective identity. Finally, one page of the ledger contains quite a substantial list of items sold to "the priest" on August 6 at either Taos or Abiquiu. With a total value of $33 (and given "on credit"), the list includes: "6 yds black silk; 1 tea chest; 2 shaving glasses; 2 trunk locks; 2 small scissors; 2 pen knives; 1 razor; 1 ream paper; and 1 1/2 yd black cloth." Whether the transaction was at Taos or Abiquiu, the priest with whom Branch extended such a generous line of credit was Padre Don Antonio José Martínez--the only ordained priest at either location in 1828. Born in Abiquiu in 1793 but raised in Taos, Martínez studied for several years at the Tridentine Seminary in Durango before being ordained a priest in 1823. He returned to pastor the Abiquiu parish in 1826 but also became parish priest at Taos later that same year. Padre Martínez, as he came to be known, would serve these communities until his death in 1867, in the process becoming one of the most influential men in all of 19th-century New Mexico, through its Spanish, Mexican, and American periods.

Branch himself would marry Maria Paula de Luna, daughter of an old and respected Taos family, on January 14, 1829. That December he submitted his naturalization papers for Mexican citizenship (the originals are held by the Huntington Library), which were approved before the end of the year. In September 1830 he again joined William Wolfskin on an expedition far to the west of New Mexico, this time to trap in the San Joaquin Valley; it was among the first American sallies into California. Wolfskin and several of the party chose to stay, but Branch returned to Taos. Soon he partnered with Stephen Lee of St. Louis, opening a store that was known for having one of the only plank floors in New Mexico, and over the next decade he became one of the most successful traders and merchants along the Santa Fe Trail. He died at Taos in 1841. **This manuscript is a remarkably early record of American commerce in the Old Southwest, and we locate nothing quite comparable in any institutional collections or in the history of the trade**.

Relevant sources:

Lecompte, Janet
1966 Alexander K. Branch. In *Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West*, Volume 4, edited by LeRoy R. Hafen, pp. 61-68. Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, CA.

Loyola, Mary
1939 The American Occupation of New Mexico, 1821-1852. *New Mexico Historical Review* 14(1):34-75.

Weber, David J.
1971 *The Taos Trappers: The Fur Trade in the Far Southwest*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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[New Mexico--Santa Fe Trail]. Alexander K. Branch. [MANUSCRIPT ACCOUNT BOOKLET TITLED "MEMORANDUM A NO. 3," KEPT BY NEW MEXICO TRADER, TRAPPER, AND MOUNTAIN MAN ALEXANDER K. BRANCH]. [Taos and neighboring communities in New Mexico, July-August, 1828]. 22 pp. (2 leaves excised), 6 x 4 in. (15 x 10 cm). Six leaves folded once and hand-stitched, light soiling and edgewear. Very good.

6. **SOLD**.

Extracts from Virginia's Slave Code: The Only Known Broadside Printing

In 1707, Virginia became the first British colony in North America to pass a comprehensive slave code, laws specifically intended to limit African social, economic, and political autonomy, as well as to control the growth of a free African population. Every other colony followed suit over the subsequent decades, and even after the American Revolution, when many middle and northern states began prohibiting the institution of slavery, most legislatures retained laws that significantly restricted the rights of free Black citizens. Through all of that time, and despite the fact of slavery's all-encompassing role in southern life, we have located essentially no surviving examples of such laws printed in a broadside format--suitable for public display--in a slave-holding state. This small broadside or handbill, titled "Extracts from the Laws of the State of Virginia, Relating to Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes," was published at Norfolk in 1831 or 1832. **It seems to be the only surviving example of its kind, a bibliographic mystery in need of explanation**. Why did printer Thomas Broughton create this document? Context, as they say, is everything. The second of the acts that Broughton reprinted here was passed by the state assembly in April 1831. Three months later, on August 21, Nat Turner unleashed the most shocking and consequential revolt by enslaved peoples ever undertaken on American soil, just fifty miles west of Norfolk.


FROM THE LAWS

OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Relating to Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes.

We will never know with any certainty what compelled Turner to launch the rebellion that bears his name today; only a single contemporary publication--the 1831 *Confessions* authored by Thomas Gray--purports to offer Turner's own perspective on those events, yet it was written by a white lawyer seeking to profit from his access to the doomed young man. What we do know is that Turner was born into slavery on October 2, 1800, and spent the entirety of his life within the bounds of Southampton County. He learned to read and write as a child and was said to have been very religious, showing great interest in the Bible and prayer. Some of the early accounts published immediately after his uprising report that Turner had been married about 1820, possibly to woman named Cherry. The couple may have had a child together, a son named Riddick, but the boy and his mother were sent to a neighboring plantation a short time later. It was during this time, when he was in his early twenties, that Turner began holding services for fellow slaves and experiencing spiritual visions. Other slaves came to call him the 'Prophet.' Sometime in early 1828, according to Gray's *Confessions*, Turner was at work in the fields when he experienced the vision that would eventually set him on a path to rebellion:

> I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit instantly appeared to me and said the Serpent was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first [Gray 1831:11].

EXTRACTS

FROM THE LAWS

OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA

Relating to Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes.

Page 426.—*Sec.* 19.—No person whatsoever shall buy, sell, or receive of, to, or from a slave any commodity whatsoever, without the leave or consent of the master, owner or overseer of such slave; and if any person shall presume to deal with any slave without such leave or consent, he or she, so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the master or owner of such slave four times the value of the thing so bought, sold, or received, to be recovered with cost, by action upon the case, in any court of record within this commonwealth; and shall also forfeit and pay the further sum of twenty dollars to any person who shall sue for the same; to be recovered with costs, by warrant, before a Justice of the Peace, in the same manner as other debts, not exceeding twenty dollars, or receive on his or her bare back, thirty-nine lashes, well laid on, at the public whipping-post; but shall, nevertheless, be liable to pay the costs of such warrant.

Sec. 20.—Any person, who shall, on the Sabbath-day, buy, sell, or receive of, to, or from a slave, any commodity whatsoever, without the leave or consent of the master or overseer of such slave, given in writing, or shall buy, sell, or receive of, to, or from any free negro, or mulatto, any commodity whatsoever, on the day aforesaid, shall, in addition to the penalties aforesaid, forfeit and pay the sum of ten dollars, to be recovered by warrant, from any magistrate of the county or corporation, by any person who will prosecute for the same.

ACTS OF 1831.

Page 130.—*Sec.* 2.—If any person who shall purchase or receive of or from a slave, corn, wheat, tobacco, flour, fodder, plaster of paris, coal, hay, meal, bacon, rye, oats, barley, palma christi bean, flax and flaxseed, wool or cotton, or other article or commodity, of the property of his or her master or employer, without the consent of his or her master, mistress, owner or overseer or agent of either, shall upon conviction be amerced by a jury in a sum not less than ten dollars, nor more than fifty dollars, and be imprisoned, (if in the opinion of the court it shall be necessary,) not less than one, nor more than six months.

Broughton . Printer.

For three years he waited. In February 1831, after viewing a solar eclipse, he finally began to lay the groundwork for an assault, drawing a few trusted co-conspirators into his plans. At first they timed the uprising for Independence Day, July 4, but when Turner fell ill he postponed the date and awaited another sign. Then on August 13, the appearance of another solar anomaly that turned the sun a bluish-green color convinced him that the moment was at hand. A week later, in the early morning hours of August 21, Nat Turner and a small group of rebels struck at the white families of Southampton. Over the next day, the size of his force would increase to as many as 70 men--both free and enslaved, many on horseback--and by the evening of the 22nd, no fewer than 57 whites--men, women, and children--lay stabbed, clubbed, or shot to death in their homes or in the surrounding fields. It was the largest such toll in American history.

And then it was over. By midday on August 23rd, little more than a day and a half after it began, Turner's revolt was all but shattered, his men repulsed and scattered by white militia. Most were captured over the next few days, though Turner himself managed to remain at large for nearly two months, hiding in the woods of Southampton not far from the scene of his revolt. Retribution was swift, for guilty and innocent alike. In the weeks to come, whites indiscriminately killed or tortured dozens, if not hundreds, of free and enslaved Blacks across eastern Virginia and even into neighboring states. After Virginia state militia leaders ordered an end to such violence, largely to protect the "property" of white slaveowners, most of the co-conspirators--56 people, including a woman named Lucy--were tried, convicted, and hung in Southampton County. Turner was finally captured on October 30, and after trial and conviction was hung on November 11.

Norfolk, the nearest metropolitan center to Southampton County, had not received word of the revolt until early afternoon on August 24. Although the insurrection was all but over by that point, news on the 24th was only that Blacks in Southampton were indiscriminately killing their white enslavers. With free and enslaved Blacks making up 2/5 of the city's population, its white residents expected the hammer to fall on Norfolk at any moment. It took days for whites to realize that Black residents had been as surprised at the events as they. Yet here and throughout the state there was an immediate crackdown on the rights of both free Blacks and the enslaved, making it illegal to teach slaves to read and write, curtailing freedom of movement, and denying both slaves and free Blacks the right to conduct religious exercises. Likewise, the distribution of abolitionist literature was curtailed in the city, which was still arresting suspected abolitionists as late as the summer of 1835. In the months that followed Turner's revolt, more than two thousand Virginians signed petitions urging the General Assembly to address the issue of slavery, advocating positions that ranged from colonization and removal of free Blacks to full emancipation for the enslaved. In January 1832, the House of Delegates held an open debate on slavery, but it ended soon after in deference to the status quo. Over time, sentiment in Virgina and across the South hardened against any form of abolition, associating the movement with northern agitation.

Such, then, is the context in which Thomas Broughton--editor and publisher of the *Norfolk and Portsmouth Herald* newspaper from 1819 to 1861--printed this broadside or handbill, perhaps the only surviving example of its kind. It reprints two laws from Virginia's pre-revolt slave code that put significant constraints both on economic interactions between whites and free or enslaved Blacks and on the ability of enslaved workers to earn personal funds. The first of these laws, "Page 426.--*Sec*. 19," is nearly identical in language to laws found in multiple versions of Virginia's slave code dating back to 1705. The second law, "Page 30.--*Sec*. 2," is specifically extracted from

Ca. 1831-1832 Norfolk broadside; Thomas Broughton, printer

January 1836 Portsmouth broadside; T. J. Bland, printer

acts passed by the state legislature in April 1831. We suspect that the broadside was likely issued prior to the debates held by the General Assembly in January 1832. Certainly it was issued in the period of the insurrection and its immediate aftermath: the typeface is identical to that used in a January 1836 broadside--issued by a different printer--for the Portsmouth-Roanoke Railroad that we offered in our Catalogue 3 (Portsmouth is directly across the James from Norfolk). Yet even with such knowledge of its context, we are still uncertain as to Broughton's motive in publishing the broadside. Was it meant to be posted in public places or businesses such as stores and markets where whites interacted regularly with free and enslaved Blacks? Was it intended as a warning to white residents? To free Blacks? To both? We locate no other copies, and the only other example we can trace of slave codes issued in broadside format is a 1731 example, "A Law for Regulating Negroes and Slaves in the Night Time," printed by William Bradford of New York City. **A rare and enigmatic testament to race relations in Virginia after Nat Turner's revolt**.

Relevant sources:

Breen, Patrick H.
2015 *The Land Shall be Deluged in Blood: A New History of the Nat Turner Revolt*. Oxford University Press, New York.
Gray, Thomas R.
1832 *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, VA.* Published by Thomas R. Gray, Printed by T. W. White, Printer, Richmond, VA.
Parramour, Thomas C.
1994 *Norfolk: The First Four Centuries*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottsville.
Schwarz, Philip J.
1994 *Slave Laws in Virginia*. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

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[Virginia--Slave Codes]. EXTRACTS FROM THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA RELATING TO SLAVES, FREE NEGROES, AND MULATTOES...[caption title]. [N.p., n.d., but Norfolk, Virginia, probably 1831 or 1832]. Broughton, Printer. Broadside. 9 x 5 3/4 in. (23 x 14.5 cm). Decorative frame around the text. Old folds and soiling, edge wear, small pinhole in centerfold costing two letters. Overall about very good.

7. **SOLD**.

A Year in Detroit: William Warrant's 1833-1834 Manuscript Diary

Detroit was on the brink of a boom in 1830. Although founded in 1701 near the shore of Lake Erie by French explorer and opportunist Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, it was not formally incorporated as a city until a century later in 1815, ten years after Michigan was established as a U. S. territory and a disastrous fire razed most of the city to the ground. But Detroit rose from the ashes, especially after the Erie Canal was finished in 1825, dramatically improving the transport of people and goods from neighboring New York. The city's population quadrupled from 1830 to 1840, expanding from little more than 2000 people to more than 9000 by decade's end. The wider region witnessed even more impressive growth, as Michigan Territory exploded from about 31,000 white residents in 1830 to more than 200,000 by 1840. Over the course of the decade, the territory led the nation in land sales, and in 1836 fully 20 percent of all federal lands sold were located in Michigan. Detroit prospered tremendously from all of this activity. That year ninety steamboats and far more sailing ships docked along its waterfront, and nine hotels served the tens of thousands of people who passed through on their way to the West. Among the many who chose to stay were William C. Warrant, who came to Detroit from Rochester, New York. **His diary, a 30,000-word record of daily life from 1833 to 1834, is one of the only surviving accounts composed by a resident during this decade that saw Detroit turn from town to city**.

Warrant was 20 years old and living in Rochester when he commenced his "Register for the Year 1833." Census data indicate that he was born in England in 1812, and an early entry in the diary suggests that he likely came to America from Great Yarmouth in Norfolk. It is unclear when he immigrated to the United States, but his parents, brother and sister-in-law, and uncle also resided in Rochester at the time of his writing. Warrant worked long hours--usually as least twelve a day, six days a week--in the shop of a "Mr. Starr," almost certainly the furniture wholesaler and cabinet maker Frederick Starr, who had opened his store in 1822 and was soon employing as many as fifty workmen (a Michigan business directory for 1863 would record Warrant's trade as cabinet

June. D.

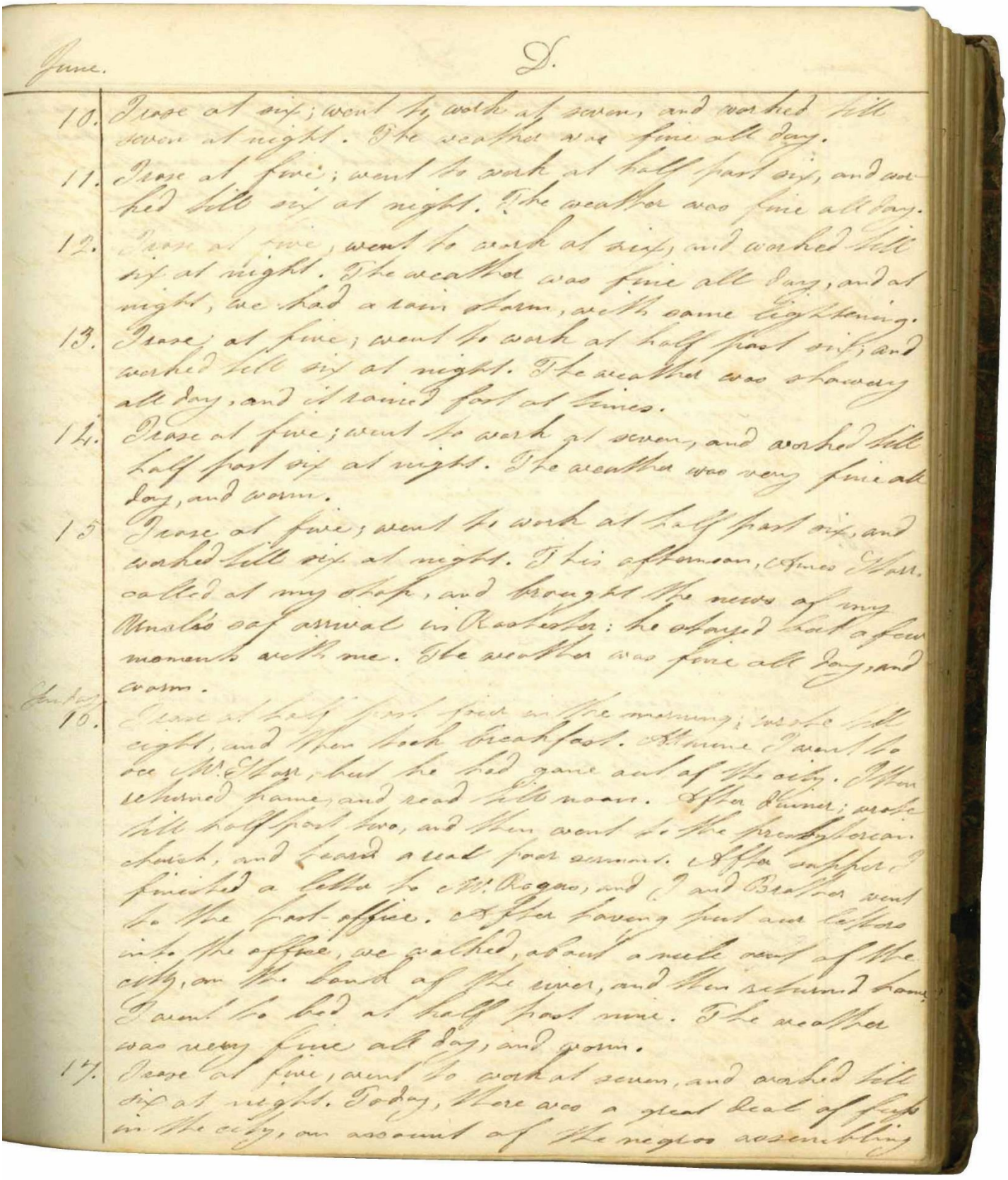
cashed up to my shop. In the forenoon I unpacked my chest, and arranged my books, and bench. I worked till half past six, and took supper at seven, and at eight went to bed. The weather was very fine all day, and warm. I felt very well all day. After I went to bed it was so hot, that I could sleep very little all night.

6th. I rose at a quarter past five; took breakfast at seven, and went to work at half past. I felt perfectly well this morning, except a little pain in my bowels; I worked till half past six at night. I took supper at seven, and then walked out with Brother and Sister, who had come to town about two o'clock this afternoon. I went to bed at nine. The weather today was very dark, and rained all day.

7th. Rose at five in the morning; went to work at half past six, and worked till half past six at night. The weather was pretty fine all day. I went to bed at nine.

8th. I rose at six in the morning; went to work at half past, and worked till five in the afternoon. Then went and helped Brother to move his things into his house, and to unpack some of them. I went to bed at nine, at my Brothers house. The weather was very fine all day, and warm.

Sunday 9th. I rose at six, and went to the tavern to breakfast. Then came home again, and helped to arrange matters at the house. After noon, I cleaned my self, and I and Brother, walked out a mile or two. I took supper at six in the evening, and settled for my boarding at the tavern. I paid $3.75 for boarding 1 week and half. The weather was very fine all day, and warm.



June. 1849.

10. Rose at six; went to work at seven, and worked till seven at night. The weather was fine all day.

11. Rose at five; went to work at half past six, and worked till six at night. The weather was fine all day.

12. Rose at five, went to work at six, and worked till six at night. The weather was fine all day, and at night, we had a rain storm, with some lightening.

13. Rose at five; went to work at half past six, and worked till six at night. The weather was showery all day, and it rained fast at times.

14. Rose at five; went to work at seven, and worked till half past six at night. The weather was very fine all day, and warm.

15. Rose at five; went to work at half past six, and worked till six at night. This afternoon, Amos Hall called at my shop, and brought the news of my Uncle's safe arrival in Rochester: he stayed but a few moments with me. The weather was fine all day, and warm.

Sunday 16. Rose at half past four in the morning; worked till eight, and then took breakfast. At home I went to see Mr. Starr, but he had gone out of the city. Returned home, and read till noon. After dinner, wrote till half past two, and then went to the Presbyterian church, and heard a real poor sermon. After supper, I finished a letter to C.W. Rogers, and I and Brother went to the post-office. After having put our letters into the office, we walked about a mile out of the city, on the bank of the river, and then returned home. I went to bed at half past nine. The weather was very fine all day, and warm.

17. Rose at five, went to work at seven, and worked till six at night. Today, there was a great deal of fuss in the city, on account of the negros assembling

maker). Most of his Rochester diary entries record when he rose in the morning (usually between 5:00 and 6:00), his reading and writing activities, the hours he spent at work, and the weather. He also documents his frequent visits to churches and the preachers who spoke there, as well as leisure pursuits such as sleigh riding with friends and earning membership in a local debating society. He studied grammar, subscribed to New York's *Old Countryman* newspaper (carrying the latest news from Great Britain), and acquired books as he was able. On January 5, for example, he purchased "an American Dictionary of the English Language; in royal octavo form, abridged from the quarto edition, of Noah Webster's Dictionary," as well as "Doctor Jonson's Rambles, in four Duodecimo volumes." He records that "for the former I gave five dollars and seventy five cents; and for the latter one dollar seventy five cents."

On January 7, Warrant received a letter from fellow English immigrant Jabez Brown, then living in Oakland County, Michigan. He responded two weeks later, and although he makes no further notice of the correspondence, it may have put things in motion for Warrant's own migration to the west later that spring. Several weeks after turning 21 on March 9, Warrant worked his last day in Starr's furniture shop on May 1 and began to prepare for his move. The next day, "In the afternoon I went to the shop and packed up my tools and took my chest away. At six I went and settled with Mr. Starr and staid and talked with him till nine at night." On Monday, May, 6, "At ten o'clock eve, we, myself, Brother and Sister, and Uncle, took leave of our relations and friends and left Rochester for Michigan. I took with me my tool-chest with all my tools and books; and a handful of cloaths, and 25 dollars in cash [he had earlier deposited $100 in the Rochester Bank and taken a check "on the Bank of Michigan at Detroit"]. Traveling aboard the *Poland* along the Erie Canal, they passed through the village of Spencer's Basin (now Spencerport), Brockport ("a very considerable place" with "three churches, one very fine street with some good brick stores in it"), Albion, Medina ("it stands on a hill, and has a very fine view of the country all around. There is a fine street and some pretty girls, which made up for all deficiencies"), and arrived at Lockport on the evening of May 7. Warrant was quite interested in the canal locks there and describes them in a bit of detail. Reaching Buffalo on the following day ("a place of great business. Steamboats start every morning for Detroit, and call at places all the way"), they purchased berths aboard the steamboat *Henry Clay*, which he observes was "one of the finest boats on the lake." Warrant also bought a book, Boyer's French Dictionary, "gave $3.75 for it."

Departing from Buffalo on May 9 aboard the *Henry Clay* ("a large packet: her engine is of 60 horse -power"), they passed by Dunkirk and put in briefly at Erie, Pennsylvania, before arriving at Cleveland the next morning. From there they went on to Sandusky ("We went ashore and drank some good beer and ate game pies"), and when fog rolled in later that evening the captain dropped anchor for the night. They reached Detroit in a dense fog the next morning, May 11, so thick that it "prevented us seeing the banks of the river till we had got some way up the river. We went in by soundings." At about 11:00 that morning they finally docked in Detroit and "put up at Howard's Tavern." After warehousing most of their belongings, "At two o'clock we started in a stage on the Pontiac Road to Fuller's Tavern where we arrived at seven and stayed the night. The distance is 18 miles....The land is very poor, an[d] this road, very poor and marshey." This was likely near modern Southfield. Warrant rose early and took breakfast, then at 7:00 he and his family started in "Mr. Fuller's waggan to Mr. Brown's" in Novi, about a six-hour ride. "Mr. Brown" is certainly Benjamin Brown, an Englishman who had emigrated with his wife and children from Yarmouth to Rochester in 1827; they had moved again to Novi, where they were among the town's pioneering

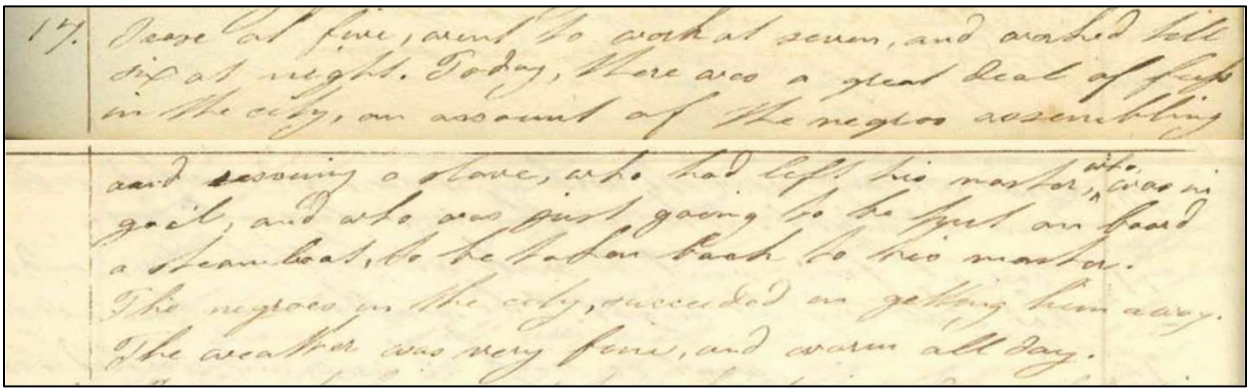
settlers, in 1832. He was probably the father of the aforementioned Jabez Brown who wrote to Warrant in January. Warrant observes that they "found the family all well," a clear indication that they were all well known to each other, either from Yarmouth or Rochester.

Early on May 14, Warrant, his brother, his uncle, and Jabez Brown left the Brown's farm on foot for Ann Arbor. At first they "walked through 5 miles of thick woods; very much broken with swamps and marshes. We then came to a good road. At noon we got to Plymouth Corners in Wayne County: this is a little village 15 miles east of Ann-Arbour." Warrant was enthusiastic about the land, "lumbered with beach; maple; oak; black walnut, and several others. There are a great many settlements, all the way." Striking out on foot again from Plymouth at two o'clock the next afternoon, they arrived in Ann Arbor at eight, staying in the home of "W. Page" (Rev. William Page, minister of the town's first Presbyterian church). Ann Arbor was "a very pretty place, and improving fast. There are two villages the upper and lower, the upper one being the principle seat of business. They are about half a mile apart." They departed from Ann Arbor by ten o'clock and travelled west along the Territorial Road, on foot or by wagon, through a place called "Bingham's Settlement" toward "Jackson-burgh" (modern Jackson), which they reached at sundown on May 16. Warrant observes: "There is a river runs through Jackson-burgh, called Grand River: it is not more than two or three rods wide at the village. This is a very small village with two taverns; one saw mill, several stores, and about 40 or 50 houses."

For the rest of the month, Warrant and his companions continued to explore southeastern Michigan: crossing Calhoun County, and visiting Marshall, along the Kalamazoo River; coming into Kalamazoo County and finding Gull Prairie ("It contains about 5000 acres of land, all covered with grass, and as level as a bowling-green, with no so much as a shrub upon it. It is surrounded with handsome woods of fine timber"); viewing Gun Prairie in Allegan County and fording Gun River ("We took off our shoes, and socks, and turned our pantaloons up, so that we did not get wet but got through well"). Near what is now the town of Otsego they stayed with fellow Rochester native and Allegan County pioneer Eber Sherwood, who had recently built a farm there. He and Sherwood rode out on "Indian ponies" to see land along the Kalamazoo River, where he notes that they "saw several Indians, in their canoes, fishing: they catch the fish with wonderful dexterity, by means of a spear, which works as a setting pole as well. We also heard them playing upon one of their instruments, it sounds like a flute." Here the party turned south and traveled by wagon about fifty miles to visit the land office at White Pigeon, then turned east for their return to Detroit. They traveled for part of this way "upon the Chicago-turnpike: a new turnpike cutting from Detroit to the above mentioned place. It was not finished when we were there." Near modern Bronson they bought seats on a stage that would take them to Clinton, about fifty miles away. At Clinton they took another stage that took them through Saline, Ann Arbor, and Plymouth, and Novi. Warrant took ill at Fuller's Tavern, but returned to Detroit by stage on May 30.

Warrant's description of his tour across southern Michigan is likely among the best and most detailed unpublished accounts of its time. Yet much of the rest of the diary documents his daily life as a new resident of Detroit. Immediately upon his arrival, Warrant "went to two or three cabinet shops, and got the promise of work at Mr. Mason's;" a day later, they found work for his brother, Thomas, at "Mr. Henry's" (he never states his brother's trade). They found "a very pleasantly situated house on Jefferson's Avenue about half a mile north of Madison's Avenue; it was not quite finished, but was to be finished in a week or two." On June 3, the brothers met with

John Sheldon, register of the land office, and gave payment for three lots of land that they had seen in Allegan County (they had sought to do so in White Pigeon, but had learned on their arrival that Sheldon was in Detroit). While his brother went back to the Brown family's farm in Novi to bring his wife home, Warrant "went to the warehouse, and got my chest carted up to my shop [i.e., at Mason's cabinet shop]. I unpacked my chest, and arranged my tools, and bench." Soon his brother and sister-in-law returned, and they all moved into the new house. By Monday, June 10, Warrant was steadily working 12-hour days at Mason's shop.

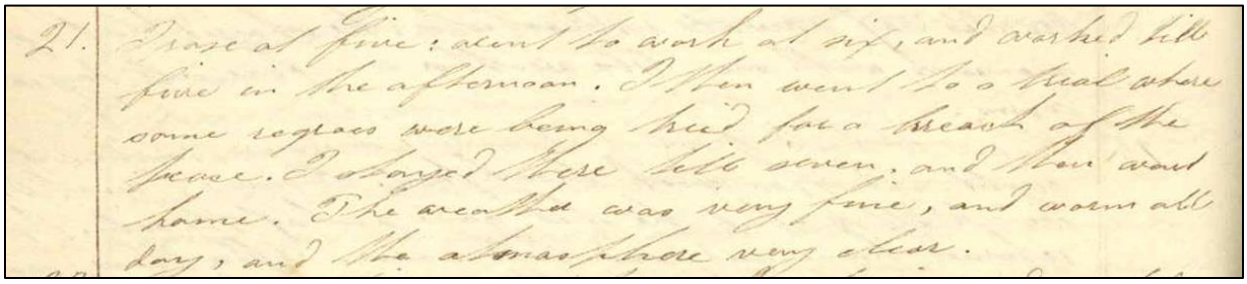

17. Rose at five, went to work at seven, and worked till six at night. Today, there was a great deal of fuss in the city, on account of the negroes assembling and rescuing a slave, who had left his master, who was in gaol, and who was just going to be put on board a steamboat, to be taken back to his master. The negroes in the city, succeeded in getting him away. The weather was very fine, and warm all day.

One week later, his entry for June 17 gave brief notice to one of the most significant events in Detroit's early history. Almost exactly two years earlier, on July 3, 1831, an enslaved African American couple named Thornton and Rutha Blackburn had made a daring escape from Louisville, Kentucky, dressing in fine clothing and carrying forged documents identifying them as free. They crossed the Ohio and began to build a new life together in Detroit. But Thornton was recognized on the street by a white acquaintance of their former enslavers, who reported them on his return to Louisville. The enslavers demanded that Detroit's sheriff, John Wilson, apprehend the fugitives until their status could be determined in court. On Saturday, June 15, the Blackburns were unable to produce papers attesting to their status as free people of color, so they were jailed in separate cells and condemned to return to their bondage in Kentucky. On Sunday evening, two of Rutha's friends, Caroline French and Tabitha Lightfoot, came to visit her in jail. After spending several hours together, French changed clothes with Rutha, who walked out with Lightfoot. Rutha was whisked across the Detroit River to safety in Canada, and despite threats that French would be forced to take Rutha's place in Kentucky, she too was released later that day. On Monday, as many as 400 armed African Americans gathered outside the jail to protest Thornton Blackburn's impending return to slavery. Warrant writes in his diary:

> 17. I rose at five, went to work at seven, and worked till six at night. Today, there was a great deal of fuss in the city, on account of the negroes assembling and rescuing a slave, who had left his master, who was in jail, and who was just going to be put on a steamboat, to be taken back to his master. The negroes in the city succeeded in getting him away.

Indeed, when Blackburn was taken from the jail in shackles--a coach for conveying him to the boat awaiting nearby--the bristling crowd erupted. Sheriff Wilson was seriously injured in the melee that followed, and during the confusion Thornton was lifted into a wagon and carried across the river to freedom. The Blackburns were briefly held in custody together while Upper Canada's

lieutenant governor considered Michigan's demand that he extradite the two fugitives at once. But since escaping from slavery was not against Canadian law, the lieutenant governor declined. The Blackburns would eventually settle in Toronto. Back In Detroit, white residents were enraged by the rescue effort and began assaulting Black men and women in the streets. Over the next several days they burned more than 40 buildings belonging to their African American neighbors, yet only these Black residents were held accountable for the violence. Warrant writes on June 21:



21. I rose at 5: went to work at six, and worked till five in the afternoon. I then went to a trial where some negroes were being tried for a breach of the peace. I stayed there till seven, and then went home.

These were the first race riots in the city's history, and we know of no other Detroit diary or personal narrative that makes reference to this tumultuous event.

Shortly after, on July 4, Warrant witnessed another notable event, the arrival of Sauk war leader Black Hawk in Detroit, on his return to the west following a year-long imprisonment. In May 1832 Black Hawk had led the uprising that bears his name, a failed effort to reclaim land in Illinois taken from his people in a disputed treaty three decades earlier. After his defeat, the Sauk leader had been imprisoned with several of his close allies in Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, before being transferred to Fort Monroe, Virginia. They were released in early June 1833, but were forced to make a tour of eastern cities on their journey home in order to demonstrate the size and power of the United States. On July 4 they reached Detroit. Warrant writes:

4. I rose at six in the morning and took breakfast at seven. After breakfast I changed myself, and at ten went to the council house, and heard the declaration of independence read, and an oration delivered. We took dinner at two, and then went out again, and saw Black Hawk, and five other Indians, who were on their way home from Washington.

Through the rest of the summer and fall, Warrant settled into a routine of rising early and working late during the week (always recording the day's weather), entertaining a regular stream of visitors from Rochester, and sometimes admiring steamboats docked along the waterfront. On Sundays he attended sermons at several different churches--most often at the Baptist or Episcopal church--and usually recorded the names of the preachers; he dined with his brother, went for long walks around town, wrote to friends and family, and read. On October 23 he left Mason's cabinet shop, which had suffered a fire on October 5 that nearly consumed the building and all of Warrant's tools along with it, moving instead to the shop of a "Mr. Wright." Om November 13 he observed the Leonid meteor shower, writing that: "This morning there was a very curious appearance in the

heavens. As soon as I arose I saw a vast number of meteors, flying in all directions. Some looked much brighter than others, and some left a trail of fire behind them. They flew so thick that twenty could be seen in a minute of time."

By the spring of 1834, Warrant was planning a return to New York. On Friday, May 9, he worked in the morning but spent all afternoon "making arrangements to go down the lake." And on Saturday, he packed his things and with his brother and sister-in-law "started in the *Henry Clay* for Buffalo." Near Cleveland they "saw a great many large flocks of [passenger] pigeons, with two or three thousands in a flock." They arrived at Buffalo on May 12 but left the same day, bound for Rochester, which they reached the next day. Warrant spent nearly two weeks visiting with his family and friends before departing again with his brother and sister-in-law on May 27. After just three days of travel, they arrived in Detroit on board the *Daniel Webster* on May 29. Although Warrant resumed his work in the cabinet shop of Mr. Wright, his brother was unable to find work in the city and left by steamboat in early June. On July 4, he heard a speech delivered at the capitol by Rev. J. P. Cleveland, which was followed by "other exercises; such as reading the 'declaration of independence,' singing, and so forth: in all pretty entertaining." Then he "went to Woodworth's tavern and dined with about 150 of the citizens of Detroit. After dinner a number of toasts were drunk, and we enjoyed ourselves pretty well. I walked about the city, till nine at night." On July 7 he left his work early "on account of the burial of the governor [George Bryan Porter]. He was buried in great style: and the procession was very long." Porter's unexpected death at the age of just 43 is generally attributed to Asiatic cholera, a scourge that had hit Detroit hard in 1832 and would prove even more deadly in this summer of 1834, when Warrant records temperatures in the city hitting above 90 in July. Porter was likely among the first of its victims.

Warrant makes no note of cholera. Indeed, the next day he took a "pleasant excursion, on board of the General Foster, a very fine steam-boat. We went up the river into Lake St. Claire. I enjoyed myself well." On July 23, however, he began to feel ill (throughout the diary he regularly complained of not feeling well), and gave his notice to Mr. Wright a day later. His illness required several trips to the doctor, but when his condition improved he boarded the steam packet *Michigan* and left Detroit for Buffalo, arriving on July 31. He found work at the shop of Daniel Shaw and began work on August 8. A day later, he reports the first news of pestilence: "Today it was reported that the cholera was in the city, but the papers had not taken any notice of it yet." By the end of August, Buffalo's mayor would be among its victims. More than 300 would perish in Detroit. On August 13, Warrant gave his notice at Shaw's cabinet shop and left Buffalo for Rochester the next day. This portion of the diary--107 manuscript pages and nearly 30,000 words--concludes with Warrant waiting to hear from Mr. Starr about returning to his Rochester cabinet shop.

The next part of Warrant's diary--25 pages composed in 1839 and 1845--finds him married and returned to Michigan, living as a farmer at Plainfield along the Grand River 10 miles north of Grand Rapids. Thomas and their uncle both resided nearby. These diary entries reflect his farming life, outdoors tending to fields and crops in spring and summer, in the shop sawing wood for fence posts in winter. Warrant regularly attended meetings in Otsego, 45 miles south of Plainfield, and by 1850 he and Thomas had made their way back to nearby Gun Plain, where they had visited with Eber Sherwood and claimed three lots of land in 1833. The brothers would spend the rest of their lives as residents of Gun Plain Township: Thomas died in 1876 at the age of 69, and William died at the age of 70 in 1882. They share the same plot at Woodside Cemetery.

Unpublished, pre-1840 accounts of travel in southern Michigan are quite scarce. We trace only a handful in institutional collections and none in the trade**. But diaries documenting life in the city of Detroit during this same period are all but unknown; we locate only the diary of William King--with entries from January 1 to September 19, 1832--held by the Detroit Public Library**. The 14 months from June 1833 through July 1834 were an eventful time in Detroit, and William Warrant's diary notes many of these episodes, from the Blackburn race riots to the visit by Black Hawk to the wave of epidemic cholera. He even saw a meteor shower. But the sum of his mundane, quotidian entries are important, too: the hours he worked; the weather; the books and papers he read and the letters he wrote; the steamboats that came and went; the preachers he heard and the churches he attended; the people he visited and those who visited him. Cumulatively, this is a hitherto unknown record of everyday life in one of America's most iconic cities, in the midst of its first population boom along the nation's far northwestern frontier.

Relevant sources:

Body, Herb
2017 *Black Detroit:* A *People's History of Self-Determination*. Amistad/HarperCollins Publishers.

Kickert, Conrad
2019 *Dream City: Creation, Destruction, and Reinvention in Downtown Detroit*. MIT Press, Cambridge.

Farmer, Silas
1884 *The History of Detroit and Michigan, or, The Metropolis Illustrated: Chronological Cyclopedia of the Past and Present: including a full record of territorial days in Michigan and the annals of Wayne County*. S. Farmer & Co., Detroit.

Landon, Fred
1935 Extracts from the Diary of William C. King, a Detroit Carpenter , in 1832. *Michigan History Magazine* 19(2):65-70.

Lewis, Kenneth E.
2002 *West to Far Michigan: Settling the Lower Peninsula, 1815-1860*. Michigan State University Press, Lansing.

Thomas, June Manning and Henco Bekkering
2015 *Mapping Detroit: Land, Community, and Shaping a City*. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.

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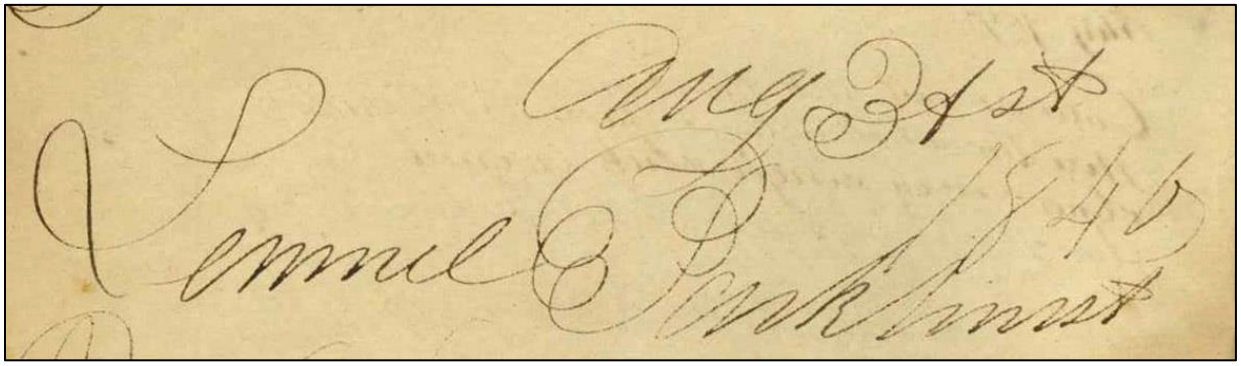
[Westward Migration--Detroit and Michigan]. William C. Warrant. [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF WILLIAM C. WARRANT, DOCUMENTING HIS TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN MICHIGAN AND YEAR-LONG RESIDENCY IN DETROIT]. [Rochester, New York, southern Michigan, and Detroit. January 1833-August 1834]. Squarish 8vo (20.5 cm). Approximately 136 manuscript pp. in Warrant's hand, about 35,000 words. Leather spine with marbled boards; spine scuffed, light edge and corner wear, one early gathering loose, light foxing. Very good.

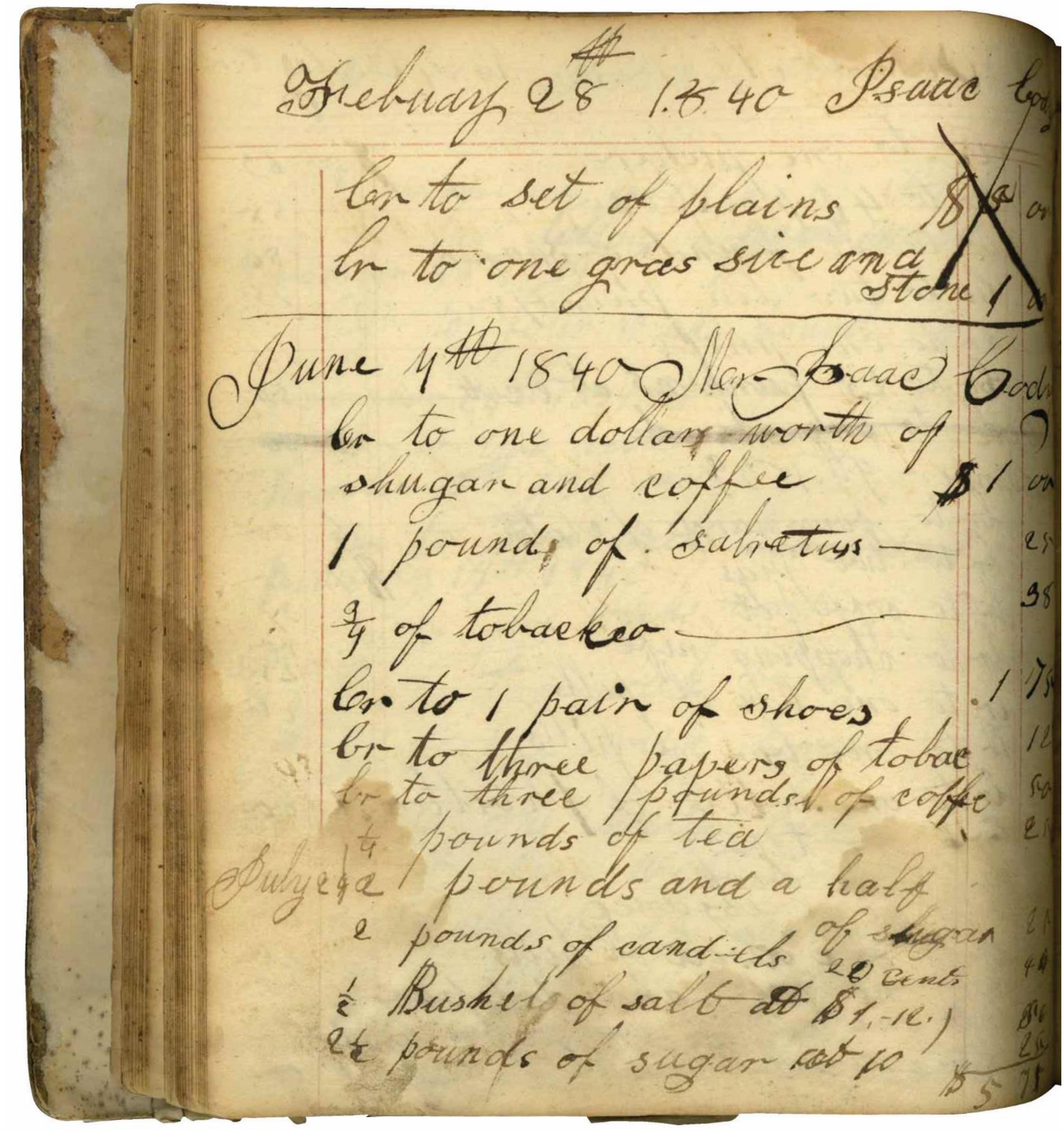
8. **$11,000**.

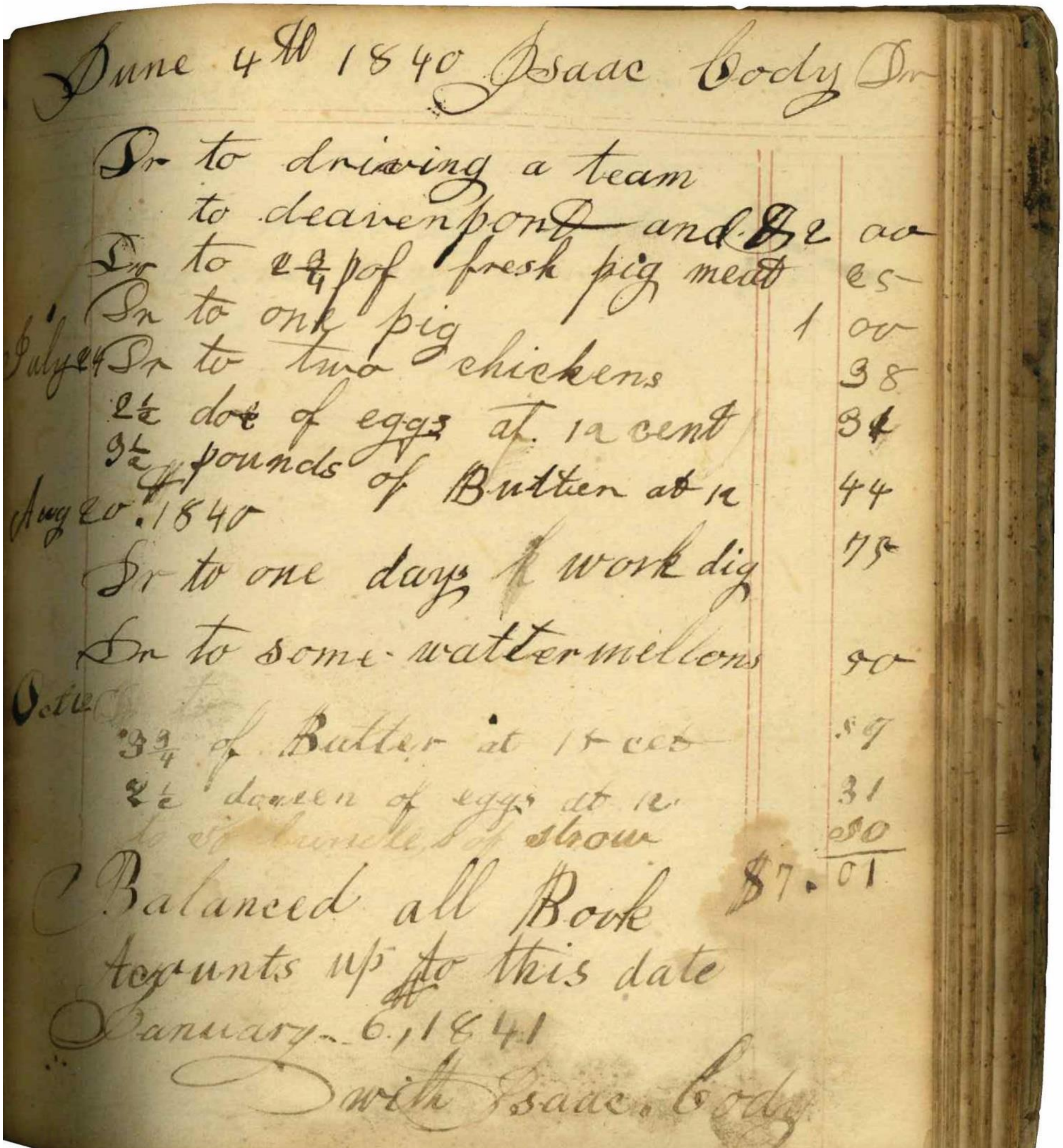
Isaac Cody Comes to Scott County: An Early Iowa Ledger

Iowa Territory began as a slice of land fifty miles wide on the west bank of the Mississippi River, running north from Missouri to a point near Prairie de Chien, Wisconsin. Encompassing six million acres, this narrow strip came to the United States in 1832 as a cession forced upon the Sac and Fox Nation, a consequence of the Black Hawk War. Divided into two counties, Dubuque in the north and Des Moines in the south, the land was officially opened for white settlement on June 1, 1833, and administered by Michigan Territory. Just three years later, it became the Iowa District of Wisconsin Territory. And in 1838, the Iowa District was separated from Wisconsin and organized as Iowa Territory, stretching from Missouri to Canada and including all of what is now Iowa, Minnesota, and parts of the Dakotas. By this time Iowa had nearly two dozen counties and a white population of about 23,000 settlers, most of whom still lived in the territory's easternmost counties along the Mississippi. One of the newest of these was Scott County, created in 1837 and named after General Winfield Scott, who had defeated the Sauk war chief Black Hawk five years earlier. This store ledger, one of the earliest surviving examples from anywhere in Iowa, was kept by pioneer merchant Lemuel Parkhurst from the 1820s through the 1840s. **It also contains several pages of entries for Isaac Cody--father of Scott County's most famous native, William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody--from shortly after his arrival in 1840, such that it is also one of the earliest surviving records of the Cody family in Iowa**.



Scott County was carved from Dubuque, Muscatine (1836), and Cook (1836) counties, the latter now extinct. Although the county was established in 1837, a long dispute between Davenport and neighboring Rockingham--including three contested elections--kept the former from being declared county seat until 1840. Just seven years later, Rockingham was annexed by Davenport and ceased to exist as a municipality. Davenport was and remains the population and commercial center of Scott County, but other towns were established at about the same time. Among the most important of these, particularly in Iowa's subsequent state history, was LeClaire, situated about 15 miles upstream from Davenport where the Great Bend of the Upper Mississippi begins to make its deep turn to the west. LeClaire was named after Antoine LeClaire, a Métis trader of First Nations and French Canadian descent. As part of their 1832 settlement after the Black Hawk War, the Sac and Fox had given LeClaire 640 acres here, seemingly out of respect and friendship. They likewise gave 640 acres at the site of modern Davenport to his wife, Marguerite, who was the granddaughter of a Sauk chief. LeClaire had lived among the tribes since boyhood, either as an employee of the American Fur Company or as an interpreter for the government. He and Marguerite built a home


Febuary 28th 1840 Isaac Cod
Cr to set of plains 8 00
Cr to one gras sice and Stone 1 00
June 4th 1840 Mr Isaac Cod…
Cr to one dollar worth of shugar and coffee $1 00
1 pounds of salratus 25
3/4 of tobackco 38
Cr to 1 pair of shoes 1 75
Cr to three papers of tobac 12
Cr to three pounds of coffe 50
1/4 pounds of tea 25
July 2 1/2 pounds and a half of shugar
2 pounds of candels 20 cents
1/2 Bushel of salt at $1.12
2 1/2 pounds of sugar at 10
$5 75


June 4th 1840 Isaac Cody Dr
Dr to driving a team
to deavenport and Ge 2 00
Dr to 2¾ of fresh pig meat 25
Dr to one pig 1 00
July 24 Dr to two chickens 38
2½ doz of eggs at 12 cent 34
3½ pounds of Butter at 12 44
Aug 20. 1840
Dr to one days work dig 75
Dr to some wattermellons 50
Octie Dr to
3¾ of Butter at 14 cts 57
2½ dozen of eggs at 12 31
to 5 bundles of straw 50
Balanced all Book $7. 01
accounts up to this date
January 6, 1841
with Isaac Cody

on the site of her gift, where the agreement of 1832 was signed, and LeClaire founded Davenport there in 1836. He had begun planning a town on the site of his own gift as early as 1833, but he was unable to plat the land until 1837. And so the Parkhursts got there first.

Four Parkhursts--brothers Eleazer and Sterling, with their nephew Waldo and Sterling's son Lemuel--settled in the area just south of LeClaire's grant from 1834 to 1837. Originally from Milford, Massachusetts, like all of his Iowa kinsmen, Eleazer was the first to arrive. He purchased a claim along the Great Bend and had a cabin built there in February 1834, the first white settlement in the area of what would become LeClaire. Sterling followed soon after, with Waldo and Lemuel arriving by 1837. In 1836, before Antoine LaClaire had finished platting his own site, Eleazer had successfully petitioned for a post office. The office was named Parkhurst and Eleazer himself was appointed postmaster, whereupon he and fellow pioneer Col. T. C. Eads began laying out a town of their own. Over the next few years, LeClaire and Parkhurst (its name was changed to Berlin in 1842) grew into adjacent demographic and commercial rivals. Finally, in 1851 the last remaining strip of land between the two villages was sold and laid out as building lots, after which LeClaire was incorporated and Parkhurst folded into its city limits.

In 1839, Lemuel Parkhurst opened the first store in either village, housed in a small stone building at Parkhurst later owned by his uncle, William Gardner. A year later, Eleazer and Waldo opened another store in a stone structure built by Eleazer. Their firm was active until 1849, when it seems to have been dissolved by mutual agreement. Waldo, however, soon opened another store that he operated well into the 1870s. We suspect that this small ledger, which combines accounts for labor performed as well as for store purchases, was kept by Lemuel at his first store. Lemuel and his father, Sterling, came to Iowa from Ontario County, New York, where Sterling had moved his family in the 1820s. About the first third of the ledger (25-30 pages with dates from 1826 to 1836) contains accounts of labor performed for people with connections to Ontario. This includes Hubbard Parkhurst, Lemuel's older brother who was already married and did not accompany his father to Iowa, and William Gardner, who had married Lemuel's sister, Ann, in Ontario in 1826 and did not join Sterling and Lemuel in Iowa until 1840. Two different hands made entries during this period, likely either Sterling and Lemuel or Hubbard and Lemuel.

Entries dating from 1837 to 1851, about two-thirds of the ledger, are all from Scott County and offer rich details of life on the Iowa frontier. Many of the entries are for manual labor and odd jobs that Lemuel performed for neighboring pioneer families. Born in 1818, he was only 19 years old when he came to Iowa, and much of the work that he did was commensurate with what was expected of young men in this frontier time and place: splitting beams; hiring out for work with a horse or teams of oxen; repairing shoes; making a pair of pantaloons; sawing; hauling loads of stone, lumber, and produce; and hoeing, threshing, and mowing. He seems to have regularly sold large quantities of agricultural produce: bushels of potatoes, wheat, oats, beans, and corn. Perhaps the most interesting records are for supplies, dry goods, and merchandise sold at the store: many of these entries are for staples such as salt, flour, sugar, honey, butter, eggs, coffee, and tea, as well tobacco and whiskey, but he also recorded sales of fresh beef and pork and live chickens (whether for eggs or meat). Not surprisingly given the time and place, there was only a limited range of manufactured goods: a chopping knife; boxes of pills and a bottle of bitters; a copper pot; factory cloth, calico, flannel, and stocking yarn; shoes; candles; a set of carpentry planes; nails, bolts, and screws; door trimmings; and a saddle and bridle. Some two dozen customers are identified in this

part of the ledger, all among the pioneers of eastern Iowa. None is better known today than Isaac Cody, if only for the exploits of his second son, who as a showman to rival P. T. Barnum became a household name throughout the United States and Europe.

No single person contributed more to the creation of a Wild West mythology than William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody. Today it is impossible even to sort the fact from the myth in Cody's own life. Yet however many of Cody's tales and recollections are true, he seems to have inherited his sense of adventure--if not wanderlust--from his father, Isaac, who came west to Iowa Territory in late 1839 and settled for several years in Scott County. Cody first established a business trading with Indians near Davenport, and after a year had saved enough money to purchase a small house at LeClaire. He also made a homestead claim on a piece of land two miles west of town where he built a four-room log house. Six children were born there to Isaac and his wife, Mary, including William in 1846. The Cody family pulled up stakes and left for Kansas in 1854. Just a few months later, Isaac was stabbed twice in the chest with a Bowie knife while making an anti-slavery speech in Leavenworth. He never fully recovered and died of pneumonia in 1857. William went to work to help support his mother and sisters, finding his path to fame. Three pages in the Parkhurst ledger are devoted to Isaac Cody's accounts. The ledger itself is entirely legible, though its boards and spine are quite worn and fragile. **There are no more than a handful of surviving store ledgers or account books from these earliest years of Iowa's territorial period, and we trace no other examples ever having been offered at auction or in the trade**.

Relevant sources:

Bremer, Jeff
2017 "Land Was the Main Basis for Business": Markets, Merchants, and Communities in Frontier Iowa. *The Annals of Iowa* 76(3):261-289.

Downer, Harry E.
1910 *History of Davenport and Scott County Iowa: Illustrated*. Volumes I . S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, Chicago.

Goodwin, Cardinal
1919 The American Occupation of Iowa, 1833-1860. *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 17(1):83-102.

Mahoney, Timothy R.
1990 *River Towns in the Great West: The Structure of Provincial Urbanization in the American Midwest, 1820-1870*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

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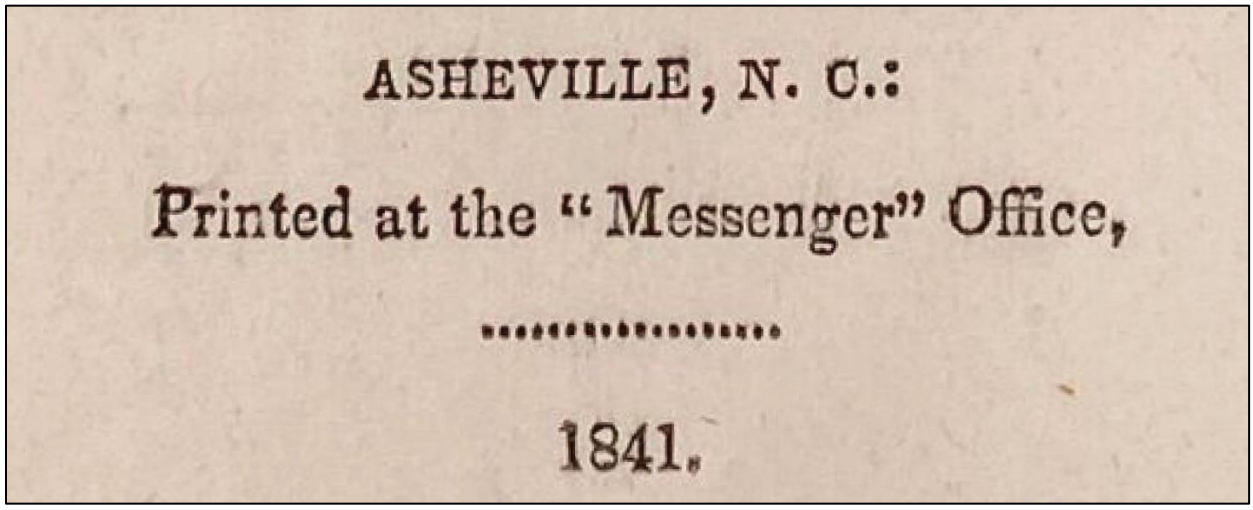
[Iowa--Early Commerce]. Lemuel Parkhurst. [MANUSCRIPT LEDGER KEPT BY LEMUEL PARKHURST OF SCOTT COUNTY, IOWA, INCLUDING ENTRIES FOR EARLY PIONEER ISAAC CODY]. [Ontario County, New York and Parkhurst, Iowa, 1826-1851]. 80 pp. 6 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (16.5 x 19 cm). Contemporary paper covered boards and cloth spine, frayed and split; front board attached by one cord, front and back board with edge wear; interior with light dampstaining in lower margins, text generally very good and legible. Good.

9. **SOLD**.

Affection's Leaf, the First Book Printed in Western North Carolina

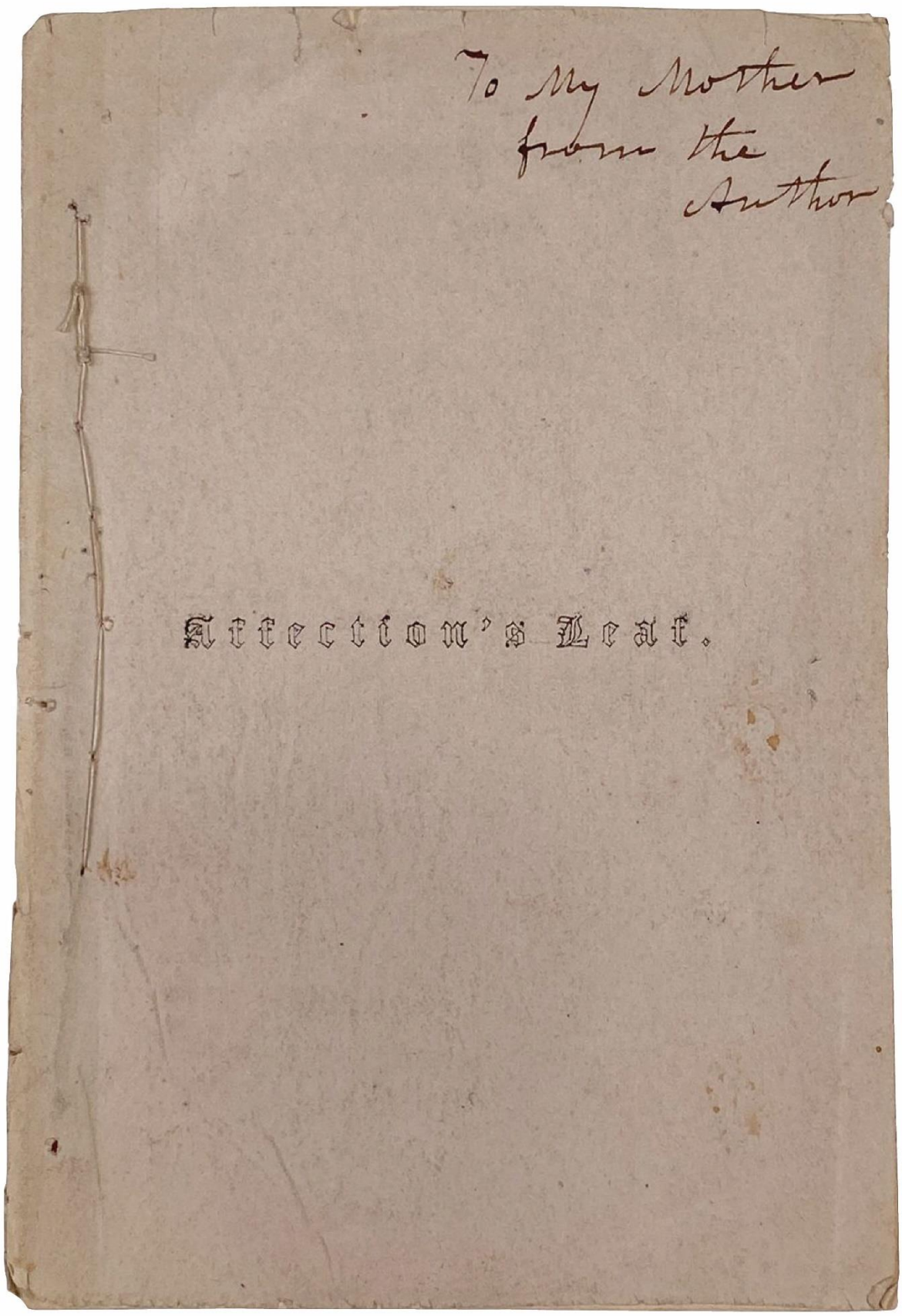
Just outside the town of Old Fort, North Carolina, situated at the far western edge of the Piedmont Foothills, the westbound lanes of Interstate 40 begin a 2,786-foot climb (849 m) up the eastern slope of the Appalachians before cresting the Continental Divide at Swannanoa Gap. This point, the gateway to the Blue Ridge Mountains, is the highest location along Interstate 40 east of Amarillo, Texas. It was not until the early 1780s that white settlers first entered this highest part of the Blue Ridge, traditionally the territory of the Cherokee Indians, placing their first settlements near the modern town of Swannanoa but soon pushing west into the French Broad Valley. A new county, named Buncombe, was created in 1792, and a county seat at Morristown was established the following July along the French Broad River at the junction of two Indian trails. Morristown was renamed Asheville in 1797. The town grew slowly; until about 1830 most roads into the Blue Ridge were little more than footpaths and primitive wagon trails. Sometime in 1840, as Asheville reached a population of 500 people, John Christy dragged the first printing press into Buncombe County--and with his father-in-law Joshua Roberts--launched a newspaper called the *Highland Messenger*. This little work of poetry, *Affection's Leaf*, was published by the *Messenger* press in 1841. **It is the first book printed in western North Carolina**.


ASHEVILLE, N. C.:

Printed at the "Messenger" Office,

1841.

North Carolina has fifteen counties situated entirely within the Blue Ridge physiographic province, none of which had a printing press or newspaper until the first number of the *Highland Messenger* arrived on June 5, 1840. No other major region of the original thirteen states waited so long for the arrival of a local press. John Christy had come to Buncombe County not through the Swannanoa Gap but from the north, along a public road that ran north-south between Asheville and Jonesborough, Tennessee, on the far side of the Blue Ridge. Christy likely learned the printing trade in the shop of Jacob Howard, Jonesborough's first printer, before heading to Asheville. There he partnered with attorney Joshua Roberts on the *Messenger*, marrying his eldest daughter, Ann Aurelia, in 1842. Roberts was originally from Shelby in Cleveland County, North Carolina, but had moved to Buncombe County in the 1820s and become one of its most prominent citizens. For the *Messenger's* editor they hired Rev. David R. McAnally, a Methodist minister and graduate of Emory and Henry College in Virginia. Together the three men would direct the newspaper and its


To My Mother
from the
Author
Affection's Leaf.

AFFECTION'S LEAF.

BY G. ZELOTES ADAMS.

ASHEVILLE, N. C.:

Printed at the "Messenger" Office,

1841.

press until 1843, when factional politics in Western North Carolina forced Christy and Roberts to sell the paper. Roberts stayed in Asheville, but Christy moved south to Athens, Georgia, becoming editor of the Whig-affiliated *Southern Watchman* newspaper. McAnally, meanwhile, served for several years as president of the Female Institute in Knoxville, Tennessee, before moving farther west to St. Louis and taking the reins of that city's *Christian Advocate*.

Affection's Leaf is a modest 12-page pamphlet, 12mo in size, stitched in the original printed wrappers. The author, Gamaliel Zelotes Adams, was born at Suffield, Connecticut, in 1814. He went to boarding school at Schenectady, New York, before attending Washington College (later Trinity College) in Hartford, Connecticut, where he was a freshman in 1836. Adams authored at least two substantial publications before graduating college: *Moral and Religious Musings* (1835) and *Love of Nature: An Anniversary Poem* (1837). By about 1840 he had moved to the American South, settling for a short time as a schoolteacher in Morganton, North Carolina--about fifty miles east of Asheville--where he composed the poetry published in *Affection's Leaf* (1841). This, the only known surviving copy of that work, is the dedication copy to the author's mother, inscribed on the front wrapper: "To My Mother from the Author." The published dedication reads: "To Her Who First Taught the Prattling Tongue of Infancy to Lisp that Name, which the Faltering Lips of Age, will the Latest Articulate--To My Mother, this Humble Tribute is Inscribed." He was residing in Tennessee in 1843, and although he does not appear to have published any additional books or pamphlets, he continued making occasional contributions to magazines until at least 1852. Adams died at Benton, Arkansas, in 1871 at the age of 56.

A rare and regionally significant imprint.

Relevant sources:

Arthur, John Preston
1914 *Western North Carolina: A History (1730-1913)*. Edwards and Broughton Printing Co., Raleigh, NC.

Phifer, Edward William
1982 *Burke, the History of a North Carolina County, 1777-1920, with a Glimpse Beyond*. Privately published, Morganton, NC.

Sondley, F. A.
1922 *Asheville and Buncombe County*. The Citizen Company, Asheville, NC.

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[North Carolina--Blue Ridge imprint]. Gamaliel Zelotes Adams. AFFECTION'S LEAF. Printed at the "Messenger" Office, Asheville, N. C., 1841. 12 pp. 12mo (14 cm). Stitched in the original printed wrappers; inscribed by the author to his mother, the dedicatee, on front cover. Spine split with very light wear to wrapper edges, otherwise near fine.

10. **SOLD**.

J. H. Ingraham's *Romance of the Sunny South,* in Wraps

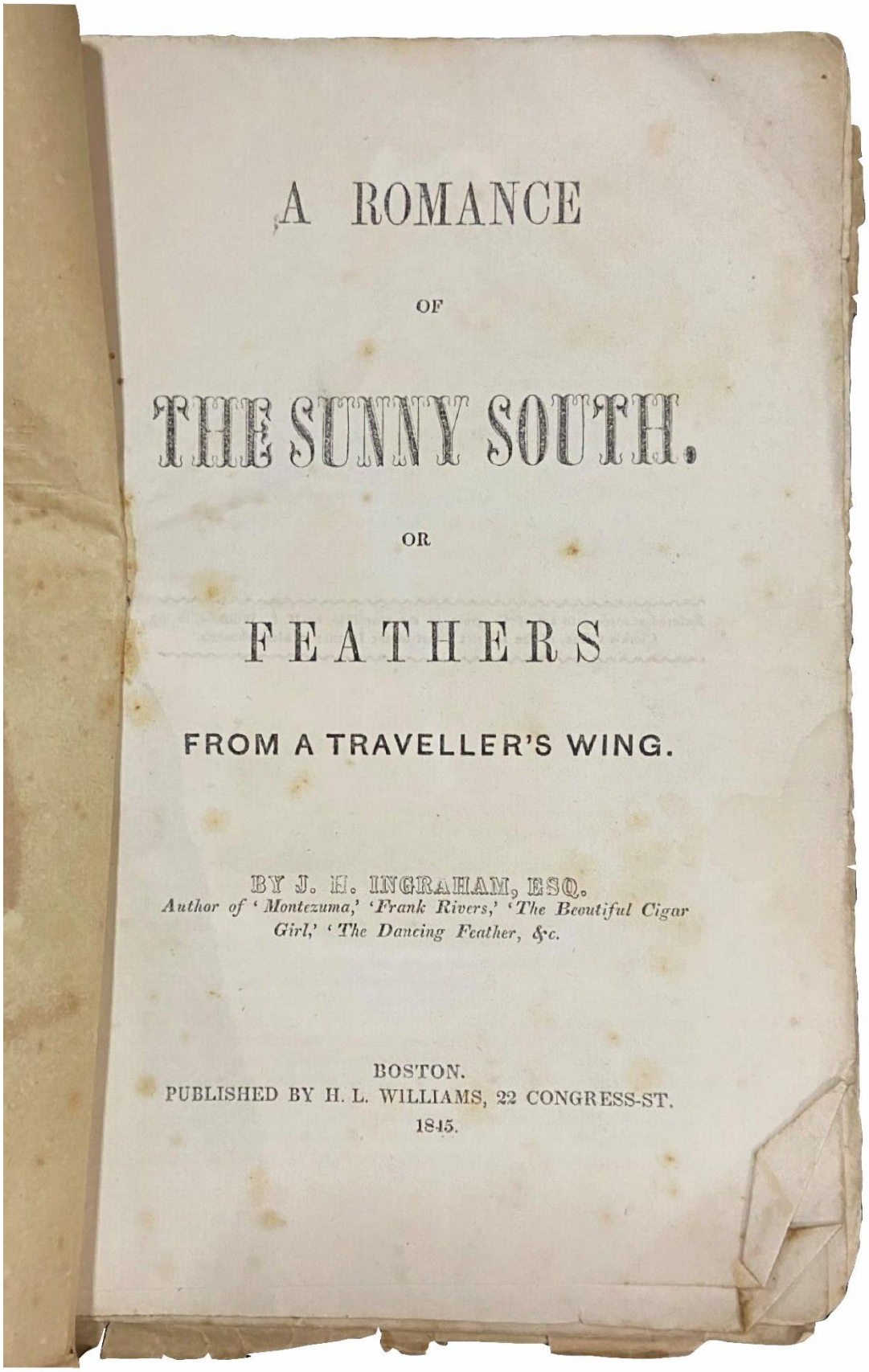
The American dime novel tradition formally began on June 9, 1860, when brothers Erastus and Irwin Beadle issued *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*--serialized two decades earlier by author Ann Stephens--as the first of their Beadles Dime Novels. The Beadles series ran through 321 issues 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 of the 1840s, also known as pamphlet novels. Among the most popular subjects of this earlier genre were pirates and piracy; the western frontier, whether the Far West or Texas and the Southwest; historical conflicts like the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War; Medieval Britain; and the American South, with a special emphasis on the Mississippi Valley. Few of these pamphlet novelists, particularly in the genre of southern fiction, published more titles than J. H. Ingraham (who also published under the pen name Professor Ingraham). Most of these titles are extremely scarce today, even more so in their original illustrated wrappers. **This work, *A Romance of the Sunny South, or Feathers from a Traveller's Wing,* is one of his scarcest: we locate only five institutional copies**.

From the mid-1830s through the mid-1840s, Joseph Holt Ingraham wrote nearly a hundred novels and just as many stories, sketches, and poems for a variety of newspapers, magazines, and annuals. He was among the most prolific and popular writers of his time, even if his work is little known today. Ingraham was born at Portland, Maine, in 1809, the grandson of a shipbuilder and son of a merchant. He attended Hallowell Academy in Maine, then studied at Yale College from 1828 to 1829. In 1830 he sailed to New Orleans, perhaps on one of his grandfather's ships, and continued upstream to Natchez. Enthralled by the mythos of the Old South and the life of its white landed gentry, Ingraham joined the faculty at Jefferson College in Washington, Mississippi, before marrying the daughter of a deceased local planter in 1832.

The very next year he published his first work, "Letters from Louisiana and Mississippi by a Yankee," written to his friend B. L. C. Wailes of Washington. Ingraham's letters had appeared in the *Natchez Courier*, then were collected as *The South-West* by Harper & Brothers in 1835. The book's success, both popular and critical, encouraged him to continue writing professionally. In 1836 he published a novel, *Lafite: The Pirate of the Gulf*, followed a year later by *Burton; or, The Sieges: A Romance*, a novel loosely based on the life of Aaron Burr. Two more novels and a book of short stories appeared over the next few years, all published by Harper and well reviewed, if not as successful as their predecessors. But *The Quadroone*, published in 1841, would be his last from Harper, and in 1842--lacking a publisher for his work--he declared bankruptcy. Ingraham made a decision at this point that would shape the rest of his career. He abandoned the two-volume format of his earlier books and turned instead to the format of the pamphlet novel. And over the next five years, from about 1843 to 1847, he would churn out dozens of original works, filling no fewer than 14 pages of Wright's *Bibliography of American Fiction, 1774-1850*. As Robert Weathersby notes in his biographical sketch of Ingraham, "This prodigious output during these five years comprised nearly ten percent of the novels printed in the 1840's" (1981:248).

A Romance of the Sunny South, or Feathers from a Traveller's Wing (*The Southern Belle* appears as the title on the cover) tells the tale of young Powhatan Lynde, who with his merry band


THE
SOUTHERN BELLE.
WRITTEN BY J. H. INGRAHAM, ESQ.
BOSTON:
HENRY L. WILLIAMS.
1845.



A ROMANCE

OF

THE SUNNY SOUTH.

OR

FEATHERS

FROM A TRAVELLER'S WING.

BY J. H. INGRAHAM, ESQ.
Author of 'Montezuma,' 'Frank Rivers,' 'The Beautiful Cigar Girl,' 'The Dancing Feather, &c.

BOSTON.
PUBLISHED BY H. L. WILLIAMS, 22 CONGRESS-ST.
1845.

of loyal friends and servants rides through the Mississippi night to free his love, the beautiful Anna Proctor, from the hands of her tyrannical brother, Russell, who plans to deposit her in an Ursuline convent rather than see her take the hand of his enemy, Lynde. At the last possible moment, Lynde and his companions surprise Proctor and his cousins on the road as they are in the act of carrying Anna away. With the help of Lynde's trustworthy slave, Prince, Anna is saved from a life in the nunnery. The lovers sprint on horseback to Natchez and then across the Mississippi, where they are wed by a notable old judge, their elopement complete. **Ingraham's pamphlet novels are all scarce today, especially his southern novels in original wraps**. A comparable work, *A Lady of the Gulf: A Romance of the City and the Seas*, was priced at $500 by Dorothy Sloan in 1991. This work, *A Romance of the Sunny South*, is held by five libraries: Columbia, Yale, AAS, SMU, and the Huntington. The front wrap of our copy has pleasing contemporary handcolor, but whether it was applied by the publisher or by an early owner is difficult to determine. However, none of the five recorded institutional copies is specifically described with coloring.

Few American authors could ever match Ingraham's output, and after five years of writing at a breakneck pace, he seems to have reached his limit. In 1847, he moved his family to Nashville and began studying theology in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was ordained a priest in 1852 and took charge of a church in Mobile, Alabama, the following year. Over the next few years he published a handful of very popular biblical novels, and in 1860 he reused the title of *Sunny South* for his novel about a northern governess teaching at a bucolic Tennessee plantation, a rose-colored (if not fantastical) response to the horrors that Harriet Beecher Stowe had depicted in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. He died later that year--just three months after the publication of his last novel--when he dropped a loaded pistol in the vestibule of his new church in Riverside, Tennessee; he was mortally wounded when the gun discharged. His son, Prentiss, would himself become a prolific writer of dime novels, claiming to have produced more than 600 from 1969 to 1900.

Relevant sources:

Johannsen, Archibald
1950 *The House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature*. Vol. 2. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Weathersby, Robert W., II
1981 Joseph Holt Ingraham, 1809-1860. In *Lives of Mississippi Authors, 1817-1967*, edited by James B. Lloyd, pp. 247-251. University of Mississippi Press, Jackson.

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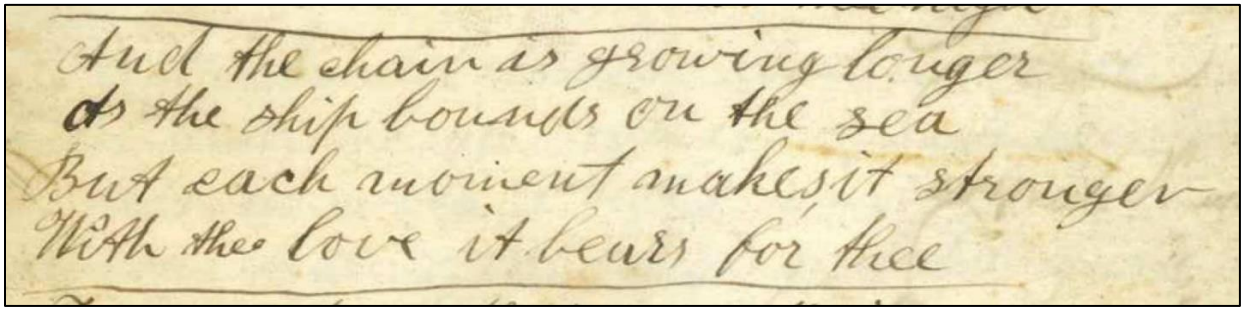
[American Fiction--Pamphlet Novels]. Joseph Holt Ingraham. A ROMANCE OF THE SUNNY SOUTH, OR FEATHERS FROM A TRAVELLER'S WING. H. L. Williams, 22 Congress Street, Boston, 1845. 35 pp. 8vo (23 cm). Untrimmed in original illustrated wrappers, contemporary handcolor on front cover, publisher's advertisements on both sides of rear cover. Edge wear to spine and wrappers, very light occasional foxing; interior woodcut plate reproducing illustration on front wrapper. Overall very good [BAL 9991; Wright 1342].

11. **SOLD**.

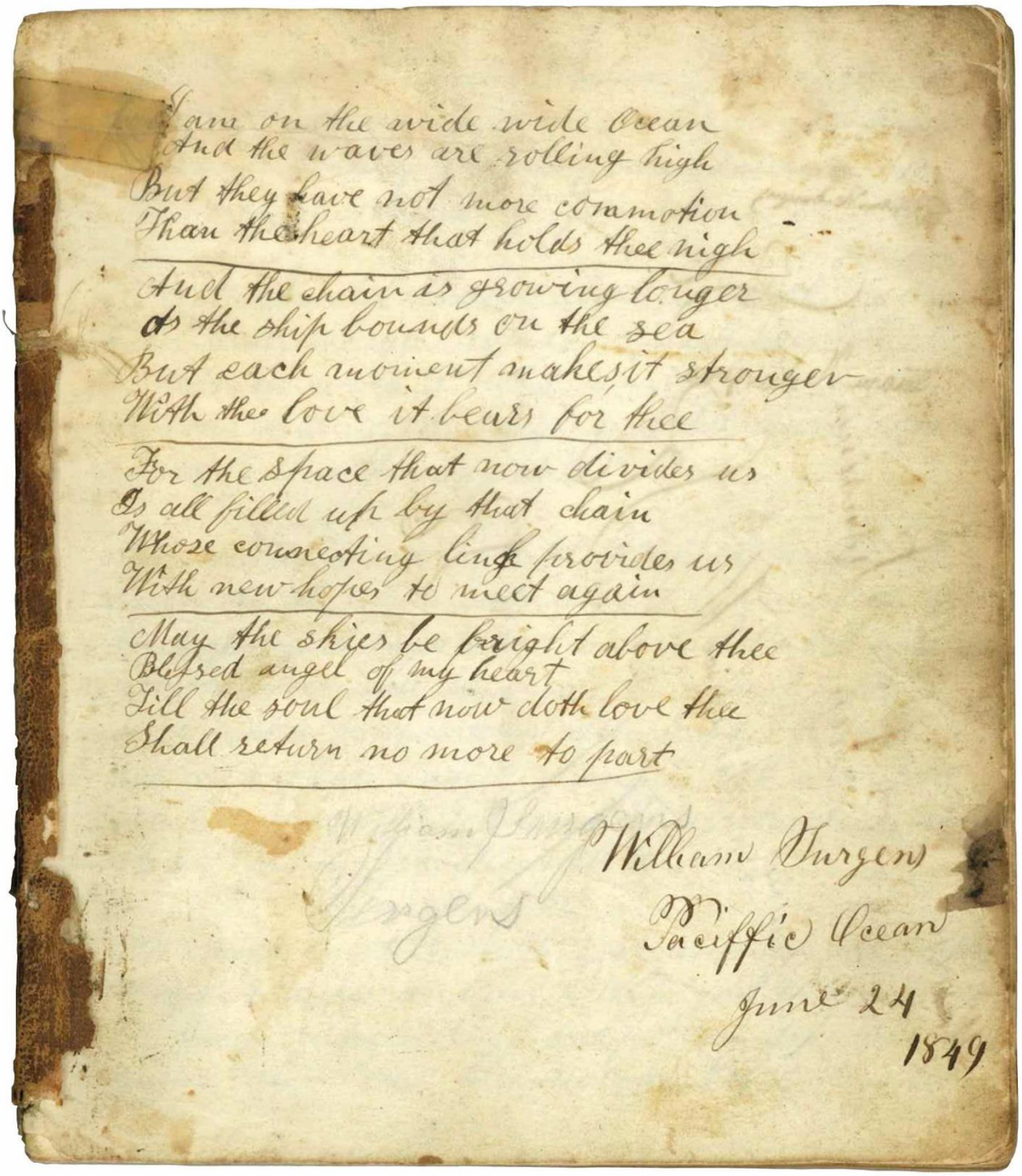
Around the Horn in ’49: An Unpublished Gold Rush Diary

When President James K. Polk formally announced the discovery of gold at Sutter’s Mill during his State of the Union address on December 5, 1848, it set off what is still the largest mass migration in American history. Prospective immigrants could choose among three different routes to California and the gold fields. One of the most popular routes, and the most direct, was overland by any of several paths. While never taking travelers out of sight of land, it was a long and grinding journey of three to six months by wagon or on foot across plains, mountains, and deserts, and many tens of thousands of people took it. Another popular route was south by sea to Panama, across the Isthmus on foot or by coach through steamy, disease infested jungle, and north by sea again along the Pacific Coast to San Francisco. This was the shortest route by far, requiring as little as two months, but it did expose the traveler to malaria, cholera, and yellow fever. The longest route of all, one which lost favor after 1849, was by ship around Cape Horn and up the Pacific Coast. The trip was expensive, required passage through some of the most dangerous seas in the world, and could take six to eight months. Even so, as many as 25,000 people risked this voyage of more than 14,000 miles. Among these argonauts who rounded the Horn in ‘49 was William Surgens, who boarded the ship *Hopewell* in Warren, Rhode Island, on January 29 and arrived at San Francisco 193 days later on August 9. **His diary--nearly 18,000 words and never before published--offers a richly detailed account of the long and grueling journey west**.


And the chain is growing longer
as the ship bounds on the sea
But each moment makes it stronger
With the love it bears for thee

By the end of January 1849, still the very beginning of the gold rush, no fewer than ninety vessels had already left from ports along the Atlantic Coast, and another seventy were scheduled to follow. The incredible demand for berths on ships bound for the west created an acute shortage of vessels. Practically every whaler in New England’s great fleet was converted into a passenger ship, if in name only; most received the barest minimum of actual alterations. As Oscar Lewis eloquently puts it in his classic *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields*:

> Spurred by the certainty of huge profits, speculators set themselves up as ship brokers and ransacked every harbor and inlet for any ancient hulk able to float or capable of being made so. Dozens of long-abandoned craft were pulled off the mud, given superficial repairs, sent half around the world, and again shoved up on a mudbank, this time at San Francisco. In maritime towns sea-wise loiterers shrugged as they saw ships that had been discarded as unseaworthy a dozen years earlier warped up to the docks, loaded beyond the limits of prudence, and sent to sea on a voyage that would severely test the soundest vessel: the westward passage of the Horn [1949:16].



I am on the wide wide Ocean
And the waves are rolling high
But they have not more commotion
Than the heart that holds thee nigh

And the chain is growing longer
As the ship bounds on the sea
But each moment makes it stronger
With the love it bears for thee

For the Space that now divides us
Is all filled up by that chain
Whose connecting link provides us
With new hopes to meet again

May the skies be bright above thee
Blessed angel of my heart
Till the soul that now doth love thee
Shall return no more to part

William Burgess

Pacific Ocean

June 24

1849

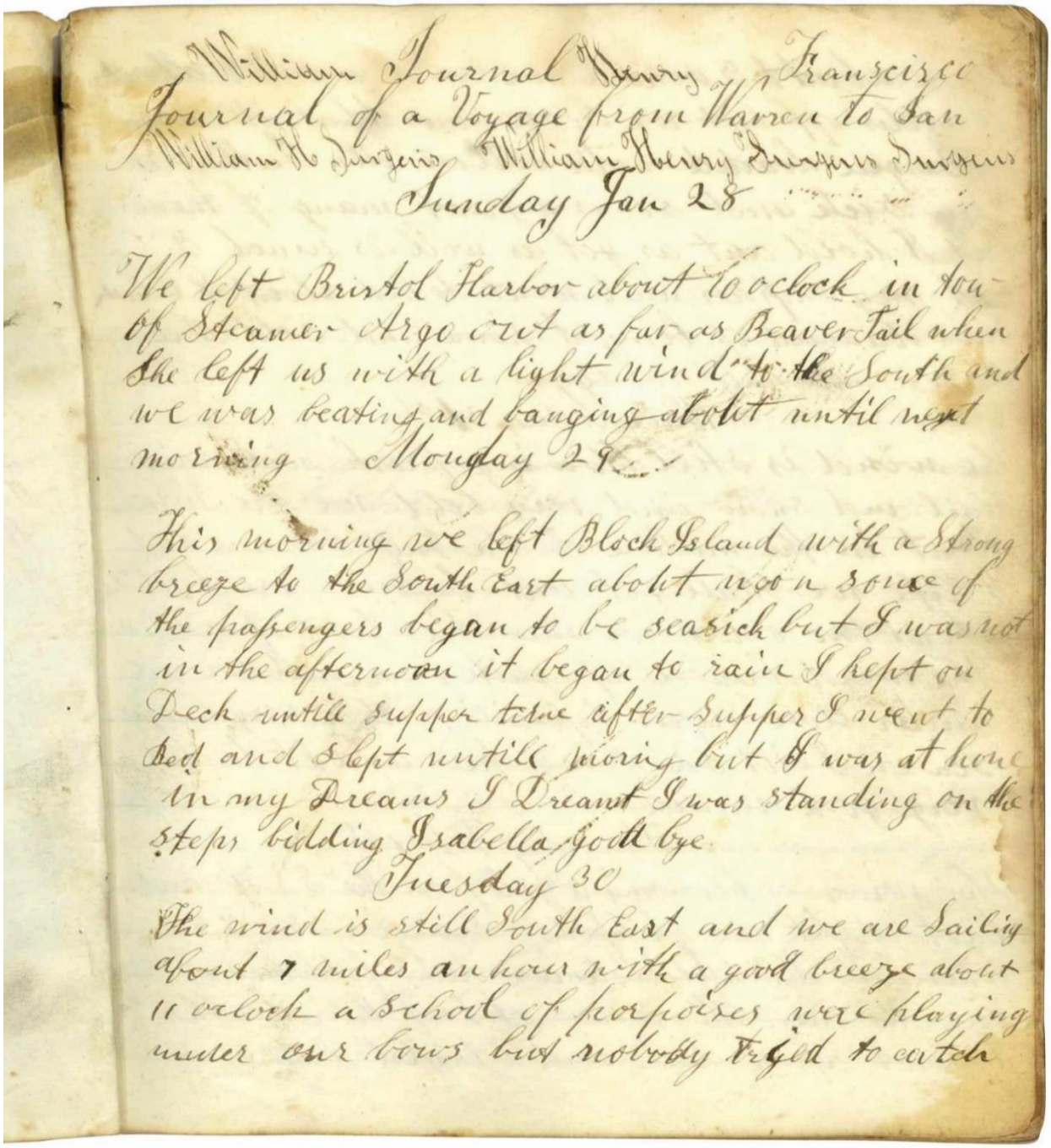
In this, at least, Surgens and his fellow passengers with berths aboard the *Hopewell* fared much better than most. Built at Philadelphia in 1840 and registered at Warren, Rhode Island, in 1844, the *Hopewell* was only nine years old when it left the East Coast for California. A whaler like so many other New England vessels drafted for the gold rush frenzy, it was a three-masted schooner with two decks and weighed 414 tons. The *Hopewell* had returned to Warren on April 8, 1848, from a voyage to the Pacific Northwest commanded by its co-owner and captain, George Littleton. On December 16, less than two weeks after Polk's State of the Union address, Littleton and its other owners announced that it was bound for California in January--this time as a passenger ship--and specifically referenced its captain's familiarity with the West Coast. As for passenger and diarist William Henry Surgens, he was born at Warren in 1826 (he would turn 23 in February about a month into the voyage), and his father, Harman, was a Prussian-born ship's captain. As a young man in his early twenties, born and raised in a sailing family and from a town known as a whaling port and for its ship building industry, Surgens likely had some grasp of what the long trip to San Francisco would entail. Yet his diary also makes clear that he had never undertaken such a voyage before and that he longed for both his home and his love, Isabella.

The *Hopewell* left Bristol Harbor on Sunday morning, January 28, towed by the steamer *Argo* as far as Bevertail Point at the entrance to Narrangansett Bay. At night, Surgens writes, "I was at home in my dreams I dreamt I was on the steps bidding Isabella goodbye." The weather at the beginning of the voyage was simply miserable; on the 31st "the wind is still blowing fresh with rain hail and snow and very cold we are now in about the middle of the Gulf Stream and I hope we shall get out before a great while." A day later,

> The wind is blowing a gale from the SSW and last night we shipped a sea [a large wave washed over the vessel] and....all the chests between decks fetched away and all the men rolled out of their berths[.] I went upon the deck and stayed there about one hour and then I went below and in a few minutes we shipped another which split the fore topmast staysail but the wind began to go down.

From his use of specific terminology (e.g., shipped a sea, staysail) is seems likely that Surgens had been at sea prior to this trip. Unlike most other passengers, he did not experience sea sickness, but he was experiencing continued homesickness, particularly so for being only a few days out. He writes on February 3 that "I would not allow myself to think of home for I know that I could not get home but I know that if I was at home you would not catch me to go Calafornia."

Obtaining food also appears to have been a challenge early in the journey. On Sunday the 4th he notes that "I had hard work to get anything to eat [.] I should not got anything if the steward in the main cabin had not brought me something." The following day, as well, "I had some trouble about getting something to eat." But this time, "five of us have joined together and got our vituals ready and have them cooked for us and it is hard work to get them[.] then John Eddy mixed up some biscuit for supper which was very good[.] they put me in mind of home and he is mixing up a johnnycake for our breakfasts and I hope we shall get along pretty well now." A day later they were "going to have some salt junk [sailors' slang for dried salted beef] which I don't care much about." Surgens' shipmates likely shared his thoughts: "There is not much comfort to be taken on board of a ship[.] I think that I never should take such a voyage as this again."



William Journal Henry Francisco
Journal of a Voyage from Warren to San
William H. Burgess William Henry Burgess Burgess

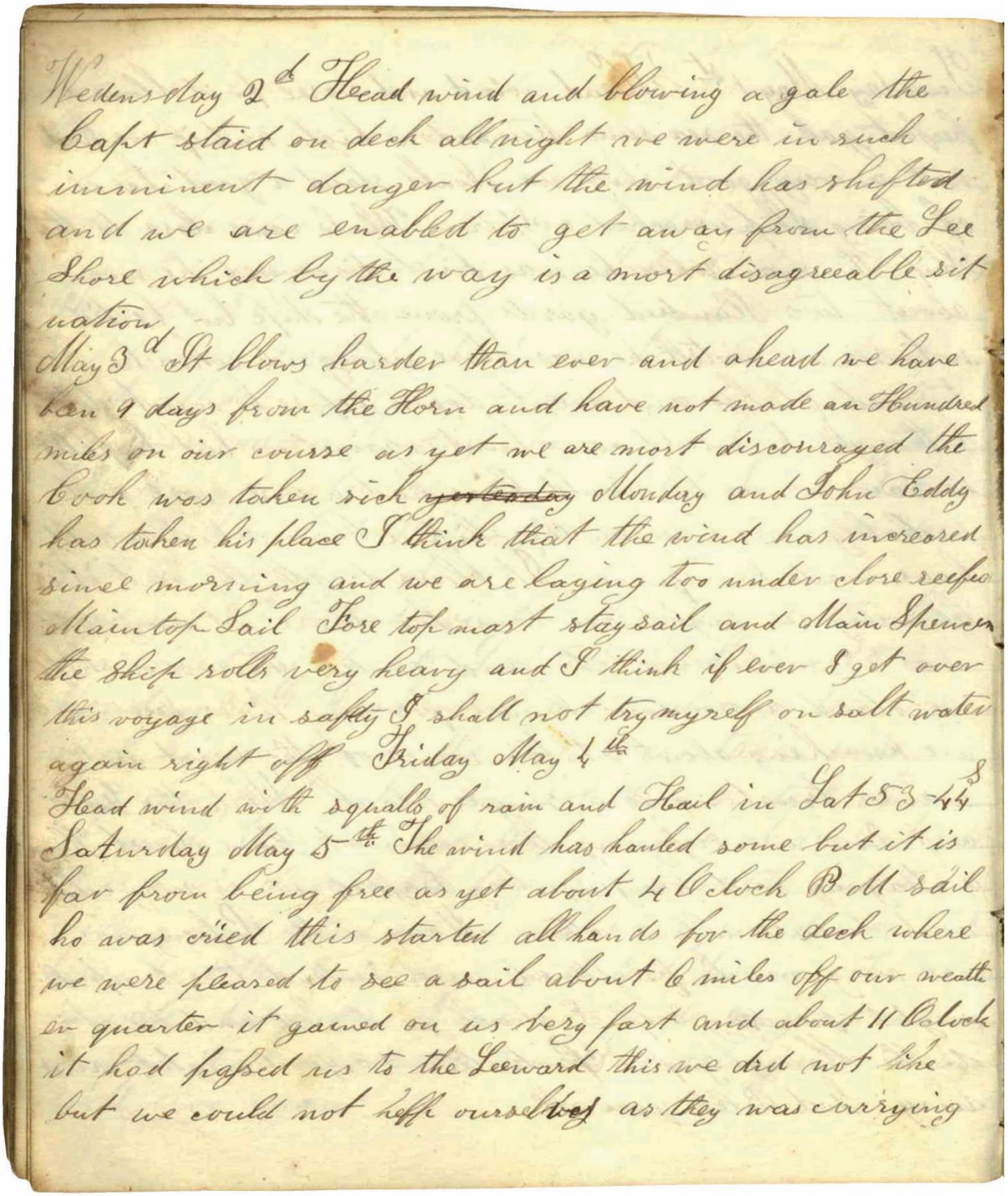
Sunday Jan 28

We left Bristol Harbor about 10 oclock in tow of Steamer Argo out as far as Beaver Tail when She left us with a light wind to the South and we was beating and banging about until next morning Mondday 29

This morning we left Block Island with a Strong breeze to the South East about noon some of the passengers began to be seasick but I was not in the afternoon it began to rain I kept on Deck until Supper time after Supper I went to Bed and slept until morning but I was at home in my Dreams I Dreamt I was standing on the steps bidding Isabella Good bye

Tuesday 30

The wind is still South East and we are Sailing about 7 miles an hour with a good breeze about 11 oclock a School of porpoises were playing under our bows but nobody Tried to catch



Wednesday 2d Head wind and blowing a gale the Capt staid on deck all night we were in such imminent danger but the wind has shifted and we are enabled to get away from the Lee Shore which by the way is a mort disagreeable situation

May 3d It blows harder than ever and ahead we have been 9 days from the Horn and have not made an Hundred miles on our course as yet we are mort discouraged the Cook was taken sick ~~yesterday~~ Monday and John Eddy has taken his place I think that the wind has increased since morning and we are laying too under close reefed Maintop Sail Fore top mast stay sail and Main Spencer the Ship rolls very heavy and I think if ever I get over this voyage in safety I shall not try myself on salt water again right off Friday May 4th

Head wind with squalls of rain and Hail in Lat 53-44 S

Saturday May 5th The wind has hauled some but it is far from being free as yet about 4 O Clock P M sail ho was cried this started all hands for the deck where we were pleased to see a sail about 6 miles off our weather quarter it gained on us very fast and about 11 O Clock it had passed us to the Leeward this we did not like but we could not help ourselves as they was carrying

on the brig as it proved to be in fine style whilst we were under close reefed topsails so she sailed right by us in fine style we were in Lat 5-3-46- to day having lost 2 miles the last 24 hours Lon 76—5-7
Sunday 6th A beautifull wind is hurrying us at a great rate this is a great place for squalls and we are in one continually the brig that passed us last night was in sight this morning Lat 5 2 S Lon 76-6 W
Monday 7th A cold uncomfortable day it is 14 days since we doubled the cape 13 of them it was blowing almost a living gale all the Northing we made in that time was 4 degrees which we could run easily with a good wind in 2 days this was very bad for us for we had not much water and yesterday we were put on allowance of 2 quarts per day no observation to day the wind has come out some what in our favour and thank the Lord for it Tuesday May 8th This day opened with a fine breeze and a bright sun and the ship is going along in good style at the rate of about 8 knots per hour this with a pleasant sky overhead makes us quite lively and we are all looking forward to the time when we shall enter port where we anticipate much pleasure in eating the fruit of our own country which we have been debarred from so long no one

Nevertheless, they all soon settled into a predictable, if not necessarily comfortable, routine aboard the *Hopewell*. Eddy, who turned out to have been the cook among the group, prepared a range of dishes such as bread, rice, and Indian puddings, as well as apple pie. The passengers all held a church service in the forecastle on Sundays with a selected reading from the Psalms or New Testament, prayers, and hymns sung by the choir. Boredom was always present ("I hardly know what to write as there is nothing hardly worth noticing"), as were other passengers and crew: "I must stop writing for there is a fuss about putting out the lights[.] the steward is sitting by me now and is screwing the lamp down so that I can hardly see what I am about." As they reached warmer waters after February 19, drawing to within 400 miles of the Cape Verde islands off the west coast of Africa, the passengers began to swim regularly. They also spotted sharks, whales, schools of blackfish, and porpoises: "there was a large shark following the ship but the lines were out to catch him and about three o clock they catched him....the shark was about 5 feet long and he was soon cut up[.] Some wanted the cook to fry some of him but he would not[.] Some took the skin for sand paper but it smelt too strong for me." On March 5 they saw another ship sailing in the near distance, an event that brought all of the passengers to quick action:

> While they was fishing some one cried out sail ho which was coming toward us so all hands began to write for we thought we should have chance to send some home pretty soon[.] We had about 100 letters all ready and the boat was got ready to go on board of her[.] Captain Grinnell was master of her and Mr. Chase took our letters and started for the vessel and went about six miles to get to her and went on board of her [.] She was an English Barque 95 days from Hong Kong and 17 from St. Helena bound for London called the Constant of Liverpool Capt. Gannock[?] master with one passenger[.] He says that there was four vessels gone to Calafornia from China but the people of St. Helena did not believe much about it for they thought that the story was too glowing.

Soon after, as the *Hopewell* was nearing the equator, there began to be discussions about a well-known initiation ceremony for those crew and passengers who were "crossing the line" for the first time. These rituals prominently featured the god Neptune and almost without exception involved dunking the first-timers in water or even dropping them overboard. No less a personage than Charles Darwin endured his own equatorial hazing aboard the *Beagle*, **but very few gold rush diaries documented such rituals on the voyage to California**. On March 6,

> There has been a great [deal] of talk about crossing the line and one or two passengers threaten to stab the first man that undertakes to shove him [into the water]. There was a paper got up about it that them that would give a quart of liquor or pay for some would not be shoved but unless they did they should be.

The next evening,

> After dinner the passengers were all on deck singing until after 9 o clock when they began to talk about Neptune and one got a bag and picked out Edgar Windisor [sic] as he was saucy to everybody and put the bag over

> his eyes and he drew his knife but they took it away from him and threw him into a half hogshead of water and a madder man I never saw[.] He went downstairs and got his dirk but did not dare to come up with it.

Captain Littleton notes this incident in his own log of the journey, housed at the Providence Public Library, identifying Windsor as the 19-year-old grandson of wealthy Providence manufacturer Henry P. Franklin and noting that the young man had fallen out of favor with his fellow passengers for being "stubborn and fancy, dressed up in his best clothes on deck." The hijinks continued into the following day, as well:

> [in] the afternoon they was making preparations for old Neptune...the passengers are determined to have some sport[.] They dressed one in disguise as old Neptune and he came over the bow of the ship and hailed her and wanted to know if there was anyone on board that was not his children and they answered him that there was and he said prepare for their initiation[.] So they took Edward Smith and put a bag over his head and tied his hands behind him and put him into the tub and asked him a few questions and then they shaved him with a lather made of soap and meal and shaved him with a Spanish hoop[.] Afterwards they took another and served him the same way and took chase to another but he hollered murder and called Captain Littlefield and he came out and put a stop to it[.] So they had to give it up for the night.

By Wednesday, March 14, they were well south of the line, and that evening Surgens writes that "we can see one of the Magellan Clouds[.] The North Star has sunk out of our sight and the Dipper has almost gone out of sight[.] I spent part of the evening looking after the stars and then I went to bed." On the 15th they passed Pernambuco, and on Monday, March 19, Surgens notes that "we talk some of going into St. Catherine's today but some of the passengers wants to go into Rio but I hope that they will not go in there but I want to go in somewhere for I am tired of being on the water and having to do our own cooking." If the Hopewell remained for long, or if Surgens or any of the other passengers actually went ashore, he makes no note of it. Regardless, they were back at sea very quickly, and if there was no more talk of Old Neptune, his shipmates did pursue other, more controlled forms of violence aboard the Hopewell; he writes on March 23 that "towards night this afternoon the passengers had another spell at boxing and some of them got bloody faces and swelled lips[.] After supper I went up on deck and smoked my pipe." This was a low point in the voyage for Surgens, who was experiencing a homesickness and loneliness that many others must have felt but rarely expressed: "I was tired of seeing the same faces I cannot see the face that I want to...I have been below pretty much all day[.] I have felt as though I would like to get out of sight of everybody and that I did not want to speak to any body[.] I went on deck this evening but was not contented there so I went below and went to writing up my journal."

On March 27, as the Hopewell began drawing closer to the Horn, Surgens noted that "we have been getting water out of the hold today and found that there was about 40 days of water to last us round the horn and that we must be very sparing of it." On the afternoon of the 30th, "we saw a large shoal of sperm whales some of them very near to us[.] I went up in the foretop and could [see] them all round us as far as we could see[.] It was a rich sight to me[.] Capt. Littlefield

said that there was 15 or 20 thousand dollars worth of oil there[.] I suppose that there is a great many that would be glad to fall in with such a chance that we had." The following day he expressed a similar reluctance to harm local wildlife for profit or sport: "there is a plenty of birds flying about us called haylets and Mother Carey's chickens[.] Some of the passengers have been shooting them for amusement but I think that it is poor amusement. A week later, though, he helped to bring in five porpoises, and reports that "we had some of the liver for supper which was very good[.] It tasted very much like hogs liver."

On Friday, April 20, the *Hopewell* finally drew within sight of land near the entrance to Tierra del Fuego, and they would spend most of the next two weeks in a harrowing effort to clear the Straights and successfully round the Horn. April 20 gave them their first view of Staten Island (Isla de los Estados), about 30 miles off their lee bow, before proceeding toward for the Straights Lemaire ("Straights of Le Maires) that separate the Isla from Tierra del Fuego. Rather than sail through the Straights of Magellan or the Beagle Channel to the south, the Hopewell aimed to sail around Cape Horn by way of the Drake Passage. Here the sailing was still pleasant and Surgens was captivated by the view from on deck: "it was a great sight for me to see such land as that rocky and hilly some parts covered by trees which looked green and above them it was covered with snow...some of the mountains were up so high that we could see the clouds below them." A day later their circumstances began to change:

> We are approaching the horn quite fast and expect to be there sometime tomorrow if a gale does not come up and drive us back[.] The heavens begin to look black at about 4 o clock and the mate says he thinks that we shall have a regular Gale before midnight and have to lag too[.] If we do it will dtive us back a great ways....
>
> This eve the capt has come up on deck and ordered most of the sails to be taken in as the barometer is falling very fast[.] This indicates a heavy south blow at about 9 oclock[.] A tremendous heavy squall up and struck us and seems as if it would take the masts out of her....The sea runs very high[.] This is Cape Horn weather and I never want to experience the like again.

Any improvement by morning was slight: "The wind has blown almost a Hurricane during the night and we have drifted a long way out of our way." Perhaps in recognition of the potential for disaster, Surgens writes that "we have caught a large Albatross which measured 10 feet tip to tip of his wings[.] A vial was sealed up and tied to his neck containing a paper giving that Lat and Lon number of passengers and the number of days out and all well and wished to be reported if it should be caught by anyone else[.]" The *Hopewell* "doubled Cape Horn" on April 23. Doubling the Horn means to cross 50 degrees south latitude on the Atlantic side of the Cape and then to cross that line again on the Pacific side sailing north. Surgens writes of the land itself that:

> The Cape is a very high bluff and we could see mountain back of mountain covered with snow[.] Off the pitch of the Cape there is two high rocks that look very much like horns which gave it its name as we suppose[.] There is very few vessels that come so near it we did and I do not want to go so near again...I believe that there has been vessels lost there.

Once in the Pacific, however, they found anything but a calm and tranquil sea, as dangerous squalls continued to pummel the ship. On May 1:

> Head wind and worse for it blows a proper gale[.] The runs tremendous high and if we had not a very good ship we should stand a good chance of being shipwrecked...It blows dreadfully and it is blowing us right on to a lee shore...unless the wind shifts we stand a narrow chance for our lives[.] Here we are knocking about at the mercy of the wind and waves trusting to a single plank....Many of the passengers are very much frightened and intend to set up all night[.] For myself I shall go to bed and trust to the Almighty for protection so good night and may God bless you all.

Surgens observes on Monday, May 7, that: "it is 14 days since we doubled the Cape[,] 13 of them it was blowing almost a living gale[.] All the northing we made in that time was 4 degrees which we could run easily with a good wind in 2 days[.] This was very bad for us for we had not much water and yesterday were were put on allowance of 2 quarts per day."

Finally, on May 8, the morning "opened with a fine breeze and a bright sun and the ship is going along in good style at a rate of about 8 knots per hour[.] This with a pleasant sky overhead makes us quite lively and we are all looking forward to the time when we shall enter port where we anticipate much pleasure in eating the fruit of our own country." Yet another gale struck on May 13, much to Surgens' dismay and discomfort: "it seems as though we have had all the gales that blows ahead and none astern to hurry us along[.] The old sailors lay all the gales that we have had to the passengers shooting and catching the birds which are continually hovering around the ship." By the 18th, they were in sight of Santa María Island, just offshore from the Chilean port of Concepción. Yet as spirits rose among passengers and crew, Captain Littleton's health began to fail: "The Captain is very feeble[.] His complaint is the Kidney Complaint."

On Sunday, May 20, they dropped anchor in the Bay of Talcahuano. They were 111 days out from Bristol Harbor. Arriving at about the same time were the *Georgiana* (121 days out of New York), the *Panama* (104 days from New York), the *Trescott* (106 days from Mystic), and a number of others unnamed. Surgens notes that "so many having been in there [Talcahuano] will make [the cost of] everything very high which will be very bad for us." Nevertheless, "the news is very encouraging from Calafornia[.] They tell us that gold is plenty and there is some fighting but nothing to be alarmed at." Surgens was not impressed with Talcahuano:

> It is nothing but a regular mud hole[.] The houses are formed of mud and sticks[.] The men are a lazy looking set[.] The women look none too well....There was 1200 live Yankees on shore last Saturday and at the present time there is 5 or 600 here….I like nothing I see here excepting the apples everything looks dirty and slovenly[.] If nothing happens I intend to go to Concepción[.] This city is about 10 miles from here[.] I am told there is some danger in going there alone....There was a fight onshore between the soldiers and the Yankees owing to the soldiers attempting to put a Yankee in the calaboose[.] This set us on and we took him away from them.

A day later Surgens followed through and "went in company with about 100 Yankees to the City of Concepción[.] About 75 of us went on foot and the rest on horseback[.] We all walked in company solider like[,] the horse or cavalry as we called them leading the way." However, he found Concepción little different from Talcahuano, with houses made of wood and adobe. Much of this city was still filled with rubble from an earthquake 14 years earlier ("the people do not think of making bricks to build their homes of but dig them from the ruins"). A steam mill several miles from town, though, did grind a very nice flour ("the wheat here is the finest that I ever saw"). He also reports on several other melees between the Yankees and Chilean soldiers that seem nearly to have been pitched battles: "There has been a number of rows on shore while we have been here one was quite severe the Chilean soldiers using their swords and the Yankees their fists and stones and clubs[.] We had one or two hurt quite severely one had his arm cut badly with a sword but the Chileans were hurt worse[.] One had his head split open..."

Meanwhile, Captain Littleton's health had deteriorated so badly that he relinquished the *Hopewell's* command to his mate and a "Captain Grinnell" and consented to being left behind at Talcahuano, where he was not expected to live long. A local Irishman, Captain Finch, agreed to let Littleton convalesce at his own home free of charge. But on June 3, when Surgens and several others carried their captain to Finch's house, they were shocked:

> Judge then our surprise when we were shown a room one half of which was floored with boards laid on the ground with the mud splashing up through them at every step[.] The other part of the room had nothing but the native dirt[.] The furniture of the room consisted of an old rickety bedstead with slats nailed across to hold the bed up...

Littleton took one look at the "damp dirty hole" and quickly declared that "he would go on board again before he would stay there and die if he was to die he would die amongst friends before he would be left in a place that he would not think of putting a horse in at home[.] He was accordingly brought on board again and ever since has been improving." Surgens was more than ready for the ship to be on its way: "if ever I was sick of a place I am of this....Several of the Calafornians have had lassoes thrown at them but most of them escaped[.] One lost his hat another 12 ounces but they gave him his life and he thought himself lucky."

On June 5, after 16 days at port, the *Hopewell* finally set sail again in company with the ships *Panama* and *John Petty*. The first several days out found the vessels moving slowly in calm seas: "this made us feel disheartened after the news we heard in port[.] We are in a hurry to dip our hands in the gold." Soon the winds picked up and the ship began making good time along its northward course. Surgens writes that "we all anticipate a quick passage to San Francisco[.] One year ago I was anticipating much pleasure not thinking that in one year I should be ploughing the Broad Pacific but here I am and the dream I then had is broken but I hope that I shall get something to make me comfortable for the future." On June 24, he composed the poem that serves as a kind of preface for the diary, signed William Surgens / Paciffic Ocean / June 24 / 1849.

By Monday, July 2, "all hands" on the *Hopewell* "are busily engaged in preparing for their campaign[.] Some making tents others knapsacks belts pistol cases knife sheaths etc." His final full entry is for July 4. At 9:00 in the morning, the militia came out on deck "and marched around

with the drum and fife." There was an oration, a reading of the Declaration of Independence, a prayer, and a song. Surgens noted that the oration "was very good[.] He gave a short account on the forming of the declaration and spoke about John Adams speech concerning it and with a few remarks concerning our future prosperity he left the subject." And here Surgens' account of the journey ends. There is no explanation for why he stopped writing, and indeed, there are 22 blank pages following the 72 that he filled with text. The *Hopewell* reached San Francisco about a month later, on August 9, and while there is no record of Surgens' experience in the mines, he did survive the journey and return to Warren, Rhode Island, where he married Isabella Peck in 1853. He and Isabella had three children, and he was commissioned as lieutenant with the 9th Regiment of Rhode Island Volunteers in the Civil War. He died at Warren of unknown causes in 1865.

Diaries documenting the voyage to California and its gold fields have long been sought by institutions and collectors alike, such that exceptional, unpublished examples are rarely met with in the trade today. Surgens' diary, at 72 pages and 18,000 words, is far more evocative and personal than most surviving argonaut journals, most of which quickly slip into dull recitations of position and weather once the reality of a grueling six-month sea voyage set in. We locate four other diaries from the *Hopewell's* 1849 cruise, including the 33-page log of Captain Littleton, who did recover from his illness. Two of the others are held by the Bancroft Library: that of Surgen's favorite cook, John Eddy, is 32 pages and only begins on April 13 as the vessel neared Tierra del Fuego; that of James Carder is 41 pages and begins on March 22 off the coast of Brazil. A fourth diary, by Harley McDonald, is held by the Oregon Historical Society. With an entry for every day from January 28 to July 5--more than five months--William Surgens' journal offers a remarkable description of the Cape Horn passage to California, one of the most daunting and legendary of all western migration routes in American history.

Relevant sources:

Eifler, Mark A.
2017 *The California Gold Rush: The Stampede that Changed the World*. Routledge, New York.
Lewis, Oscar
1949 *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields: The Migration by Water to California in 1849-1852*. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
Schultz, Charles
1999 *Forty-Niners 'Round the Horn*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

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[Westward Migration--California Gold Rush]. William H Surgens. [ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF WILLIAM H. SURGENS OF WARREN, RHODE ISLAND, DOCUMENTING HIS 1849 JOURNEY AROUND CAPE HORN TOWARD CALIFORNIA]. [Various places along the Cape Horm route from Rhode Island to California. January 28-July 5, 1849]. 6 1/2 x 7 3/4 (16.5 x 19.5 cm). 72 manuscript pp. in ink, about 18,000 words. Handwriting clear and legible. Lacks boards and most of calf spine, but stitching intact and textblock securely bound. Edgewear with soiling, and light dampstaining. In a box by Wiering. Overall about very good.

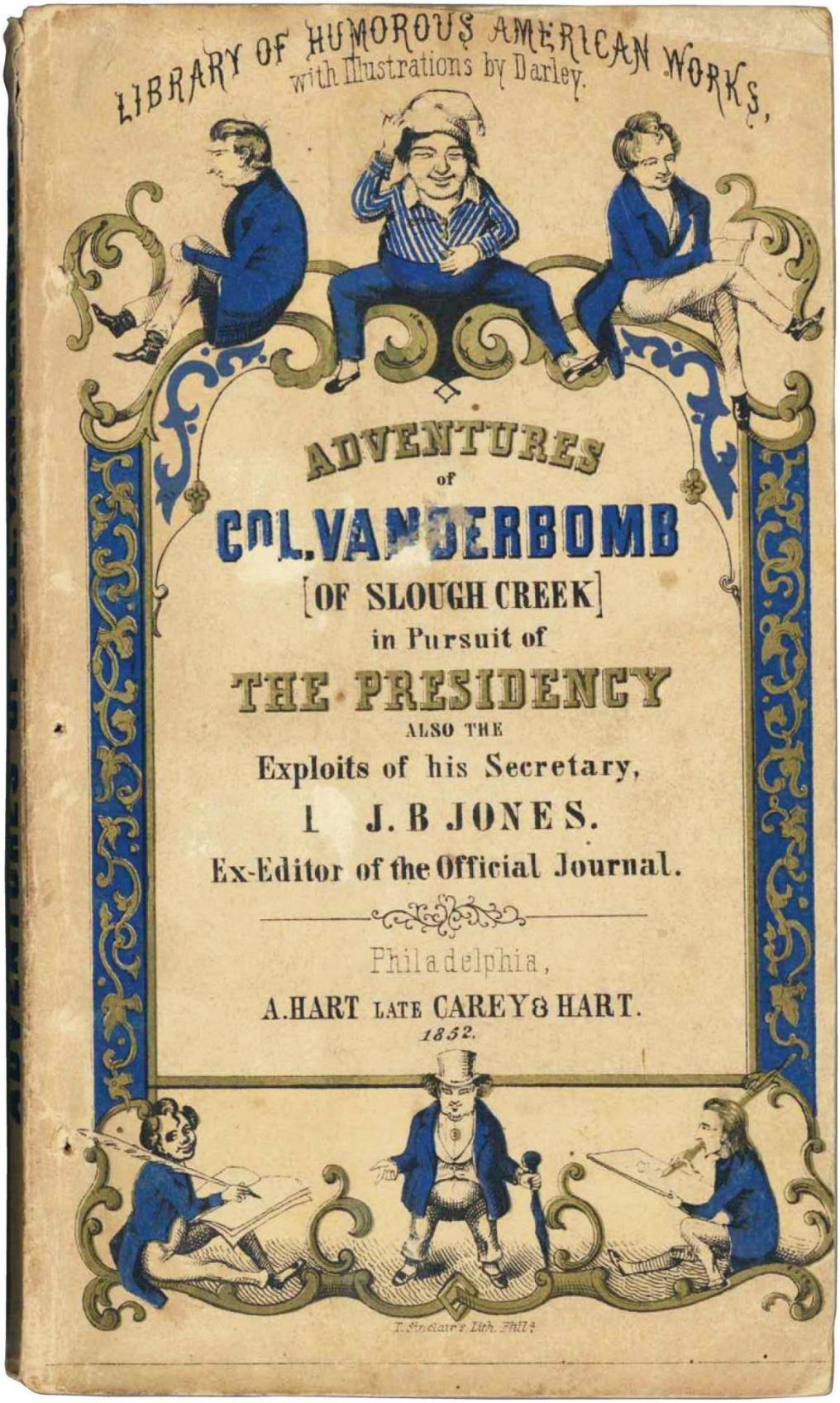
12. $**17,500**.

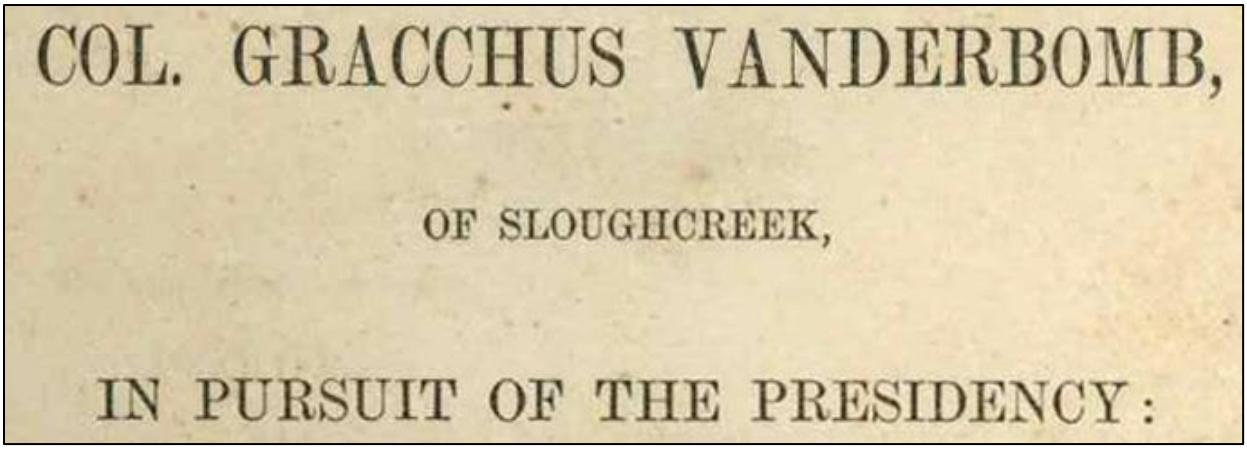
Colonel Vanderbomb and the Birth of the Presidential Campaign Novel

In the thick of a presidential campaign like none in living memory, it seems an opportune moment to consider both the roots of the president as a figure in American fiction and the context of the first presidential campaign novel, John Beauchamp Jones' *The Adventures of Col. Gracchus Vanderbomb, of Sloughcreek, in Pursuit of the Presidency*. Excluding early hagiographic writings about George Washington, the first appearance in fiction by any American president--whether real or imagined--was Seba Smith's appropriation of Andrew Jackson for the popular series of satirical letters featuring his *nom de plume*, Major Jack Downing. The Downing letters, begun in 1830 and styled as a picaresque that followed the titular character's move from rural Maine to Portland, later saw their hero move to Washington City, where he met and soon became the closest confidant of a fictionalized President Jackson. Smith's satire was generally subtle and good-humored, which distinguishes it from the next significant presidential fiction, Nathaniel Tucker's 1836 novel, *The Partisan Leader*. Set in 1849, a fictionalized and thoroughly corrupt Martin Van Buren is serving his fourth term as president, and eight southern states have left the union in response to his criminal administration. A pro-southern, pro-slavery novel advocating secession, it was a bitter addition to the canon of presidential fiction. Although *Vanderbomb* covers much the same ground of a divided nation on the brink of war, it does so with a comic sensibility that owes much more to Smith than to Tucker. **It is also American fiction's first presidential campaign novel**.

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

Jones spent much of his life in the border states of Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland, and most of his writing drew from this experience in its depictions of economic and political life in the liminal spaces between North and South. None of his works better epitomize this dynamic than *Vanderbomb*. Gracchus Vanderbomb is a man of two worlds. His father was the scion of Yankee Federalists (with commerical interests in the slave trade), his mother a daughter of Old Virginia's


LIBRARY OF HUMOROUS AMERICAN WORKS,
with Illustrations by Darley.
ADVENTURES
of
COL. VANDERBOMB
[OF SLOUGH CREEK]
in Pursuit of
THE PRESIDENCY
ALSO THE
Exploits of his Secretary,
J. B JONES.
Ex-Editor of the Official Journal.
Philadelphia,
A. HART LATE CAREY & HART.
1852.
T. Sinclair's Lith. Phila.



landed aristocracy. Their marriage agreement stipulated that the wedded couple should purchase a plantation estate "somewhere on the line separating the free states from those in which slavery existed, and that a mansion should be erected thereon, having one-half of its dimensions on either side." From then on, they were to live there for several months each year, alternating daily between "the northern and southern apartments of it" (p. 20). For the rest of the year, they would alternate between his estate at Furzehill on the Hudson and hers at Sloughcreek ("Pronounced by the natives Sloocreek") in southern Virginia. Finally, any daughters born to the happy pair would append "of Furzehill" to her name, any son "of Sloughcreek" (p. 21).

Thus Gracchus Vanderbomb was born and raised in Halfway House, with the line dividing north from south striking the center of its east-facing front door and passing through the hall. On either side, Jones continues, north and south,

> were two rooms of precisely the same size. The great difference observable between the apartments...was the remarkable one, that while the first were furnished with everything of domestic manufacture, the others contained nothing that was not imported. And these were under the care of negro slaves, while the attendants of the others were white domestics [p. 24].

Having thus set the stage for his titular hero--accompanied in all things by his personal tutor, the Harvard-educated Numerius Plutarch Kipps--Jones takes him from his curious home on a quixotic run for the presidency. Now at the age of 55, Vanderbomb is a large and prominent man, literally and figuratively, respected and revered by the inhabitants of Midway, the village that has grown up around Halfway House. After a lifetime immersed in political prose and conversation, "it was natural that all his words and acts should be dictated by policy, and that his constant object was to gain popularity" (p. 25). Given his unique personal history, Vanderbomb concludes that he is fated to be president, uniting the polarized nation behind his candidacy.

Most of the rest of the novel follows Vanderbomb's campaign. He and Kipps set out from Midway and realize, after traveling for ten miles, that they are heading south--and that they have inadvertently taken along a white domestic, their coachman. Soon mistaken for abolitionists, they are apprehended, interrogated, held in a potato hole, then dragged into a barnyard to await tarring and feathering. At the last possible moment, Vanderbomb and Kipps are spared such indignity by

the arrival of friends from Midway (summoned by Vanderbomb's coachman) who can vouch for the fact that the colonel "owns a plantation in the south, and has now upon it a hundred slaves! He is to be mistaken for an abolitionist! Why, he is spoken of for the presidency!" Our hero seizes the moment, celebrating "the patriotism and virtue of the people, and impress[ing] upon them the necessity of always submitting cheerfully to the will of the majority" (p. 75).

Having made such a favorable impression with voters in the south, he and Kipps return to Halfway House and plan a similar march into the north. Not surprisingly, since this is a farce, they mistakenly bring along Juba, Vanderbomb's enslaved Black coachman. When they stop at an inn for the night, they find a waiting mob of free Blacks and abolitionists who had been tipped off to their arrival and suspect them of seeking escaped fugitives. After finishing his meal, Vanderbomb addresses the crowd: "Gentlemen and fellow citizens, although as yet a stranger to you, I appear in your presence with perfect freedom; a freeman on free soil [Good! cried several voices. He's a Freesoiler!]" (p. 95). Much to the angry crowd's appreciation, Vanderbomb speaks firmly against talk of rending the union: "Away, then, I say, with the idea of secession! It is impracticable and ridiculous! What man, I ask, who aspires to be president, and who has the shadow of the remotest chance of success has dared even to intimate his approbation of such a treasonable scheme, under any circumstances, and in any contingency whatever? Not one!" (p. 96). And bringing it back to himself (his favorite subject), he concludes "But the greatest security of the Union, gentlemen, and the surest guarantee you can have, will be the elevation to the presidency of an individual whose private interests lean neither to one side nor the other; one who is, from birth, from education, and from interest, just as much inclined to the North as to the South" (p. 98).

Just as Vanderbomb seems to have won over the crowd, a Black preacher shouts out: "What have you to say in regard to *our* rights?" [p. 98]. Vanderbomb argues against any right to equality in practice (regardless of whether we are born equal), and then refuses to engage further with the preacher when he learns that the man is ineligible to vote. This inflames the mob, and once again Vanderbomb and Kipps are bound and held captive. His friends again ride to their rescue and put things right with the crowd, to whom the colonel then delivers a rousing speech before returning to Halfway House in triumph. Ultimately, though, both parties--the pro-slavery secessionist and abolitionist pro-union--pass Vanderbomb over for their respective presidential nominations. He continues for a brief time as an independent candidate, but eventually all of his electors abandon his ticket, and he is little more than an afterthought in the final vote. Yet not being one to give in easily, he begins to make plans for the future:

> "Kipps! if I can't be president, I can be a second B[ur]r! Do you understand?"
> "I understand. Be revenged, Gracchus!"
> "Kipps! Let us plot—"[p. 202].

As noted by literary historian D. Berton Emerson, "this quixotic novel....presents a political system characterized by a preponderance of demagoguery, charges of fake news, and campaign strategies that depend on manipulating certain constituencies against others in the name of national consensus" (2024:192). The more things change. *Adventures of Col. Gracchus Vanderbomb* is quite scarce, particularly so in original wrappers as fresh as these. Both the front and rear covers are bordered by highly decorated gilt and deep royal blue frames; the front wrapper features comic illustrations by F. O. C. Darley, while the rear wrapper lists other works by the publisher. But for

a small clip from the upper corner of the front wrap, perhaps as an early remainder mark, and three small scuffs in the title area, this copy is in near fine condition. **OCLC reports about 15 copies of *Vanderbomb* in institutional collections, but we find no other example having appeared on the market--at auction or in the trade--since 1915**.

When the Civil War began, Jones fled from Philadelphia--where he had founded and edited the pro-South *Southern Monitor*--to the first Confederate capitol in Montgomery, Alabama. There he was hired as a high ranking government clerk within the War Department, and he followed the government when it moved to Richmond later in 1861. He kept a meticulous journal through the entire rebellion, published in 1866 as *A Confederate War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capitol*, long recognized as one of the best narratives of daily life in the southern homefront. It is ironic that we best remember Jones for this work today, as he did not live to see it in print, having died of tuberculosis several months earlier on February 4, 1866.

Relevant sources:

Emerson, D. Berton

2024 *American Literary Misfits: The Alternative Democracies of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Print Cultures*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

2024 Failed Periodicals, Forgotten Satires, and Alternative Forms of Dissent in Antebellum America, in *The Part and the Whole in Early American Literature, Print Culture, and Art*, edited by Daniel Diez Couch and Matthew Pethers, pp. 172-197. Bucknell University Press, Lewisburg, PA.

Lapides, Frederick R.

1970 John Beauchamp Jones: A Southern View of the Abolitionists. *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 33(2):63-73.

Smith, Jeff

2009 *The Presidents We Imagine: Two Centuries of White House Fictions on the Page, on the Stage, Onscreen, and Online*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

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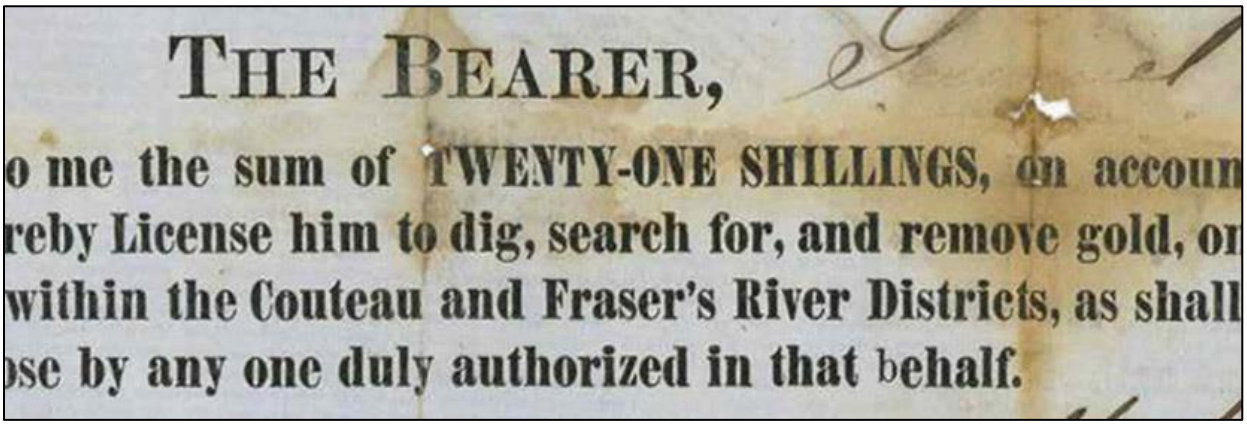
[American Fiction--Presidential Elections]. J. B. Jones. ADVENTURES OF COL. GRACCHUS VANDERBOMB, OF SLOUGHCREEK, IN PURSUIT OF THE PRESIDENCY: ALSO, THE EXPLOITS OF MR. NUMERIUS PLUTARCH KIPPS, HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY. Library of Humorous American Works. A. Hart, late Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, 1852. 202 pp., with 24 pp. of advertisements at rear. Small 8vo (20 cm). Original stiff wrappers with lithographed details and borders in blue and gold on front and rear wraps, cover illustrations by Darley. Spine titled in blue, very little wear. Narrow diagonal clip from top corner of front wrap, three small scuff marks in center area of front wrap, light foxing, previous owner's name on title page. Overall very good or better. In protective board cover with cloth spine [BAL 10995; Wright 1369].

13. **SOLD**.

The Only Surviving License from the Fraser River Gold Rush

By the late 1850s, the glory days of the California Gold Rush were long past. Miners had exhausted the easily reached surface gold in riverbeds accessible to pans and improvised wooden sluices or rocker boxes. Many had melted away from the camps in search of better employment or the next easy strike, while those who continued were developing far more capital-intensive and destructive methods to extract the gold that remained. But early in 1858, newspapers in Oregon and Washington began to contain short notices about gold discoveries along the Fraser River in the non-sovereign British territory known as New Caledonia (now British Columbia). As copies of those papers made their way south to San Francisco, California papers picked up the news and soon were sending their own correspondents into the north. A trickle of stories became a torrent from February to April, by the end of which month more than 900 miners had left San Franscisco on vessels heading toward the Fraser. From May to June, that number would swell to 10,000, and to more than 30,000 before year's end. Canadian authorities, though, had witnessed from afar the unregulated chaos that followed California's stampede, and so borrowing from their fellow British colonials in Australia, they immediately required all miners working along the Fraser to purchase licenses. Each miner had to carry his license on his person at all times, even while laboring in the muck, and to present it on demand. Most of these were likely worn to bits. **This example, issued to Samuel Bates on April 11, 1859, is the only known license to have survived**.


THE BEARER,

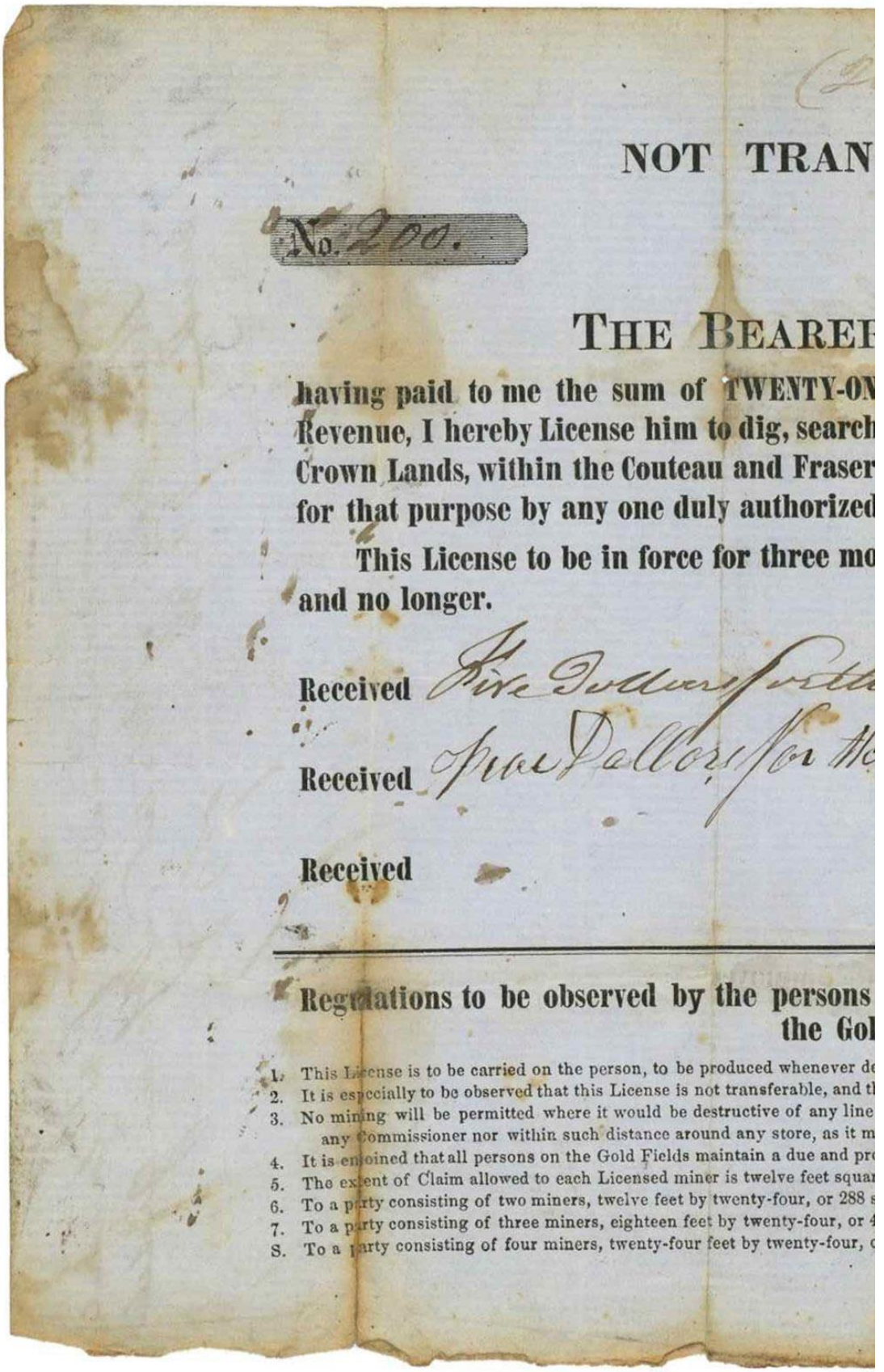
o me the sum of TWENTY-ONE SHILLINGS, on accoun

reby License him to dig, search for, and remove gold, or

within the Couteau and Fraser's River Districts, as shall

ose by any one duly authorized in that behalf.

From its source in Yellowhead Lake on the border between present-day Alberta and British Columbia, the Fraser River flows for 850 miles to its mouth on the Straight of Georgia. Its most important tributary, the Thompson River, meets it 145 miles inland from its mouth. For more than 10,000 years--and perhaps as many as 20,000--the Nlaka'pamux, Squamish, Musqueam, and Sto:lo First Nations and their ancestors have called the Fraser Valley home, and before European contact they built their lives around the extraordinary natural resources of the region, particularly the red or sockeye salmon. The Fraser Valley and neighboring portions of the Interior Plateau came to be known as New Caledonia after Simon Fraser (for whom the river is named) explored the region and established the first British forts and fur trading posts west of the Rocky Mountains from 1805 to 1808. For most of the next half-century, New Caledonia was part of the British claim to North America, though not a formal colony, governed as a fur-trading district of the Northwest Company and later the Hudson's Bay Company. Occasional gold discoveries were reported throughout the



NOT TRAN

No. 200.

THE BEARE

having paid to me the sum of TWENTY-ON
Revenue, I hereby License him to dig, search
Crown Lands, within the Couteau and Fraser
for that purpose by any one duly authorized

This License to be in force for three mo
and no longer.

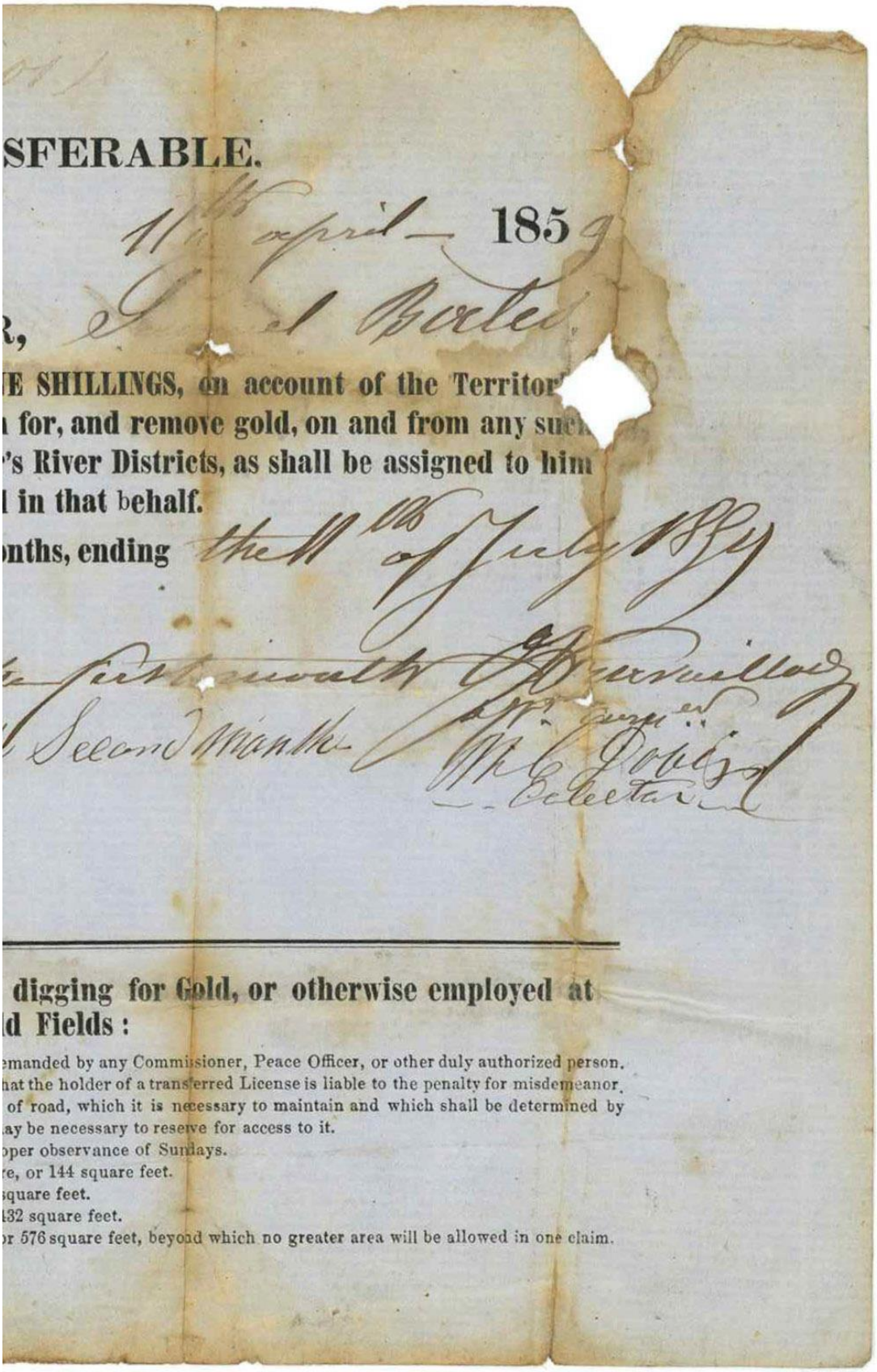
Received Five Dollars [illegible]

Received Five Dollars for th

Received

Regulations to be observed by the persons
the Gol

1. This License is to be carried on the person, to be produced whenever de
2. It is especially to be observed that this License is not transferable, and t
3. No mining will be permitted where it would be destructive of any line
any Commissioner nor within such distance around any store, as it m
4. It is enjoined that all persons on the Gold Fields maintain a due and pr
5. The extent of Claim allowed to each Licensed miner is twelve feet squa
6. To a party consisting of two miners, twelve feet by twenty-four, or 288
7. To a party consisting of three miners, eighteen feet by twenty-four, or
8. To a party consisting of four miners, twenty-four feet by twenty-four,



SFERABLE.

April — 185 9

R,

E SHILLINGS, on account of the Territor
n for, and remove gold, on and from any such
's River Districts, as shall be assigned to him
l in that behalf.

nths, ending the 11th of July 1859

Second Month

digging for Gold, or otherwise employed at
d Fields :

emanded by any Commissioner, Peace Officer, or other duly authorized person.
hat the holder of a transferred License is liable to the penalty for misdemeanor.
of road, which it is necessary to maintain and which shall be determined by
ay be necessary to reserve for access to it.
per observance of Sundays.
e, or 144 square feet.
quare feet.
32 square feet.
r 576 square feet, beyond which no greater area will be allowed in one claim.

region, but the find that launched the gold rush was made by a member of the Shuswap Nation in 1856. In February 1857, after more First Nations people had begun using gold in exchange for merchandise at the trading posts, HBC Chief Factor and governor of Vancouver Island, Sir James Douglas, sent 800 ounces from Victoria to the United States Mint in San Francisco. News of the shipment, which confirmed swirling rumors about a strike along the Fraser, spread through the city's burgeoning population of unemployed miners. Soon the rush was on.

On December 28, 1857, two months before sending gold to San Francisco's mint, Douglas had anticipated what was to come and issued a proclamation that established the first gold mining laws for the Fraser Valley: "Whereas by law all mines of gold, and all gold in its natural place of deposit, within the districts of Fraser's River and Thompson's River...whether on the lands of the Queen or of any of Her Majesty's subjects, belong to the Crown." Having thus taken possession of the land and its contents for Great Britain, Douglas issued a set of Provisional Regulations one day later, on December 29, the first two points of which declared that:

> 1st. From and after the first day of February next, no person will be permitted to dig, search for, or remove gold, on or from any lands, public or private, without first taking out and paying for a license in the form annexed.
>
> 2nd. For the present, and pending further proof of the extent and productiveness of the gold deposits, the license fee has been fixed at 10s. per month to be paid in advance; but it is to be understood that the rate is subject to future adjustment as circumstances may render expedient.

More than 80 percent of the fortune seekers barreling toward the Fraser Valley hailed from California, where each mining camp had established its own laws and regulations. Many of these Americans, not surprisingly, detested Douglas's mining laws and aimed to circumvent Victoria by going directly to the Fraser. Douglas responded quickly and with force. He placed a gunboat, the HMS *Satellite*, at the mouth of the river, then chartered the Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company of California to operate six vessels between Victoria and the Fraser, provided the company agreed to carry no unlicensed passengers and only goods that belonged to--or had been purchased from--the HBC. In return, ship operators would retain all revenues but two dollars per passenger, paid not to the colony at Vancouver Island but to the HBC. In England, however, the Parliament rejected Douglas's effort to assert HBC control over the Fraser, declining to renew the company's exclusive trading rights west of the Rocky Mountains. Instead, on August 2, it created a new Crown colony dubbed British Columbia and offered the governorship to Douglas, so long as he severed all ties with the HBC. Douglas agreed, and the founding of the new colony ended rumblings among the California miners about annexing the region as an American territory.

The Fraser River Gold Rush thus set the stage for Great Britain to take command of the Pacific Northwest above the 49th parallel. Despite its wider significance, the Fraser rush produced far less print and manuscript material than the rush in California. Gold deposits from the sand bars of the Fraser were largely depleted by 1860, so that the entire duration of the stampede was little more than three full years. The first printing press did not arrive until the summer of 1858--the earliest press along Canada's west coast--when the first issue of the *Victoria Gazette* appeared on

Friday, June 25. By the end of the year four other newspapers, including one in French, had been established at Victoria on Vancouver Island. Most other gold rush imprints, excluding government statutes and proclamations, were produced elsewhere in Canada, in the United States, or in Great Britain. Of those printed along this Pacific frontier, very few have survived.

With the exception of those newspapers, acts, and proclamations, there are only a handful of recorded British Columbia imprints from 1858 to 1860, the height of the gold rush years. The most important of these, and the first book printed in Victoria, is Alfred Waddington's *The Fraser Mines Vindicated, or, the History of Four Months* (1858), last offered at the Streeter sale where it sold for $1400. *Rules and Regulations for the Working of Gold Mines*: *Issued in Conformity with the Gold Fields Act, 1859*, was last offered by John Howell in 1980 for $550. Eberstadt offered the last complete copy of the *First Victoria Directory* of 1860 in 1965 for $900. We trace no other imprints from this period at auction or in the trade. OCLC lists another four items in institutional collections for which there are no sale or auction records, including a partially printed document held by Yale giving the steamer Wilson E. Hunt permission to enter the Fraser. The only known Fraser River gold rush diary in private hands sold for $25,000 in 2023.

The imprint that we offer here, completed in manuscript, is the only known surviving example of a Fraser River gold mining license. It records two payments of $5.00 (21 shillings) made by Samuel Bates for two months of mining rights and is signed by O. T. Travaillot, appointed by Douglas as revenue officer at the confluence of the Fraser and Thompson rivers. Printed in the lower third of the document are eight "Regulations to be observed by persons digging for Gold, or otherwise employed at the Gold Fields." The license is well worn, having been folded and refolded many times, and was almost certainly carried by Bates during his daily labors on the Fraser. **It is also, we suggest, among the most evocative of all Fraser River primary sources**.

Relevant sources:

Howay, Frederic W.
1926 *Early History of the Fraser River Mines*. Archives of British Columba VI. Victoria, BC.
Lavender, David S.
1956 *Land of Giants: The Drive to the Pacific Northwest, 1750-1950*. Doubleday, New York.
Mills, Thomas
2017 Adapting to Miners' Practices: The Development of Gold Mining Law and the 1863 Mining Board. *British Columbian Quarterly* 196(1):43-65.

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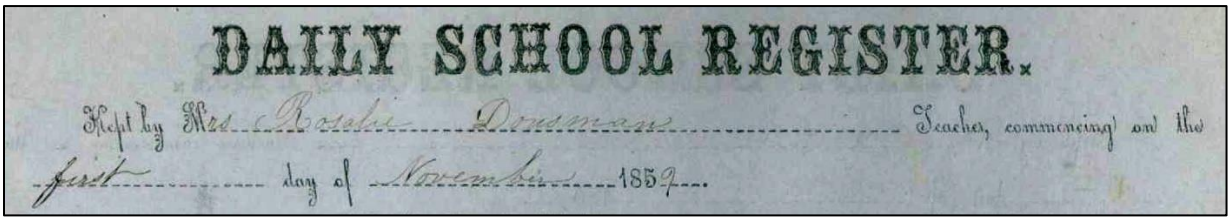
[British Columbia--Fraser River Gold Rush]. [ORIGINAL FRASER RIVER GOLD MINING LICENSE, COMPLETED IN MANUSCRIPT AND SIGNED BY REVENUE OFFICER O. T. TRAVAILLOT]. [N.p., but British Columbia, issued April 11, 1859]. Printed license completed in manuscript, 9 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (24 x 9.5 cm). Pale blue paper; heavy wear and staining along old folds, with several small pinholes and a larger hole costing several letters in upper right portion of document. Docketed on verso. Overall good.

14. **SOLD**.

Daily Registers of Rosalie Dousman at the Menominee Indian School

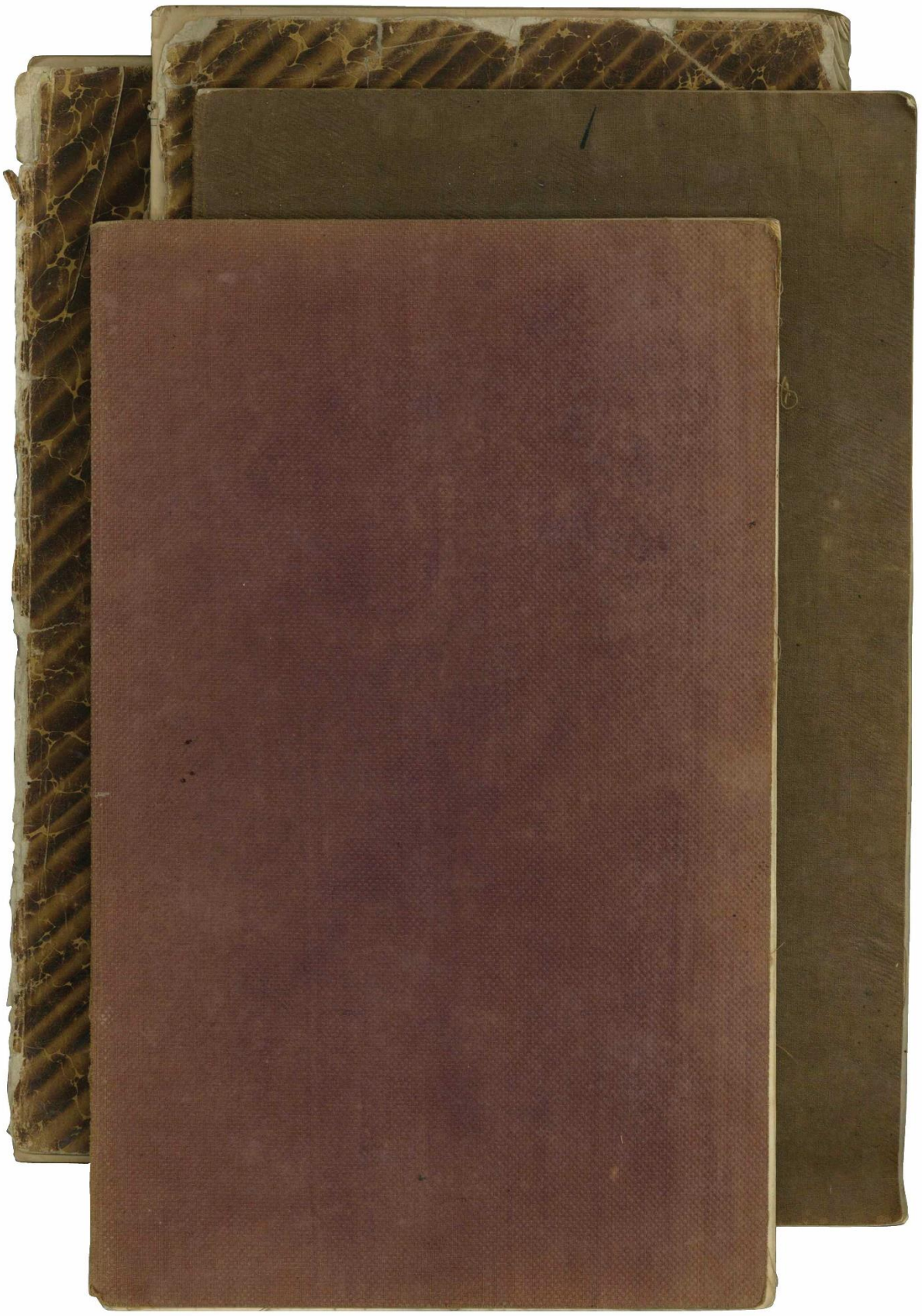
Rosalie Dousman, the Métis daughter of an Ojibwe-French mother and a French schooner pilot, was expecting her seventh child in June 1825. Her husband, John, was a German-American sutler at Green Bay's Fort Howard in what is now Wisconsin. But John died that month at the age of 39. Rosalie had not turned 30. Relying on her family connections--her three brothers all lived in Green Bay, and her brother-in-law was wealthy Chicago trader Michael Dousman--she was able to acquire 80 acres of farmland near the fort and settled there with her children. Then in 1830, the new parish pastor visited Green Bay and soon established a mission school for Menominee Indians living nearby. The trustees, in turn, recommended Rosalie Dousman "as well qualified to direct such a school & to instruct our Ind[ian] youth in the necessary branches of civilized & domestic life" (in Allen 2010:17). Dousman was a natural choice: her own grandmother's Ojibwe was an Algonquian language like that of the Menominee, she had received two years of formal education herself at an Ursuline convent school in Trois-Rivières, and she had taught her own children to read and write. Thereafter she forged a relationship with the Menominee that would span the rest of her life. **Completed in manuscript by Dousman and her daughter, Kate, who worked with her as a teacher at the school, these four registers have daily entries from 1859 to 1866, after the Menominee established their reservation at Keshena in 1854**.

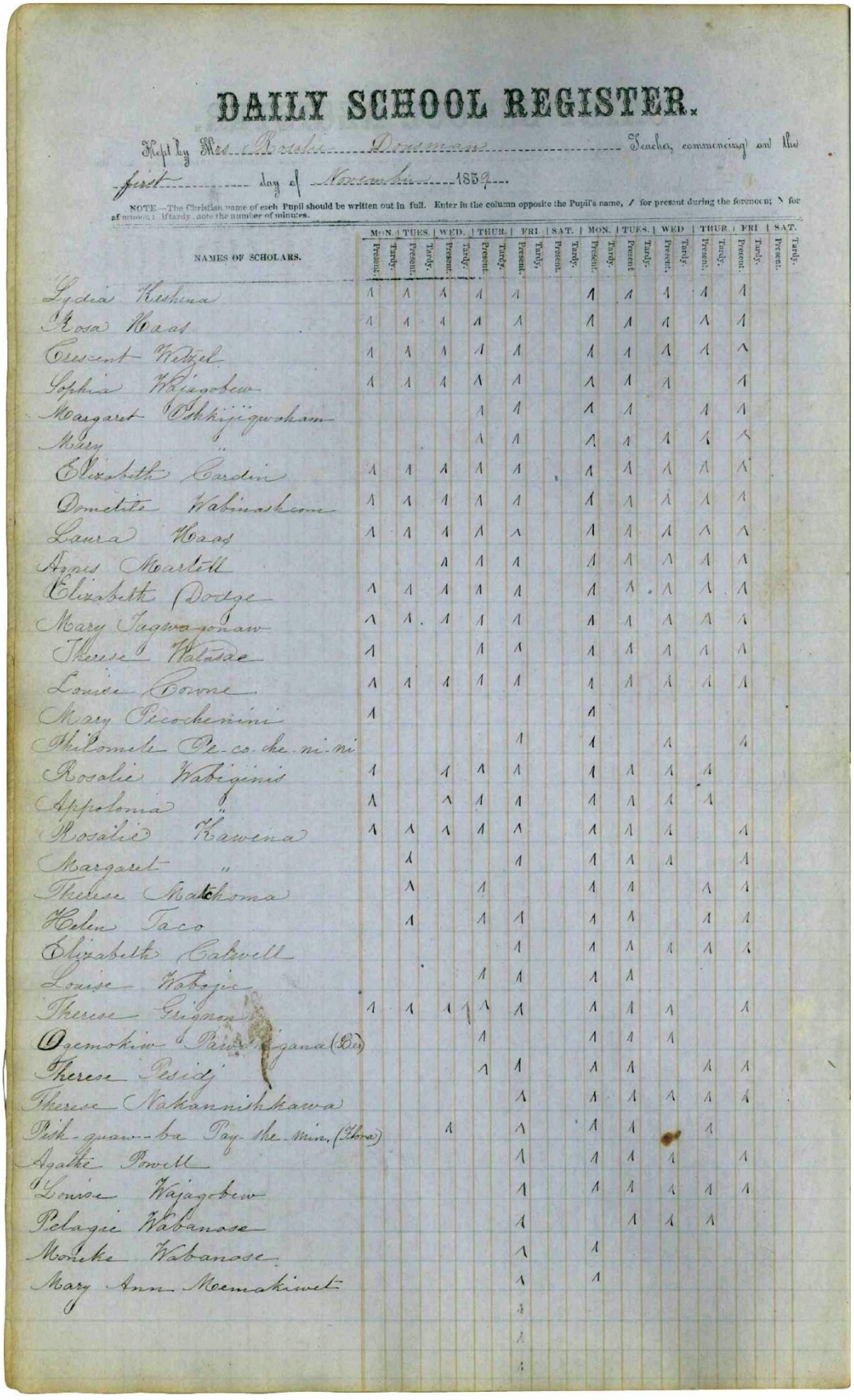

DAILY SCHOOL REGISTER.

Kept by Mrs. Rosalie Dousman Teacher, commencing on the first day of November 1859.

Dousman was born in 1796 on Mackinac Island, at the junction of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. She had married John at the age of 12, and they had moved to Green Bay in 1810, where he constructed a grist mill, distillery, and saw mill. Just two years later, their home and properties were ransacked and burned in the War of 1812 by a party of Ho-Chunk or Chippewa Indians allied with the British. As the only American living at Green Bay, the warriors had specifically targeted John for death, but he was warned in advance by a friendly Menominee leader who assisted his escape to Mackinac. John and Rosalie had assumed correctly that her Ojibwe ancestry would keep her safe, given amicable relations between the tribes. Several weeks before, though, she had given birth to their first child, a daughter Jane, and some of the war party decided while ransacking the house that they should kill the baby in John's place. Rosalie managed to hide Jane and a servant girl or nurse in the cellar for two days until the war party finally left. Afterwards, John and Rosalie moved back to Mackinac. He found work as a sutler at the fort, and over the next decade they had five more children. In 1824, with John already beginning to show signs of illness, they returned to Green Bay, where Rosalie was widowed soon after.

To make a living for her family, Dousman began a sewing school for women and girls that she operated out of her home. At about the same time, the U. S. government offered to fund an Anglican school for the Menominee residing near Green Bay. But the tribe--many of whom, like Dousman, were devoutly Catholic--refused to send their children. And when the Green Bay parish





DAILY SCHOOL REGISTER.

Kept by Mrs. Rosalie Donovan Teacher, commencing on the first day of November 1859.

NOTE.—The Christian name of each Pupil should be written out in full. Enter in the column opposite the Pupil's name, / for present during the forenoon; \ for afternoon; H tardy, note the number of minutes.

NAMES OF SCHOLARS.	MON.		TUES.		WED.		THUR.		FRI		SAT.		MON.		TUES.		WED		THUR		FRI		SAT.	
	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.	Present.	Tardy.
Lydia Keshena	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Rosa Kaas	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Crescent Wetzel	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		\			
Sophia Wajagobew	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/				/			
Margaret Pshkijigwoham							/		/				/		/				/		/			
Mary "							/		/				/		/		/		/		\			
Elizabeth Cardin	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		\			
Demetite Wabinaskeme	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Laura Kaas	/		/		/		/		\				/		/		/		/		/			
Agnes Mearlett					/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Elizabeth Dodge	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Mary Tagwagonaw	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Therese Walasae	/				/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Louise Cowne	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/		/		/			
Mary Pecochenimi	/												/											
Philomete Pe-co-che-ni-ni									/				/				/				/			
Rosalie Wabiginis	/				/		/		/				/		/		/		/					
Appolonia "	/				\		/		/				/		/		/		/					
Rosalie Kawena	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/				/			
Margaret "			/						/				/		/		/				/			
Therese Matchoma			/				/						/		/				/		/			
Helen Taco			/				/		/				/		/				/		/			
Elizabeth Caldwell									/				/		/		/		/		/			
Louise Wabogic							/		/				/		/									
Therese Geisman	/		/		/		/		/				/		/		/				/			
Ogemokiw Paul Pigana (Dr)							/						/		/		/							
Therese Pesidj							/		/				/		/				/		/			
Therese Nahannishkawa									/				/		/		/		/		/			
Pish-gnaw-ba Pay the Min. (Thos)					/				/				/		/				/					
Agathe Powell									/				/		/		/				/			
Louise Wajagobew									/				/		/		/		/		/			
Pelagie Wabanose									/						/		/		/					
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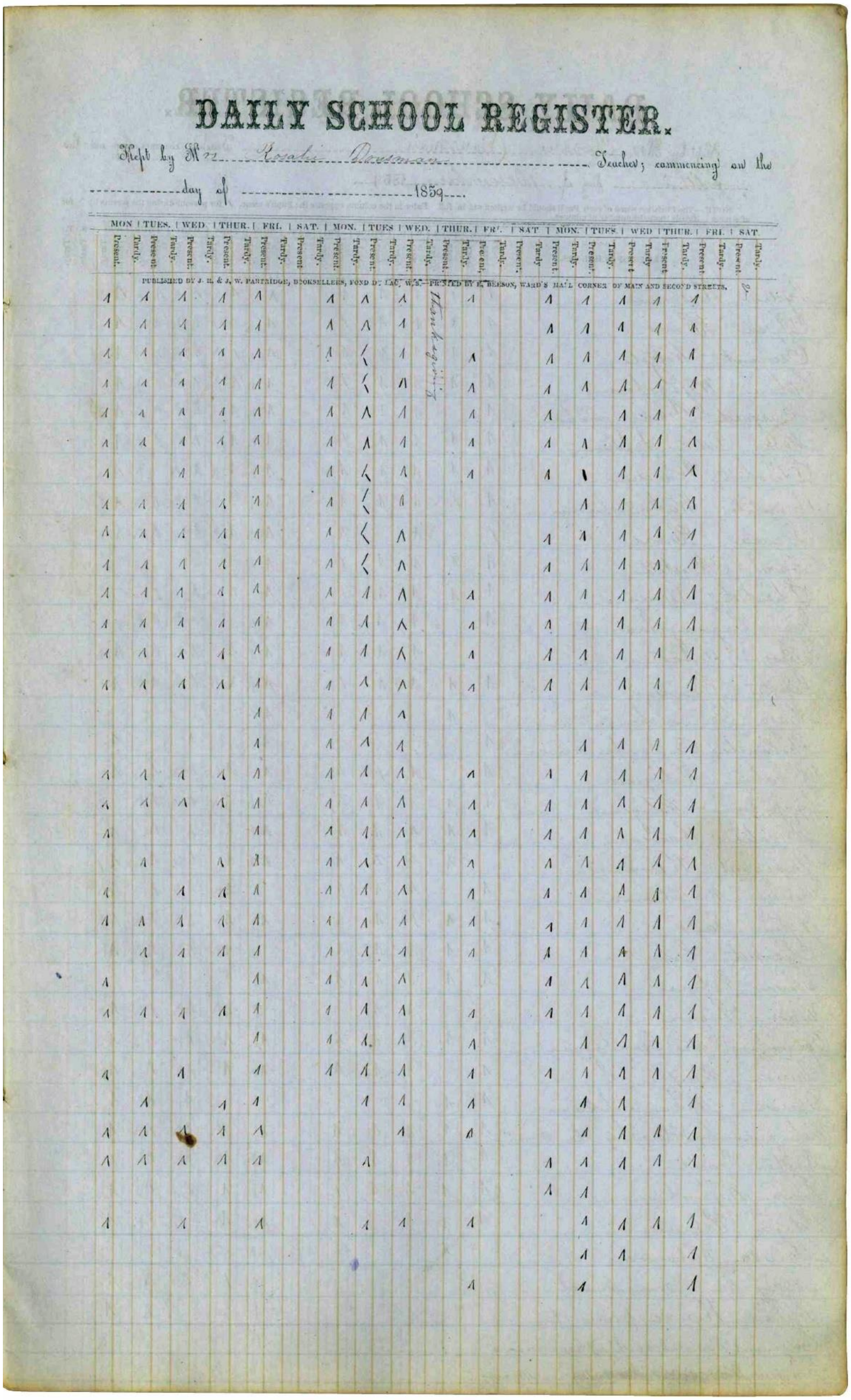
DAILY SCHOOL REGISTER.
Kept by Mrs Teacher; commencing on the
day of 1859
MON | TUES. | WED. | THUR. | FRI. | SAT. | MON. | TUES | WED. | THUR. | FRI. | SAT | MON. | TUES. | WED | THUR. | FRI. | SAT.
Present. Tardy.
PUBLISHED BY J. H. & J. W. PARTRIDGE, BOOKSELLERS, FOND DU LAC, WIS.—PRINTED BY E. BEESON, WARD'S HALL CORNER OF MAIN AND SECOND STREETS.

obtained an endorsement from the local Indian agent for their school, the government refused to provide a stipend. So beginning in 1831 the parish subsidized Dousman to teach local Menominee students at her own home school. In her first year, she had 33 Menominee and 17 mixed heritage children who came daily to learn "industry and Christian morality" (in Jensen 2006:273). By the end of the decade, the Menominee Catholics had built their own school, where Dousman taught the older girls and young children; male priests taught the older boys.

During the early 1840s, most of the Menominee moved about fifty miles west from Green Bay to Lake Poygan, where the Catholic parish established a new mission and school. Dousman was asked to direct the school. Having just turned 50 and with all of her own children grown--the youngest, Elizabeth, was 21--Dousman answered the call. With the full support of the chiefs, the government, and the Catholic priests, she taught English, arithmetic, and geometry. Jane, who had accompanied her mother to Lake Poygan, opened a free sewing school for adult women. Then in 1848, Menominee chiefs signed the Treaty of Lake Poygan, selling all of their remaining lands in Wisconsin (more than 4.5 million acres) to the United States in exchange for about $350,000 and 600,000 acres of land in central Minnesota, where they were expected to move. Yet Grand Chief Oshkosh and other Menominee leaders felt that they had signed the treaty under coercion. Oshkosh traveled to Washington in August 1850 and met with President Millard Fillmore, requesting that his people be allowed to remain in Wisconsin. Fillmore acquiesced, allowing the Menominee to establish a reservation north of Poygan Lake on the Wolf River. Today it is the largest reservation east of the Mississippi, its principal town and seat of government at Keshena.

Rosalie--joined by daughters Catherine (Kate) and Elizabeth, as well as Jane--went north with the Menominee on their move to Keshena. By 1856, Jane ran an industrial school, instructing women in the art of sewing, while Rosale and Kate taught in Keshena's single-story wood frame school building. All of the lessons were in English, an indispensable tool for pupils adjusting to a landscape transformed by the unflagging encroachment of white settlers. They learned from such American texts as William McGuffey's *Reader*, Charles Sanders's *Spelling Book*, Roswell Smith's *Geography*, and Joseph Ray's *Arithmetic*. Rosalie Dousman taught them to live and work in this new world, but as the pages of these daily registers suggest, she never insisted that they relinquish their Menominee names and identities. All four registers date from the decade after the Dousmans moved with the tribe to Keshena, and all consist of blank printed forms completed in a clear hand by either Rosalie or Kate. Each pair of facing pages contains attendance information for students listed along the outer edge of the left page. Nearly all of the students have French or Anglo given names and Menominee surnames. Dates and register-specific details are as follows:

Register 1: November 1859-May 1861 (Rosalie); sewn, stiff canvas wraps.
Register 2: April 1863-May 1864 (Kate); sewn, stiff canvas wraps.
Register 3: September 1864-February 1866 (unsigned, but in Rosalie's hand, includes each student's age); sewn, marbled paper wraps detached, rear wrap missing.
Register 4: June 1864-February 1866 (Kate); marbled paper wraps detached.

Each of these registers tracks dozens of Menominee pupils--boys and girls, ages 5 to 19--through the Dousman's program. In her brief 1862 report to the Department of the Interior, Rosalie noted that she had begun teaching combined classes with boys and girls the previous spring, and that the most advanced students attended Kate's school. She continued that:

> In last May the school numbered thirty-four scholars--fifteen boys and nineteen girls. At present it numbers thirty six boys and twenty-two girls; average of daily attendance twenty-five to thirty. A large number of my pupils are beginners, never having attended school before this summer. Many are apt, and learn readily; some have more difficulty learning the sounds of the alphabet. All are diligent in school, which has afforded me much pleasure to witness [1863:483].

Aside from similar short reports that Rosalie and Jane Dousman submitted to the Interior Department, practically no other surviving records or papers pertaining to the Menominee school survive, whether from its time in Green Bay, Lake Poygan, or Keshena. These daily registers thus provide unparalleled insights into the school and its Native American scholars. **We likewise locate few such rosters from other Indian schools in the United States**. Tragedy came in 1865 when smallpox ravaged the reservation, scattering families to the surrounding forest, and by 1867 tribal population had declined by 10% from when the Menominee had moved to Wolf River and founded Keshena. Kate died shortly after, in 1868 or 1869, and Rosalie retired about the same time, moving to nearby Shawano with Jane in 1869. Rosalie Dousman died on November 18, 1872. Jane took her body back to Green Bay and buried her alongside John in Allouez Cemetery. Like other Métis women, she and her daughters "carried on the tradition of elite women who combined public and private, social and political roles in their cultures" (Jenson 2006:276). Anne Beiser Allen simply notes that "The Menominee called her 'Mother'" (2010:16).

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Secretary of the Interior
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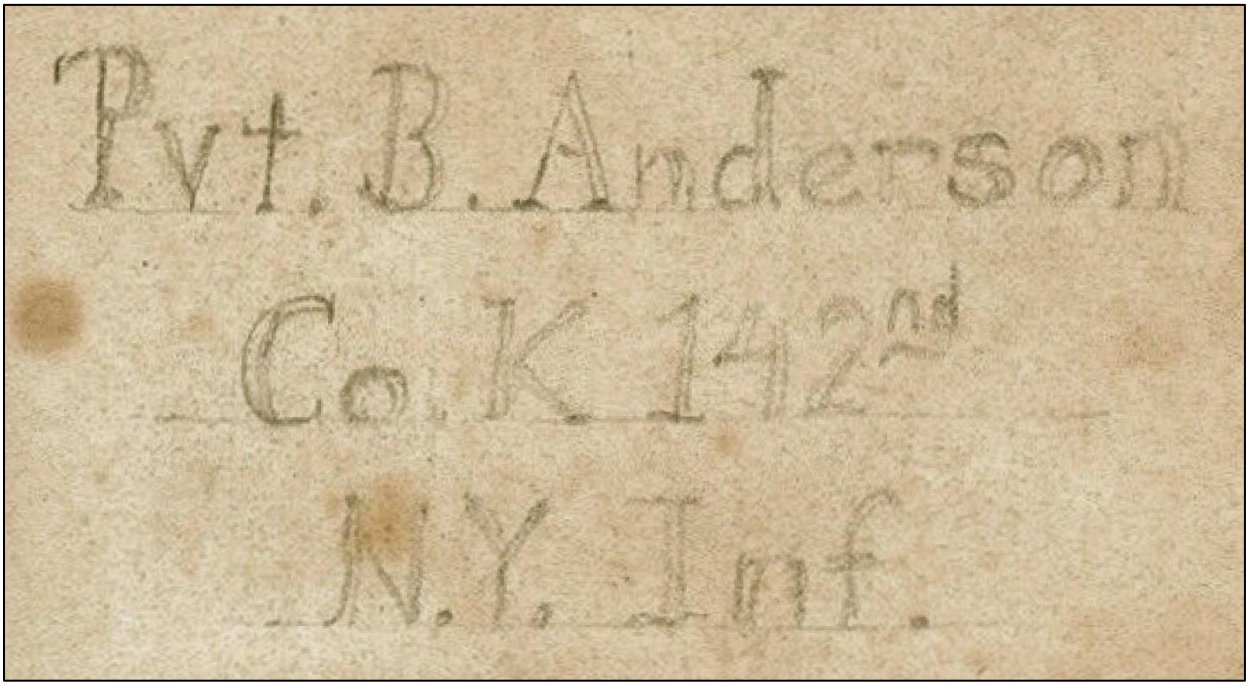
[Education--Menominee Indians]. Rosalie and Kate Dousman. [DAILY SCHOOL REGISTERS FOR CLASSES TAUGHT BY ROSALIE AND KATE DOUSMAN AT THE MENOMINEE INDIAN SCHOOL IN KESHENA, WISCONSIN, FROM 1859 TO 1866]. [Keshena, Wisconsin, November 1859-February 1866]. [48], [44], [42], [44] pp. 13 1/4 x 8 in. (34 x 20 cm). Printed forms completed in manuscript. Two registers with stiff canvas wraps, two in marbled paper wraps (detached), one with rear marbled wrap missing. Overall good to very good

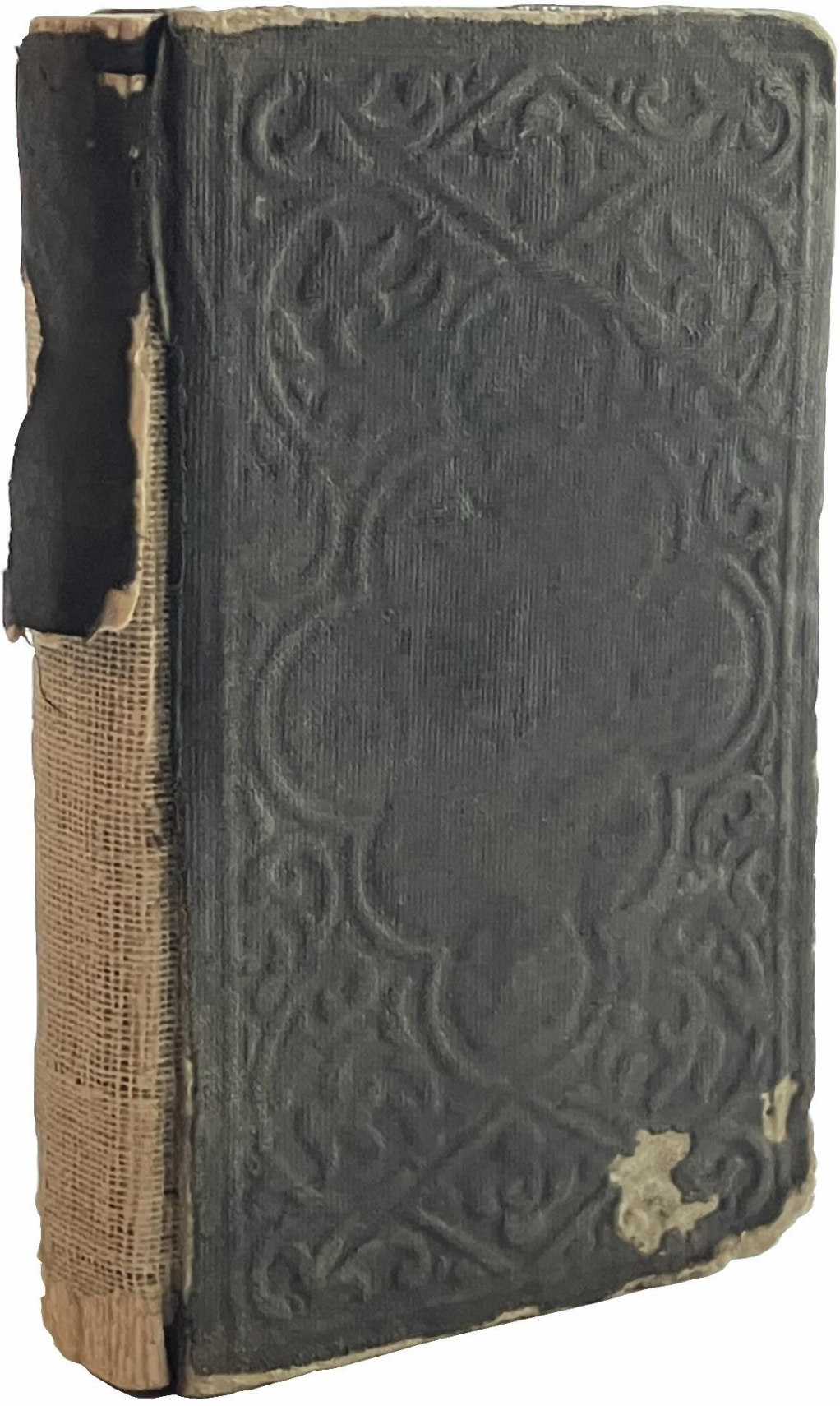
15. **SOLD**.

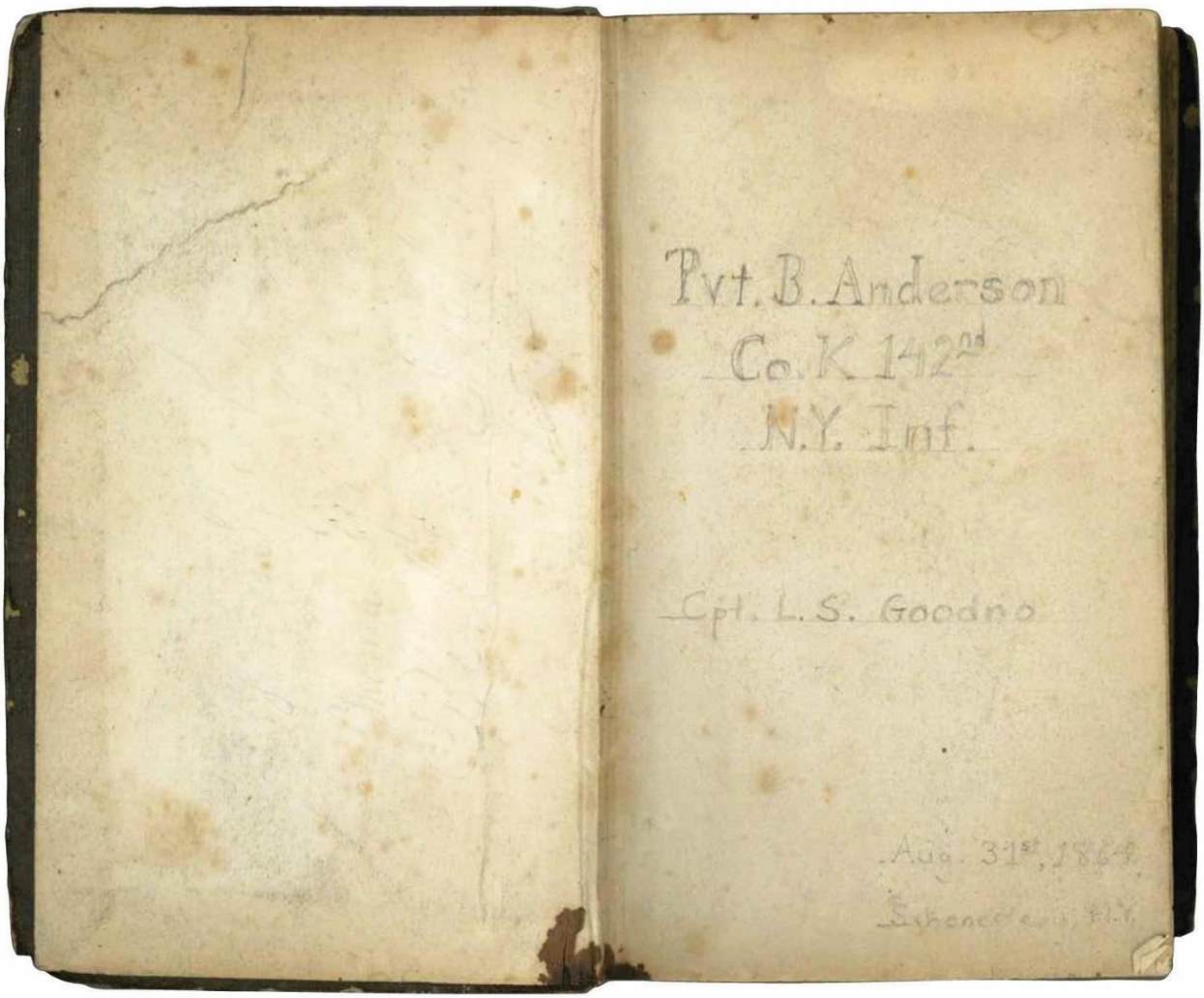
Black Medal of Honor Recipient Bruce Anderson's Civil War Bible

On July 17, 1862, the 37th United States Congress passed an amended version of the Militia Act, which for the first time made it legal for African American men to enlist and serve the Union cause as soldiers and war laborers. Section 12 authorized the President "to receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service or any other labor, or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent, persons of African descent" (Berlin 1982:68). Yet not until Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, did the recruitment of Black soldiers begin in earnest. By war's end, roughly 180,000 Black men had served in the U. S. Army--fully 10% of its entire force--and another 20,000 in the Navy. The vast majority of these men served in all-Black regiments that were organized as the United States Colored Troops (USCT), but due to the prejudice of their own commanders these units were disproportionately given menial, non-combat roles. Nevertheless, Black soldiers fought in more than 400 engagements and 39 major battles. Nearly 40,000 African Americans gave their lives in military service during the war, and 25 would ultimately earn the nation's highest military award, the Congressional Medal of Honor. Among those 25 was Private Bruce Anderson, assigned to Company K of the 142nd New York Infantry, a majority-white regiment. This is Anderson's own pocket New Testament, received when he enlisted in 1864. **There are few more compelling symbols of Black combat service in the Civil War**.



Small, pocket-sized Bibles intended for the use of soldiers date to at least as early as the English Civil War (1642-1651), when Oliver Cromwell distributed *The Souldiers Pocket Bible* to his troops in 1643. From the beginning, these small devotional works were carried by soldiers into battle, usually buttoned inside their waistcoats near the heart, and anecdotes circulated even then of a Cromwell trooper's life being saved when his well-placed Bible stopped a bullet. During the American Civil War, the New York-based American Bible Society chose to supply Bibles to both




Pvt. B. Anderson
Co. K 142nd
N.Y. Inf.
Cpt. L. S. Goodno
Aug. 31st, 1864

sides of the conflict, despite Federal prohibitions on shipments to the South. By December 1861 the ABS was printing 7000 pocket Bibles every day and by the end of the war had distributed more than three million to northern and southern troops. Once in the hands of soldiers, these Bibles took on a far greater significance than their small size would suggest. Most soldiers had few personal goods or belongings in camp, and even fewer materials to read, and so in alternating between long stretches of boredom and short bursts of violence many turned to the Bible as a source of spiritual strength and support. As historian James McPherson observes, "Union and Confederate soldiers were products of the Second Great Awakening, that wave of evangelical revivals which swept the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. Civil War armies were, arguably, the most religious in American history" (1997:63).

Pocket Bibles were commonly viewed as good luck talismans or charms, and it was widely assumed by men on both sides, as during the English Civil War, that a Bible carried in one's breast pocket could halt a bullet (and a dozen or more surviving examples of such volumes bearing bullet holes or even the actual bullets give proof to such tales). Yet there was another, more realistic--if not fatalistic--reason that soldiers carried their Bibles into combat. Dog tags did not exist or were only available to a very few. To ensure that their bodies would be identified if they fell, some men wrote their names and other information on pieces of paper that they pinned to their clothing before marching off to battle. But others wrote on the blank leaves of their pocket Bibles, recording their names, ranks, units, and the addresses of family who might retrieve their remains. Tucking one of these small books into a shirt or jacket pocket might keep a lead slug from finding its mark, but if not, it might at least help keep one's body from a nameless grave.

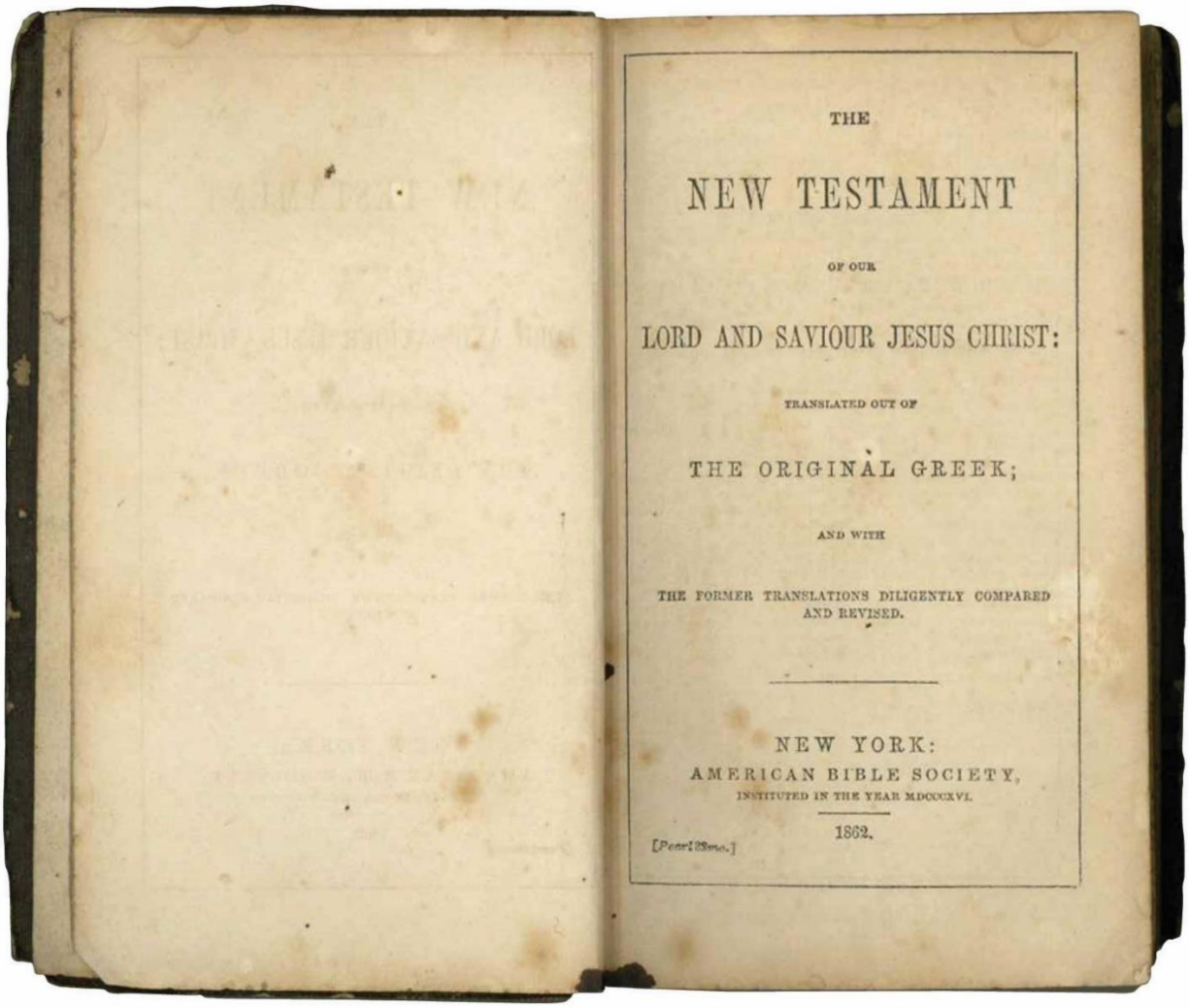
Bruce Anderson received this pocket New Testament on August 31, 1864, the day that he mustered in as a private with Company K of New York's 142nd Infantry at Schenectady. He was 19 years old and working as a farm laborer at Ephratah, about 35 miles away. Some accounts of his service note that he was born in Mexico City in 1845, but post-service reviews indicate instead that he was born a free person of color in the town of Mexico in Oswego County, New York. The 1840 U. S. Census lists a Samuel Anderson as head of household for a family of color in Oswego County, with two men (one age 24-36, another age 36-55), and one young woman (age 10-24). In the 1860 U. S. Census, Samuel is listed as a boatman and a native of the Bahamas; his wife's name is Mary. The 1860 Census also locates Bruce Anderson--aged 14 (born about 1846), race reported as mulatto--living in the home of Henry and Margaret Adams in Johnstown, New York, only ten miles from Ephratah. This is undoubtedly the same Bruce Anderson who would go on to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroism in battle. A neat pencil inscription on the front free endpaper of the Bible reports his name and rank, his company and regiment, and the date he mustered in (all of this information is corroborated in official rosters compiled by the New York State Adjutant General's Office, where Anderson's name is mistakenly listed as Andrewson). The pencil inscription also lists Cpt. L[uther]. T. Goodno as captain of Company K, although Goodno was discharged the previous year. Anderson's enlistment papers describe him as 5 feet, 5 inches tall, with grey eyes and dark hair. He volunteered for a period of one year.

In September, Anderson and other new recruits from upstate New York joined the rest of the 142nd, now assaulting Confederate defenses in eastern Virginia with Maj. General Benjamin Butler's Army of the James. Three months later, the regiment sailed south with Gen. James toward Wilmington, North Carolina, the South's last significant port, where they would join the efforts to

capture Fort Fisher, the largest earthwork fortification in the Confederacy. Much of eastern North Carolina was already under Federal control, having fallen to Gen. Ambrose Burnside's forces in 1862, but Wilmington still held. Butler's troops, in tandem with Union navy warships, bombarded Fort Fisher's massive defenses over three days, from December 24-27, and by the second day had begun landing troops in preparation for the siege. But Butler--with a reputation as an incompetent political general--was worried about worsening weather conditions and believed that the arrival of fresh Confederate reinforcements was imminent. Deeming the fort impregnable, he called off the assault, ordered his troops to return to the ships, and pulled the entire Union fleet back to Hampton Roads, Virginia. For this fiasco, and for disobeying a direct order from Grant, Butler was relieved of command and replaced by Maj. Gen. Edward Ord. Only a week later, Ord sent the army south again, now under Brig. General Alfred Terry, to renew the assault on Fort Fisher.

The 142nd, which had lost 20 killed or wounded in the aborted first attack, was attached to the Second Division, 1st Brigade under then-Col. Adelbert Ames. Terry would give Ames and his Second Division the formidable task of attacking the fort from its land-facing side, having sent a USCT corps around to halt Confederate reinforcements. On January 15, as Union navy and marine forces set off--and were thoroughly routed--in an unorganized attack against the sea-facing side of the fort, Ames sent his 1st Brigade ahead under command of Newton Curtis to create an opening in the fort's river gate; Ames intended to follow through the opening with two more brigades and take the fort. After storming the outer works, Curtis's brigade began taking casualties as it found its path forward blocked by palisades and other wooden defenses. Curtis called for volunteers to move in advance of the main columns and take these obstructions down. Essentially, he asked for soldiers who would launch themselves with axes and hatchets against Confederate cannons and guns. **About a hundred men, including Bruce Anderson, answered the call**. Under ferocious fire, they hacked their way through the defenses, and Curtis's brigade eventually poured through Fort Fisher's heavily contested fourth traverse. The battle continued into the night, but Ames and his Second Division, with most of its regimental leaders and all of its brigade commanders either dead or wounded, finally breached the final traverse just before 10:00, prompting the remaining Confederate defenders to surrender the fort. Wilmington fell a month later.

With Wilmington lost, the South no longer had any functional sea ports and was all but cut off from global trade. Historian Rod Gragg has thus written that the defeat of Fort Fisher was "the final nail in the Confederate coffin" (1994:243). Fifty-one soldiers, sailors, and marines received the Congressional Medal of Honor for their actions in the battle. The 142nd New York took 79 killed or wounded in the course of the attack, but miraculously thirteen of the volunteers who took up axes survived the day. In a letter written and dated just one day later, Ames listed the names of these thirteen men and recommended each for the Medal of Honor. But the letter was misplaced in the commotion and aftermath of battle, and none of the awards was issued. Anderson served for the rest of the war and mustered out on June 17, 1865. He resided for several years in Illinois before settling in Amsterdam, New York, just 20 miles from Ephratah. In 1914, Anderson hired a lawyer who placed a request on his behalf to receive the medal. The Army's Adjutant General began an investigation, locating Ames' letter and issuing the Medal of Honor to Anderson and two of the other surviving volunteers on December 28, 1914. **On that date, Anderson became one of 25 African American soldiers and sailors to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor for their service during the Civil War**. He died eight years later, on August 22, 1922, at the age of 77. His gravesite in Amsterdam's Green Hills Cemetery marked by an MOH headstone.



THE

NEW TESTAMENT

OF OUR

LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST:

TRANSLATED OUT OF

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

AND WITH

THE FORMER TRANSLATIONS DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED.

NEW YORK:
AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY,
INSTITUTED IN THE YEAR MDCCCXVI.

1862.

[Pearl 32mo.]

> Once [you] let the black man get upon his person the brass letter, U. S., let him get an eagle on his button, and a musket on his shoulder and bullets in his pocket; and there is no power on the earth, or under the earth, which can deny that he has earned the right to citizenship in the United States.
>
> *Frederick Douglass* [In Holland 1969:301]
>
> I feel more inclined daily, to press the army on further and further; and, let my opposition be in life what it will, I do firmly vow, that I will fight as long as a star can be seen and if it should be my lot to be cut down in battle, I do believe...that my soul will be forever at rest.
>
> *Sergeant Charles Brown* [In Cecelski 2012:98]

Deborah Willis--artist, curator, and professor of photography in the Tisch School of Art at NYU--uses these quotations to open her recent essay, "The Black Civil War Soldier: Conflict and Citizenship," which highlights the visual record of Black soldiers' experiences during the war. As she cogently writes, "In reading these words, these "images" from the Civil War...a contemporary reader can imagine in a moment the sense of bravery and pride that existed in the act of pinning and wearing the emblematic eagle and the brass button" (2017:285). Yet the United States did not make it easy for these men to fight, to risk and give their lives for this country. From unequal pay to so-called fatigue work--hard labor that Black soldiers performed at twice the rate of their white campmates--the prejudices and discriminations large and small that shaped these men's everyday lives marched with them to war. The men came anyway, with pride and purpose. They put on the uniform and took the matter of freedom into their own hands. While most white northerners, from Lincoln down, went to war confident that it was a matter of preserving the Union and constitutional order, for men like Bruce Anderson it was a matter of ensuring that the Union was worth preserving and that the Constitution lived up to its promise of liberty for all.

Any contemporary, primary source materials pertaining to African Americans who earned the Medal of Honor for Civil War service is of the utmost rarity, particularly at auction and in the trade. A carte-de-visite of Sgt. Major Christian Fleetwood--dressed in uniform, sword at side, and wearing his MOH--made $33,750 at Cowans Auctions in 2020. Fleetwood received the MOH for his bravery while protecting the Union flag under heavy fire at the Battle of Chaffin's Farm near Richmond in 1864. Even so, photographs such as this were produced in the studio, far from the battlefield and after the combat actions that earned these soldiers their renown. **There seem to be no trade or auction records for anything truly comparable to Anderson's Bible, which he carried with him through the war and likely into battle as he hacked away at the pickets of Fort Fisher**. Although a few extraordinary materials do exist in institutional holdings, including Fleetwood's 1864 diary at the Library of Congress, little has survived besides. Perhaps the most comparable item to appear at auction or in the trade is a Revolutionary War Bible carried at Bunker Hill that made $161,000 at Bonhams in 2016. There is, of course, more material pertaining to the 200,000 Black Civil War soldiers and sailors who did not receive the MOH, but even among the things left behind by these men, Anderson's Bible is special.

A potent symbol of African American service in the war for freedom.

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Willis, Deborah
2017 The Black Civil War Soldier: Conflict and Citizenship. *Journal of American Studies* 51(2):285-323.

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[U. S. Civil War--Medal of Honor]. THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST: TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK; AND WITH THE FORMER TRANSLATIONS DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED. American Bible Society, New York, 1862. **Civil War Bible of Pvt. Bruce Anderson, African American Medal of Honor Recipient**. 32mo (12 cm). xxx pp. Original brown embossed cloth, spine cloth largely perished, moderate edge wear to boards with corners rounded. Pencil inscription on front free endpaper, light scattered foxing, interior very good. In a box by Wiering. Overall good.

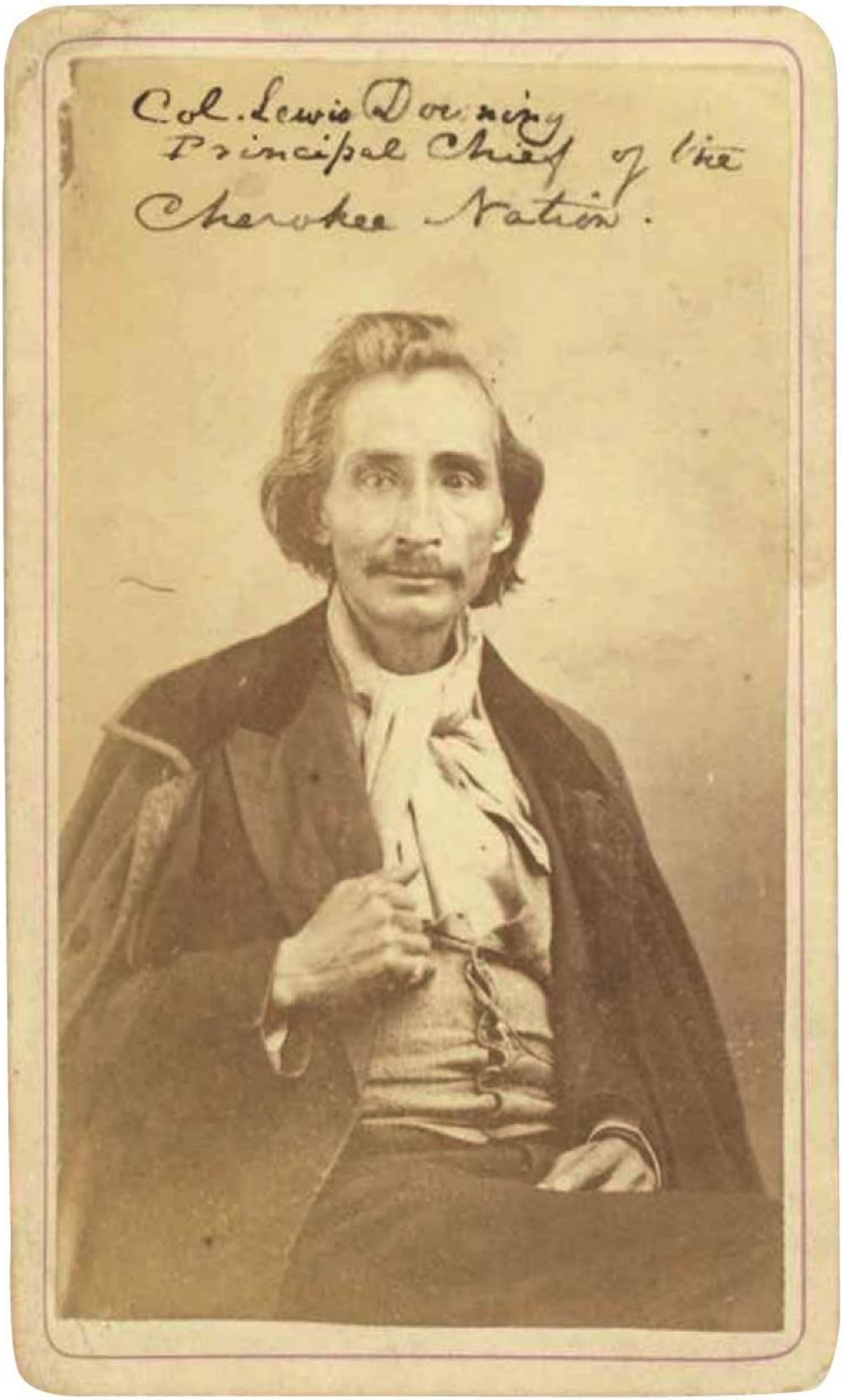
16. **$47,500**.

Signed CDV of Lewis Downing, Principal Chief of the Cherokees

The American Civil War was not a singularity, a clean break that neatly divided North from South, Blue from Gray. Instead it subsumed a host of smaller, regional conflicts that had simmered and festered for years, if not decades: between abolitionists in Kansas and pro-slavery forces in Missouri, between Appalachian mountaineers and plantation elites in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Yet none of these wars-within-the-war was any more destructive, both for combatants and non-combatants alike, than the one that ripped through the Cherokees in Indian Territory. The Cherokee Nation, whose members had been forced west on the Trail of Tears in the 1830s, were bitterly divided from the time of their arrival in the west, split into rival factions over the process of Removal itself. When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, war between these Cherokee factions soon followed along predictable lines: the slave-owning elites who had ultimately signed the Treaty of New Echota, enabling Removal, sided with the Confederacy, while the traditional faction that rejected Removal and owned few slaves themselves remained loyal to the Union. After four years of extraordinary violence, more than 7000 tribal members were dead--one third of the total population--and 25 percent of Cherokee children were orphans. Starvation was rampant, the land a burnt-over ruin, and the Nation was in dire need of a leader to unify the factions. That man was Lewis Downing, elected principal chief on August 5, 1867. This autographed carte-de-visite of the leader dates to shortly after his election. **It is one of only two known signed photographs of Downing: this one is in English, the other in Cherokee**.

By 1825, when the capitol of the Cherokee Nation was located at New Echota in what is now northern Georgia, sharp lines had formed between so-called progressives--those who adopted Euro-American practices such as slaveholding, education in Christian schools, and personal wealth accumulation--and the traditionalists, usually full-blood, who resisted such change. The breaking point came in 1828, when white settlers first discovered gold in northern Georgia, probably near present-day Dahlonega, in 1828. Within a year the rush was on through four counties and into territory owned by the Cherokees. Hundreds of mining operations employing tens of thousands of workers sprang up almost overnight, quickly bringing these trespassers into confrontation with the Nation. Eventually the conflict made its way to the U. S. Supreme Court, where Chief Justice Marshall and the Court's majority sided with the Cherokees. But when Andrew Jackson famously refused to enforce the Court's decision, Removal became inevitable.

Members of the progressive faction soon began negotiating with the Federal government to secure the best possible terms for removing west to Indian Territory, even though a majority of Cherokees, including Principal Chief John Ross and his National Council, rejected any settlement that would require the Nation to relinquish its homelands in the east. Nevertheless, on December 19, 1835, these progressives--now known as the treaty faction--signed the Treaty of New Echota that ceded all of the eastern territory for $5,000,000 (to be distributed to tribal members), $500,000 in educational funding, and title to land in Indian Territory equal to what they had relinquished in the east. The actions of this pro-treaty group remain controversial even today, but there can be no doubt of the price that its leaders paid for what most other Cherokees viewed as a betrayal of their people. Four years later, on June 22, 1839, four signers were marked for assassination and three were killed in broad daylight, an act that many considered a justified execution. Stand Watie, who later led the Confederate Cherokees as Brigadier General, was the only survivor.


Col. Lewis Downing
Principal Chief of the
Cherokee Nation.

That same year, 16-year-old Lewis Downing arrived in Indian Territory; he and his family were among the last groups of Cherokees to face the path of Removal. Downing was born about 1823 in eastern Tennessee, attending school at the Valley Town mission located nearby in western North Carolina. The Downings went west with a party of a thousand Cherokees headed by tribal leader Jesse Bushyhead, a Baptist minister and ally of John Ross who had opposed the Treaty of New Echota. With Bushyhead's assistance, the Rev. Evan Jones reestablished the Baptist Mission at Pleasant Hill (or Breadtown) near present-day Westfield, Oklahoma, and Lewis Downing was ordained as a minister there in 1842. Two years later, when Bushyhead died unexpectedly after a short illness, Downing was unanimously chosen as pastor of Bushyhead's congregation at Flint Baptist Church. As he grew into his role as a spiritual leader, Downing also became involved in Cherokee politics, serving for three terms in the tribal senate.

Tensions between Cherokee factions simmered during the decades between Removal and the Civil War, but exploded when the tribe was forced to choose sides. At first, Ross attempted to maintain neutrality, but many surrounding nations in Indian Territory quickly signed treaties with the Confederacy. Worse still, Stand Watie, leader of the Treaty party, began raising a Confederate regiment among the Cherokees. In the hopes of preventing bloodshed within the tribe, and with the consent of his Council, Ross signed a treaty with the Confederacy and formed the 1st Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Rifles, led by John Drew. Downing was made chaplain. Meanwhile, Watie commanded the 2nd Regiment. Soon after, Ross was detained when Federal forces invaded Indian Territory, and he would spend the remainder of the war in Washington advocating for the Nation as a supporter of the Union. Watie was declared principal chief in Ross's absence, but over the next few months nearly all of the 1st Regiment volunteers under Drew, who had remained loyal to Ross, began leaving Confederate service. On July 11, 1862, most of these men--nearly 1500 in number--joined the 3rd Regiment of the Indian Home Guard, serving the Union Army. Downing was named Lt. Colonel under Kansas abolitionist Col. William Phillips. From this point on, the Cherokees would have two governments: one led by Watie, the other by the National Council and a succession of pro-Ross chiefs who served in Ross's absence (Downing served as the third acting principal chief of the Union Cherokees). And the Nation tore itself apart.

After the war, with Watie in exile among the Choctaws, Ross pursued treaty negotiations with the Federal government's Southern Treaty Commission. Ignoring the fact that Ross and his allies had sided with the Union after 1862, the final treaty harshly and vindictively punished the tribe for its initial support of the rebellion, forcing it to relinquish both the Neutral Lands in Kansas and the Cherokee Strip. Just a few days before its final passage, Ross died. Given the brutality of the conflict and its bitter consequences, the Cherokees finally sought relief from three decades of factional division. Downing, who had served as Ross's assistant principal chief during the treaty negotiations, formed a compromise 'Downing party' aimed at unifying the Nation. He was elected principal chief by both factions on August 5, 1867. Downing worked tirelessly to bring Cherokees together and to create a government that would serve and protect all of its constituents. In his first address to the National Council in November 1867, he called on this body to repair the "beloved community" that was so essential to the Cherokee way of life:

> The very great importance of the entire unity of our Nation cannot have escaped your attention. Our laws should be uniform, the jurisdiction of our courts should be the same over every part of our Nation and over

> every individual citizen. It is for the interest of the people that...every line of distinction be blotted out. That we should be one in our laws, one in our institutions, one in feeling, and one in destiny [in Minges 2003:192].

Downing earned the respect and trust of the Nation and was reelected as principal chief on August 7, 1871. A year later, on November 9, 1872, he died at the age of 49 after a two-week bout of pneumonia. Yet the Downing party and its ideology of tribal unity largely controlled Cherokee politics until 1907, when Oklahoma became a state and tribal governments were disbanded. This CDV likely dates to Downing's first term as principal chief and is autographed by him in the upper portion of the image. **A rare portrait of an important Cherokee leader**. As Oklahoma historian Brad Agnew recently declared, ""If I had to pick one Cherokee leader who did more for his tribe than any other, it would be Lewis Downing," (in Rowley 2017).

Relevant sources:

McLoughlin, William G.
1993 *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
1994 *The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence*. Edited by Walter H. Conser, Jr. University of Georgia Press, Athens.
Minges, Patrick N.
2003 *Slavery in the Cherokee Nation: The Keetoowah Society and the Defining of a People, 1855-1867*. Routledge, New York.
Rowley, Sean
2017 Chief Downing Helped Nation Heal after Civil War. *Tahlequah Daily Press*, Nov. 10. https://www.tahlequahdailypress.com/news/chief-downing-helped-nation-heal-after-civil-war/article_ecda8870-7c49-58db-89d5-b16345f3bd42.html

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[Indian Territory--Cherokee Nation]. [CARTE-DE-VISITE PHOTOGRAPH OF COL. LEWIS DOWNING, PRINCIPAL CHIEF OF THE CHEROKEE NATION]. [N.p., n.d., but likely Indian Territory or Washington, D. C., 1867-1872]. Mounted albumen photograph, 2 1/2 x 4 in. (6.5 x 10 cm). Autographed in ink by Downing on recto in upper portion of image; captioned in different hands in ink and pencil on verso. Light edge wear and soiling, very good.

17. **SOLD**.

The City Beautiful, 1872-1873: A Remarkable American Photograph Album

In his 1984 masterpiece, *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915*, art historian Peter Bacon Hales made the striking claim that American cities and American photography developed in tandem, simultaneously and symbiotically, from the mid-1800s through the turn of the 20th century. The implications of this idea are most profound, perhaps, in how we understand the so-called City Beautiful movement, an urban reform philosophy that emphasized the grandeur and monumentality of American cities, to the exclusion of poverty, crime, filth, and pollution. Prior to Hales' work most historians linked the origins of the movement with Chicago's 1893 World Columbian Exposition, designed by architect Daniel Burnham, and its centerpiece the famous White City. Instead, Hales argued that Burnham's neo-classically inspired White City was the culmination of a trend that began following the end of the Civil War, about a quarter-century earlier. This aesthetic vision, which he calls the grand-style of urban photography, would "create the cultural climate that made the City Beautiful movement possible" (2005:132). Here we are pleased to present a remarkable album that shines new light on the early years of the grand urban style, containing 152 albumen photographs of twelve cities in the United States and four more in Canada, in addition to Niagara Falls and Mammoth Cave. **All of these photographs--including original views from after the Chicago and Boston fires--are dated 1872 or 1873, making this one of the earliest compilations of grand-style urban photography in America.**

Montreal, 1872

Chicago, 1872

Milwaukee, 1872

New York, 1873

Urban photography in the United States is practically as old as the medium itself, with the first generation of American daguerreotypists producing images of architectural subjects in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia by late October 1839, hardly a month after Daguerre's instructions reached American shores. Over the next few years, John Plumbe created a spectacular series of images in Washington City (1846), Charles Fontayne and William Southgate Porter produced their eight-plate panorama of Cincinnati (1848), and William Shew completed his five-plate panorama of San Francisco (1852). Yet not until the Civil War years, which ushered in new techniques such as the collodion plate and the albumen print, did photography (and the photograph) come to shape American cultural and civic life beyond the daguerreotype's personal, private realm.

These changes to the process of photography and the extent of its societal reach coincided closely with transformations in the American city. The post-war decade witnessed an explosion of urban development from coast to coast, a process of rebuilding, remaking, and rethinking that must have seemed chaotic and uncontrolled. Much of this metamorphosis was driven both by the rapid advance of suburban sprawl and the accompanying--if not reinforcing--flow of newcomers to the city core: Germans, English, Irish, Italians, and Poles from Europe and African Americans escaping social conditions in the post-war South. Photography, as an expression of civic values that now transcended personhood and self, offered a medium for recovering order from unchecked growth. It was this confluence that prepared the stage both for grand-style urban photography and its outcome, the City Beautiful movement. As Hales suggests,

> To disassemble this body of pictures is to see its grounding in widely held ideas about the American City: the hope that order could be wrested from chaos, the belief that nature and nurture could then coexist in the urban world, and the dream that what resulted would be a civilization as great, as monumental, as magnificent as any that Greece, Rome, or Napoleonic France had ever known [2005:132].

The grand urban style was less a technique than a sensibility, the visual manifestation of an ideal that communicated to viewers how they should think about the American city. Not any specific city, but The City writ large. And the grand style is as distinctive for what it leaves out as for what it draws in. What we see in a series of grand-style photographs is an unpeopled cityscape (or one in which people are anonymous) that turns its lens instead on the buildings and streets, the state houses, court houses, churches, parks, docks, fountains, and monuments. It brings a kind of life to the larger-than-human-scale built environment that heroically fills its frame. What it leaves out is the quotidian: the messy, bustling, everyday lives of city people. That photographic vision of city life--one that grapples with its humanity, one that recognizes its tenements and slums, its vice, grime, and angst--would only come later, near the turn of the 20th century, when artists like Jacob Riis and Elizabeth Alice Austin in New York City and Charles R. Clark in Chicago brought the camera's lens down from Olympus to showcase the worlds of ordinary people.

This large album dates to the first decade of grand-style urban photography, featuring 152 albumen prints mounted on the rectos of 37 thick, cardstock leaves, all dated 1872 or 1873. We have not identified the compiler/photographer, but all of the images appear to have been produced by professionals. Canadian photographs from Montreal and Toronto were produced by Alexander Henderson and Octavius Thompson, respectively. And while some of the images from U. S. cities

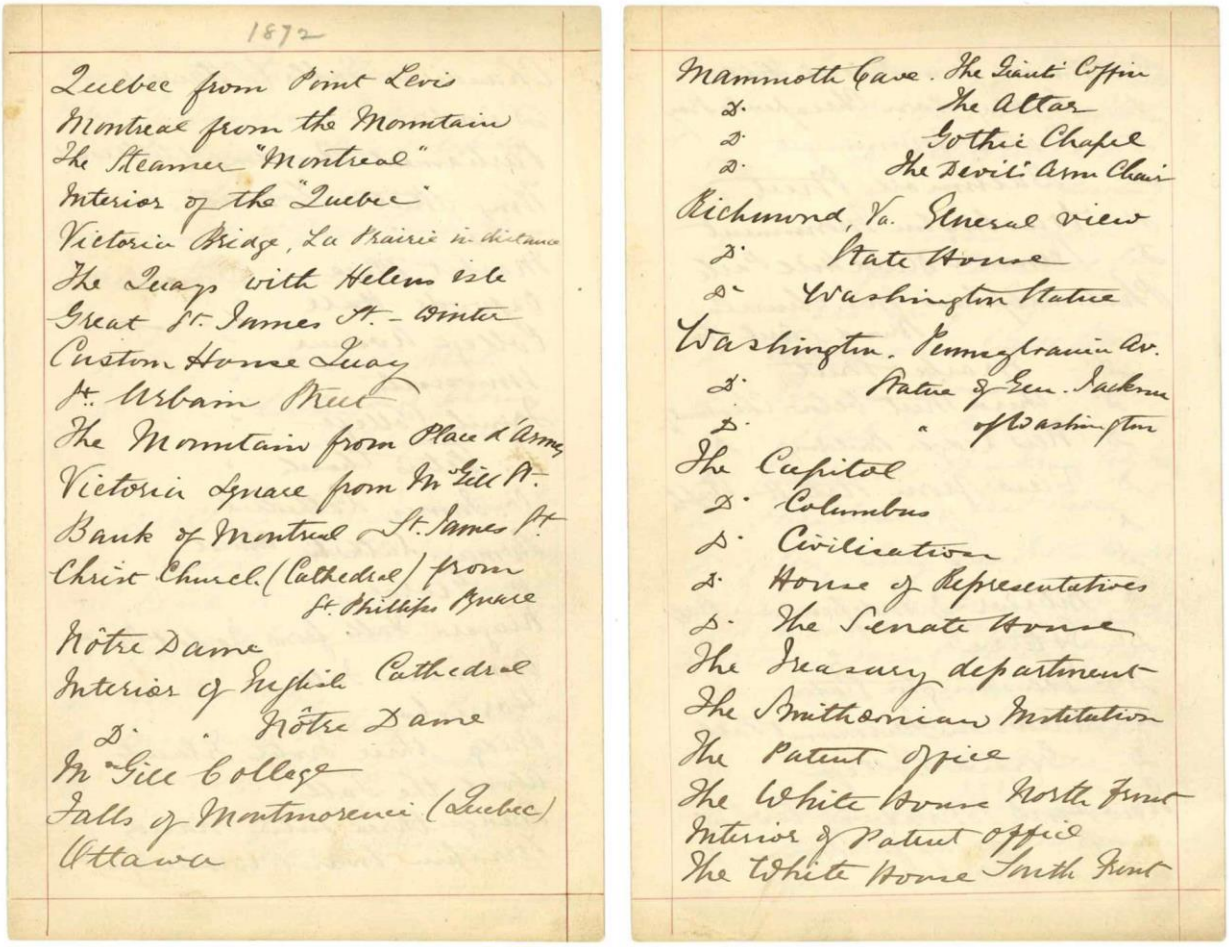
Boston, 1873

(e.g., a view of Milwaukee's Notre Dame convent from the Point St. Bridge, the Tennessee State House in Nashville, the Parterre Palm House at the Missouri Botanical Garden in St. Louis, and a frozen fountain at the Virginia State House in Richmond) were available in stereoview format, a great many others are either unpublished or otherwise unknown. As such, we strongly suspect that the compiler was a professional or highly skilled amateur photographer who personally created a substantial number these images on location. Five of the photographs--one each from Quebec (a view by William Notman), Montreal, and Ottawa, and two of Niagara Falls--are much larger in scale and mounted one to a page; these measure about 9 1/2 by 7 inches (24 x 18 cm). Most of the other images, 143 in total, are mounted four to six to a page and are generally half-stereoview in size, measuring about 4 by 3 1/2 inches (9.5 x 8.5 cm). A manuscript list of two folded sheets (for eight pages, almost certainly prepared by the compiler) describes the photographs.

The list itself seems like a travel itinerary, one that may have taken the compiler through all 16 cities--as well as Niagara Falls and Mammoth Cave--from 1872 to 1873. The album opens with a large format view of **Quebec** from Point Levis, circa 1865, by William Notman. The paddle steamer McKenzie sits in the foreground along the St. Lawrence River. The second photograph is a large format and apparently unrecorded view of **Montreal** taken from Mount Royal (see p. 101 and cover). It is quite similar to Notman's well-known view of 1866, but a close comparison of architectural details indicates that it is slightly later, circa 1870. A set of 16 smaller format images of Montreal and its environs follow, most of which were produced by Alexander Henderson circa 1870; these include photographs of the Custom House, Victoria Square, the Bank of Montreal, the Notre-Dame Basilica, Christ Church, and McGill College. Next are four images of **Ottawa**, which include a large format view of Parliament from the Ottawa River. There are 11 small format views of **Toronto**, most taken by Octavius Thompson circa 1867 to 1868; these include photographs of St. Lawrence Hall and King Street, Trinity College, the University of Toronto, Osgoode Hall, the Church of St. George the Martyr, St. James's Cathedral, and St. Peter's Church. There are then 13 images of Niagara Falls, including two large format views.

Photographs of a dozen American cities follow. There are 16 images of **Chicago**, including four--which we have not found published elsewhere--that capture the ruins along Madison Avenue and the Drake Block after the great fire of 1871. Yet true to grand-style urban photography, there are also wonderful images of the city's astounding recovery, illustrated dramatically in a view of the Kendall Block's renewal (see p. 102, upper row center). Among the other Chicago views are photographs of the University of Chicago, a post-fire McVickers Theatre, the new Chamber of Commerce building, the Reformed Church, the Union Park Church, Jefferson Park, and the interior of the Board of Trade. After Chicago are two photographs from **Titusville**, Pennsylvania, just a few years after it became the nation's first oil boom town with a population that swelled to 10,000 people during the late 1860s. There are six images of **Milwaukee** (see p. 103), including the new court house, a grain elevator, the Notre Dame convent, and a general view of the city.

St. Louis is represented in four views, including two of its botanical gardens. Photographs of **Cincinnati** include an early view of the Tyler Davidson Fountain (dedicated in 1871), Jackson's Hill, the city's first of five inclined plane railroads, and the Roebling Suspension Bridge over the Ohio, which was the world's longest when it opened in 1866. A single view of Tennessee's State House in **Nashville** is surrounded by four interior photographs of Mammoth Cave. There are three photographs of **Richmond**, including the State House and Washington Monument. Among the 14


1872

Quebec from Point Levis
Montreal from the Mountain
The Steamer "Montreal"
Interior of the "Quebec"
Victoria Bridge, La Prairie in the distance
The Quays with Helen Isle
Great St. James St. - Winter
Custom House Quay
St. Urbain Street
The Mountain from Place d'Armes
Victoria Square from McGill St.
Bank of Montreal St. James St.
Christ Church (Cathedral) from St. Phillips Square
Notre Dame
Interior of Gothic Cathedral
Do. Notre Dame
McGill College
Falls of Montmorenci (Quebec)
Ottawa

Mammoth Cave. The Giant Coffin
Do. The Altar
Do. Gothic Chapel
Do. The devil's Arm Chair
Richmond, Va. General view
Do. State House
Do. Washington Statue
Washington. Pennsylvania Av.
Do. Statue of Gen. Jackson
Do. " of Washington
The Capitol
Do. Columbus
Do. Civilization
Do. House of Representatives
Do. The Senate House
The Treasury department
The Smithsonian Institution
The Patent Office
The White House North Front
Interior of Patent office
The White House South Front

images of **Washington City** are views of Pennsylvania Avenue, the U. S. Capitol, the Discovery of America sculptural group that once stood at the Capitol's east façade, both the Senate and House floors, the Apotheosis of Washington in the Capitol's Rotunda, the Smithsonian Institution, the Patent Office, and two views of the White House. From Washington City, the album continues to **Baltimore**, with six photographs that include views from Federal Hill and Chesapeake Bay, the Battle and Washington monuments, and scenes in Druid Hill Park. **Philadelphia** is the final city among those photographed in 1872. There are images of Third Street below Chestnut (with the Telegraph Office) and of Broad and Arch, State, and Market streets, exterior and interior views of Independence Hall, the marble statue of George Washington that once stood outside Independence Hall, the Public Ledger building, Fairmont Park, and Girard College.

Albumen prints of **New York City** and **Boston** are dated 1873. Among the 19 New York photographs are five different shots of Broadway (see p. 104) and four of Central Park, images of Wall Street and Park Row, the Custom House, the Stock Exchange, the Astor Library, the Fifth Avenue Hotel (each of the last two might be attributable to Peter F. Weil), and along the quay from Fulton Market. Finally, Boston is the last city in the album, with 13 photographs that include what appears to be an unrecorded panoramic view showing much the city's downtown in ruins following the catastrophic fire of November 1872. This panoramic consists of two long prints, each 9 1/2 by 4 inches (24 x 10 cm) that joined together offer a unique view of the ruination, with the Old North

Church at the far left of the frame just beyond the fire's reach (see p. 106). Other images include street views from City Hall and India Wharf, the Washington and Bunker Hill monuments, the Massachusetts State House, Beacon Street, and four views of Harvard in Cambridge.

Together, the images in this album form a remarkably comprehensive visual record of the American city after the Civil War. Seven of the nation's ten largest urban centers in 1870 are represented (excepting only Brooklyn, New Orleans, and San Franciso), as well as high ranking cities such as Washington (12), Milwaukee (19), Richmond (24), Cambridge (33), and Nashville (52). Few contemporary albums and collections devoted to even one of these places has survived to the present day, and we trace no comparable albums devoted to such a broad array of American cities just as urban growth was accelerating. As importantly, the origins and development of this grand-style urban photography coincide closely with the rise and apogee of landscape photography in the American West. Yet while compilations of such western images have survived in relatively large numbers, similar compilations of early urban photography are surprisingly rare. We cannot identify this album's compiler, nor can we say for certain whether the compiler also created most of these images. But in drawing them all together here, he or she has preserved a vision of urban America--at a seminal moment--that is not to be found in any other single source.

A rare and exceptional photograph album.

Relevant sources:

Hales, Peter Bacon
2005 *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
Nilsen, Micheline
2011 *Architecture in Nineteenth-Century Photographs: Essays on Reading a Collection*. Routledge, London.
Wilson, William H.
1994 *The City Beautiful Movement*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

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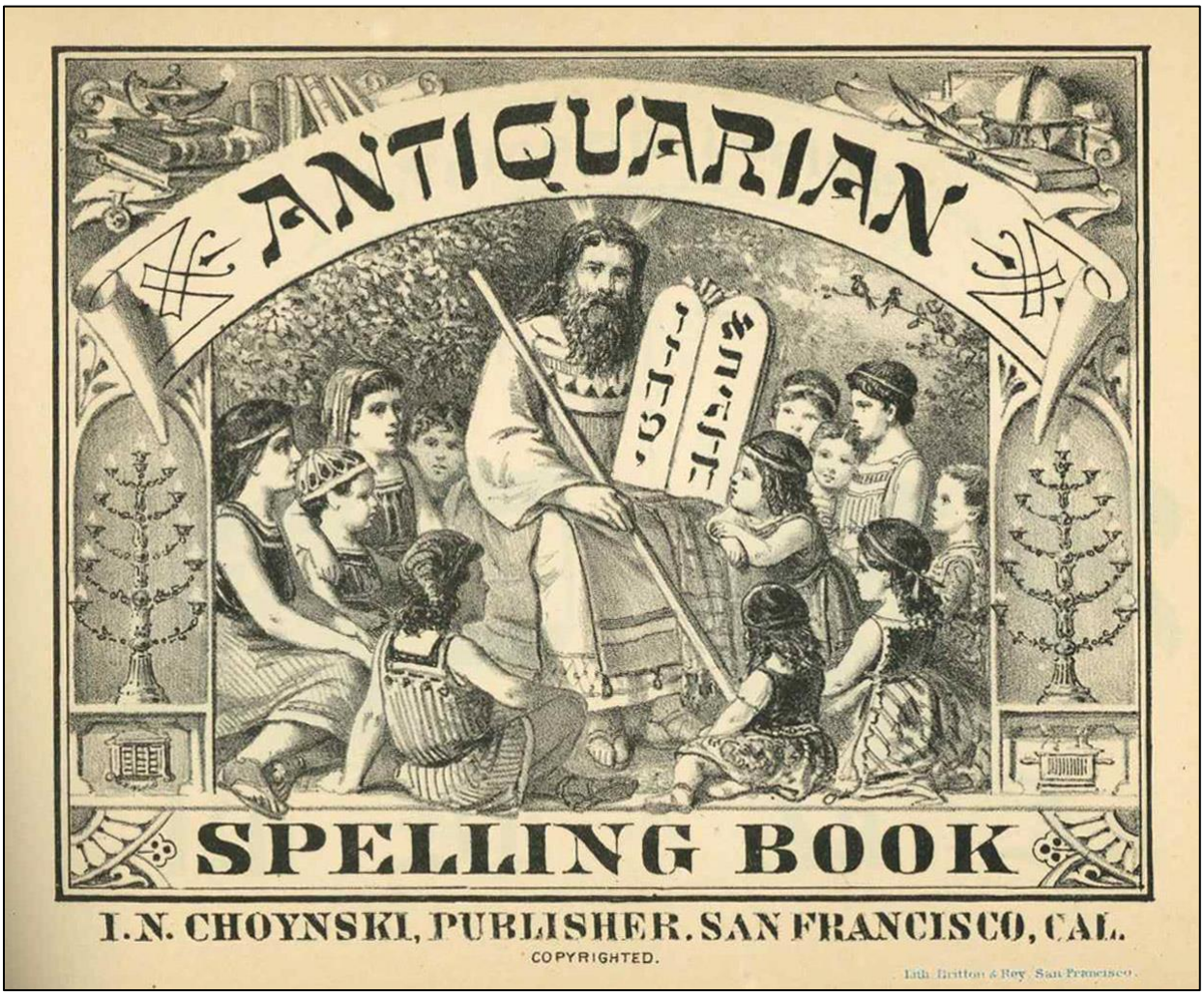
[American Photography--Architecture and Urbanism]. [EARLY AND EXCEPTIONAL ALBUM CONTAINING 152 ALBUMEN PHOTOGRAPHS OF 16 CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, COMPILED LESS THAN A DECADE AFTER THE CIVIL WAR]. [Various places in the United States and Canada, 1872 to 1873]. 152 albumen photographs, most measuring ca. 4 x 3 1/2 in. (10 x 8.5 cm) but five larger size, 9 1/2 x 7 in. (24 x 18 cm). Includes an inserted eight-page manuscript list of photographs on English paper (watermark of J[ohn] Allen & Sons of Stowford Mills, Ivybridge, Devon). Album measures 12 x 9 in. (30.5 x 23 cm). Heavy and tooled morocco boards with gilt frame; backstrip perished but boards holding, front and rear boards with edge wear and scuffing. Prints mounted on rectos only of 37 thick cardstock leaves; some wear to mount edges, photos very good to fine. Overall about very good.

18. **$25,000**.

San Francisco Publisher Isidor Choynski and his Hebrew Alphabet Book

Jewish print culture in San Francisco began in 1851 with publication of Alexander Iser's *California Hebrew & English Almanac for the Year 5612*, known in only a single copy held by the American Jewish Historical Society in New York. Then in 1856, William Saalburg launched the city's first Jewish newspaper, the *Hebrew Observer*, a German-English weekly, followed one year later by Rabbi Julius Eckman's *The Gleaner*, which became the most widely read Jewish paper on the entire Pacific Coast. One of Eckman's first reporters--and his eventual co-editor--was Isidor Nathan Choynski. Born in German-occupied Poland in 1834, Choynski came with his parents to New Haven, Connecticut, in 1849. After receiving a teaching degree from Yale College, he moved west to San Francisco at the age of 19 and soon became a prominent member of the city's growing Jewish community. In addition to his work for the *Gleaner*, Choynski wrote for three other papers and published two of his own. In 1863 he opened the Antiquarian Book Store, offering a range of old and new books, fancy goods, and stationery. He also published some eight books from about 1875 to 1885, the most intersting of which is the *Antiquarian Spelling Book*, a lithographed ABC book in Hebrew. **We trace no other copies at auction or in the trade**.

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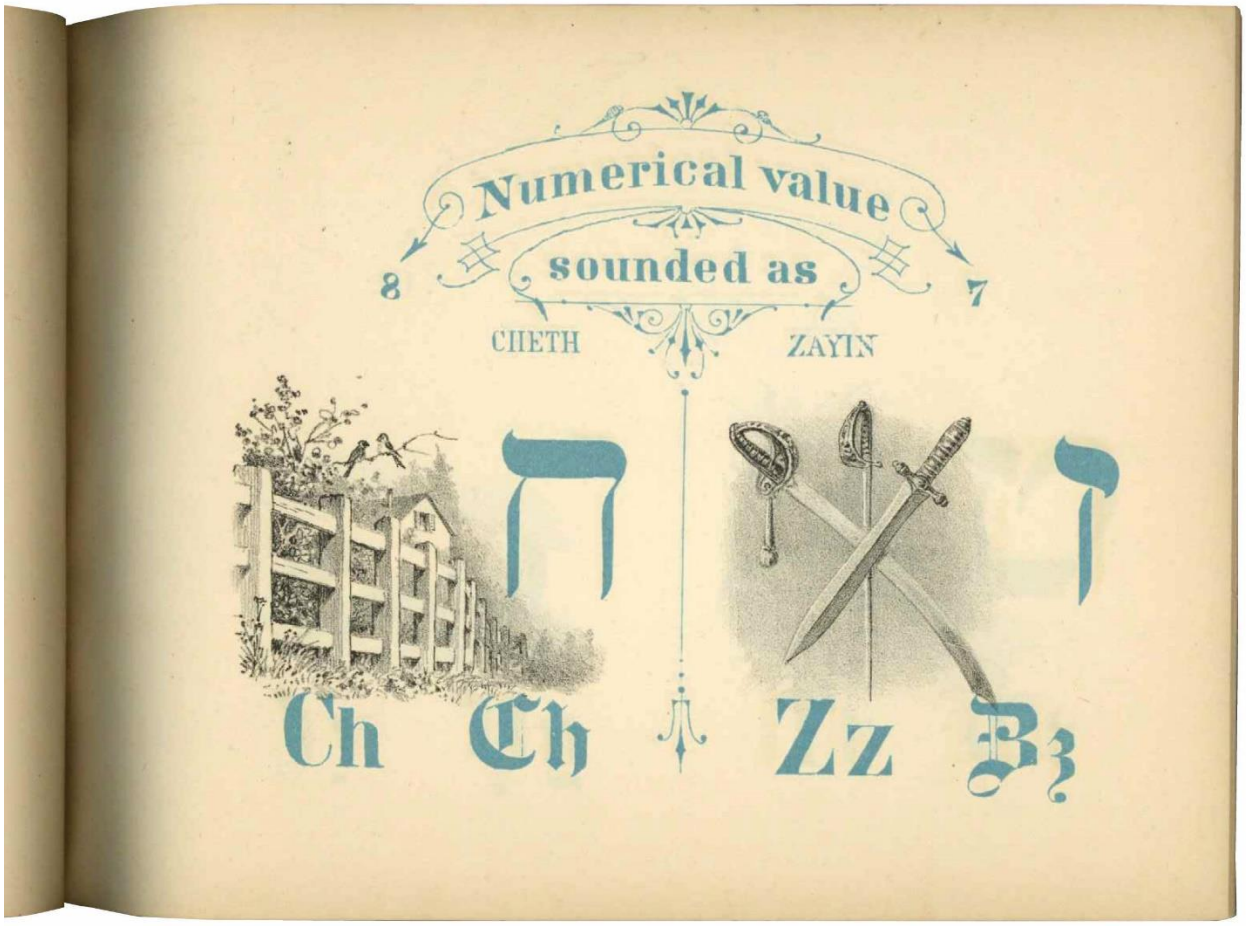
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Choynski began work as a journalist for *The Gleaner* in 1859 and established himself as one of the most caustic and acerbic observers of the city's Jewish elite. He even produced a regular column satirizing American Jews for Cincinnati's *American Israelite*, which at 170 years old is the longest-running English language Jewish newspaper in the United States. Despite his typically harsh criticism, Choynski was deeply embedded in San Francisco's Jewish community. He was an active member of Congregation Sherith Israel and was president of both Chevra B'rith Shalome and the Jewish Literary Association. In 1874 and 1875 he also served as president of the District Grand Lodge No. 4, B'nai B'rith, and is often credited with beginning the first B'nai B'rith lodges in Southern California. As Ava Fran Kahn notes in *Jewish Voices of the California Gold Rush: A Documentary History*, "Often quoted by Jewish newspapers around the world, his columns helped shape American and worldwide impressions of American Jewry" (2002:192).

Of the handful of works bearing his publisher's imprint, none was as striking or ambitious as his *Antiquarian Spelling Book*, almost certainly taking its name from the bookshop. As with all known copies, this example is bound in plain buff wraps and contains an illustrated title page and 14 unnumbered leaves. Each of these leaves, printed on its recto side only, features Hebrew letters with their names, their Roman letter equivalents, and illustrations of what the names of the letters mean in Hebrew. Apart from the title page, all of the text is printed in different hues of blue and lithographed by the famed San Francisco firm of Britton and Rey. The book is undated, but Britton and Rey were active from 1873 to about 1907, while Choynski died in 1899; several sources cite a date range of 1875 to 1879 for the *Spelling Book*. We trace only 10 institutional copies, with no record of any having ever appeared at auction or in the trade. In 1984, librarian Edwin Wolf of the Library Company of Philadelphia made note of a newly acquired copy--one that he had donated himself--writing that "Jewish education on the west coast started with Choynski" (1985:31). **A rare and fascinating specimen of Judaica published in the American West**.

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2022 *Jewish Voices of the California Gold Rush: A Documentary History, 1849-1880*. Wayne State University Press, Detroit.

Rosenbaum, Fred
2009 Cosmopolitans: A Social and Cultural History of the Jews of the San Francisco Bay Area. University of California Press, Berkeley.

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[Children's Books--Western Judaica]. ANTIQUARIAN SPELLING BOOK. I. N. Choynski, Publisher. San Francisco, Cal. Lith. Britton & Rey, San Francisco [printed in blue]. [n.d., likely 1875 to 1879]. 15 leaves. Oblong 8vo, 6 x 8 in. (15 x 20 cm). In English and Hebrew, with text in blue and illustrations in black. Plain buff wrappers as issued, light wear. Very good.

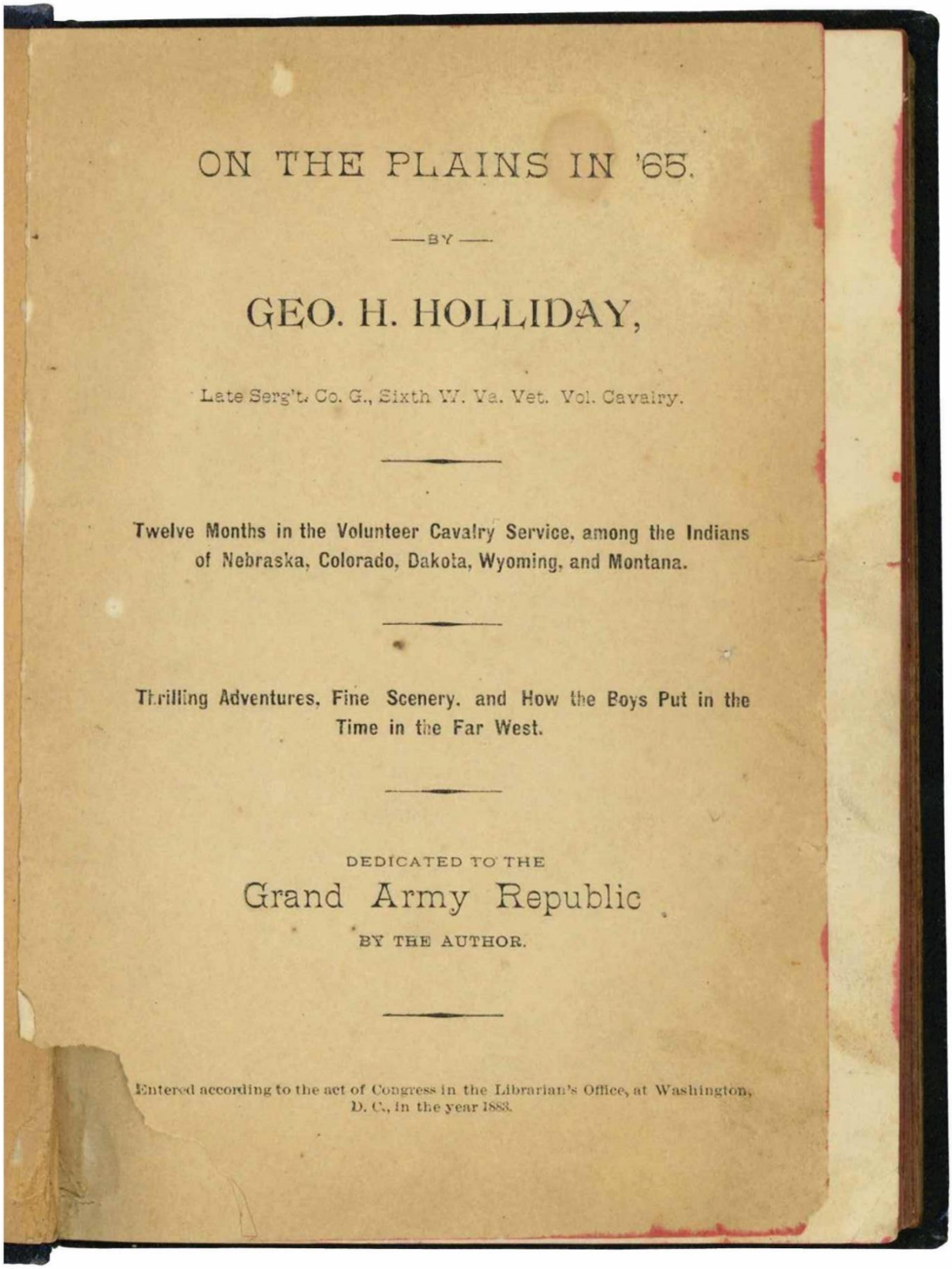
19. **$2750**.

On the Plains in '65: George Holliday's Scarce Western Narrative

Late in the spring of 1865, most Civil War forces--Blue and Gray--awaited the orders that would return them to their homes after four long years of bloodshed. Among the thousands of Federal troops around Washington, D. C., expecting discharge were the men of West Virginia's 6th Veteran Volunteer Cavalry. Many had set out three and even four years earlier in the 2nd and 3rd West Virginia Infantry (later Mounted Infantry), then had chosen to reenlist when their terms of service had expired. They had been reorganized again in 1864 as the 5th and 6th West Virginia Cavalry, and by January 1865 their numbers were so depleted by combat and disease that the two units were consolidated into the 6th Veteran. Now they were ready to go home, but there was a catch. Because they had reenlisted as veteran volunteers, they were subject to extended service whether the war was over or not. So on June 9, 1865, the orders they received were not to muster out, but instead to prepare for service on the Plains. The only published account of the regiment's western tour was written nearly two decades later by one of their own, George H. Holliday, who had enlisted at the age of 15 and was not yet 18 when he arrived at Fort Leavenworth with the rank of sergeant in Company G. **His scarce account, *On the Plains in '65*, is frequently described as one of the most compelling of all post-Civil War narratives**.

George Hayes Holliday was born in Meigs County, Ohio, in December 1847. James, his father, was a traveling circuit preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church who served numerous communities across southern Ohio during the 1840s and early 1850s. In 1857, three years after the Kansas-Nebraska Act had opened cheap lands in Kansas Territory, James followed his brother Cyrus west to what later become the city of Topeka, with George and his mother, Rebecca, joining him there the following year. But homesteading in Kansas proved far more difficult than James had reckoned, particularly after the terrible drought of 1860. When Rebecca died in 1861, James and George returned to Ohio, and George went to live with his older brother, John, a farmer who had remained behind in Scioto County. Soon the nation was at war, and both of George's older brothers joined Ohio regiments. By 1863, as the conflict was reaching its apogee, a fresh call for recruits came from the new state of West Virginia. With little to keep him at home, George crossed the Ohio River on August 1, and lying about his age, enlisted as private in Company M of the 4th West Virginia Cavalry, seeing combat in West Virginia, Virginia, and Maryland.

Although the close of the Civil War would bring a measure of calm to exhausted easterners from Maine to Mississippi, the West was a smoldering tinderbox, and nowhere more so than on the Plains. Three years earlier, the Dakota War of 1862--also known as the Sioux Uprising--had resulted in the deaths of more than 500 settlers and soldiers in Minnesota, while more than 1500 non-combatant Dakotas and Ho-Chunks were forced onto reservations in Dakota Territory. On November 29, 1864, the Colorado militia attacked a Cheyenne and Arapaho encampment at Sand Creek, killing 200, most of whom were women and children. In response, more than a thousand Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Lakota looted and destroyed much of Julesburg in January 1865, a major station on the Overland Trail. They would attack there again just a month later, as well as at other stations and ranches across the South Platte. The raids continued into the spring along the Oregon Trail as far north as Casper, which was hit in July. There, at the Battle of Platte Bridge, a force of three thousand attacked the station, killing 29 of its soldiers. Thus the War Department's insistence that Holliday and his fellow troopers extend their service in the West.



ON THE PLAINS IN '65.

—BY—

GEO. H. HOLLIDAY,

Late Serg't. Co. G., Sixth W. Va. Vet. Vol. Cavalry.

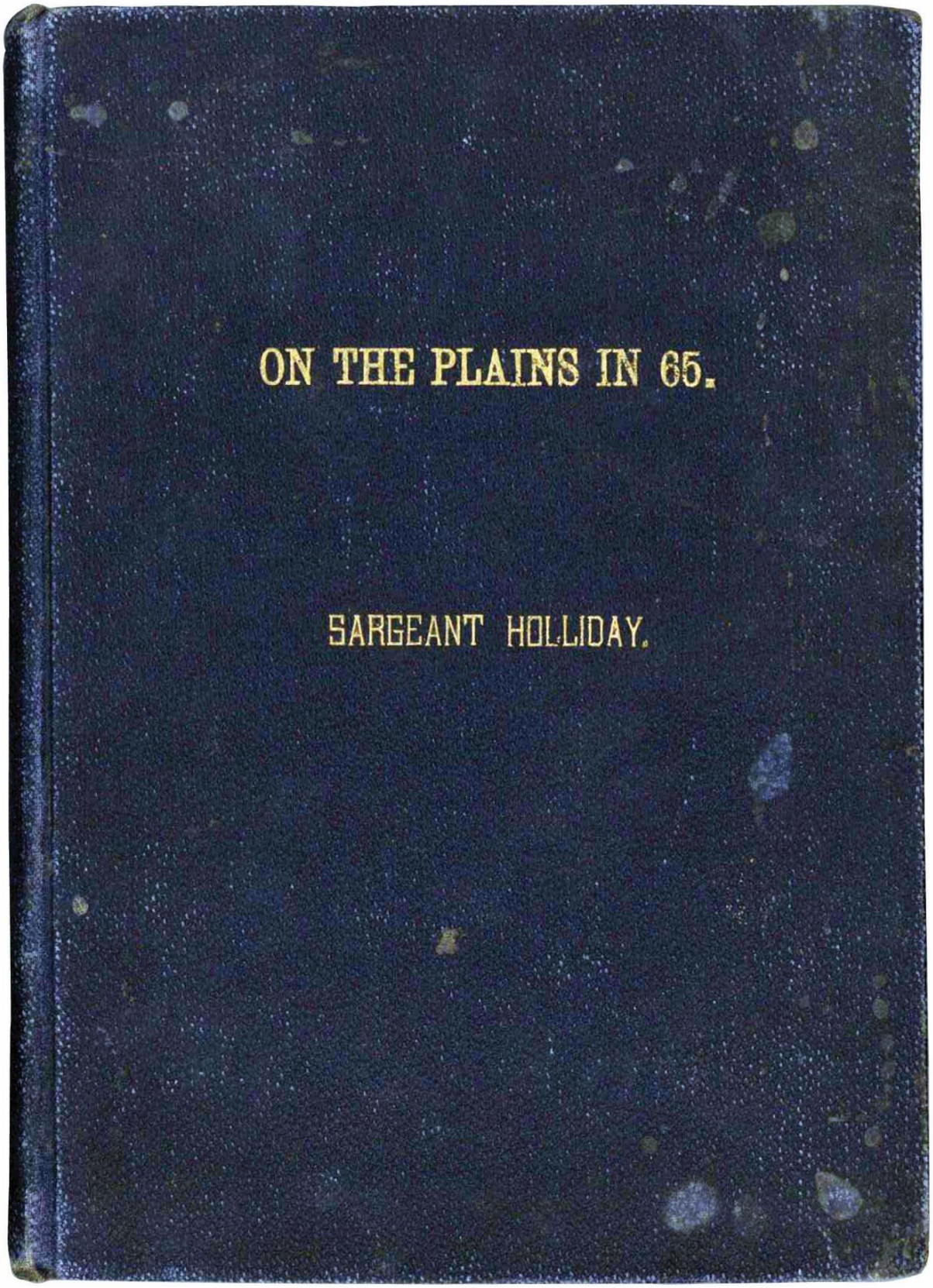
Twelve Months in the Volunteer Cavalry Service, among the Indians of Nebraska, Colorado, Dakota, Wyoming, and Montana.

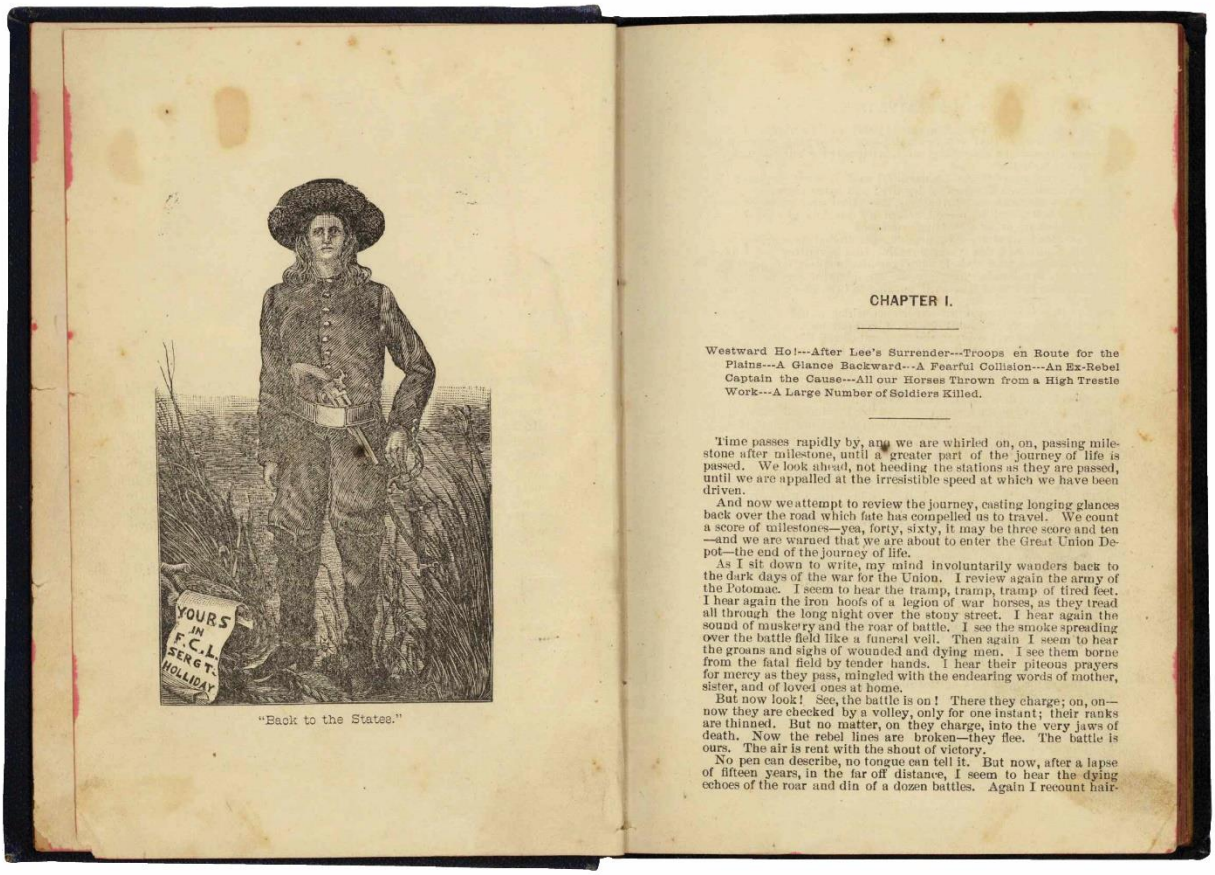
Thrilling Adventures, Fine Scenery, and How the Boys Put in the Time in the Far West.

DEDICATED TO THE

Grand Army Republic

BY THE AUTHOR.


ON THE PLAINS IN 65.
SARGEANT HOLLIDAY.



"Back to the States."

CHAPTER I.

Westward Ho!---After Lee's Surrender---Troops en Route for the Plains---A Glance Backward---A Fearful Collision---An Ex-Rebel Captain the Cause---All our Horses Thrown from a High Trestle Work---A Large Number of Soldiers Killed.

Time passes rapidly by, and we are whirled on, on, passing milestone after milestone, until a greater part of the journey of life is passed. We look ahead, not heeding the stations as they are passed, until we are appalled at the irresistible speed at which we have been driven.

And now we attempt to review the journey, casting longing glances back over the road which fate has compelled us to travel. We count a score of milestones—yea, forty, sixty, it may be three score and ten—and we are warned that we are about to enter the Great Union Depot—the end of the journey of life.

As I sit down to write, my mind involuntarily wanders back to the dark days of the war for the Union. I review again the army of the Potomac. I seem to hear the tramp, tramp, tramp of tired feet. I hear again the iron hoofs of a legion of war horses, as they tread all through the long night over the stony street. I hear again the sound of musketry and the roar of battle. I see the smoke spreading over the battle field like a funeral vell. Then again I seem to hear the groans and sighs of wounded and dying men. I see them borne from the fatal field by tender hands. I hear their piteous prayers for mercy as they pass, mingled with the endearing words of mother, sister, and of lovei ones at home.

But now look! See, the battle is on! There they charge; on, on—now they are checked by a volley, only for one instant; their ranks are thinned. But no matter, on they charge, into the very jaws of death. Now the rebel lines are broken—they flee. The battle is ours. The air is rent with the shout of victory.

No pen can describe, no tongue can tell it. But now, after a lapse of fifteen years, in the far off distance, I seem to hear the dying echoes of the roar and din of a dozen battles. Again I recount hair-

Holliday's narrative begins on June 16th, 1864, as he and the other men of the 6th Veteran Cavalry packed themselves, their horses, and all of their gear into a west-bound train of box and hog cars. For most--those with wives and children waiting at home, farms in disrepair--the orders were nothing less than a betrayal of their long and loyal service. But among "younger boys" like Holliday, still yearning for adventure, "the news was received with demonstrations of joy:"

> Visions of "scalps," wild "ponies," "buffalos," and love among the little "squaws" perhaps marriage among some of the daughters of the Rocky Mountains. And then fighting Indians would be child's play compared with the stern realities of war through which we had just passed. All these and many other pious thoughts filled our young minds until we really feared that the protests of the older members of the regiment might prevail and the order be countermanded [p. 7].

After a harrowing train crash in Illinois--an act of sabotage by a conductor who had earlier served as a Confederate officer--the company reached St. Louis, where they boarded "an old hulk of a steamer" headed up the Missouri River to Fort Leavenworth. Arriving in early July, they were given fresh ponies and ordered about a week later, on July 15, to break camp and start preparations for an overland march across the Plains. Instead, more than half the unit refused to budge, choosing mutiny over what they believed was an unjust order. Holliday was not among them. Although he sympathized with the mutineers, he would follow his orders. With half of his comrades now under

arrest, Holliday and the remaining troopers began a march from Leavenworth to Camp Rankin, at Julesburg, Colorado, and beyond to Fort Laramie in Dakota Territory. Along the way, they had a fright after a torrential nighttime rain, when they emerged to find that all of their gear and personal belongings were soaked and, likely worse, that "hundreds of small prairie rattlesnakes had taken refuge with us in our tents from the storm" (p. 25). Along the Kaw River they supped unknowingly on dogmeat with a band of Utes who had come east from Colorado, then (much to the amusement of the Utes) had heaved most of it up when its true nature was learned. On the Platte they camped with and among the teamsters or bullwhackers leading a near-continuous line of wagons winding its way to the Rockies. Outside Fort Cottonwood (McPherson) they held off a large party of Sioux led by Standing Elk, on its way to western Kansas to hunt buffalo. Three days later they came into the way station of Julesburg, "a dozen old dingy log huts and some tents and a vast rick of sacked flour and grain....And then this was Julesburg, the 'City of the Plains.'" (p. 42).

After a four-week camp at Julesburg, which included a memorable antelope hunt, Holliday and the West Virginia 6th continued on to Fort Laramie, where on October 6 they learned that their final destination was Fort Casper, located at Platte Bridge Station in what is now Wyoming. There they were charged with protecting against Indian attacks both the telegraph line and any wagon trains that passed along their section of the road to Salt Lake City. It was already late fall by the time Holliday's company reached Fort Casper, where they found little more than a tiny blockhouse and a long, privately-owned log bridge across the Platte. They quickly set about building a larger blockhouse for their own use, but "were late in the fall getting at it, and we found the heavy snows of winter upon us before we had gotten out of our tents and into our log hut" (p. 70). The logs for the new structure had to be cut in the mountains seven miles away, then dragged by ox team back to Fort Casper. Due to the real fear of Indian attack, "We were compelled to work with our heavy revolvers on and our carbines leaning against the nearest tree" (p. 71). As soon as the blockhouse was completed in late November, the men quickly switched to gathering wood for fuel. They were wise to work with a sense of urgency, for winter was on them. Almost immediately they were hit with a terrible blizzard. It was, Holliday reflected two decades later, "the beginning of the coldest winter ever seen in the Rocky Mountains" (p. 71).

Most of them holed up in their quarters for much of the winter, save for trips into the nearby mountains to hunt for deer, elk, small bears, and buffalos; no military rations had reached the fort before the snows came, such that the garrison had to fend for itself. At first they fed the ponies on corn previously stored at the fort, much to the ponies' apparent distaste, then later drove them over the mountains to a grassy valley where the animals wintered. In early December they received a telegram inviting them come hunt buffalo with the men of the 11th Ohio Cavalry--who were in for the winter at Three Crossings station, 120 miles farther west--and Holliday joined the small team of a dozen mounted soldiers who braved the trek through cold and snow-covered trails. When the party returned to Fort Casper three weeks later, they found many of their comrades suffering from scurvy, several having already died. Not until March did they receive a supply of vegetables and dried fruits, bringing an end to the outbreak. Holliday recalled: "From December to the latter part of March we managed to subsist somehow, but these four months formed the darkest period of our lives" (p. 89). Finally a telegraph message arrived on March 28, informing the company that 1500 Sioux Indians under Standing Elk had surrendered at Fort Laramie and that their orders were to march back there as soon as they were able. After a brief stay there, during which Holliday and two companions were nearly killed in a drunken melee among the surrendered Sioux, they resumed

their long march east and mustered out at Fort Leavenworth on May 22, 1866. As Glen Longacre observes, Holliday returned to Ohio:

> a young man who had seen the horrors of war, suffered moments of extreme mental and emotional duress, and whose body was now, after three years of constant campaigning, physically wrecked. At eighteen, an ex-cavalryman and a Civil War and Indian Wars veteran, he had yet to develop a trade or profession [2021:xxxi].

Holliday would marry Lucy Sheppard at Portsmouth, Ohio, in 1871, and they would raise five children together. He would go on to have a successful career in the stove foundry industry in southern Ohio, and in 1889 he was elected to serve a term in the state legislature. He and his family later moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where he died at the age of 71 in 1919. He is buried there in the National Cemetery. *On the Plains in '65* was likely self-published at Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1883. Longacre writes that "His description of the common volunteer soldier on the Plains during a critical period is the reason the book is considered a minor classic among western historians" (2021:xxxiv). It is also quite scarce, particularly in commerce. Although the book has appeared at auction numerous times since WWII, a comparison of catalogue descriptions indicates that these are all the same four copies: the Soliday-Streeter copy (1945, 1967); the Holliday copy (1954, 1971, 1972, 1985); the Siebert copy (1999, 2018), and the Swann copy (2007). Heaston offered the Siebert copy in Catalogue 31 for $8000, while Reese priced the Swann copy at $11,000 in Catalogue 257. Both copies, like the one we offer here, were rebound in later cloth, and each included the printed front wrapper bound in (ours was rebound without wraps). OCLC reports 16 copies in institutions. **A recently discovered copy of a key western narrative**.

Relevant sources:

Longacre, Glen V.
2021 Introduction. In *On the Plains in '65: The 6th West Virginia Volunteer Cavalry in the West*, edited by Glen V. Longacre, pp. xvii-xxxviii. Ohio University Press, Athens.

Mattes, Merrill J.
1969 *The Great Platte River Road: The Covered Wagon Mainline Via Fort Kearny to Fort Laramie*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.

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[Indian Wars--Plains]. George H. Holliday. ON THE PLAINS IN '65...TWELVE MONTHS IN THE VOLUNTEER CAVALRY SERVICE, AMONG THE INDIANS OF NEBRASKA, COLORADO, DAKOTA, WYOMING, AND MONTANA. THRILLING ADVENTURES, FINE SCENERY, AND HOW THE BOYS PUT IN THE TIME IN THE FAR WEST. [Wheeling, West Virginia], 1883. 97 pp., wood engraved portrait and 7 other illus. 8vo (21 cm). Rebound without wraps in dark blue pebbled cloth with gilt title on front board, light edge wear and spotting, edges dyed red. Title page mounted to front free end paper, paper tear at lower inner corner of title page with no loss of text, scattered foxing. Overall about very good [Howes H596, "b"].

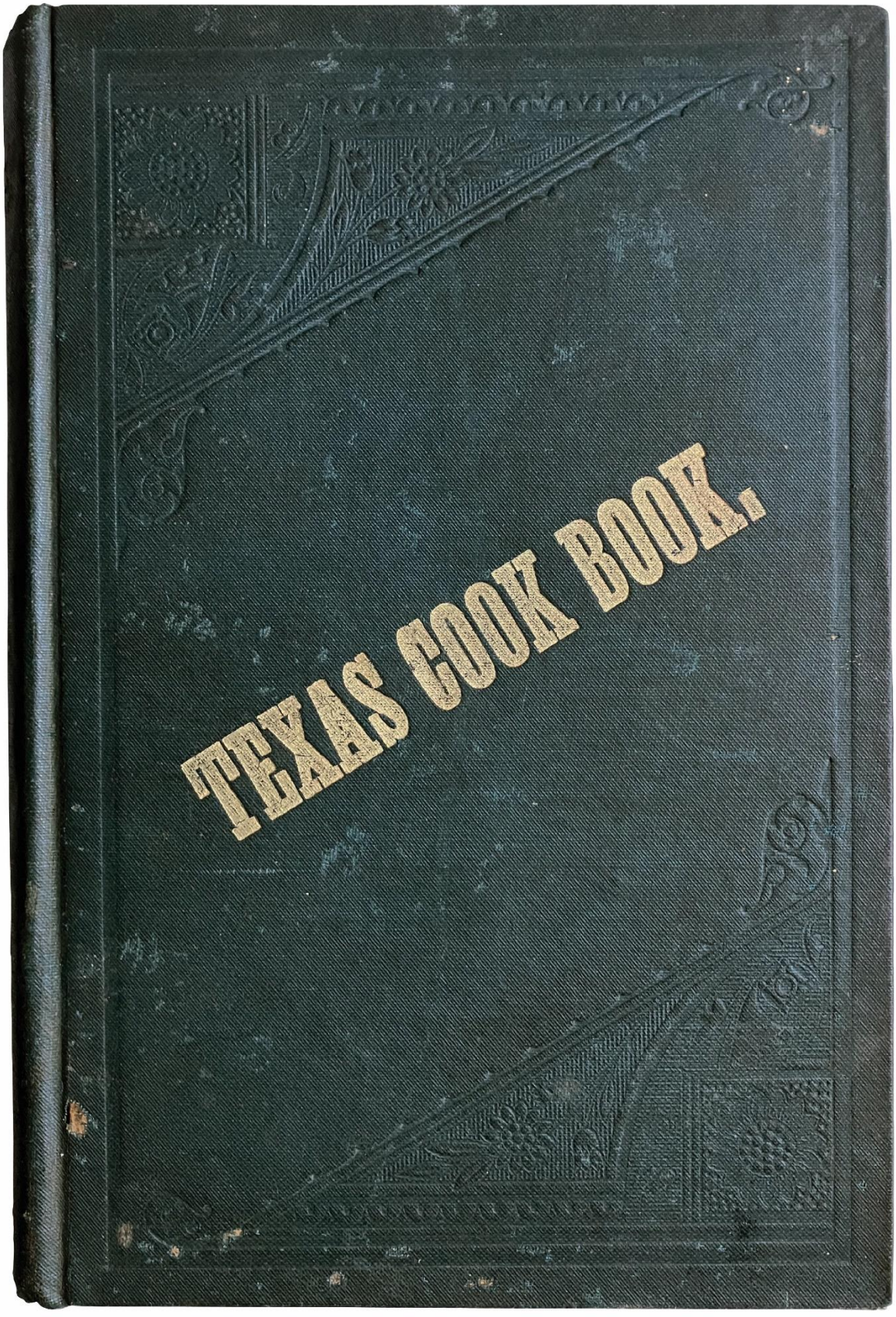
20. **HOLD**.

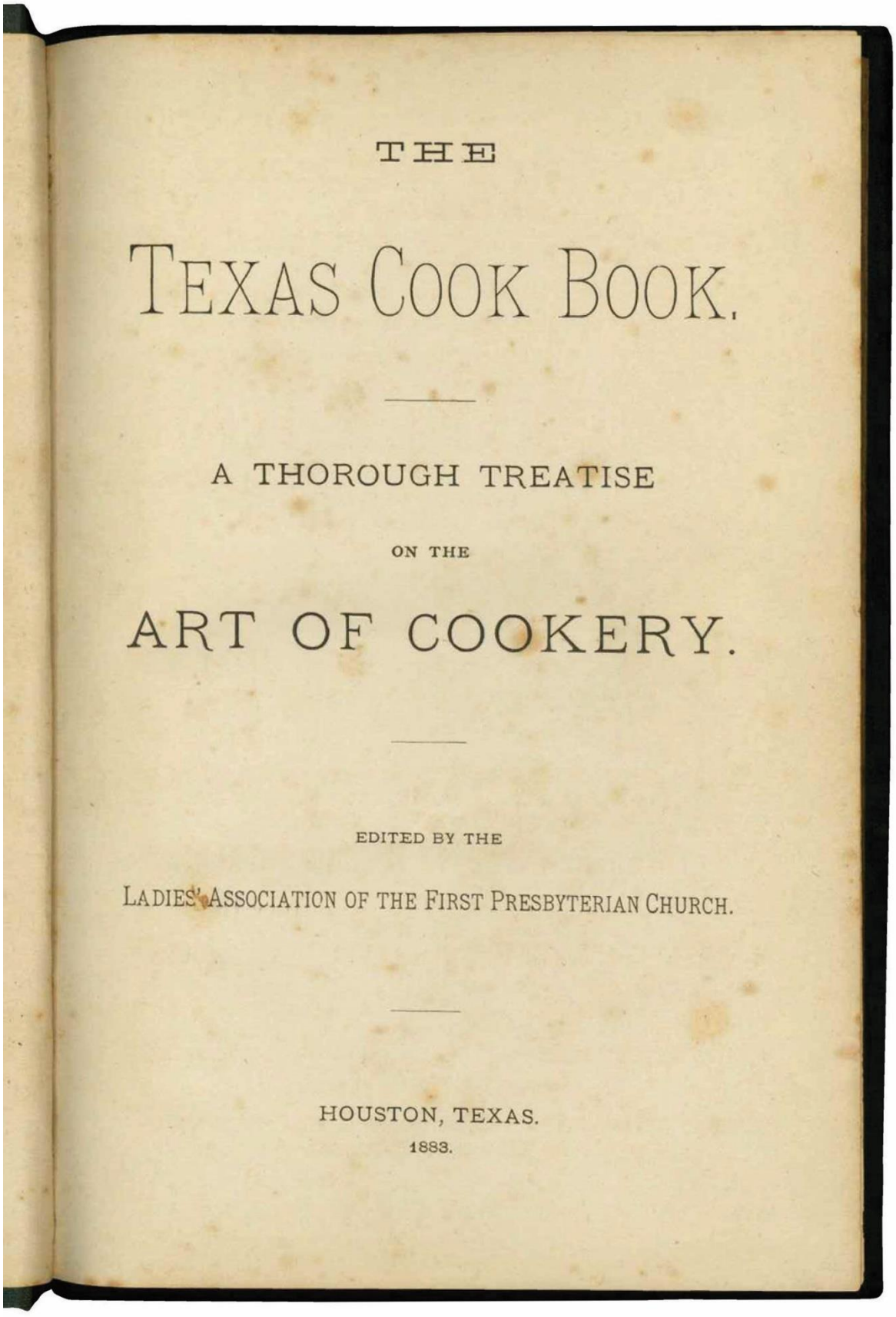
The First Texas Cookbook: A Culinary Rarity in Splendid Condition

Few American cookbooks are as iconic as *The Texas Cook Book*, published by the Ladies Association of Houston's First Presbyterian Church in 1883. The first published culinary work that focuses on Texan cuisine--though it was printed in St. Louis--it was also among the first cookbooks published west of the Mississippi River. In many respects, the *Texas Cook Book* follows in the footsteps of three earlier works recognized as the first three southern American cookbooks: Mary Randolph's *Virginia House-Wife* (1824, Washington City), Lettice Bryan's *Kentucky Housewife* (1839, Cincinnati), and Sarah Rutledge's *Carolina Housewife* (Charleston). As Randolph's work represents the cuisine of the Tidewater area, Bryan's that of the Bluegrass region, and Rutledge's that of the Carolina Lowcountry, so do the offerings presented by the Ladies Association document the foodways of South Texas, including recipes for barbeque fish, crab and okra gumbo, broiled venison steak, peach cobbler, Spanish float, and mustang grape wine. In the printed catalogue of her Auction 22, renowned Texas bookseller Dorothy Sloan described the *Texas Cook Book* as "a legendary Texas book, exceedingly rare in commerce, and when found, usually in poor condition and/or incomplete" (Lot 518). **Indeed, RBH lists only six records going back to 1963, and the example that we offer here is among the finest copies ever offered**.

Unlike the earlier works on Virgina, Kentucky, and Carolina cuisines, all of which were single-authored, *The Texas Cook Book* is a compilation of recipes from different contributors. It is also among the most historically significant of all so-called community or charitable cookbooks published in the 19th century. Community cookbooks--first identified as a distinct bibliographic genre by Margaret Cook in *America's Charitable Cooks: A Bibliography of Fund-Raising Cook Books Published in the United States (1861-1915),* self-published in 1971--have three key defining characteristics: 1) their content is contributed by the members of an organization; 2) their recipes reflect local tastes and sources; and 3) their purpose is to create revenue for a specific charity or for the supporting organization's general fund. Their significance today, as Mark Germer and Don Lundgren observe, extends beyond the snapshot that each provides of foodways and cuisines in a particular time and place. Most community cookbooks were compiled by groups of women who worked together "around kitchen tables, in church basements, and in meeting halls." Considered collectively, they present "a legacy of thousands of works, produced by amateurs (in the best sense of the word) in towns big and small across the United States, a distinctively American expression of fellowship, creativity, and purposefulness" (Germer and Lundgren 2018:7).

The first two works identifiable as *charitable* cookbooks, *A Poetical Cook-Book* by Maria Moss (1864) and *Nantucket Receipts* by Susan Hosmer (1870), were dedicated to Philadelphia's 1864 Sanitary Fair and the New England Hospital for Women and Children, respectively. Neither was a *community* cookbook, though, as each was produced by a single author. The earliest known community cookbook is probably the *Grand Rapids Receipt Book*, compiled by the Ladies of the Congregational Church, to support the Ladies Fair held in May 1871. There are no recorded copies of the first edition, which probably appeared in 1871 or 1872; today only a "New Edition" from 1873, "revised and enlarged," is known to have survived. More than 250 community cookbooks are known to have been produced by the end of the 1880s (though the actual number is likely much higher), and by 1900 that total had swelled to no fewer than 1500. By 1910, examples are known to have been produced in all 50 states and territories.


TEXAS COOK BOOK.



THE

TEXAS COOK BOOK.

A THOROUGH TREATISE

ON THE

ART OF COOKERY.

EDITED BY THE

LADIES' ASSOCIATION OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

HOUSTON, TEXAS.
1883.

The Texas Cook Book contains 721 recipes for a range of soups; fish, oysters, meat, sauces for meat, hash, catsups, sour pickles, salads, slaw, breads, yeast, vegetables, omelets and eggs, side dishes, coffee, tea, and chocolate, pies, pastry, pudding, cakes, icing and filling for cakes, brandied fruits and preserves, fancy dishes, wines and drinks, and ices. Seventy-one women (and one man) provided recipes for the compilation, and many of these contributions are credited in the text. The editors note in the Preface that the work would fill a local need: "As many of the very excellent cook books published contain receipts not suited to the requirements of our climate and, as far as we know, no complete treatise on the subject of cookery has been published in our latitude, it has seemed well to supply this deficiency" (p. 3). It was priced at $1.50 and ultimately raised $2000 to underwrite the cost of a new manse for the church.

As befits a classic, *The Texas Cook Book* has been reprinted several times since the first edition appeared in 1883. But this first edition is truly scarce, particularly in very good or better condition. OCLC reports 17 copies held in institutional collections, only five of which are located outside of Texas. RBH lists records for six copies at auction or in the trade, and only three in the past 30 years. The most recent, which sold for $1250 at Heritage Auctions in 2015, had burning on the first six leaves, waterstaining and soiling throughout, damage along the edges of the title page and fly leaves, detached covers with the cover cloth coming loose, and a missing front free endpaper. **This copy is exceptional**: the original cloth covers are only lightly spotted, with a small abrasion on the front cover, and the gilt title is still bright and clear; there is practically no wear to the head or foot of the spine, and the board edges and corners are all sharp; the hinges are quite strong; one signature is slightly proud, and there is only scattered foxing on the interior pages. **A superb example of a very scarce book, made to be used in South Texas kitchens**.

Relevant sources:

Cook, Margaret
1971 *America's Charitable Cooks: A Bibliography of Fund-Raising Cook Books Published in the United States (1861-1915)*. Published by the Author, Kent, OH.

Germer, Mark and Don Lundgren
2018 Introduction. In *UnXld: American Cookbooks of Community and Place*. Volume I: Alabama--District of Columbia, pp. 7-15. Rabelais: Food for Thought.

Linck, Ernestine Sewell and Joyce Gibson Roach
1989 *Eats: A Folk History of Texas Foods*. Texas Christian University Press, Fort Worth.

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[Texas--Community Cookbooks]. THE TEXAS COOK BOOK: A THOROUGH TREATISE ON THE ART OF COOKERY. Edited by the Ladies' Association of the First Presbyterian Church. Houston, Texas, 1883. Printed by R. P. Studley & Co., St. Louis, Mo. 186 pp., advertisements and interleaved with unused blanks for additional recipes. 8vo (20 cm). Original cloth with gilt title on front board, blind embossing on front and rear boards. Spine generally unworn, all corners sharp, scattered foxing, one signature slightly proud. Very good or better.

21. **SOLD**.

A Gold Rush Broadside for Dawson City's Monte Carlo Theater

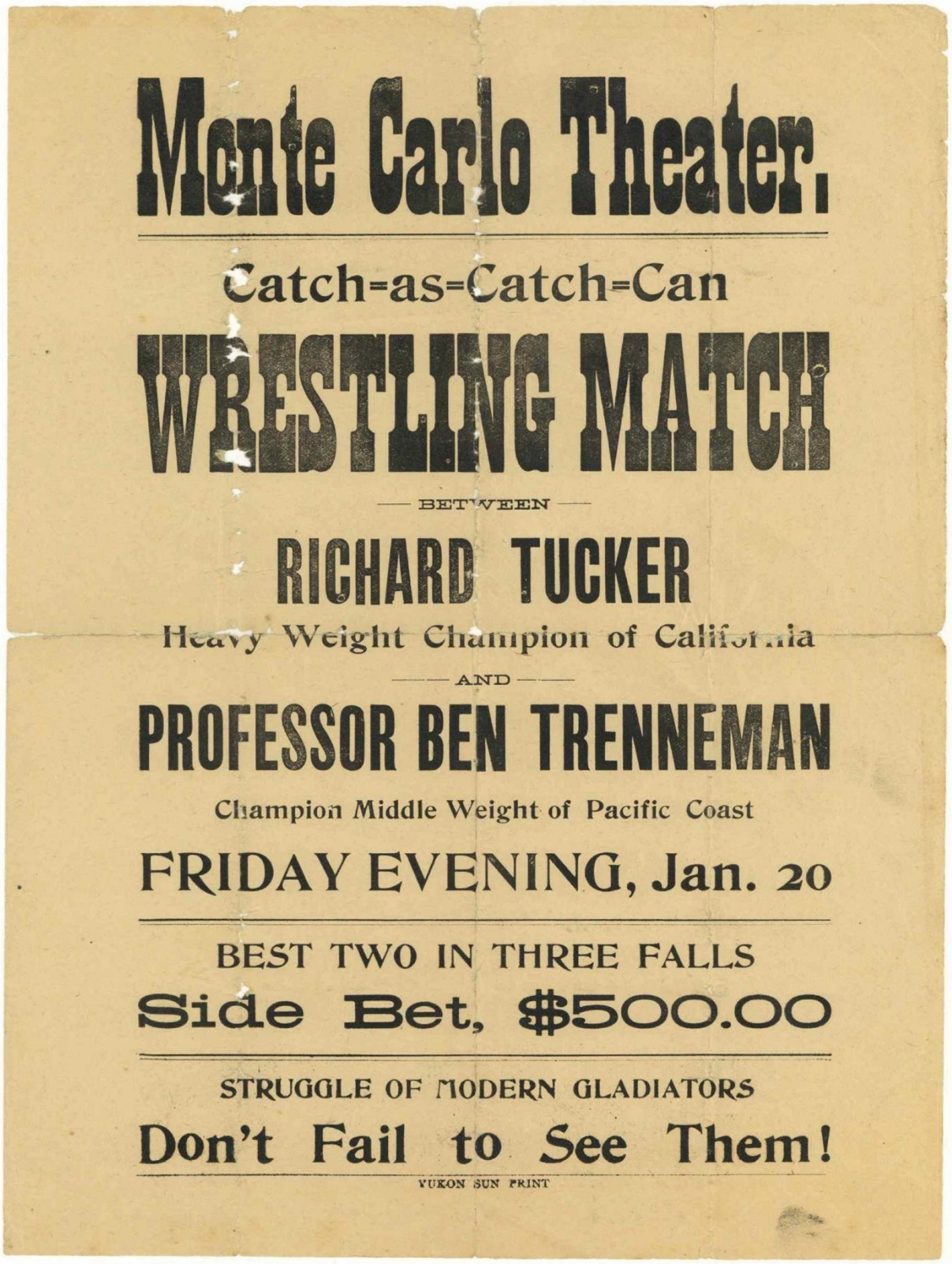
In August 1896, just a few days after George Carmack and his relatives discovered gold in Rabbit Creek--a tributary of the Klondike River--fellow prospector, trader, and sawmill operator Joseph Ladue staked out the muddy flats at the mouth of the river as a townsite, which he registered as Dawson. Miners then claimed all of Rabbit Creek, renamed Bonanza, and quickly spread into neighboring streams seeking additional deposits. Ladue, meanwhile, moved his entire sawmill to Dawson, now home to two dozen people, a pair of log cabins, a small warehouse, and a scattering of tents. Word of the discoveries had yet to reach beyond the Yukon by winter, though prospectors from places downstream began making their way to Dawson, swelling its population to 500. By April, that number had grown to 1500. Not until July 1897 would the ships *Excelsior* and *Portland* arrive in San Francisco and Seattle bearing millions of dollars in gold and the promise of so much more. That first summer, Dawson's population exploded to 5000 people, then to more than 30,000 in June 1898, making it the largest Canadian city west of Winnipeg. With the boom and its carnival atmosphere came saloons and houses of entertainment such as the Dominion, the Phoenix, and the Monte Carlo, eager to profit from a captive audience with little to do through the arctic winter and nowhere else to go. One of the most popular forms of entertainment at the height of the gold rush was professional wrestling, and all of the major venues featured regular matches**. Printed on the press of Dawson's first paper, this January 1899 announcement of a bout at the Monte Carlo seems to be the only surviving broadside from the city's gold rush era**.


Don't Fail to See Them!

YUKON SUN PRINT

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

Swinehart reached Dawson in early June, and on June 11 he published his first, eight-page issue of the *Yukon Midnight Sun*, beating his rival Eugene C. Allen's *Klondike Nugget* by just five days. The first few issues of Swinehart's weekly were printed in three columns on both sides of a newsprint sheet folded to a smaller format measuring 21 cm by 28 cm. A month later, a larger press arrived from St. Michael on board the steamship *John J. Healy*. The subsequent number of the *Sun*, appearing on July 18, was produced in a four-page format of seven columns per page, and



Monte Carlo Theater.

Catch-as-Catch-Can

WRESTLING MATCH

— BETWEEN —

RICHARD TUCKER

Heavy Weight Champion of California

— AND —

PROFESSOR BEN TRENNEMAN

Champion Middle Weight of Pacific Coast

FRIDAY EVENING, Jan. 20

BEST TWO IN THREE FALLS

Side Bet, $500.00

STRUGGLE OF MODERN GLADIATORS

Don't Fail to See Them!

YUKON SUN PRINT

it would retain this format for remainder of its print run, which seems to have ended in 1905. Apart from a few rare issues of the paper itself and a unique copy of the first guide and business directory for Dawson City, which we discovered and sold several years ago, this broadside is the only known surviving imprint from the press of the *Sun*.

The broadside advertises an upcoming wrestling match between Richard Tucker, identified as the "Heavyweight Champion of California," and "Professor" Ben Trenneman, the "Champion Middle Weight of the Pacific Coast." The contest would likely have been a major event: although we can find no information on Richard Tucker, Ben Trenneman was one of the most popular and successful wrestlers on the Dawson stage. And the venue itself was likewise all but certain to draw an enthusiastic crowd. Throughout its gold rush heyday, a period of little more than two years, the epicenter of Dawson's entertainment district was Front Street. The Monte Carlo--which sat near the Phoenix dance hall and saloon, just north of the Dominion and the Northern--operated as a combination of saloon, gambling hall, theatre, dance hall, and restaurant. But for all of the energy and flamboyance, the party was over nearly as soon as it began. Word began to spread as early as August 1898 that there was little easy gold to be had, and in the spring of 1899 there were reports of a new gold strike on the Alaska coast at Cape Nome. With this news Dawson City's population plummeted almost overnight, to less than five thousand in 1902. By then the Monte Carlo was just a memory; a fire began there on January 10, 1900, and wiped out most of Front Street. As with so many other gold rush boom towns, this and the three previous fires in Dawson's business district had reduced most of its paper to ash. Apart from the two newspapers, there are less than a handful of known survivals from Dawson's gold rush printing era, June 1898 to July 1899: an 1898 menu from the Regina Café, printed by the *Nugget* (at UWash); the 1898 *Guide to Dawson City*, printed by the *Sun*; and this broadside, also by the *Sun*. **We trace nothing else**.

Relevant sources:

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

Kurutz, Gary F.
2021 *The Klondike & Alaska Gold Rushes: A Descriptive Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets Covering the Years 1896-1905*. The Book Club of California, San Francisco.

Porsild, Charlene
2007 *Gamblers and Dreamers: Men, Women, and Community in the Klondike*. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.

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[Yukon Gold Rush--Dawson City]: MONTE CARLO THEATRE. / CATCH-AS-CATCH-CAN / WRESTLING MATCH.... / STRUGGLE OF MODERN GLADIATORS / DON'T FAIL TO SEE THEM! [caption title]. Dawson City, N.W.T., January 20, 1899. Yukon Sun Print. Broadside or advertising circular. 12 x 9 in. (30.5 x 23 cm). Very thin paper, professional tape repair on verso to pinholes along folds, printer's ink fingerprints along edges. Overall about very good.

22. **SOLD**.

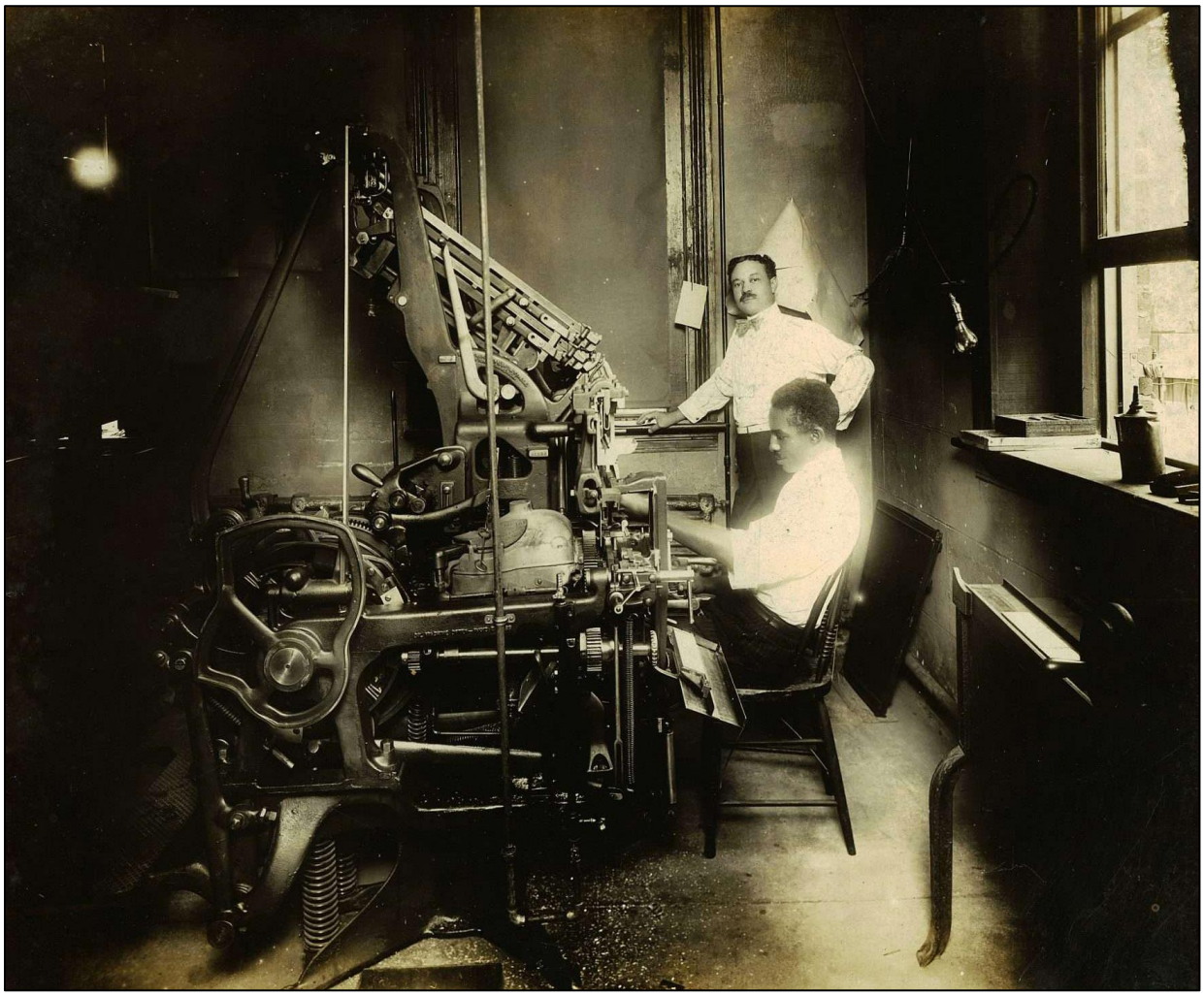
Original Linotype Masthead of Maggie Lena Walker's *St. Luke Herald*

The Independent Order of St. Luke, established at Baltimore in 1867 by Mary Prout, was one of the most successful and enduring among the thousands of mutual benefit societies founded by African Americans in the decades after the Civil War. Originally intended to provide funeral insurance for women unable to afford a formal burial, it came to offer business loans and different forms of health and life insurance to its members as Jim Crow segregation curtailed Black access to white-owned banking and insurance institutions. But by 1899, the IOSL--now headquartered in Richmond, Virginia--had barely more than a thousand members, $31.61 in assets, and $400 in debts. The order's Right Worthy Grand Secretary, William T. Forrester, who had served in the role for thirty years, refused to accept his own reappointment. Instead, the IOSL turned to Maggie Lena Walker, a former schoolteacher and insurance agent who had climbed the order's ranks since joining as a teenager in 1881. In her first two years as RWGS, and at a third of Forrester's previous salary, she doubled the organization's membership. And in her speech to the IOSL convention in 1901, she proposed to create a bank, a newspaper, and a department store, all owned and operated by the order's membership. The first issue of the *St. Luke Herald* appeared the following year and became the city's leading African American weekly. **This striking object is the *Herald's* original linotype masthead, perhaps the only remaining fragment of the press itself**.

Maggie Walker was born at the end of the Civil War in Richmond on July 15, 1864. Her mother, Elizabeth Draper, was a formerly enslaved assistant cook working at the Church Hill home of abolitionist and Union spy master Elizabeth Van Lew. Her father, Eccles Cuthbert, was a white journalist writing for the *New York Herald*. Only months after her daughter's birth, Draper married William Mitchell, a butler at the Van Lew estate. Mitchell later became headwaiter at the Saint Charles Hotel, offering a path to lift his young family out of poverty, but he died under mysterious circumstances just a few years later. Elizabeth then found work as a laundress to support Walker and her half brother, but they struggled financially throughout her childhood, with Walker helping her mother to deliver the laundry she had cleaned. Richmond, though, had recently created several public schools for African Americans, and Walker was able to attend the Valley School, the Navy Hill School, and the Richmond Colored Normal School, where she trained as a schoolteacher and graduated in 1883. She taught for three years at the Valley School before marrying a successful brick contractor, Armistead Walker, Jr. School policy prevented married women from working as teachers, so Walker worked for a brief period selling insurance with the Woman's Union, a local cooperative organization of African American women. It also during these years that she began to concentrate her energies on the Independent Order of St. Luke, which she had joined as early as 1881 while still a student at the Colored Normal School.

After taking over leadership of the IOSL in 1899, Walker wasted little time stamping her mark on the foundering organization. Walker later recalled that her "first work was to draw around me *women*" (in Brown 204:50, italics in original). And she made it happen. Two years later, when

she made her speech at the 1901 convention, six of nine elected positions on the executive board were filled by women. Together they restored the IOSL's finances, increased its membership, and launched the three enterprises that Walker had outlined in her speech. First was the organization's newspaper, *the St. Luke Herald*, the first issue of which appeared on March 29, 1902. Next came the St. Luke Penny Savings Bank, which opened for business in November 1903 and made Walker the first African American woman to charter a bank. Finally, the St. Luke Emporium department store welcomed customers in April 1905. By 1925 the IOSL could boast 75,000 members while publishing the most widely read African American weekly in Richmond. The Emporium struggled to reach profitability from the beginning and had closed by 1911. The bank, however--reorganized as the Consolidated National Bank during the Great Depression in 1930--still exists today and is the nation's oldest bank continuously run by African Americans.



Two men at the *St Luke Herald* linotype machine, early 20th century
(Witherspoon Collection, Valentine Richmond History Center)

The *Herald* was crucial to Walker's vision for expanding the IOSL. As she described its role herself in her 1901 speech: 'We need...a newspaper, a trumpet to sound the orders, so that the St. Luke upon the mountain top, and the St. Luke dwelling by the side of the sea, can hear the same order, keep step to the same music, march in unison to the same commands, although miles and miles intervene" [in Kuyk 2003:68]. While the *Herald* did serve as a vehicle for sharing news of the organization among its members, it was also a beacon for social justice, with Walker using her editorial power to make bold statements about racism and prejudice in Richmond and beyond. In her writing--whether on lynching, voting rights, or segregation--she challenged laws, policies, and practices that discriminated against Black Americans.

From the beginning, Walker and her executive board established a Printing Department that published weekly numbers of the *Herald*--as well as regalia and other IOSL materials--on its own linotype machine (see p. 126). Our linotype block, cast in a heavy lead alloy, contains the paper's masthead or nameplate and seems to the only surviving vestige of its printing process. The newspaper's name is rendered in gothic letterform, while textblocks on either side ("OVER 25,000 READERS EACH WEEK" and "AN ORDER THAT FULFILLS ITS PROMISES") are cast in a more Latinate style. We cannot date the precise period when this block was used: the style of the masthead is different from that used in issues of the *Herald* published from 1910-1920, but so few copies of the paper survive (OCLC records no original issues) that comparison is difficult. Given its stated size of the paper's readership as 25,000, we suggest that the block probably dates to the years of the paper's highest circulation, after about 1920 or 1925. The *St. Luke Herald* continued as a weekly, in a 12-page folio format, until the end of 1931, when the loss of revenue brought on by the Great Depression reduced it to a monthly, letter-sized bulletin. Maggie Lena Walker died three years later. In 1979, the National Park Service purchased her Richmond home and converted it into the Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site. **A rare survival**.

Relevant sources:

Brown, Elsa Barkley
2003 Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of St. Luke. In *The Black Studies Reader*, edited by Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley, and Claudine Michel, pp. 47-64. Rutledge, New York.

Kuyk, Betty M.
2003 *African Voices in the African American Heritage*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Marlowe, Gertrude Woodruff.
2003 *A Right Worthy Grand Mission: Maggie Lena Walker and the Quest for Black Economic Empowerment*. Howard University Press, Washington, D.C.

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[Printing History--African American]. [ORIGINAL LINOTYPE MASTHEAD FOR THE *ST. LUKE HERALD*, FOUNDED BY AFRICAN AMERICAN BUSINESSWOMAN AND EDITOR MAGGIE LENA WALKER]. [N.p., n.d., but likely Richmond, Virginia, 1920-1930]. Linotype lead alloy printing slug. 12 in. x 3/4 in.² (35cm x 2 cm²), 4 1/4 lbs. Fine.

23. **$2750**.

The Only Known Copy of Seattle's First Japanese Telephone Directory

Prior to 1885, when Japan's Meiji government officially began to sponsor emigration, there was practically no substantial Japanese population in the United States. Indeed, America's entire population of Japanese immigrants, or Issei, was less than 150. That would change dramatically over the next three decades. As the nation's post-Civil War economic boom had cooled off in the 1870s, public sentiment soon turned against Chinese laborers who had come to California and the Northwest Coast throughout the gold rush years. In response, the United State Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited all immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. Congress extended the ban in 1892 and again in 1902. These and other local and national policies created a labor void that Japanese workers filled: the number of immigrants from Japan increased more than tenfold in the decade from 1890 to 1900, from about two thousand people to nearly 25,000, and by 1910 more than 72,000 Issei had arrived in the United States. Like Chinese immigrants before them, most planted roots along the Pacific Coast, where Seattle quickly became second only to Los Angeles as a destination for Japanese newcomers. In 1938, Japanese-American writer and businessman Masaru Akahori--using the alias Hyoroku Oishi--compiled the *Japanese Telephone Directory* for Seattle and its vicinity, the city's first and among the first published in the continental United States. **The is the only recorded copy**.

Masaru Akahori was born in 1884 in Japan's Tokushima Prefecture. He immigrated to the United States as a young man in 1904, residing for several years in San Francisco before heading east to Sacramento and Placerville, where he wrote for the Japanese-language press before moving back to Japan in 1919. He worked in Tokyo for three years as a journalist for the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper--which today has the largest circulation of any paper in the world--then returned to the States in 1922, this time settling in Southern California. There Akahori became involved in several unsuccessful business ventures, including a legal aid office and an advertising firm, the American Oriental Advertising Company. His financial entanglement with the latter led him to go into hiding from his Japanese community on Los Angeles's Terminal Island. Afterward he fled to Seattle and became managing editor of *Taihoku Nippo* (The Great Northern Daily News), while also serving as the Pacific Northwest region correspondent of San Francisco's *Nichibei Shimbun* (The Japanese American News), among the largest and most influential Japanese-language papers in the United States prior to the start of World War II. In 1934, he established a fisheries trading business and publishing firm, the Columbia Commercial Company, which produced this *Japanese Telephone Directory*. Throughout these years, Akahori wrote and published under an array of pen names and aliases: Meishu, Bennaishi, Bennosuke, Manako, and Hyoroku Oishi (which he used in compiling this directory); he was known by his American friends as Ben.

On December 7, 1941, immediately after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, FBI agents arrested Akahori as a suspected enemy alien. He was separated from his family and held in a string of internment camps, including Fort Missoula, Lordsburg, and Santa Fe. Finally, after nearly three years apart, he was reunited with his wife and children at the camp in Crystal City, Texas, where they were incarcerated together until the end of the war. In March 1946, Akahori and his family were resettled in Los Angeles. Hardly a month later--and always the journalist--he issued his first number of the *Town Crier*, a mimeographed Japanese-language daily, which he would publish into the early 1960s. Akahori died in Los Angeles in 1970 at the age of 86.

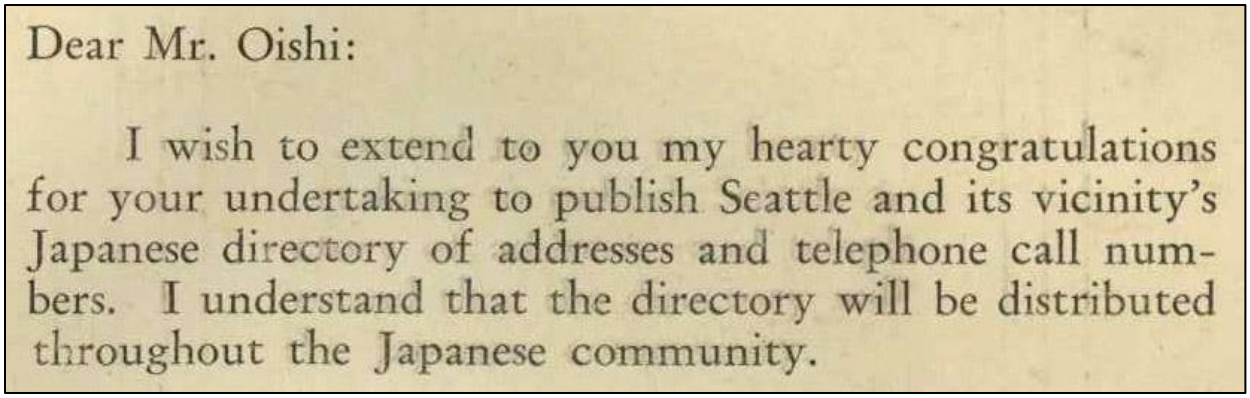
JAPANESE TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

SEATTLE
AND
VICINITY
NOVEMBER, 1938

SEATTLE

A

エーピー桂庵	517 Main St.	MA 3606
エーピーダイウオークス	105 Eastlake	MA 2295
エーピーグロサリー	204 Belmont N.	CA 9721
エーピーホテル	419 Washington	EL 4262
エーピーブラマー	1019 E. Pike	CA 9737
エーピー農產會社	1124 Western Ave.	EL 3567
阿部エス	1414 King	EA 9871
阿部タム	675 Dearborn	EL 0177
エースホテル	318 2nd Ave.	SE 9683
エースクリーナー	6505 20th N. E.	KE 3515
アダムスホテル	513 Maynard	EL 9910
愛花花店	1019 Jackson	CA 7222
愛光寫眞舘	613½ Jackson	EL 0840
エーケーグロサリー	129 16th Ave.	EA 5916
赤田淺吉	419 Washington	EL 4262
赤田エス	114 5th Ave. S.	SE 9294
赤木悌二	1412 E. Columbia	EA 3916
赤木登喜男	209 2nd Ave. S.	SE 2294
赤堀最事務所	503½ Main St.	EL 8522
赤堀最	1216 E. Spruce	EA 0307
赤井麹店	701 1st Ave.	
赤井グロサリー	304 Maynard	MA 9950
阿久津ケー	209½ 8th Ave.	MA 3676
アラスカコマーシヤル	107 W. Main St.	
テラスカンアパート	2005½ 2nd Ave.	EL 9489
アレキサンドリア ホテル	2200½ 1st Ave.	SE 9615
アルカイホテル	204½ 5th Ave. S.	EL 3109
アルプスホテル	621 King St.	EL 9225
天野正十九	3208 35th Ave. S.	RA 4435
アメリアアパート	104 17th Ave.	EA 9751
アムハーストホテル	1910½ 2nd Ave.	SE 9712
安藤ふぢの	613 Jackson	EL 9892
安藤エス	505 Maynard	MA 0229
青木傳吾	107 Broadway	EL 4037
青木エイチ	1625 Jackson	PR 5307
青木次郎	216 Spring	EL 9147
青木ルーミング	604½ Main St.	MA 2729
青木エス	403 10th Ave.	MA 4809
青木エスシー	604½ Main St.	MA 2729


Dear Mr. Oishi:

I wish to extend to you my hearty congratulations for your undertaking to publish Seattle and its vicinity's Japanese directory of addresses and telephone call numbers. I understand that the directory will be distributed throughout the Japanese community.

The *Japanese Telephone Directory* was intended for use by the Japanese community in and around Seattle. Each of the nearly 2000 alphabetical listings includes the name of the resident in Japanese, followed by the address and phone number in English. Seattle residents fill the first 71 pages, with additional sections for Auburn, Bothell, Kent, Kingston, Kirkland, Lakeside, Port Blakely, Port Madison, Paulsboro, Renton, Selleck, and Vashon. Advertisements in Japanese and English are interspersed throughout. The first separate Japanese telephone directory published in the United States was issued in Los Angeles in 1910, with later examples appearing in Honolulu and Chicago in the 1920s. All are rare. Seattle seems to be the fourth American city with such a directory, and we trace no other copy of this imprint. Although listed in the bibliography, *A Buried Past*, there are no copies in OCLC. **A significant Japanese-American imprint**.

Relevant sources:

Barbour Alecia D.
2007 Home is Together: Sounds of Belonging in the Correspondence of Two Japanese American Families Separated by Wartime Incarceration. *Journal of the Society for American Music* 17(4):337-359.

Sakara, Yasuto
2020 *On a Collision Course: The Dawn of Japanese Migration in the Nineteenth Century*. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, CA.

UCLA Library Special Collections
2020 Akahori Family Papers, Japanese American Research Project Collection (Collection 2010). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

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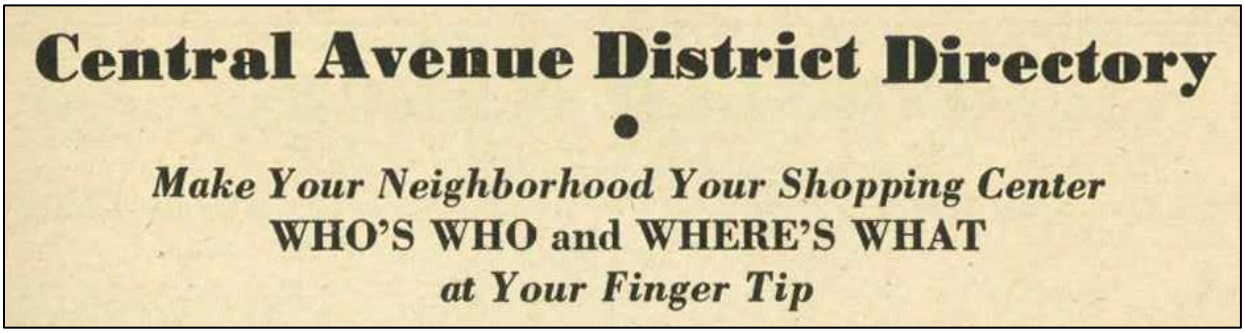
[Seattle--Japanese American]. [Masaru Akahori (Hyoroku Oishi)]. JAPANESE TELEPHONE DIRECTORY. SEATTLE AND VICINITY. NOVEMBER, 1938. Published without title page by the Columbia Commercial Company, Seattle. [2], 80, [2]. 8vo (24 cm). Original green printed wrappers with advertisements on front and rear wraps and throughout the text. Hole in upper left corner for hanging. Light staining to first several leaves. Very good [A Buried Past 755].

24. **$3250**.

Central Avenue: Commerce in the Heart of Black Los Angeles

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 service of institutional racism. On the contrary, though, most such directories were products of Black agency, published by and for the use of African American communities. Black publishers, businesses, or civic groups often sponsored their production, and the advertisements of Black-owned businesses were featured prominently--front and center--an opportunity not afforded in directories that catered to white audiences. Such is certainly the case with *The Official Central Avenue District Directory*. Published in November, 1940, it showcases Central Avenue, the thoroughfare at the heart of African American life in Los Angeles during the first half of the 20th century. Two different issues are known to survive; the other was published in March, 1940. **This is the second known copy of the November issue**.



In 1930, fewer than 40,000 African Americans called Los Angeles home, nearly half of whom lived in the vicinity of Central Avenue. When it was first laid out in 1883, Central Avenue was intended as central not to Los Angeles, but rather to the town of Vernon south of LA's city limits. And when LA annexed that part of Vernon in 1896, most the neighborhood's population was Mexican, Anglo, Asian, and European. The next two decades, however, witnessed a concerted effort to develop a true enclave for the city's African American residents, civic organizations, and businesses. Community leader Sidney P. Dones opened his company at Central and 8th Street in 1914, offering real estate, legal services, and insurance. The offices of the *California Eagle*, a Black-owned newspaper, were right next door. Soon other business followed, along with churches and two all-Black fire stations. Throughout these early years, the rate of African American home ownership steadily increased, especially along Central between 8th and 12th. By 1930, the heart of the district had shifted south to Central and 41st, where three important buildings--the Somerset Hotel, the Hudson-Liddell Building, and the Golden State Mutual Insurance Building--rose up as symbols of the neighborhood and its rising fortunes. West Coast Jazz was born here, too, in the nightclubs and dance halls strung along Central like musical notes on a scale. There were nearly 17,500 African American residents now, and by the time this directory was issued by the New Age Publishing Company in 1940, that number had grown by another 25,000.

The Official Central Avenue DISTRICT DIRECTORY

A Business and Professional Guide

Important Phone Numbers

WEST PICO FURNITURE CO. (Juan Ray)	WEbster-5221
BENJAMIN'S LAUNDRY & CLEANERS	CEntury-24656
CHURCHMAN'S AUTO FOR HIRE	CEntury-23737
Ambulance (Receiving Hospital)	RIchmond-5111
Fire Department	FItroy-3131
Police Department	MIchigan-6111
So. Calif. Gas Company	MIchigan-0141
So. Calif. Telephone Company	MIchigan-9111
L. A. Bureau of Power and Light	MIchigan-4211
Black and White Cab	MAdison-1311
Yellow Cab Company	MAdison-1234
Correct Time	ULrich-8900
CONNER-JOHNSON COMPANY	PRospect-3195
HARRISON'S PAY 'N' TAKIT STATION	ADams-5370

Compiled by WARREN C. VINSTON
Published by
THE NEW AGE PUBLISHING COMPANY
1271 East Adams Blvd. - ADams 0329 - Los Angeles, California

November, 1940

Central Avenue District Directory

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Make Your Neighborhood Your Shopping Center
WHO'S WHO and WHERE'S WHAT
at Your Finger Tip

•

Published semi-annually by THE NEW AGE PUBLISHING COMPANY
1271 E. Adams Blvd. . . . ADams 0329

•

WARREN C. VINSTON, *President-Compiler*

ANITA GRANT
ANNA DRISDOM
OLLIE CLARK
LOUISE BARCLAY
MYRTLE ANDERSON
MARJORIE E. STOKELY
CATHERINE WICKS
JOHNNIE MAE THOMAS
F. L. REEVES

Vol. 2 **LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, NOVEMBER, 1940** **No. 1**

ANITA GRANT
Special Representative

FOREWORD

One year old . . . one year of worthwhile service. We sincerely thank the many progressive business men, merchants and professional people who have so splendidly cooperated with us during the past year. The success of our publication is primarily due to your unselfish support.

WARREN C. VINSTON
Compiler

We heartily thank our many thousands of readers who so cordially accepted our *Directory* and used it extensively and continually. It is because you have steadily patronized our hundreds of advertisers that we are priviliged to present you the third semi-annual edition of the official *Central Avenue District Directory*. We are happy to be able to serve you with such a useful medium. The best way to express your appreciation of our publication is to tell our advertisers when you respond to their advertisements or phone them that you saw their advertisement in the *Central Avenue District Directory*.

Having received so many requests from our advertisers to publish the *Directory* once a year, and having studied the merit of making the change, we hereby announce that effective with the May, 1941 edition the *Central Avenue District Directory* will be published annually.

We have learned little about New Age Publishing beyond the information available in this and the other directories they produced from about 1939 to 1942. There seems to be no relation between this firm and the contemporary *New Age Dispatch* newspaper (later the *New Age*), owned and published from 1912 to 1948 by Black civic leader and state assemblyman Frederick Madison Roberts. The president of the New Age Publishing Company, and compiler of the *Central Avenue District Directory*, was Warren C. Vinston (1910-1989). Vinston seems to have been a successful real estate broker from the early 1940s into the early 1960s, handling the sale of several impressive Los Angeles homes and properties in African American neighborhoods. He came to Los Angeles from Philadelphia, where he attended Central High School. His co-compiler and secretary of the publishing firm was Anita Grant, about whom we have learned little else. Together, they published at least three issues of the Central Avenue directory and at least two of an expanded, larger format *California Negro Directory and Classified Buyers' Guide*.

All issues of these directories are scarce. We locate no known copies of the Central Avenue directory's first issue, published either in late 1939 or early 1940. In the forward to this issue of November, 1940--styled Vol. 2, No. 1--Vinston and Grant indicate that the publication is one year old, suggesting that the first issue appeared in November 1939. OCLC records a single copy of the March, 1940, issue--styled Vol. 1, No. 2--at UCLA. This may be the same copy that appeared at Swann Auctions in 2017, bringing $1375. There is also a single OCLC listing for this November issue, held by Yale, which is likely the copy that sold for $2625 at Cowan's Auctions in 2020. As for the expanded California directory, the issue for October 1941 is styled Vol. 3, No. 1, while the issue for September 1942 is styled Vol. 4, No. 1. Thus, these were probably issued as continuations of this third Central Avenue directory (Vol. 2, No. 1). OCLC reports two holdings for the 1941 issue and five for the 1942 issue; there are also two auction results for the issue of 1942: $1680 at Swann in 2007 and $2375 at Cowan's in 2020. **An indispensable record from LA's first Black commercial district, at the height of its influence.**

Relevant sources:

Marcus, Kenneth
2022 The Central Avenue Borderscape: Racial and Musical Borders in Los Angeles in the Era of Jim Crow. *Pacific Historical Review* 91(4):492-524.
Sides, Josh
2003 *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Hunt, Darnell M. and Ana-Christina Ramón
2010 *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities*. NYU Press, New York.

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[Los Angeles--African American]. Warren C. Vinston and Anita Grant, compilers. CENTRAL AVENUE DISTRICT DIRECTORY. Vol. 2, No. 1, November 1940. The New Age Publishing Company, Los Angeles. 96 pp. 8vo (24 cm). Original wraps, stapled, minor creasing and edge wear. Hole in upper left corner for hanging. Very good.

25. **$2500**.