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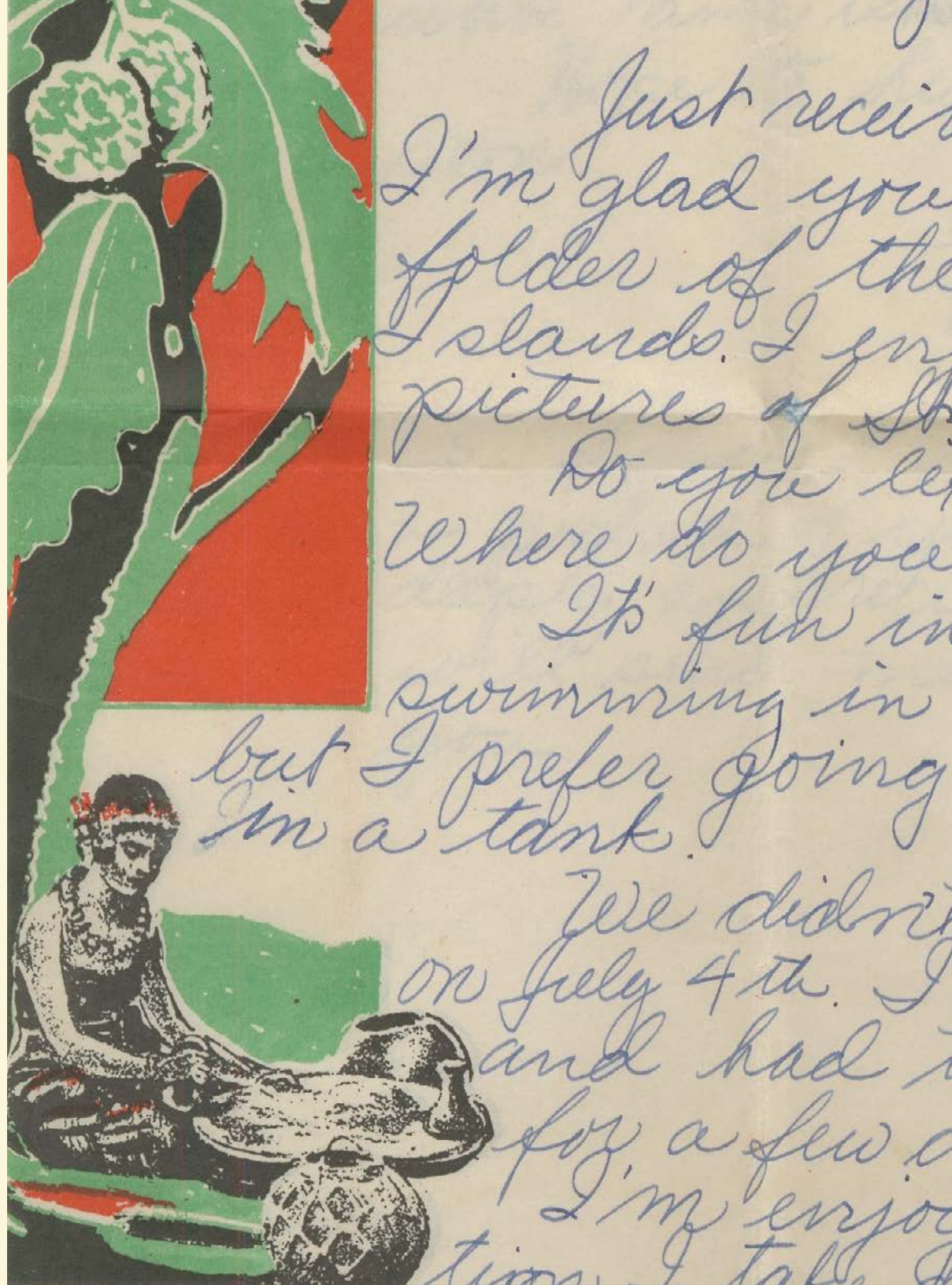
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[ABOLITION - CONGRESS OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE - DEAF EDUCATION] MACAULAY, ZACHARY

Letter to Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet Reporting Emperor Alexander I's Support for Treating the Slave Trade as Piracy and Coordinating a Campaign to Reform British Deaf Education.

London, England: November 7, 1818. Autograph letter signed "Zachary Macaulay" to Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet in Hartford, Connecticut. 5 pp measuring appx. 9 x 7 ½ inches. Interior pages Near Fine; final page / cover folded with larger holes, repairs with archival tape, good. Overall excellent.

A substantial transatlantic reform letter from British abolitionist Zachary Macaulay to Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, then directing the recently established American Asylum for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb in Hartford. Macaulay reports on diplomatic efforts to suppress the slave trade at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, quoting Emperor Alexander I of Russia in support of treating slave traders as pirates. He also discusses his anonymous publication of Gallaudet's comparison of French and English methods of deaf education, urges him to continue the campaign for reform in Britain, reports on Hannah More and the *Christian Observer*, and offers personal advice regarding Gallaudet's health and unmarried state. The letter was printed in substantially abridged form by Gallaudet's son, Edward Miner Gallaudet, in his 1888 biography of his

JBW
My Dear Sir
London 7 Nov. 1818

I have before me several of your former communications, the last bearing the date of the 3^d August. Your friend Mr. Pillsbury who is there mentioned has not yet made his appearance. I shall be most happy to bid him welcome to England, and to show him while there any kind help in my power. I have recently forwarded your letter to Mrs. More. I have not heard from her since, indeed there has scarcely been time, but I cannot doubt, that she will readily accede to your wish of having her labours to adorn the library commenced by her donations. She has of late been suffering from severe attacks of illness, which have produced a considerable prostration of her strength, but her mind, amidst the rapidities of sickness and age, retains all its pristine vigour, and she labours to employ her remaining hours in elucidating the views and aims of all around her from earth to heaven.

I have mailed to the Editor of the *Christian Observer* the paper designed for this paper as soon as it arrived. I have had no opportunity of seeing whether it has been inserted, the work being scarcely known and little got all round in this part of the Island. The luminous account you gave me of the superiority of the French mode of instructing the deaf dumb over the English, you will already have seen in the paper of the *Christian Observer*. I conceived that the author of the paper should be entirely concealed, which I thought would on the whole be an advantage, as the effect of any prejudice which the considerations upon deaf dumb institutions might feel in favour of what had passed, would then be obviated. Do not believe there is the slightest suspicion of its real author.

father. The present manuscript preserves significant passages omitted from that publication.[1]

The principal political content concerns the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, where the European powers met in 1818 to consider the post-Napoleonic settlement. Macaulay had been deeply involved because, as he tells Gallaudet, "the Slave trade was my object." He drafted an address placed before the assembled sovereigns and ministers and believed it had been favorably received:

"The Emperor of Russia read it, he said, with the most entire satisfaction. He perfectly approved of the proposal to make Slave trading piracy, and would do all in his power to effect this object. He gave copies of the address with his own hand to the Kings and ministers

CONTINUED

Letter to Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet from Abolitionist Zachary Macaulay.

assembled."

Macaulay then records an extended statement attributed to Alexander I condemning Portugal's continued participation in the trade:

"It was not to be endured,' he said, 'that Portugal should continue to resist the united wishes of Europe, by retaining the trade for a single day, after other nations had abandoned it. As for the miscreants who should continue it, after it had been universally reprobated, their only proper designation and punishment were those of pirates [...]. I take shame to myself,' he added, 'before God, that we should have left this great work unfinished at Vienna [...]. When I consider what I owe to the kindness of Providence, in rescuing me and my people from the hand of the oppressor, I should be the most ungrateful of men, if I did not labour with all my might to liberate those who groan under a worse oppression, and especially our wretched fellow creatures in Africa.'"

Macaulay notes that these remarks were made to a friend and adds that Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington were cooperating with Alexander. The account provides detailed evidence of the information circulating within British abolitionist networks about efforts to secure international action against the slave trade.

The letter then pivots to Gallaudet's criticism of British methods of instructing deaf students. Drawing on the French system he had studied in Paris and adapted at the Hartford asylum, Gallaudet had sent Macaulay

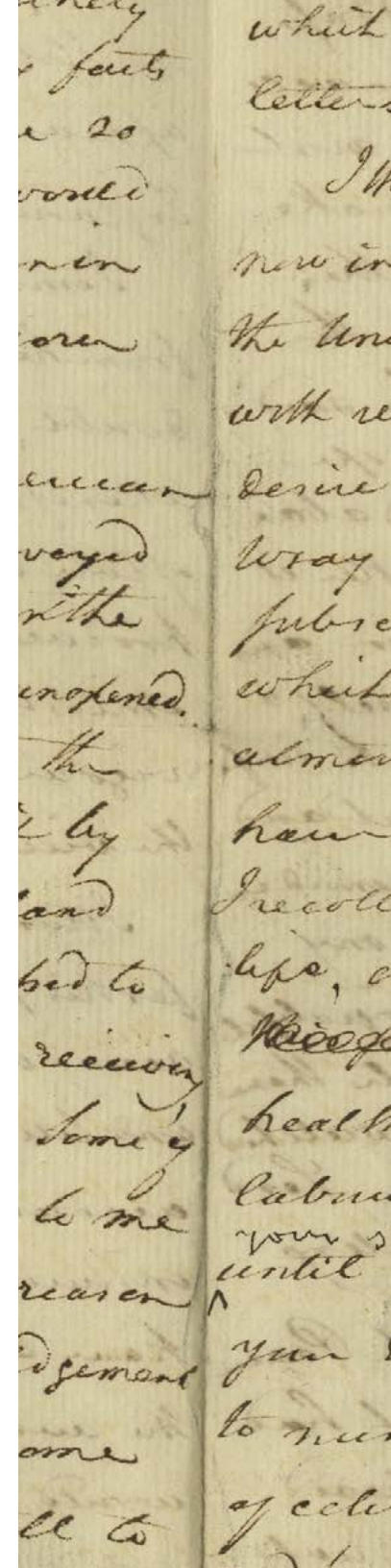
an account comparing French and English methods. Macaulay arranged for it to appear anonymously in the *Christian Observer*, deliberately concealing its authorship to avoid opposition from British educators prejudiced by Gallaudet's earlier experiences in England:

"The luminous account you gave me of the superiority of the French mode of instructing the deaf & dumb over the English, you will already have seen in the pages of the *Christian Observer*. I contrived that the author of the paper should be entirely concealed, which I thought would on the whole be an advantage, as the effect of any prejudice which the conductors of our deaf and dumb institution might feel on account of what had passed, would thus be obviated."

Macaulay urges Gallaudet not to allow the subject to drop, proposing that he submit a second communication enlarging upon the argument with further facts and anecdotes. An update to the first account, he says, would "produce a considerable effect on the minds of thinking men" and "might eventually lead to an improvement of our system." The exchange thus documents a coordinated transatlantic effort to introduce French instructional methods into British public debate while protecting their American advocate from institutional prejudice.

Macaulay also acknowledges several letters from Gallaudet, promises hospitality to his friend James Hillhouse, and reports that he had forwarded Gallaudet's request for a portrait to Hannah More, whose donation had apparently helped establish a library connected with the Hartford institution. Although More had recently suffered serious illness, Macaulay describes her intellectual and religious vigor as undiminished: her mind "retains all its pristine vigour" and "she labours to employ her remaining hours in elevating the views and aims of all

CONTINUED



Letter to Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet from Abolitionist Zachary Macaulay.

around her”.

He explains that a specimen of American typography remained unopened because the Post Office demanded £4 5s., and asks that correspondence not identify him as editor of the *Christian Observer*, a connection he had never publicly acknowledged and a position he had recently relinquished.

After reporting that his son, the future historian and politician Thomas Babington Macaulay, was pursuing his studies at Cambridge, Macaulay expresses concern that Gallaudet's labors had damaged his health. He urges him to preserve his strength for the sake of “numbers of the most helpless of our fellow creatures” and suggests that marriage might prolong his usefulness, as a “life of celibacy is not very favourable either to health or comfort.”

The letter concludes with a discussion of Anglo-American relations and peace societies. Macaulay believed that such organizations could accomplish more by correcting hostile misrepresentations between Britain and the United States than through general denunciations of warfare. British societies should publicize evidence favorable to Americans, he argues, while their American counterparts should do the same for Britain.

Edward Miner Gallaudet's published version omits portions of Macaulay's discussion of deaf education, his domestic observations, and his advice that Gallaudet marry. The principal Thomas Hopkins and Edward Miner Gallaudet papers are held by the Library of Congress.[2]

An important letter joining two major transatlantic reform movements: Macaulay's campaign for international suppression of the slave trade and Gallaudet's effort, from the newly established Hartford asylum, to introduce French methods of deaf education into the English-speaking world.

[1] Edward Miner Gallaudet, *Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, Founder of Deaf-Mute Instruction in America* (Henry Holt and Company, 1888).

[2] Library of Congress, T. H. Gallaudet and Edward Miner Gallaudet Papers, 1806–1958, MSS21832, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

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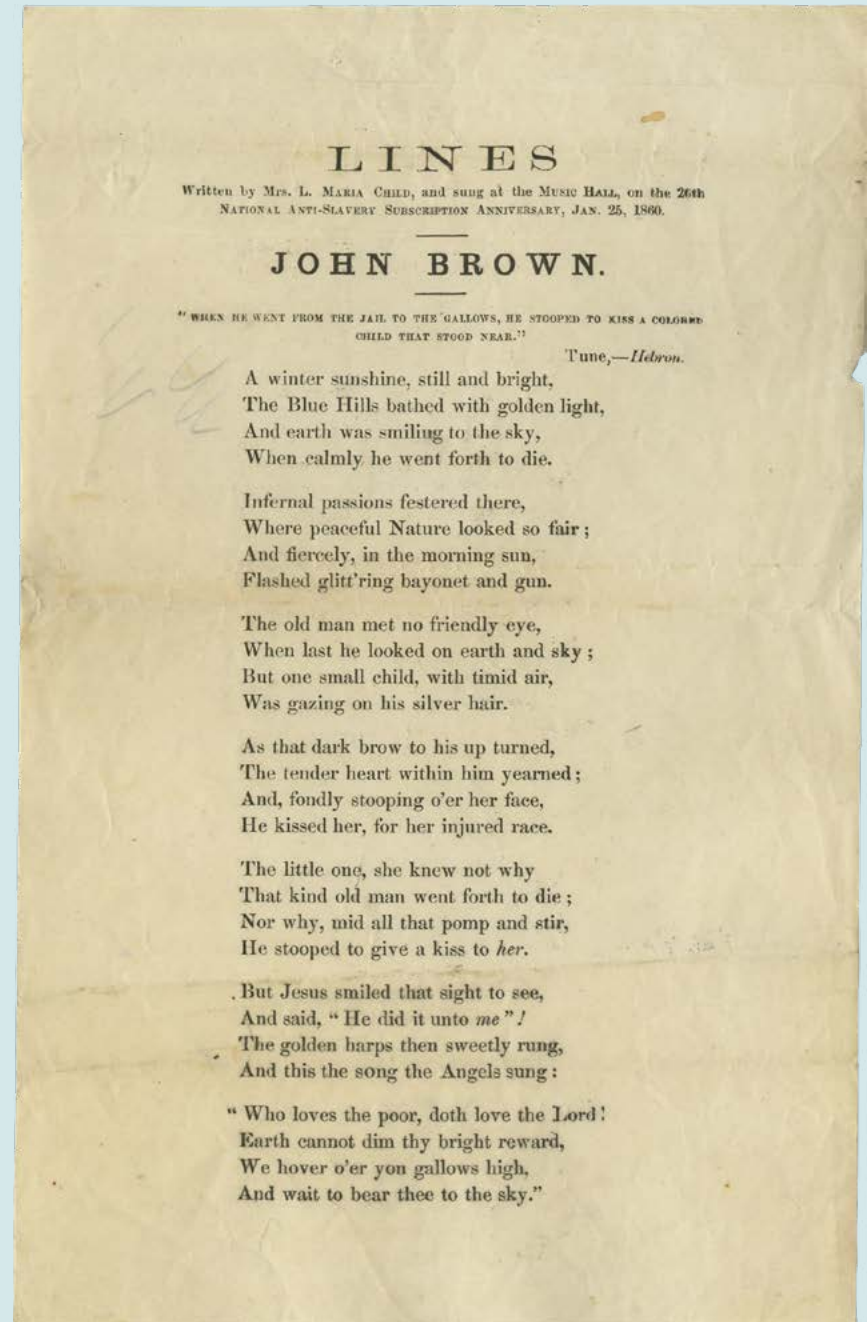
[ABOLITIONISM - JOHN BROWN - MUSIC] CHILD,
LYDIA MARIA

LINES Written by Mrs. L.
Maria Child, and sung at
the MUSIC HALL, on the
26th NATIONAL ANTI-
SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION
ANNIVERSARY, JAN. 25, 1860.
JOHN BROWN.

United States: c. 1860. Single-sided sheet
measuring 5 x 8 inches. Previously folded and
slightly discolored at folds; with wrinkling,
small chip to right margin, small stains, and pen
markings on the verso. Very good plus.

A songsheet for Lydia Maria Child's "John Brown,"
prepared for performance at the 26th National Anti-
Slavery Subscription Anniversary, held at the Boston
Music Hall on January 25, 1860. The Subscription
Anniversary had recently succeeded the Boston
antislavery fair as a major fundraising and social event
for the abolitionist movement, replacing the sale of
goods with direct subscriptions and a program of music,
addresses, art, and conversation. Child's song, set to
Lowell Mason's hymn tune "Hebron," commemorates
the widely circulated story that John Brown kissed
an enslaved child while being led to execution at
Charlestown, Virginia, on December 2, 1859: "As that
dark brow to his up turned, / The tender heart within him
yearned; / And, fondly stooping o'er her face, / He kissed
her, for her injured race."

CONTINUED



LINES Written by Mrs. L.
Maria Child.

Child later printed the poem in *The Freedmen's Book* under the title "John Brown and the Colored Child," where it appeared with an introductory note repeating the execution-day anecdote. Tufts University's John Brown exhibit notes that the poem had first appeared in *The Liberator* in 1860 as "The Hero's Heart." The sheet is apparently rare; we locate one institutional example at the American Philosophical Society, described as "Lines by Child and sung at the Music Hall, on the 26th National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, January 25, 1860." [1]

[1] American Philosophical Society, Broadside Collection, 1638-1980, "John Brown, 1860," identifier 509; Tufts University.

A winter sunshine, still and bright,
The Blue Hills bathed with golden light,
And earth was smiling to the sky,
When calmly he went forth to die.

Infernal passions festered there,
Where peaceful Nature looked so fair ;
And fiercely, in the morning sun,
Flashed glitt'ring bayonet and gun.

The old man met no friendly eye,
When last he looked on earth and sky ;
But one small child, with timid air,
Was gazing on his silver hair.

As that dark brow to his up turned,
The tender heart within him yearned ;
And, fondly stooping o'er her face,
He kissed her, for her injured race.

The little one, she knew not why
That kind old man went forth to die ;
Nor why, mid all that pomp and stir,
He stooped to give a kiss to *her*.

But Jesus smiled that sight to see,
And said, " He did it unto *me* " !
The golden harps then sweetly rung,
And this the song the Angels sung :

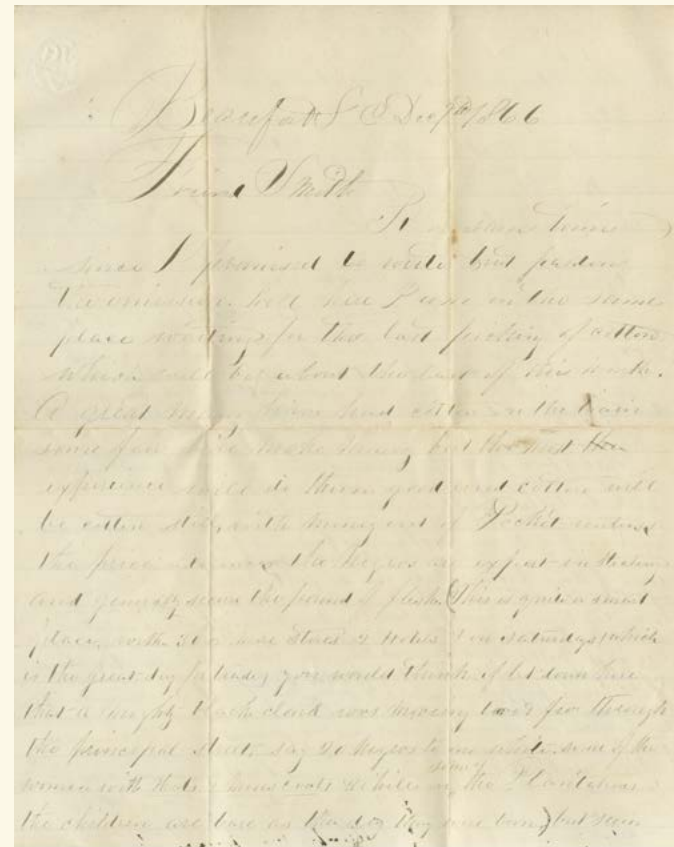
[AFRICAN-AMERICAN HISTORY - RECONSTRUCTION ERA
- SOUTH CAROLINA SEA ISLANDS] BROWN, P.W.

1866 Letter from a Cotton Merchant Describing Reconstruction-Era Beaufort, South Carolina: “you would think if let down here that a mighty black cloud was moving to and fro through the principal street, say 20 Negroes to one white”.

Beaufort, South Carolina: December 9, 1866.
Single two-page letter measuring 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, with stamped envelope postmarked Beaufort S.C. Letter folded with some discoloration along folds; excellent.

A letter from cotton merchant P.W. Brown to a friend, William A. Smith of North Wakefield, New Hampshire, written from Beaufort, South Carolina in late 1866. Brown was in Beaufort for business, and describes the area, and especially its primarily African American citizenry (who “are expert in stealing and generally secure the pound of flesh”), to Smith:

“This is quite a smart place with 30 or more stores, two hotels and on Saturdays (which is the great day for trade) you would think if let down here that a mighty black cloud was moving to and fro through the principal street, say 20 Negroes to one white. Some of the women with hats and men coats while on some of the plantation[s] the children are bare as the day they were born, but seem to enjoy themselves basking in the sun while some of the



elder[ly] are not much better off.”

Beaufort, part of South Carolina’s Sea Islands, was captured by the Union Army early in the Civil War. Most of the Sea Islands’ white residents fled, leaving behind thousands of African Americans considered “contraband” of war, and attracting many more as refugees. The Sea Islands were also the site of the Port Royal Experiment, where, in preparation for emancipation, formerly enslaved people worked on and sometimes purchased the abandoned land.

Beaufort’s significant African American population made it an important center of political and civic life for freedpeople during Reconstruction. Brown comments on the progress of Reconstruction that “time will make it all

CONTINUED

Merchant Letter from Reconstruction-Era Beaufort.

right. But it will be in the next generation—that is, after being educated.”

He apparently boards at an African American-run boarding house—noting that “It costs something for a white person to live here among the gentry” but that “a Negro can live on a crab for a week and take boarders”—and sardonically describes to Smith his experience there:

“Did not catch cold so the Negroes went to work & got supper which took about 3 hours. Being a white man, was treated with the greatest of respect and the table was loaded with the best the house afforded. Bill of fare, 1st coffee without milk, 2nd corn bread without butter, 3rd sweet potatoes without anything else. 4th, done and move back. The tables probably had never been washed since Noah went into the ark. The floors of a description not to be mentioned, & for seats, boxes, benches, or perhaps an old chair, old-fashioned fireplaces without andirons & everything cooked in pitch wood smoke. Oh! you ought to have some of their fritters. They are so good with nothing on them.

And then the cooking too. How nice. They will keep dogs. Someone has to watch them so as not to lose it while cooking. After it is taken out of the kettle, the dog licks it out so as to have it clean for the next fritter. The more good things the better you know. The

house is in the modern style, standing about 6 feet above ground making an excellent pig pen, hen roost, & privy, for which it is used. Being two story, it accommodates 25 or 30 Negroes of all sorts which sleep on the floor under the bed or anywhere. While the windows are all out which makes it so pleasant during the summer weather. Only the heads of families have beds and but few of them.”

Overall the letter offers a picture of life in Reconstruction-era Beaufort as seen through the eyes of a white Northern businessman. Of interest to historians of the Sea Islands experiment, Reconstruction, and Northern attitudes at the time.

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think he would to g
well. My regards to
John P. Rind.

[AFRICAN-AMERICANA - CIVIL RIGHTS ERA -
ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X] VARIOUS PHOTOGRAPHERS

Collection of Twelve Press Photos Documenting the Aftermath of the Assassination of Malcolm X.

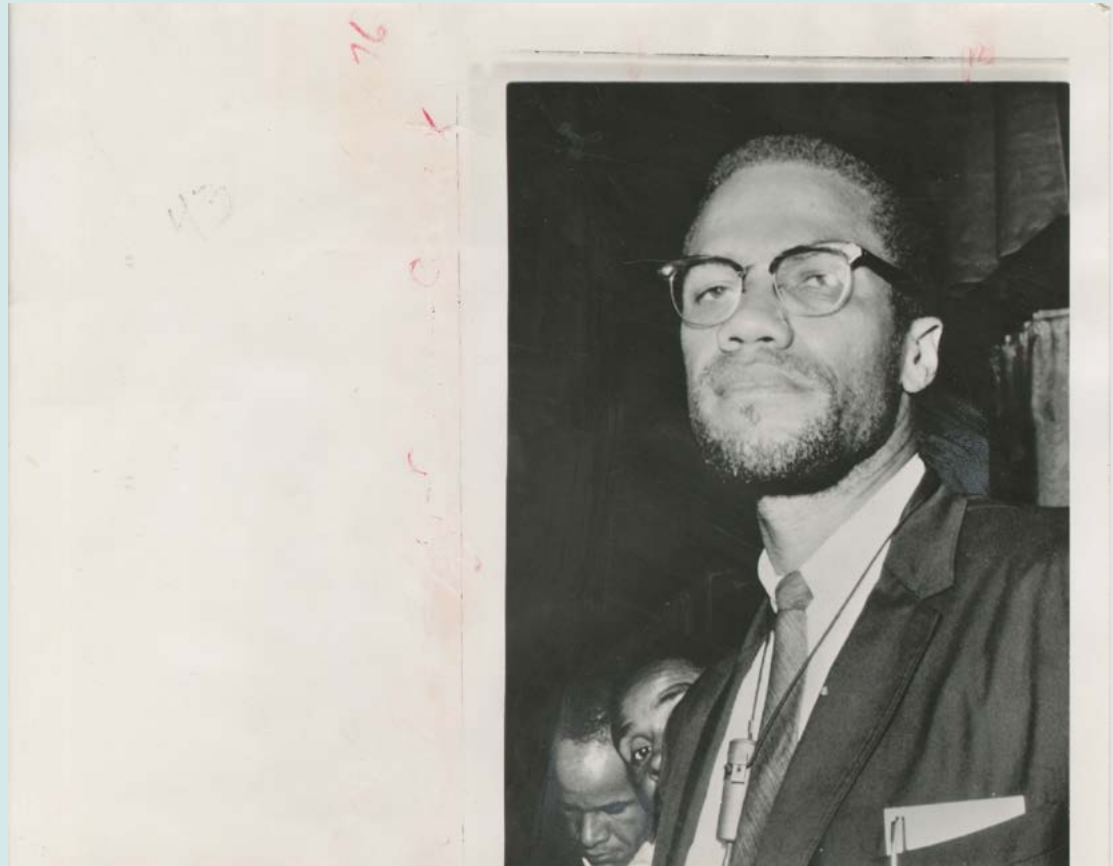
New York City: Associated Press, United Press International, and others, 1965. Eleven photographs measuring appx. 8 x 10 inches and smaller. All with publisher attributions and captions, generally on the verso though with several in the photo. Several with newspaper clippings affixed to the verso. Conditions vary; generally very good to excellent.

On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was shot while preparing to address the Organization of Afro-America Unity at the Audubon Ballroom in Washington Heights. He died of his wounds shortly thereafter. Three Nation of Islam members—Mujahid Abdul Halim (Tomas Hagan/Talmadge Hayer) and two others who have since been exonerated—were arrested for the killing. Offered here is a collection of eleven press photographs documenting the aftermath of the assassination.

Two are earlier headshots of X, including one taken in Rochester five days before, but published for articles concerning the assassination. The earliest shots from within the Audubon are three showing X's followers attempting to render first aid to X as he lay on the ballroom's stage—two are similar shots, both including a woman who is likely Betty Shabazz—and one of Halim, who had been shot in the leg, being grabbed and

removed by both police and bystanders. Two are of police escorting X from the ballroom on a stretcher, including a somewhat disturbing closeup of his face. Later shots show a policeman grabbing a hospitalized Halim, Betty Shabazz outside the Audubon and after identifying X's body at the medical examiner's office, and the empty ballroom with chairs strewn about.

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Twelve Press Photos of the Assassination of Malcolm X.



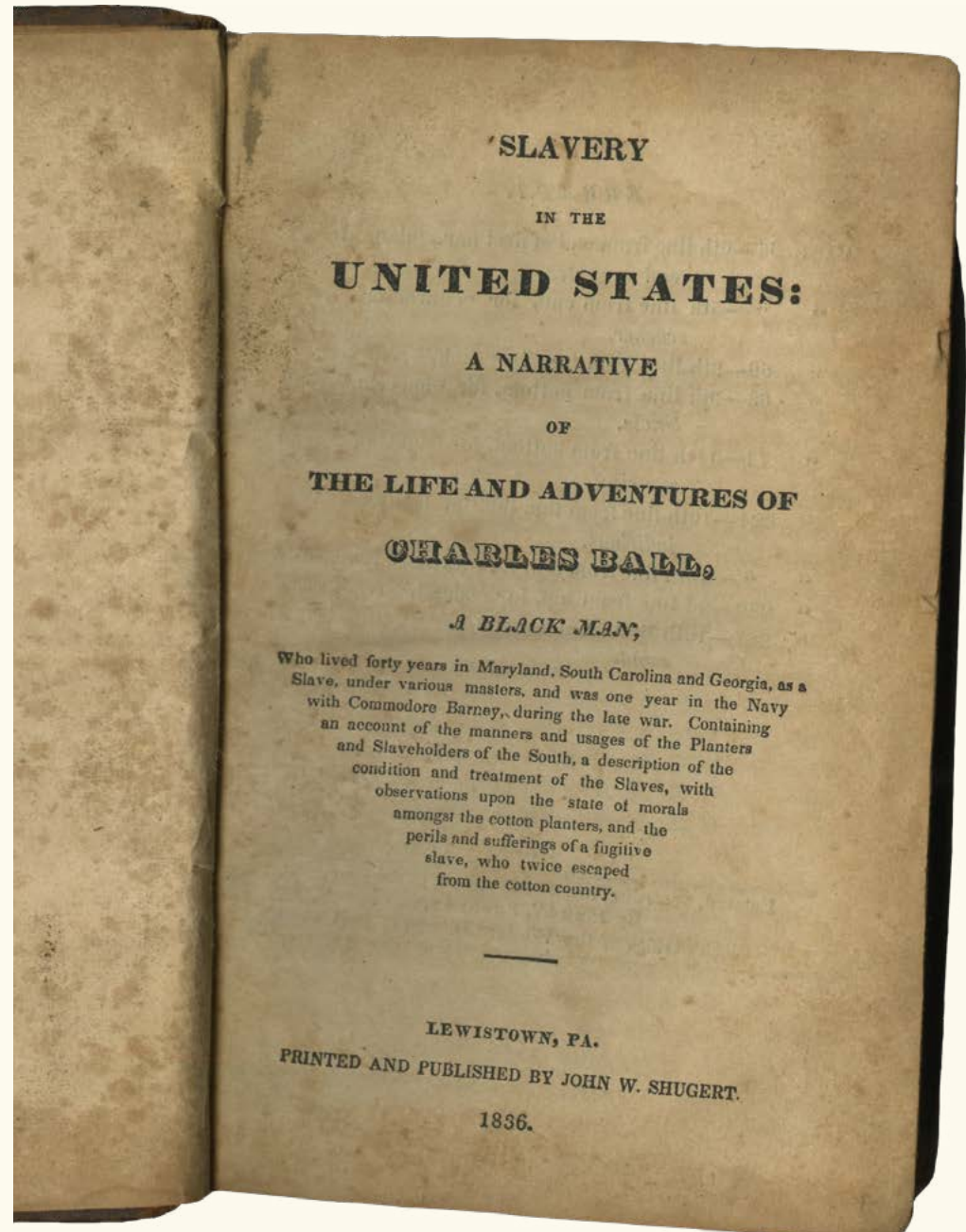
[AFRICAN-AMERICANA - ENSLAVEMENT NARRATIVES]
BALL, CHARLES; FISHER, ISAAC (ED.)

Slavery in the United States:
A Narrative of the Life and
Adventures of Charles Ball,
a Black Man. [First Edition]

Lewistown, Pennsylvania: John W. Shugert, 1836.
8vo, contemporary calf, 400 pp. A very good copy
in a contemporary binding with some foxing and
wear, lean and some chips to spine.

The first edition of Charles Ball's enslavement narrative, which he narrated to the Philadelphia lawyer Isaac Fisher. Ball, born enslaved in Maryland and sold into the Deep South, provided a detailed account of the domestic slave trade, forced migration in coffles, plantation labor in South Carolina and Georgia, family separation, punishment, resistance, and the strategies enslaved people used to preserve family and community life. Appearing well before the better-known narratives of Frederick Douglass and other antebellum abolitionists, the book offered northern readers a sustained eyewitness description of enslavement. Among the book's most notable episodes is Ball's account of being forcibly separated from his wife and children near Baltimore and driven south for sale. He describes plantation life in South Carolina and Georgia at considerable length, including labor routines, food, punishment, family relations, religious practices, and the informal economies and social networks maintained by enslaved people. The narrative also recounts his service with Commodore Joshua Barney during the War

CONTINUED



Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man.

of 1812 and, later, his escape from Georgia and dangerous attempt to return to his family in Maryland.

Later controversy surrounded the involvement of Fisher, who would increasingly change later editions. Fisher himself acknowledged that he did not preserve Ball's exact language, that he deliberately omitted or suppressed many of Ball's opinions and feelings about enslavement, and that some anecdotes in the book came from sources other than Ball. Those admissions led some twentieth-century scholars to question the narrative's authenticity and even Ball's identity, while more recent scholarship has generally distinguished between textual authorship and historical testimony: Fisher exercised substantial editorial control, but the central autobiographical experiences are regarded as Ball's and many details have been independently corroborated. Michaël Roy has further emphasized that successive editions increasingly altered and abridged the original account, making the 1836 first edition especially important.[1] Howes B-65.

[1] Michaël Roy, "The Vanishing Slave: Publishing the Narrative of Charles Ball, from Slavery in the United States (1836) to Fifty Years in Chains (1858)," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 111, no. 4 (2017): 513-545.

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very hot; and the ground was yet muddy and
The ploughs were to be dragged through the wet
and the young rice had to be cleaned of weeds, b
hand, and hilled up with the hoe. It is the co
opinion, that no stranger can work a week in a
swamp, at this season of the year, without beco
sick; and all the new hands, three in number, be
myself, were taken ill within the first five days,
we had entered this field. The other three wer
moved to the sick room; but I did not go there, cho
rather to remain at the quarter, where I was my
master, except that the doctor, who called to se
took a large quantity of blood from my arm, and
pelled me to take a dose of some sort of med
that made me very sick, and caused me to vom
lently. This happened on the second day of my il
and from this time I recovered slowly, but wa
able to go to the field again, for more than a
Here it is but justice to my master to say, that d
all the time of my illness, some one came from
great house, every day, to enquire after me, a
offer me some kind of light, and cool refreshmen
might have gone to the sick room, at any time, if
chosen to do so.

An opinion generally prevails, amongst the p
of both colours, that the drug *copperas* is very po
ous; and perhaps it may be so, if taken in large
tities; but the circumstance, that it is used in med
seems to forbid the notion of its poisonous qual
I believe copperas was mingled with the potio
doctor gave to me. Some overseers keep copper
them, as a medicine, to be administered to the l
whenever they become sick; but this I take to
bad practice; for although in some cases this
may be very efficacious, it certainly should be ad
stered by a more skilful hand than that of an over
It however has the effect of deterring the people
complaining of illness, until they are no longer
to work; for it is the most nauseous and sickening

[AFRICAN-AMERICANA - ENSLAVEMENT - MARYLAND - BLACK ASSEMBLY] COOMES, BAAILIS

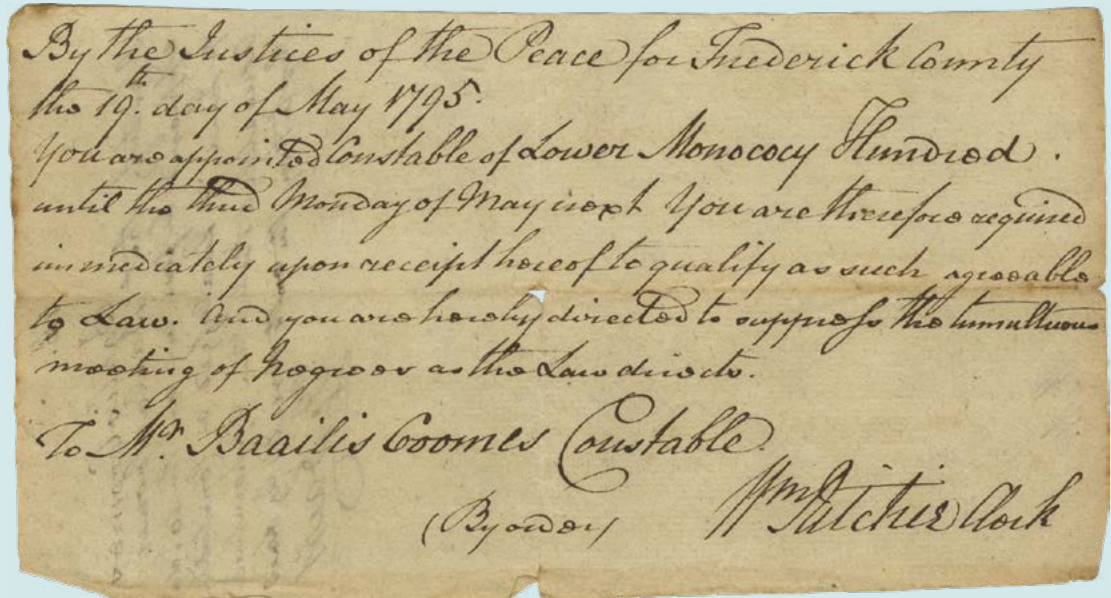
1795 Maryland Constable Appointment Directing Him to "Suppress the Tumultuous Meeting of Negroes."

Frederick County, Maryland: May 19, 1795.
Manuscript document, signed by clerk William Ritchie by order of the Justices of the Peace, with certification of qualification on verso signed by Ignatius Davis. Appx. 7 x 4 inches. Folded with small chips at edges and one small hole, Near Fine.

An early national document of the governmental policing of Black assembly in Maryland, appointing Baailis Coomes constable and incorporating into his commission a specific directive concerning gatherings of African Americans:

"You are appointed Constable of Lower Monocacy Hundred until the third Monday of May next. You are therefore required immediately upon receipt hereof to qualify as such agreeable to Law, and you are hereby directed to suppress the tumultuous meeting of Negroes as the Law directs."

The directive derived from Maryland's 1723 Act to *prevent the tumultuous Meetings, and other Irregularities of Negroes and other Slaves*, an early statutory



By the Justices of the Peace for Frederick County
the 19. day of May 1795.
You are appointed Constable of Lower Monocacy Hundred.
until the third Monday of May next. You are therefore required
immediately upon receipt hereof to qualify as such agreeable
to Law. And you are hereby directed to suppress the tumultuous
meeting of Negroes as the Law directs.
To Mr. Baailis Coomes Constable.
(By order) Wm Ritchie Clerk

foundation for the state's system of slave patrols. The act authorized county courts to appoint constables by hundred to suppress unauthorized assemblies of enslaved people. Constables were directed to visit suspected meeting places at least monthly and could compel assistance in breaking up gatherings. Enslaved people found assembled without written permission could be subjected, without judicial proceedings, to corporal punishment of as many as thirty-nine lashes. Maryland's restrictions on Black assembly reflected a longstanding fear that unsupervised gatherings could facilitate collective resistance or insurrection; Maryland experienced repeated insurrection scares during the colonial and early national periods, and in 1814 Frederick County authorities prosecuted an alleged conspiracy involving enslaved and free Black men who were accused

CONTINUED

1795 Maryland Constable Appointment.

of planning to act while the local militia was absent.

The present document illustrates how these provisions were incorporated into ordinary local government well into the early national period. The verso records that the appointment was acted upon rather than merely issued; on June 10, Ignatius Davis certified "that Baalis Coomes appeared before me on the 10th day of June & qualified as Constable agreeable to the within appointment by taking the oath directed by Law."

Baalis Coomes was a Frederick County resident and local landholder who remained active in property transactions into the early nineteenth century; he died intestate in 1808, leaving several minor children. An evocative document of the routine administrative machinery through which Maryland's laws governing slavery and Black assembly were enforced at the local level.

16.

I certify that Baalis Coomes
appeared before me on the 10th day
of June & qualified as Constable
agreeable to the within appointment
by taking the oath directed by Law

I. Davis

[AFRICAN-AMERICANA - JAZZ - RADIO] BRADFORD,
WALTER FELIX

Photograph of Bradford's Orchestra, an African American Pittsburgh Ensemble Directed by Walter Felix Bradford which Broadcast on KDKA in the Early Years of Radio.

Pittsburgh: Sissman Studio, ca. 1922. Photograph measuring approximately 8 x 10 inches. Studio portrait of nine African American musicians posed with saxophones, brass instruments, violin, banjo, drums, and other instruments, with a rug prominently lettered "Bradford's Orchestra" at their feet. Photographer identified as Sissman Studio of Pittsburgh. Some wear and toning, particularly at edges and corners; generally well preserved.

An early photograph of Bradford's Orchestra, an African American ensemble active in Pittsburgh under the direction of Walter Felix Bradford during the early 1920s. Nine musicians pose with an unusually extensive display of their instruments, while the orchestra's name is incorporated prominently into the composition on a rug at their feet. The photograph was made by Sissman Studio, a Pittsburgh photographic firm later located on Centre Avenue in the city's Hill District.

Contemporary sources document Bradford's Orchestra performing over Pittsburgh's pioneering radio station KDKA during this period. A December 1922 program announced an 8:30 evening "Concert by Bradford's Orchestra, under the direction of Walter Felix Bradford," with a varied program ranging from Mendelssohn and Verdi to popular marches and light orchestral music.



[1] The group is also listed as performing on KDKA in the *Utica Observer-Dispatch* in December 1922.[2] The present photograph appears to be an otherwise unrecorded studio portrait of the same Pittsburgh organization.

Bradford belonged to a substantial but poorly documented community of African American bandleaders and musicians working in Pittsburgh during the early twentieth century. Later accounts of musical life in the Hill District place him alongside such local

CONTINUED

Photograph of Bradford's Orchestra.

ensembles as the Harlem Troubadours, Gerty Long and Her Night Hawks, and Walt Rainey's High Schoolers.

[3] These local orchestras formed an important part of the musical culture from which Pittsburgh would subsequently produce an extraordinary generation of nationally prominent Black musicians.

[1] "Monday, December 11, 1922," *Radio Broadcasting News* 2, no. 28 (December 9, 1922), 6.

[2] "To-day's Radio Program," *The Utica Observer-Dispatch*, December 11, 1922, 5.

[3] Hugo A. Freund, "Working the Seams: African American Professional Performers Moving Between White Public Culture and African American Private Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 45, no. 2 (1996): 91-97.



[AFRICAN-AMERICANA - UNDERGROUND RAILROAD -
BLACK EDUCATION - CANADA - ABOLITIONISM] RICE,
ISAAC J.

1844 Letter from the Amherstburg Mission Describing the Arrival of Fugitive from Enslavement, the Poverty of Black Refugees, and Disputes over Abolitionist Aid in Upper Canada.

Amherstburg, Upper Canada: December 3, 1844.
Stampless folded letter, 4 pp., addressed to
Mrs. Almira Barnes, Troy, New York. Red circular
"AMHERSTBURG / U.C." departure datestamp,
blue Detroit transit stamp, red straight-line
"PAID," manuscript "4½" Canadian postage and
"20" United States rate, with Windsor transit
marking on the reverse. A few small spots of
discoloration; otherwise very good.

A substantial letter by the Reverend Isaac J. Rice, a
white missionary working among Black refugees at
Amherstburg, one of the principal Canadian destinations
for people escaping enslavement through Detroit. Rice
reports on the mission school and its work, and criticizes
the concentration of abolitionist aid at the Dawn
settlement to the neglect of Amherstburg. The recipient,
Almira Porter Barnes (1786-1858), was a Troy abolitionist,
philanthropist, and moral-reform activist closely
associated with Oberlin College and Charles Grandison
Finney. A significant supporter of antislavery education
and missionary work, she served as a financial and
organizational intermediary between Rice's Amherstburg

Amherstburg Dec 3rd 1844.

Dear Sister,

You will not think strange when I tell you that
long silence on your part sometimes gives me some
uneasiness, fearing I may in some way ^{have} grieved some
heart or even worse may have done some wrong which would
very deeply distress my soul. I think I said but little about Mr
Hunt's leaving. This first difficulty arose from a cold & trifling
illness which in connexion with a little scum in the ^{pot} led
to lead him to suppose talking & teaching injured him & that prob-
ably he was verging a consumptive state, & thought his life was
short anyhow & that he had best die among his friends & if not
yet dead, has gone to die there & doubtless will get ready at any time.

As I have much to do I wished his aid as I cannot possibly be
always in school & ought not to be there at all if some solid teacher
could take my place, but none can I obtain & one ~~other~~ ordinary
would only break down the school. The Trustees think if I let go, the
school will go to naught & it seems a pity to have it fall. It
tho' now numbers between 40 & 50 & there is a growing anxiety to
learn & become intelligent among all this people. I got \$20 from
Mr Liden the Superintendent of Common Schools as public money
for teaching last year. From the Parent I know not of having
received but 50 during this time & so many slaves suffering in
lower wages very much & also act up their friends which in
connexion with the prejudice against them & some other adverse
circumstances, occasions them a great struggle to keep com-
municable in their families, so that as a general rule I refuse any off-
ered compensation except from a fund. The fact is still ignorant of the
labour under disadvantages & particularly when publickly done & despised
& it is a solemn truth that on the whole this is a distressed people.
They certainly may be said all things considered to be as well
noble, yet fearful solemnity curtains them round about, but
all tend rather to make them humble & the more devoted to their Lord

CONTINUED

1844 Letter from the Amherstburg Mission.

mission and reform circles in New York and Ohio.

Rice begins with the precarious condition of the school—which had been left largely in his hands after the departure of another teacher—and the poverty of its students' families:

"As I have much to do I wished his aid as I cannot possibly be always in school & ought not to be there at all if some solid teacher could take my place, but none can I obtain & one rather ordinary would only break down the school. The Trustees think if I let go, the school will go to naught & it seems a pity to have it fall. It now numbers between 40 & 50. There is a growing anxiety to learn & become intelligent among all this people. I got \$20 from Mr. Peden the Superintendent of Common Schools as public money for teaching last year. From the Parents I know not of having received but 50 cts. during this time & so many Slaves rushing in lowers wages very much & also eat up their friends, which in connexion with the prejudice against them & some other adverse circumstances, occasions them a great struggle to keep comfortable in their families, so that as a general rule I refuse any offered compensation except from a few. The fact is all ignorant people labour under disadvantages & particularly when publicly hated & despised & it is a solemn truth that on the whole this is a distressed people. They certainly may be said, all things considered, to do & act nobly."

He considered the Black community notably advanced in religion and temperance, while describing the strain of attempting to teach, preach, and organize religious

meetings with little outside support:

"As a people, the colored are far in advance here both in religion & Temperance. Our Temperance Society numbers 160 & the present religious aspect in the Churches [is] rather interesting. They desire me to engage in a protracted meeting but I know not how to talk all day & preach every night & perhaps prepare for the evening, perhaps in school hours mostly. Were I not engaged in school I would hold protracted meetings all Winter, but all are too much afraid of dying, starving or of being poor to come here, or else are worth but little when they do come."

The financial condition of the mission appears throughout the letter. Rice describes purchasing a horse in order to travel among the refugee settlements, then selling the animal, its tack, and household furnishings to provide basic supplies:

"We bought a horse between us which cost \$17 apiece & some hay &c to feed him. I did this to divert him & make him contented & when he went, he left the horse & gave me five Dollars. I rode & held meetings among the people for a time, but finding myself unable to keep my horse & sustain other expenses I sold him & my saddle & bridle & our feather-bed to get provision, wood & candles for the winter. I do not know that I have received any box from Bangor but have used my influence to get my friends to send some things here as well as to Dawn & have succeeded in getting several boxes for this field of more than common interest. By holding a steady hand, I think our friends may be made to know our wants & will be happy in supplying us."

The letter becomes more pointed when Rice discusses the distribution of abolitionist resources in Canada

CONTINUED

As a People the colored are far in advance here both in religion & Temperance. Our Temperance Society numbers 160 & the present religious aspect in the Churches [is] rather interesting. They desire me to engage in a protracted meeting but I know not how to talk all day & preach every night & perhaps prepare for the evening, perhaps in school hours mostly. Were I not engaged in school I would hold protracted meetings all Winter, but all are too much afraid of dying, starving or of being poor to come here, or else are worth but little when they do come."

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1844 Letter from the Amherstburg Mission.

West. He questions why substantial sums and large quantities of clothing had gone to the Dawn settlement while Amherstburg, with a much larger and continually increasing refugee population, remained poorly supported:

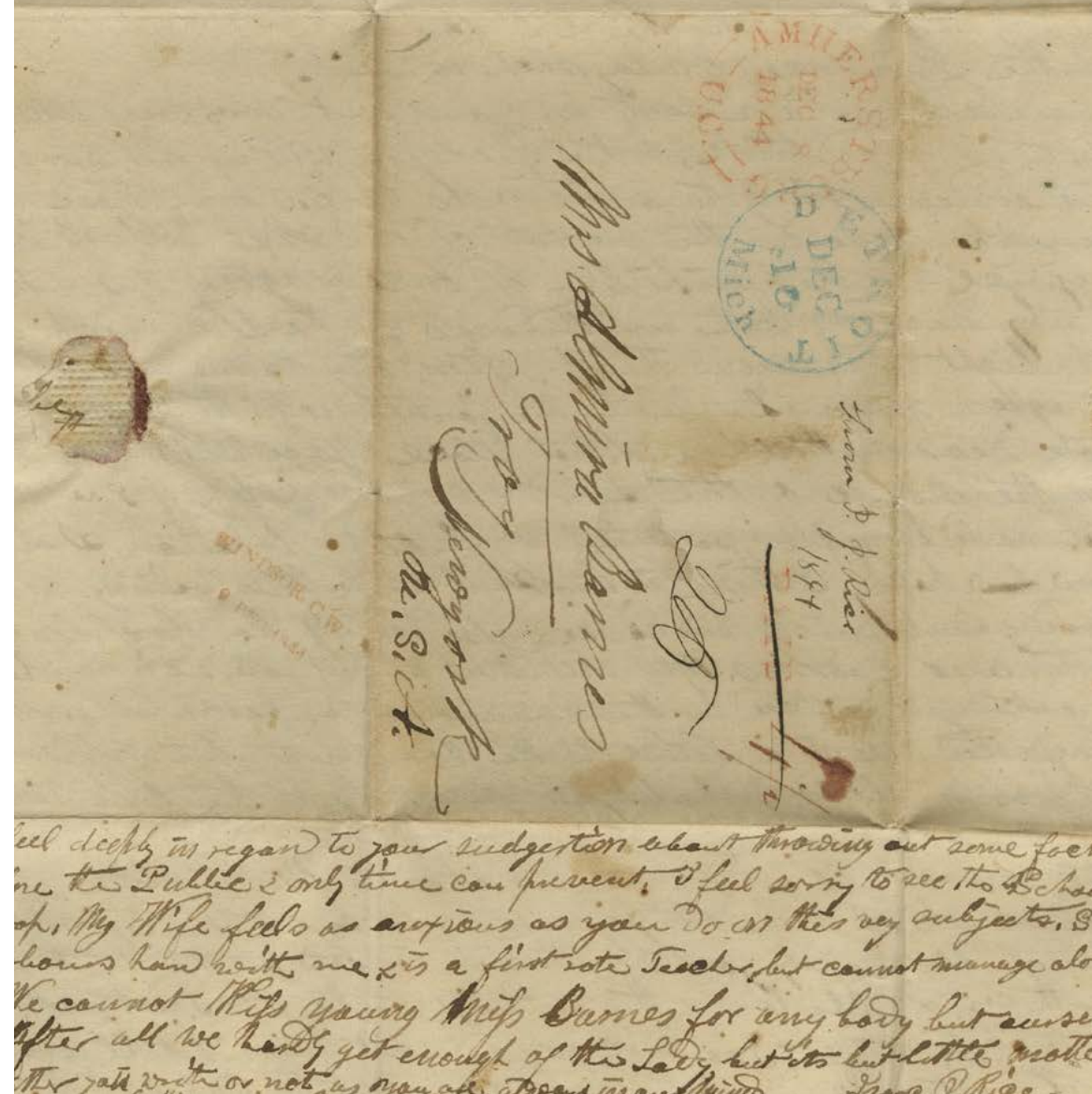
"I know I cannot see why \$3000 or more should go to Dawn & labourers elsewhere be [...?] & torn asunder by the Executive of Common law, or why 170 boxes of clothing should go also where there cannot be but few families, while one should be sent here where 3000 have gathered & hundreds rush for life & need help & I know my Abolition Brothers do not think this wise & who few who know what to do with it. You wished to know if Mr. Tappan had remembered us. He has not noticed us & since the reception of your letter I have written a letter of some facts which I thought his mind needed, though I merely mentioned our circumstances as connected with this people without mentioning that I think there is a little mismanagement here, this I leave to his judgment as I always do unless to some special friends."

Rice further notes that "Br. Hensen," evidently Josiah Henson, had acknowledged problems in the management at Dawn and invited him to relocate there. Rice declined, arguing that Amherstburg's location made it the more important field:

"Br. Hensen confessed all was not right in the management & expressed a strong desire that I should move to Dawn & assist in holding matters steady, but I feel quite well satisfied with the importance of this

CONTINUED

thought I had been negligent & asked me to acknowledge the
ception in the Evangelist or by Letter as most convenient. The exp
not much difference either way, but I saw Br. Monckton's de
sit situation & sent a Line of explanation & a Letter for him
have read in the congregation & never dreamed of any farther
be in the case, for I sent a Notice of the Mort to the
Letter of the Whole to Br. Monckton who lives in the
and it matters not as to the manner I did both & I
Do so, I am sorry I cannot get 200 Bibles this Fall, but it is



1844 Letter from the Amherstburg Mission.

field where I now am & suppose it the most prominent & important in Canada because of its contiguity to the South, its location being the most Southern & of course the mildest part of the Province & very rich in soil."

The closing portion documents the broader network of donors, ministers, newspapers, and congregations through which the mission attempted to sustain itself. Rice refers to Oberlin, the *Evangelist*, and individual supporters, while expressing regret that he could not obtain two hundred Bibles before winter:

"The donation sent in your last was very unexpected, yet in good time, but I fear you will be all worn out in endeavoring to sustain us here. I hope those brethren who made us the present of 10 & six Dollars will rejoice in the privilege of encouraging us & thus kindly bearing with us burdens for the Lord which are all light & precious though often, they cause us healthful struggles of soul & purify the fountains of the heart. Probably those dear Brethren live in that place. You will thank them in the name of the Lord & on my behalf.

Br. Finney was the means of getting the donation to fill the place of yours which I had to pay out, & I felt so dissatisfied in not being able to apply your donation as directed that I wrote to the Brethren at Oberlin & they raised \$125. The 100 I sent a Notice of it to the O.E., the \$25 I couldn't get, or did not know of it till some 4 months after. I am sorry I cannot get 200 Bibles this fall, but it is too late.

I feel deeply in regard to your suggestion about throwing out some facts before the public & only time can prevent. I feel sorry to see the School drop. My wife

feels as anxious as you do on this very subject. She labors hard with me & is a first rate teacher, but cannot manage alone."

Rice had been working at Amherstburg since 1838, when the first organized missionary efforts among Black refugees in Canada West were taking shape. By 1844 his station at Fort Malden included a large school serving children from a community composed primarily of people who had escaped slavery in the United States; Levi Coffin, who visited that year, later described Rice as having labored there for six years with little financial support and under considerable privation. [1] Amherstburg's position on the Detroit River made it one of the principal Canadian destinations for fugitives crossing from Michigan, while its Black population supported churches, schools, temperance organizations, and mutual-aid networks. Rice's school operated in a setting in which Black children were frequently excluded from common schools or directed into underfunded segregated institutions, leaving missionary and church schools to provide much of the available instruction. The competing settlement at Dawn had been established around the British-American Institute in 1842 under the leadership of Hiram Wilson and Josiah Henson and combined academic instruction with manual training; its organized fundraising in the United States and Britain helps account for Rice's references to the large sums and shipments of clothing directed there. Amherstburg, by contrast, remained a dispersed border community receiving newly arrived refugees and supporting several religious bodies rather than a single planned settlement. Rice continued to advocate for its schools and later protested the exclusion of Black pupils from publicly supported education, describing Amherstburg as the principal western terminus of the Underground Railroad. [2] The Black institutional life developing around the

CONTINUED

...me... though I...
...meet with this...
...is a little...
...rest as I always do...
...all was not right...
...that I should move...
...but I feel quite well...
...field where I now am...
...important in Canada...
...south, its location...
...the mildest...
...ail...
...lost was very un...
...will be all worn...
...I hope those...
...Six Dollars w...
...uraging us & m...
...the Lord which...
...they cause us hea...
...times of the heart...
...Grace will thank...
...I shall & if I had...
...al & laborious...
...the waiting on...
...my howels of love...
...out an acknowl...
...as being late...
...angelist but suppo...
...nce of the excitm...
...Ditor Br Finney w...
...to fill the place...
...too distressed in no...
...acted that I wrote to...
...the 100 I sent a notice...
...I know of it till some...
...out the time I got it...

1844 Letter from the Amherstburg Mission.

mission continued after this letter: refugees established the Nazrey African Methodist Episcopal Church and the First Baptist Church in 1848-1849, both of which became centers of worship, education, assistance, and community organization.[4,5]

A detailed and historically significant account of the Amherstburg mission at a period of rapid refugee arrival, documenting Black education, labor, poverty, temperance, religious life, and the internal disputes surrounding the distribution of abolitionist aid in Upper Canada, written to a figure who was instrumental in sustaining the mission through fundraising, advocacy, and her connections to the Oberlin and Troy reform networks.

[1] Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, the Reputed President of the Underground Railroad: Being a Brief History of the Labors of a Lifetime in Behalf of the Slave, with the Stories of Numerous Fugitives, Who Gained Their Freedom through His Instrumentality, and Many Other Incidents* (Western Tract Society, 1876), digitized by the Library of Congress, accessed August 1, 2026, <https://www.loc.gov/item/13005748/>.

[2] Fred Landon, "Amherstburg, Terminus of the Underground Railroad," *Negro History*, vol. X (1925), digitized by Faded Page, accessed August 1, 2026, <https://www.fadedpage.com/showbook>.

[php?pid=20220306](https://www.parks.gc.ca/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1860).

[4] Parks Canada, "Amherstburg First Baptist Church National Historic Site," accessed August 1, 2026, <https://parks.canada.ca/culture/designation/lieu-site/amherstburg>.

[5] Parks Canada, "Nazrey African Methodist Episcopal Church National Historic Site of Canada," accessed August 1, 2026, https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=1860.

\$8,500

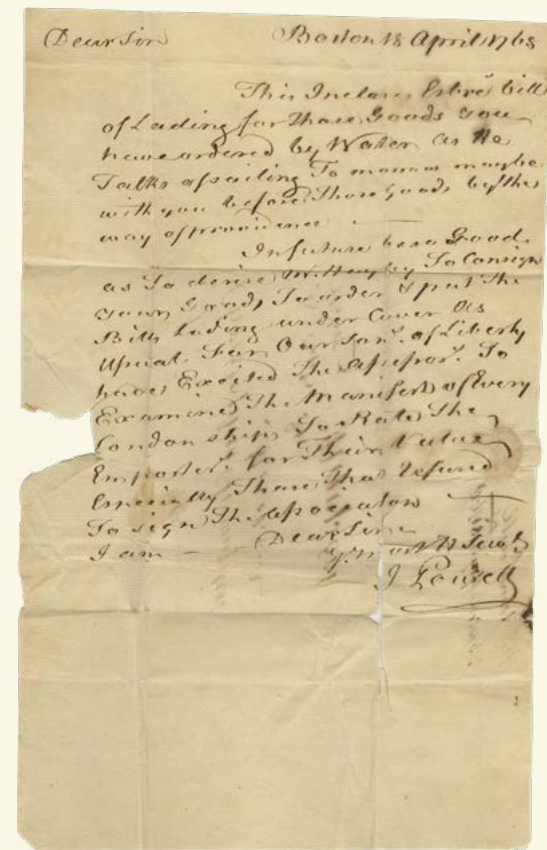


[AMERICAN REVOLUTION - SONS OF LIBERTY -
NONIMPORTATION] LOWELL, JOHN

“Our Sons of Liberty have excited the assessors”: 1768 Letter Describing Pressure on Boston Merchants Who Refused the Nonimportation Agreement.

Boston, Massachusetts: April 18, 1768. Autograph letter signed “John Lowell,” one page measuring appx. 7 x 11 ½ inches, addressed to Christopher Champlin, merchant of Newport, Rhode Island, and carried privately by Captain Elsbie. Substantial losses and tears affecting portions of several lines, with the central political passage and signature substantially intact, good overall.

A remarkable early letter by Boston merchant and patriot John Lowell (1740–1793), a member of the revolutionary circle around John Hancock and Paul Revere who would later help Revere remove Hancock’s papers from Buckman Tavern as British troops approached Lexington in April 1775. Written seven years earlier, the present letter catches Lowell at an earlier stage of that political career, describing an effort by the Sons of Liberty to identify and economically pressure merchants who refused to join Boston’s first 1768 nonimportation agreement. Written only weeks after the agreement was organized in response to the Townshend Duties, it provides direct evidence of the practical means by which resistance was enforced within Boston’s mercantile community.



Lowell writes to Newport merchant Christopher Champlin (1735–1805), forwarding a bill of lading and then advising him to alter the manner in which future shipments were consigned. The reasons were political as well as commercial: the Sons of Liberty, Lowell explains, had encouraged Boston’s assessors to inspect the manifests of incoming London vessels, with particular attention to merchants who had refused to sign the agreement. His warning to an out-of-town trading partner offers a rare private view of revolutionary organization entering directly into the mechanics of Atlantic commerce. Lowell writes:

“This incloses Elsbre bill of lading for those goods you have ordered by Waler as he talks of sailing tomorrow, may be with you before those goods, by the way of

CONTINUED

1768 Letter on the Nonimportation Agreement.

Providence.

In future be so good as to desire Mr. Henley to consign your goods to order & put the bills lading under cover as usual, for our Sons of Liberty have excited the assessors to examine the manifest of every London ship to rate the importers for their value, especially those that refused to sign the association.

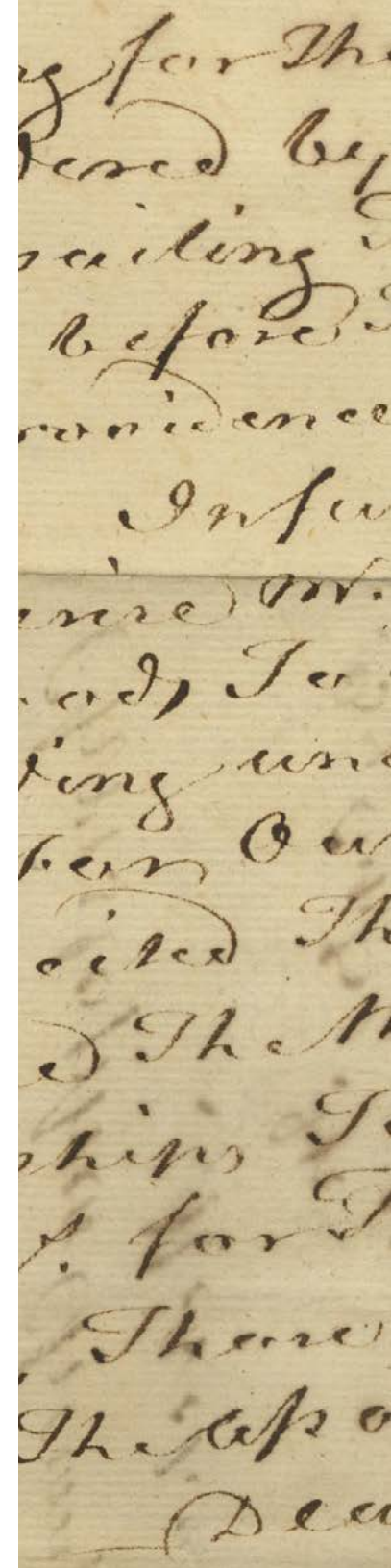
I am, Dear Sir,
Your friend & most obed. Servt.
John Lowell"

The Sons of Liberty had first emerged during the Stamp Act crisis of 1765–1766 and continued in Boston thereafter as a loose network of merchants, artisans, and political activists mobilizing against parliamentary taxation and imperial enforcement. By 1768 their activity had shifted toward resistance to the Townshend Act and the enforcement of collective nonimportation; in March, a group of merchants met at Boston's British Coffee House and appointed a committee to write a more formal nonimportation plan, which was approved on March 4. Extending previous efforts to encourage domestic manufacture and reduce consumption of British goods, the agreement was intended to prevent further orders for British merchandise beginning on June 1. Of the 166 firms solicited to sign on, a substantial minority refused outright or agreed only conditionally[1]—these are the nonsigners of the "association" to whom Lowell refers. Lowell's advice that Champlin have future goods consigned "to order" and keep the bills of lading "under cover" appears intended to make the identity or value of the ultimate consignee less readily apparent through such scrutiny.

Lowell's letter was written at a particularly early moment in this campaign. Dated April 18, it falls only about six weeks after Boston merchants adopted the March agreement and while pressure was still being applied to reluctant signers.[2] By the end of April, only eight of the 166 firms originally solicited remained outright holdouts. The letter also predates the seizure of John Hancock's *Liberty* on June 10, 1768, the resulting disturbances in Boston, and the better-known nonimportation agreement adopted later that summer. It thus records the earlier organizational and coercive phase of resistance before the confrontation over the Townshend Duties became one of the defining public crises of pre-Revolutionary Boston.

The author is John Lowell (1740–1793) of Boston and Charlestown, a merchant and active participant in Boston's revolutionary political network, rather than his better-known cousin, the lawyer and later federal judge John Lowell (1743–1802). This Lowell married a daughter of Boston selectman John Scollay in 1768, while Lowell's sister married Ebenezer Hancock, the younger brother of John Hancock. He was associated with both the Sons of Liberty and Paul Revere; attending the Sons' celebrated Liberty Tree dinner in 1769, participating in subsequent resistance to the tea duty, and becoming a member of Boston's North End Caucus. In October 1773 Lowell, Revere, and Abiel Ruddock were appointed a committee to correspond with other groups opposing the East India Company tea; in November Lowell served on the committee charged with preparing a flag for Liberty Tree. The identification of Lowell is additionally supported by direct comparison with that June 5, 1775 autograph letter preserved in the Hancock Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.[3] The handwriting and signature of the present letter closely

CONTINUED



1768 Letter on the Nonimportation Agreement.

correspond to the MHS example.

His association with John Hancock was especially close. Paul Revere later recalled that Lowell was with Hancock at Lexington on the morning of April 19, 1775. As British troops approached, Revere and Lowell carried a trunk containing Hancock's papers out of Buckman Tavern to prevent its possible capture. Revere described him retrospectively as "a Mr. Lowell, who was a clerk to Mr. Hancock." [4] Lowell subsequently wrote from Charlestown to Lydia Hancock on June 5, 1775 concerning property left behind in Boston; [3] seventeen days after the Battle of Lexington and Concord, he was still intimately involved with the Hancock household and revolutionary circle.

An important document from the earliest phase of organized resistance to the Townshend duties, written by a participant who would remain closely associated with the Sons of Liberty, Paul Revere, and John Hancock through the opening of the Revolution. Particularly notable for its description of the Sons of Liberty using access to shipping manifests and the town's assessors to place pressure upon merchants unwilling to join the nonimportation movement, the letter provides a record of how the established resistance organization was adapting its methods from Stamp Act action to coordinated economic enforcement during the Townshend crisis. The letter is itself likely a survival of the dispersal of the Champlin papers around 1900, when the contents of the family's old Newport house were broken up and sold to multiple buyers despite

efforts to preserve the archive intact; substantial portions subsequently entered the Rhode Island Historical Society, Newport Historical Society, and other institutional collections.

Original correspondence documenting Sons of Liberty activity during the Townshend duties crisis appears exceptionally scarce in commerce. Contemporary survivals include printed enforcement material such as the 1768 Boston Sons of Liberty broadside now at the Library of Congress, but we locate no auction record for a private letter of this period describing the organization's practical role in enforcing nonimportation.

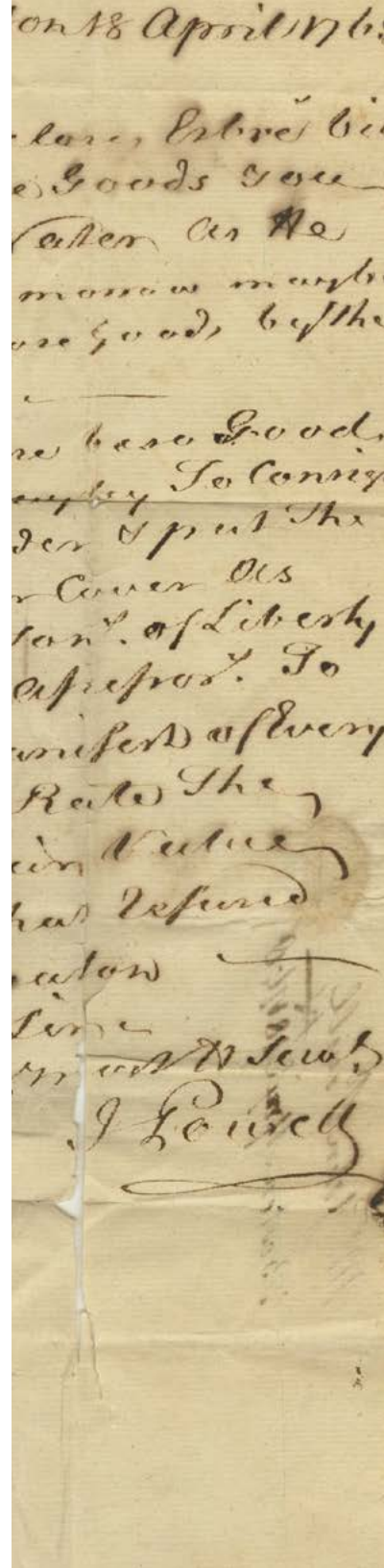
[1] Colin Nicholson (ed.), *The Papers of Francis Bernard*, Volume 4: 1768 (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2015).

[2] "Committee of the Boston Sons of Liberty to John Wilkes, 6 June 1768," in Robert J. Taylor (ed.), *The Adams Papers, Papers of John Adams*, Volume 1, September 1755–October 1773 (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977).

[3] Letter from John Lowell to Mrs. John Hancock, June 5, 1775, Massachusetts Historical Society, Hancock Family Papers, Ms. N-2215, Reel 2, Box 3, Folder 56.

[4] "Letter from Paul Revere to Jeremy Belknap, circa 1798," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections Online, accessed August 31, 2026, <https://www.masshist.org/database/99>.

\$15,000



[ARAB-AMERICANS - WOMEN] [ELIAS BARAKAT] [LAYYAH BARAKAT] DEMORAT, O.B.

Pair of 1883 Carte de Visite Portraits of Syrian-American Lecturers Elias and Layyah Barakat, Made in Philadelphia at the Beginning of Their American Speaking Careers, with Arabic Captions.

Philadelphia: O. B. DeMorat, 1883. Two albumen prints on carte-de-visite mounts. Both photographs captioned in Arabic beneath the images and identified again in manuscript on the versos. Photographer's imprints for O. B. DeMorat, 2 South Eighth Street, Philadelphia, to versos. Light wear and soiling to mounts, generally very good.

A pair of early photographs of Elias and Layyah Barakat, Syrian immigrants who arrived in the United States in 1882 and soon became among the more visible early Arab-American lecturers in the country. Taken in Philadelphia in 1883, only about a year after their arrival, the portraits date from the very beginning of the Barakats' American public careers. Both subjects appear in Middle Eastern dress and are identified in Arabic beneath their portraits. Layyah's caption translates as "Layyah Barakat, from Abeih, Mount Lebanon, Syria," while Elias's reads "Elias Barakat, from Damascus, Syria, year 1883." The versos repeat their identifications in English, with Elias's again dated 1883. Later annotations give a West Philadelphia address for the couple.

The Barakats had come to the United States after fleeing the upheaval surrounding the 'Urabi Revolt in Egypt.

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Pair of 1883 Cartes de Visite of Elias and Layyah Barakat.

Philadelphia became their principal American base, but both spent much of the following years traveling throughout the country as lecturers, giving personal testimonies about Christianity and life in Syria and the Middle East. Contemporary accounts describe the Barakats appearing in native dress and discussing religious practices, customs, and political conditions. By 1886 the Philadelphia city directory listed Layyah as an "Oriental Lecturer" and Elias as an "Oriental Lecturer & Arabic teacher & importer of Bible Land Goods."

Layyah Barakat went on to have a particularly notable career independent of her husband; in addition to her extensive lecturing, she became involved in prison reform and the temperance movement and continued to speak publicly well into old age. In 1912 she published *A Message from Mount Lebanon*, generally regarded as likely the first autobiography published by an Arab-American woman. Elias and Layyah became estranged during the 1890s and thereafter generally toured separately; Elias died in Washington, D.C., in 1909.

These photos, of which we find no other examples, show the Barakats at the beginning of their careers. A slightly later family cabinet card, now at the Library Company of Philadelphia, has similarly been interpreted as a photograph produced in connection with their lecturing activities and possibly distributed or sold to audiences. An unusually early pair of portraits documenting two pioneering Syrian-American public figures at the outset of their lives in the United States.

\$2,500

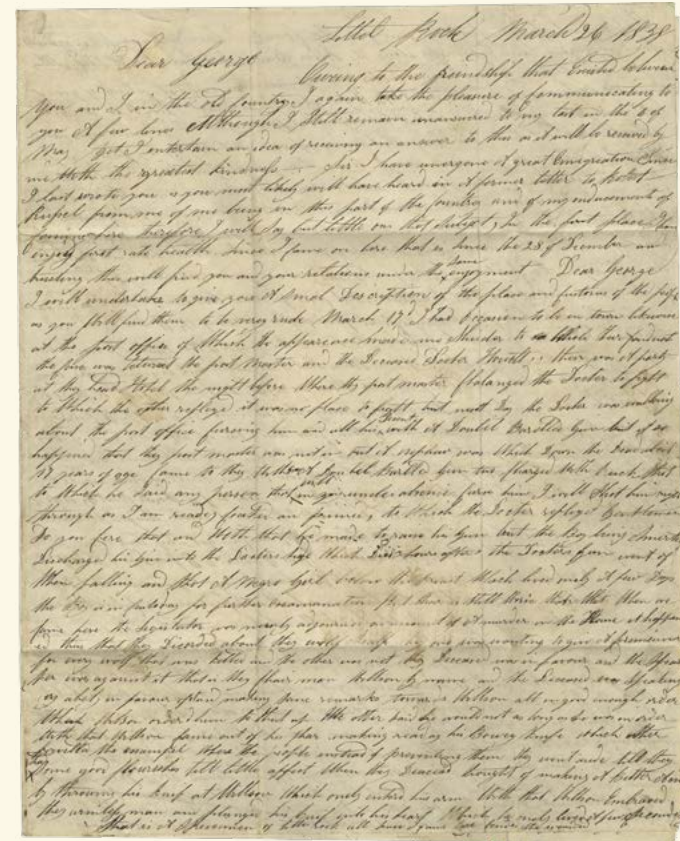


[ARKANSAS STATEHOOD - LITTLE ROCK - POLITICAL VIOLENCE - STATE HOUSE - INDIAN REMOVAL - SCOTTISH IMMIGRATION] BROWNLEE, ROBERT

Letter from a Scottish Stonecutter Building the Arkansas State House, Describing Two Fatal Shootings, the Bowie Knife Killing in the Legislature, Frontier Labor, and the Removal of Native People through Little Rock.

Little Rock, Arkansas: March 26, 1838. Autograph letter signed by Robert Brownlee, 4 pp., addressed to George Steel at Shotts Iron Works, West Lothian, Scotland. Transatlantic stampless folded letter with circular "LITTLE-ROCK / ARK." postmark and straight-line "PAID" handstamp, manuscript "25" rate, red New York April 23 transit mark, boxed "LIVERPOOL / SHIP LETTER" handstamp, circular May 25 arrival mark, two-line "WHITBURN / PENNY POST" handstamp, and manuscript "1/8" charge, including the eight-pence ship-letter fee and one-penny local-post charge. Appx. 1900 words. File folds; otherwise very good.

An immigrant letter written by Scottish stonecutter Robert Brownlee three months after his arrival in Little Rock, describing his work on the first Arkansas State House, the violent political and social culture of the recently admitted state, local wages and building projects, and the forced removal of Native people through Arkansas. Brownlee writes to a friend at the Shotts Iron Works in Scotland, presenting Little Rock as a place of abundant land and opportunity, but also of primitive conditions, disease, isolation, and startlingly



casual violence.

Brownlee was 24 when he arrived in Little Rock in December 1837 with three other Scottish stonecutters. They formed McVicar and Company and contracted to quarry and set stone for the east and west wings of the Arkansas State House, now the Old State House Museum. He later worked on several early Little Rock buildings before traveling overland to California during the Gold Rush.[1] The letter dates from the beginning of his Arkansas career and closely parallels the account preserved in his later autobiography.

After briefly reporting his health and apologizing for writing again without having received an answer, Brownlee offers his friend "a small description of the

CONTINUED

Letter from a Scottish Stonecutter Building the Arkansas State House.

place and customs of the people." He begins with two episodes of violence that had recently defined public life in Little Rock. The first concerns an altercation at the post office between the postmaster's seventeen-year-old nephew and a local physician, ending in the deaths of the physician and an enslaved Black girl struck when his gun discharged as he fell. The second is Brownlee's account of the killing of state representative Joseph J. Anthony by Speaker of the House John Wilson during a legislative debate over bounties for wolf scalps:

"Sir I have undergone a great emigration since I last wrote you [...] Dear George I will undertake to give you a small description of the place and customs of the people as you will find them to be very rude. March 17th I had occasion to be in town, likewise at the post office of which the appearance made me shudder to behold their conduct. The case was between the postmaster and the deceased, Doctor Hewett. There was a party at the head Hotel the night before, where the postmaster challenged the Doctor to fight, to which the other replied it was no place to fight, but next day the Doctor was walking about the post office cursing him and all his [family?] with a double barrelled gun. But it so happened that the postmaster was not in but a nephew was which done the deed, about 17 years of age, came to the [door?] double barrelled gun, two charged with buckshot, to which he said any person that will in my Uncle's absence curse him I will shoot him right through, as I am ready, cocked and primed, to which the Doctor replied, Gentlemen, do you hear that, and with that he made to raise his gun, but the boy being [quicker?] discharged his gun into the Doctor's legs, which died 3 hours after. The Doctor's gun went

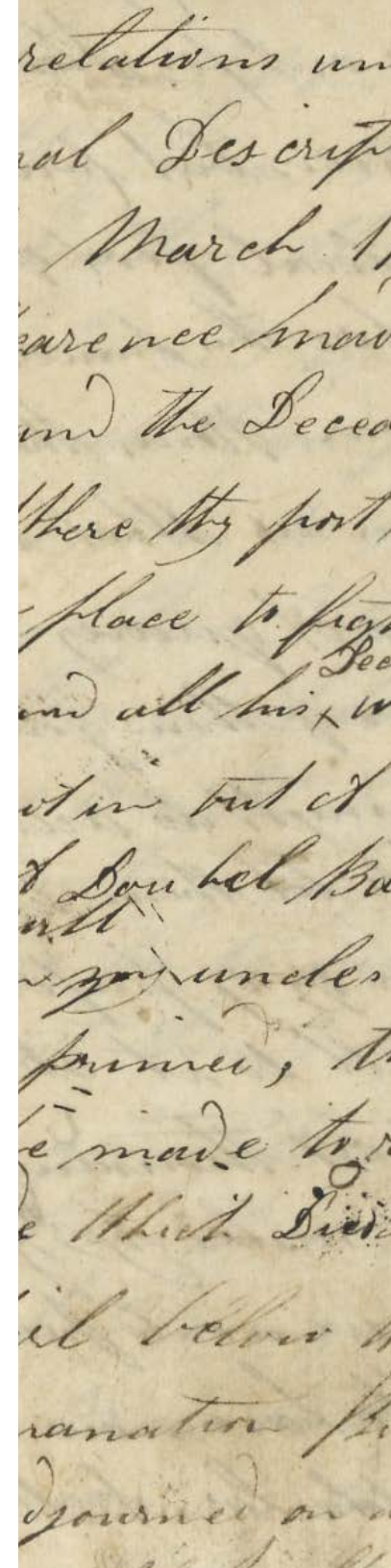
off when falling and shot a Negro girl below the breast, which lived only a few days. The boy is in custody for further examination.

But there is still worse than that. When we came here the Legislature was nearly adjourned on account of a murder in the House. It happened thus, that they discorded about the wolf scalp by one was wanting to give a premium for every wolf that was killed and the other was not. The deceased was in favor and the Speaker was against it, that is the chairman, Wilson by name, and the deceased was speaking very able in favor [and] making some remarks towards Wilson, all in good enough order, when Wilson ordered him to shut up. The other said he would not as long as he was in order. With that, Wilson came out of his chair, making ready his Bowie knife, which other followed the example, where the people, instead of preventing them, they went aside till they had some good flourishes to little effect, when the deceased thought of making a better aim by throwing his knife at Wilson, which only entered his arm. With that, Wilson embraced the armless man and plunged his knife into his heart, which he only lived a few seconds. That is a specimen of Little Rock, all [unhurt?] besides the wounded."

The legislative killing occurred on December 4, 1837, during a special session of the Arkansas General Assembly. Speaker John Wilson left the chair and fatally stabbed Representative Joseph J. Anthony during a dispute over wolf-scalp certificates, after which Wilson was expelled, tried for murder, and acquitted. Brownlee's account, written less than four months later, preserves the version circulating locally among recent arrivals.

Having presented violence as "a specimen of Little Rock" and "part of their customs," Brownlee turns to the country itself, which he has "nothing to say against":

CONTINUED



Letter from a Scottish Stonecutter Building the Arkansas State House.

"Some very good land, especially along the river banks, but there is not so healthy as they mostly have to use the river water and in summer it is very hot, plenty of good land a little ways from town at $1\frac{1}{4}$ \$ per acre. I do believe I would do well to buy some land if I thought I could settle upon it, but farming is a thing I never was much attached to, but there is one thing that is in my favor, that they say any person can farm which I do believe, for you would laugh to see them ploughing about 2 and 3 inches deep, winding round old trees and stumps, as this is but a very new State, only 18 months since it was admitted into the Union, and before, it was termed a territory. The timber is but thinly cleared."

Brownlee's principal subject is his own trade. He and three partners were performing the stonework for the State House, but were having difficulty finding blocks long enough for window and door sills:

"As for my own trade and how I am getting along, is pretty good. There is four of us in company doing the stone work about the State Capital, which we have been very busy since ever we signed the contract, looking out for stone and quarries. We have got good many of the stone cut of the short dimensions, but can't get them long enough, such as window and door sills. We have for every superficial foot of stone cutting $1\frac{1}{2}$ \$, that is 6s Ste.

There is an arsenal going to be built here this summer. The Major of the buildings was looking at our quarry, thinks a good deal of our stones, that is the quality, but he would require long ones. He wanted to have an offer from us what we would do it for per foot

CONTINUED

that is part of their fastness and for the foundry I have nothing to say. Some very good land especially along the River Banks but there is not so healthy as they mostly have to use the river water and in summer it is very hot, plenty of good land a little ways from town at $1\frac{1}{4}$ \$ per acre I do believe I would do well to buy some land if I thought I could settle upon it, but farming is a thing I never was much attached to, but there is one thing that is in my favor, that they say any person can farm which I do believe, for you would laugh to see them ploughing about 2 and 3 inches deep, winding round old trees and stumps, as this is but a very new State, only 18 months since it was admitted into the Union, and before it was termed a territory. The timber is but thinly cleared."

As for my own trade and how I am getting along is pretty good there is four of us in company doing the stone work about the State Capital which we have been very busy since ever we signed the contract looking out for stone and quarries we have got good many of the stone cut of the short dimensions but can't get them long enough such as window and door sills we have for every superficial foot of stone cutting $1\frac{1}{2}$ \$ that is 6s Ste. There is an arsenal going to be built here this summer the Major of the Buildings was looking at our quarry thinks a good deal of our stones that is the quality but he would require long ones. He wanted to have an offer from us what we would do it for per foot but he wanted us to go in hunt of a quarry that he would give us $2\frac{1}{2}$ \$ and pay all expenses there is been two of them gone there 6 days up along the river thought would in getting good stone we might do well. I know there is a Bank to be built they want an offer from us to let them know whether Brick or Stone is cheapest and they will give the Stone $\frac{1}{2}$ of preference that is if it should cost with Stone more than Brick they will do it and I believe it will. They are now just now will amount to 6 or 7 thousand. If we can get that long enough we have from here to hall to town $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles by a job of 6 or 8 per day 1 if we were to get the Bank or arsenal we would purchase a wagon of our own and we will do it for this one or two. We have now built ourself a wooden factory in purity and harmony. A fair plasterer shall not be wronged. Nature will do that and married too. The sight of a woman almost enchants me as I have one in a two weeks. As for frocking I don't care to be surprised but as I am not get along with it so very well yet as I have made only two shirts will learn I am turning a pretty good hand at patching old clothes as were all up. Game is here very plenty there was one week I killed 42 Ducks one of which weighed 20 lb my butcher killed one. Dear another turkey but we love it in that way. There is 4 of us in all laborious stages 1 \$ and found work from. Given very high of the place when I first came but I now I like the wood for and if we should not get them other jobs I think I may return first fall and see the place. I should I want you to look out some old woman for me that understands

Letter from a Scottish Stonecutter Building the Arkansas State House.

or perch, but first he wanted us to go in hunt of a quarry that he would give us 2½\$ per day and pay all expenses. There is been two of them gone these 6 days up along the river. If they should succeed in getting good stone we might do well.

Likewise there is a Bank to going to [be] erected. They want an offer from us to let them know whether brick or stone would be cheapest and they will give the stone 1/3 of preference, that is if it should cost \$3 to do it with stone more than brick, they will do it. I believe it will.

This job we have on hand just now will amount to 6 or 7 thousand \$ if we can get stuff long enough. We have from here to haul to town 5½ miles by 3 yoke of oxen, 6\$ per day, 1 rake per day. If we were to get the Bank or arsenal we would purchase a wagon of our own brought down."

Brownlee and his partners completed the State House wings by 1840. The proposed federal project was the Little Rock Arsenal, then under construction, while the bank was probably the Real Estate Bank, for which Brownlee later worked.

The letter also describes the isolated domestic life of the seven men living near the quarry. Brownlee jokes about their "bachelor's hall":

"We have now built our [own?] wooden cabins where live in mirth and harmony, a fair bachelor's hall, not a woman within 1 mile and Dutch at that and married too. The sight of a woman almost enchants me as I don't see one in a two weeks. Sir, as for cooking, I can't scarce be surpassed, but as for washing, I cannot get along with it

so very well, yet as I have made only two attempts, but I will learn. I am turning a pretty good hand at patching old clothes, as we're using them all up.

Game is here very plenty. There was one week I killed 42 ducks one day, a turkey which weighed 20 lb. My [companion?] killed one deer, another turkey, but we lose little time in that way. There is 7 of us in all. Laborers wages 1\$, and found work from sun to sun."

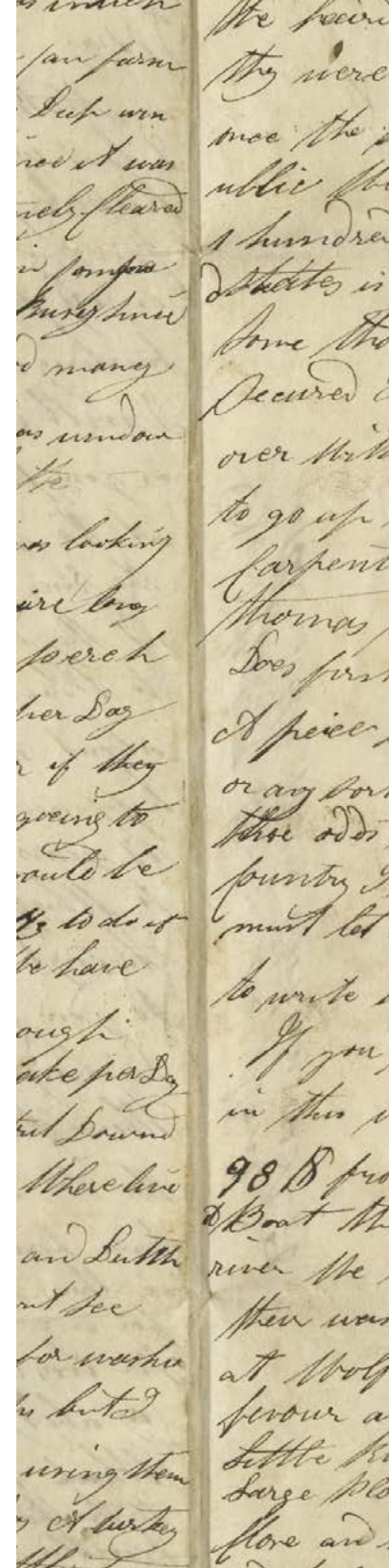
Though initially unhappy in Arkansas, Brownlee had begun to enjoy life in the woods. He entertains the possibility of returning to Scotland and asks Steel to find him "some old woman" who understands farming, before reflecting more seriously on the distance separating him from his family—"2027 miles farther west than when in Raleigh". Brownlee then locates Little Rock within the rapidly changing political geography of the Southwest. He was approximately three hundred miles from both the Republic of Texas and Indian Territory, where the federal government was removing Native nations from the eastern states:

"I am within 3 hundred miles of being on the Texas Republic, within the same of the Indian nation, where they could in one month raise a hundred thousand that could bear arms, excluding women and children. The United States is exporting them from all other States to this one and giving them one half of it. Some thousands of them has passed this way from Florida and still coming.

I have secured a fine ring that was bought from them as they are clad in a manner all over with rings, beads, ribbons and feathers, that is the Chiefs. I should like very well to go up this summer, it's only 300 miles, and see them in their own nation."

Written during the Second Seminole War, the passage

CONTINUED



Letter from a Scottish Stonecutter Building the Arkansas State House.

refers to the forced movement of Native people from Florida toward Indian Territory.

The letter concludes with information intended for prospective emigrants. Carpenters received forty to forty-five dollars per month with board, while blacksmiths could charge twenty-five cents to sharpen a pick and as much as three dollars to shoe a horse. Brownlee advises that his brother James could prosper in Little Rock and estimates the journey from New York at one hundred dollars, and informs his recipient where game is plentiful: "We were told that in one week on a small adjoining island to where we put up, there was killed in one week 26 bears. They are not so plenty here, being so much shot at. Wolves is howling mostly every night close by us."

An extensive account of early statehood Arkansas by a recently arrived Scottish craftsman, documenting erratic violence, Indigenous displacement, and life as a skilled laborer.

[1] Patricia A. Etter, "'Robert Brownlee (1813-1897),'
Encyclopedia of Arkansas, last updated June 15, 2026,
<https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/robert-brownlee-384/>.

\$2,750

George there is many A thought posses my brain in the course of it
I think you being married to Miss B and if not give her my hand
A letter from Thomas Smith since I came here stating his good health that
him I had two from home that was brought by Brownlee from Jacksonville then
lost I had from home I believe my de Mother would be ed little affected whe
of me being 2027 miles farther West than when in Raleigh as I expect
looking for me here this summer but I will apprise them some more
than boat is running I am within 3 hundred miles of being on the Texas Reg
then the same of the indian nation where the foud in one month raise
thousand that foud bear skins including women and children the same
exporting them from all other States to this one and giving them one half of
value of them has passed this way from Florida and still coming I have
a fine river that runs brought from them as they are glad in a manner all
the things beads pelts and feathers that in the ship I should like very
this summer its only 300 miles and see them in their own nation
tars has from 40 to 45¢ per month and paid with board only I expect
Smith this way as I was advising to have New Orleans, A Blacksmith
rate be better than any where I have been yet for sharpening tools 6 1/2¢
sharpen a pick 25 cents shoeing a horse 2 1/2 to 3 \$ or 3 1/2 cents for day
of work if you that we have bought a pair of Belovos and anvil sharp and
things the make me Blacksmith if my brother James was coming out to
I should be would come on here for he never would better but if he should be
we know before he comes out then I secure a place for him I mean
him next some of these days giving him the full particulars in his time
think proper to write me let me know how you would like to be a farmer
wooden country it would feed him or any one for New York 1150 as it costs
in Raleigh 2 thousand 28 miles in 18 days in that we had to stop 2 1/2 waiting
the best place ever was known on the Mississippi at the mouth of the
ever told that in one week on a small adjoining island to where we put up
killed in one week 26 Bears they are not so plenty here being so much shot
is howling mostly every night close by us, the place will be inclined to
and agree as their lakes all round us be stand on a valuation 3 or 4 hundred
rock is the capital of the State about the size of Little Rock but improved to be
see on account of the river. now Sir I must close this blundersing letter to
how you duca at this time by asking you to remember me to your brother Ebenezer
and all enquiring friends especially to my parents Sir Little Rock
Arkansas
I do or any one you may happen to meet and
soon to this we part telling me know only
it will please Robert Brownlee and his father & Da

[ATLANTIC TRADE - MERCANTILE HISTORY - ENSLAVEMENT] WHITE, SAMUEL; POTE, JEREMIAH; POTE, SAMUEL; PHILLIPS, JOHN RANDAL

Collection of Twelve Pre-Revolutionary Mercantile Letters Documenting New England's Atlantic Trade with Barbados and Spain.

Falmouth, Maine; Marblehead, Massachusetts; Barbados; and Bilbao, Spain: 1767 - 1773. Twelve letters, principally addressed to Marblehead merchant Samuel White. Conditions vary, generally very good.

Samuel White was a Marblehead merchant active from at least the 1760s through the early nineteenth century, engaged in Atlantic trade linking New England with the West Indies and southern Europe. His business centered on exporting codfish and other goods to markets including Barbados, Dominica, and Bilbao, with return cargoes and remittances in rum, molasses, wine, and other commodities. White was also connected by marriage to one of Marblehead's leading mercantile families; his wife, Hannah, was the daughter of Robert "King" Hooper. White operated in an era when New England fish and merchant credit supplied Caribbean plantation markets and financed return cargoes, linking northern fisheries directly to the wider Atlantic trading system built around enslaved plantation production.

Offered here is a group of White's pre-Revolutionary mercantile correspondence documenting the commercial network connecting his business with Jeremiah and Samuel Pote of Falmouth and other

CONTINUED

110th Sam^l White Falmouth Sept^r 19. 1769

Sir

I have Sent you By m^r Hooper £2. 12. 10 Which makes up 133. 6. 8 the Sum Pap^r By me to Purches fish the freight on Board Cap^t Hoobear for y^e Straights or any other Place you think Proper: & hope you will be y^e whole Cargo is good as I shall Expect to Shear y^e some fate as y^e West of y^e Shippers: pray Send for me ten Dozen of handkerchiefs if to be had for Eight Current Dollars or under y^e Remainder I shall leave with you to Send for such Goods as you think will sell y^e most Profit & Expect to Shear with you in Loss or Gain, & if I should Not be at home at Barbier. Return Pray Sell my Goods with yours & I shall I hope be Content

I have Sent By m^r Hooper fore Sales for m^r Coase the Barber which you will take & Give to him to Save m^r Hooper the trouble which is the needful from your Hum^l Serv^t

P^t I Expect our Brig Here

Jer^s Pote

Home in Les than a month

28. 13. 10
47. 0. 0
67. 13. 10
139. 6. 8

Collection of Twelve Pre-Revolutionary Mercantile Letters.

merchants in Barbados and Spain. Written between 1767 and 1773, the letters trace the movement of codfish and other New England commodities into Atlantic markets and the return trade in rum, sugar, brandy, iron, oil, manufactured goods, and other merchandise. The letters are particularly effective in showing how flexible this trade could be; for instance, in 1769 Jeremiah Pote remitted money to White for the purchase of fish to be shipped "for ye Straits or any other place you think proper," while also asking him to buy handkerchiefs and invest the balance in whatever goods might "net ye most profit."

The two overseas letters show the outer reaches of this network. From Barbados in 1767, John Randal Phillips offered to act for White in disposing of fish and supplied current prices for cod, pollock, oil, lumber, rum, sugar, and cotton, together with the prevailing rate on bills of exchange. From Bilbao in 1770, Samuel Pote reported the sale of several grades of fish, the purchase of iron, and preparations to continue to Cádiz. Read alongside the Falmouth correspondence, these letters show coastwise and international commerce operating as parts of the same system.

The more ordinary transactions are equally revealing. In 1771 Pote sent White nineteen barrels of clams for bait despite learning that they were "a drug & not saleable," authorizing him to exchange them for fish, provisions, sweet oil, or Eastern goods. West Indian goods were specifically unwanted because "we have a plenty of" them. Elsewhere Pote cancels an order for rice after obtaining supplies from Carolina, orders

brandy for resale in Falmouth, asks about salt prices and marine insurance, and directs the proceeds of fish into handkerchiefs and oil. White's trade brought him directly into the plantation markets of Barbados, and related Samuel White papers independently document his involvement in commerce concerning enslaved people. In 1772 he gave instructions concerning proceeds associated with an enslaved man named Ceasor. Though not a principal subject of the present letters, this provides important context for the commercial world in which their traffic in fish, rum, sugar, and other commodities took place.

Taken together, the letters provide a compact merchant-level record of New England commerce in the years between the Seven Years' War and the Revolution. They illustrate the flexible movement of fish, credit, imported goods, and coastal commodities through a network linking Falmouth and Marblehead with Barbados, Bilbao, Cádiz, Virginia, and Carolina, adding practical details of a trading system otherwise well documented in broader mercantile records.

Chronological inventory:

- 1767, April 23, John Randal Phillips in Barbados to Samuel White. Phillips offers his services as White's Barbados agent, noting his prior dealings for Mr. Hooper and other Marblehead merchants. He reports that fish prices had risen and provides a detailed current price list for codfish, pollock, oil, boards, shingles, red-oak staves, hoops, rum, sugar, cotton, and bills of exchange. Cod was retailing at 20 shillings, while planters were demanding 2 shillings for rum. In an April 27 postscript he adds, "Rum is 2/-."

- 1769, September 19, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote remits £62:12:10 toward the purchase of fish for shipment by Captain Boobier "for ye

CONTINUED

Mr Saml White
I Shall
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look as for
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Hooper and
23^d Octob
for a price
for a Park

Collection of Twelve Pre-Revolutionary Mercantile Letters.

Straits or any other place you think proper," asks White to procure ten dozen handkerchiefs, and leaves the balance to be invested in whatever goods White thinks will "net ye most profit," expecting to share "in loss or gain."

- 1770, June 10, Samuel Pote in Bilbao to Samuel White. Pote reports that the fish cargo had been safely landed, gives prices obtained or offered for several grades, notes that he had already loaded iron and contracted for approximately 1,500 quintals more, and expects to sail for Cádiz within ten days. With only three fish vessels then in Bilbao, he hoped to obtain ninety reales for the best grade.

- 1770, November 29, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote estimates that nearly £1,000 old tenor will be due him when prior goods are sold and asks White to ship one hundred quintals of fish to be invested in handkerchiefs and ten more in oil if oil is to be brought home. He also discusses a draft drawn in favor of his brother Samuel.

- 1771, January 22, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote asks White to send two hogsheads of brandy by Captain Crosby for resale in Falmouth and promises to settle any balance due once White's account is received.

- 1771, February 23, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote asks White to forward an enclosed letter and report where his brother Samuel is bound, what premium was paid for insurance, and whether Pote has any financial interest aboard the vessel.

- 1771, April 10, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote cancels an earlier request for rice after obtaining "a plenty from Carolina," discusses the

poor market for previously shipped clam bait and the possibility of sending more at the next fair, asks about spring salt prices, and reports that a brig commanded by Will Pote has not been heard from since leaving Virginia.

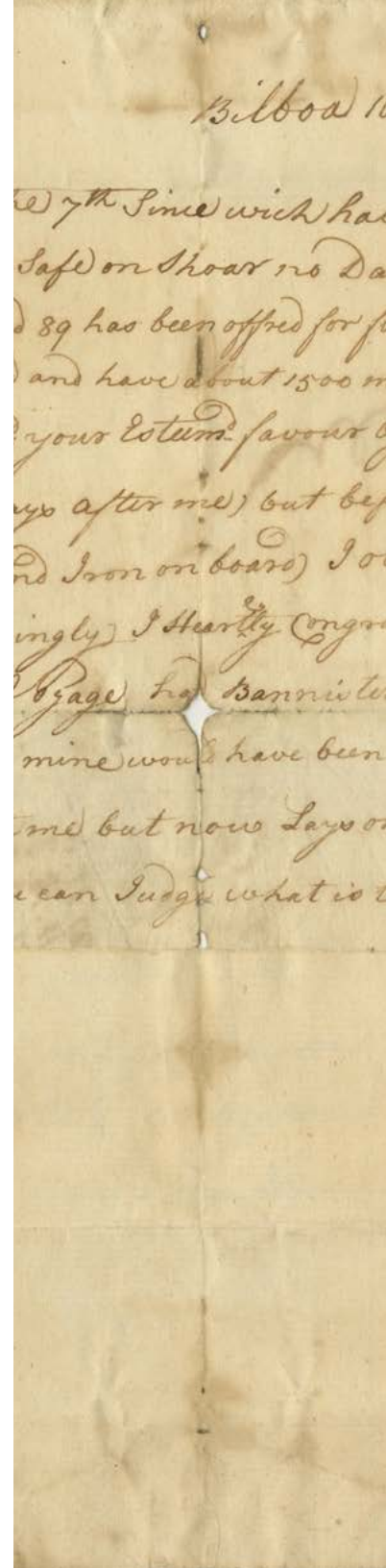
- 1771, May 1, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote sends nineteen additional barrels of clams despite White's warning that they were "a drug & not saleable." He authorizes White to sell them when advantageous or exchange them for fish, provisions, sweet oil, or "Eastern goods," but specifically excludes West Indian goods because "we have a plenty of" them.

- 1771, July 19, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote renews his request for handkerchiefs and brandy after Captain Crockett failed to stop at Marblehead and asks White to send them by Captain Crosby or on another vessel bound for Falmouth. He proposes payment through Mr. Hooper.

- 1771, August 5, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote directs Captain Harper to collect the handkerchiefs if they have not already been sent and again requests a hogshead of brandy on the terms previously proposed, noting that some of the handkerchiefs have already been promised to customers.

- 1772, March 17, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote encloses Captain Adams's order on Benjamin Eaton and asks White to collect it and send the proceeds by Captain Thomas Wyer, explaining that he undertakes the transaction to oblige his friend Mr. Shadock.

- 1773, January 6, Jeremiah Pote in Falmouth to Samuel White. Pote regrets that he has neither heard from nor seen White and asks for the account sales of the brandy and clams as soon as convenient.



[BLEEDING KANSAS - ENSLAVEMENT - MISSOURI]
HALL, WILLARD P.; BUCHANAN PRO-SLAVERY AID
SOCIETY

Printed circular calling for a coordinated Missouri campaign to settle Kansas with pro-slavery emigrants, issued by future Union governor Willard P. Hall and sent to future U.S. Senator James S. Green.

Saint Joseph, Missouri: January 13, 1856. Printed circular on folded letter sheet measuring appx. 8 x 10 inches; addressed in manuscript to Hon. Jas S. Greene, Canton, Lewis County, Missouri, and mailed from St. Joseph on January 15, with 3-cent dull red stamp. Old folds from mailing; minor toning and scattered spotting; very good overall.

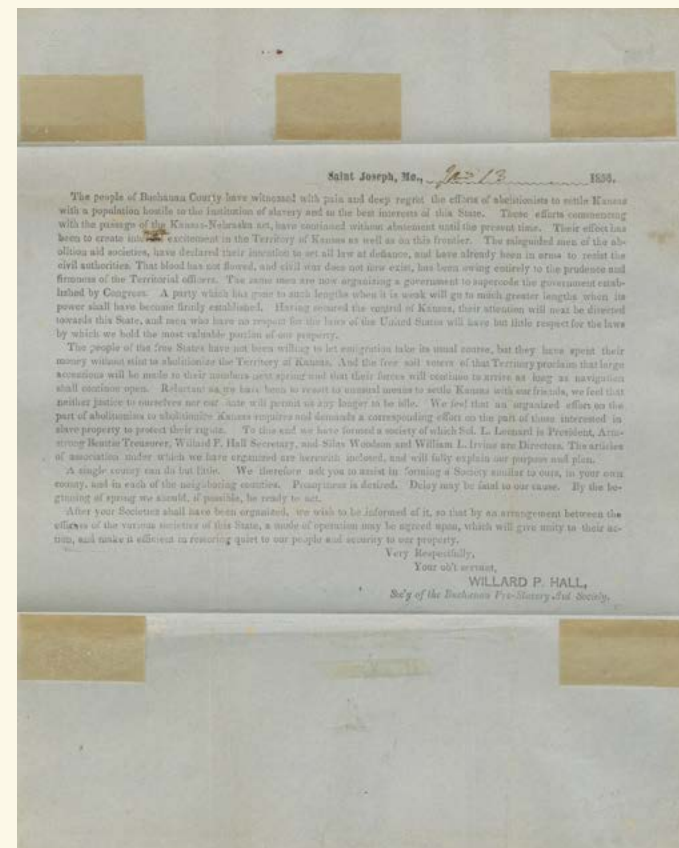
An unrecorded and significant Bleeding Kansas circular connecting two prominent Missouri politicians whose careers would later illustrate the state's fracture over slavery and secession. Issued by the Buchanan Pro-Slavery Aid Society with Willard P. Hall as secretary, the circular calls for the organization of similar societies throughout Missouri to counter Free-State migration into Kansas. It was sent to James S. Green of Canton, already a former U.S. congressman and one of Missouri's most committed advocates for the expansion of slavery, who would enter the United States Senate the following year and eventually chair its Committee on Territories.

The document appeared at a particularly consequential moment in Hall's career. In 1851, as a congressman, Hall had introduced legislation for the organization of

territory west of Missouri that anticipated aspects of the later Kansas-Nebraska Act. By January 1856, with the contest over Kansas underway, he was participating directly in a Missouri organization devoted to influencing the territorial balance through organized pro-slavery settlement.

The society opens the circular by portraying Northern emigrant-aid organizations as an existential threat to both Kansas and neighboring Missouri:

"The people of the free States have not been willing to let emigration take its usual course, but they have spent their money without stint to abolitionize the Territory of Kansas. And the free soil voters of that Territory proclaim that large accessions will be made to their numbers next



CONTINUED

Circular from the Buchanan Pro-Slavery Aid Society.

spring and that their forces will continue to arrive as long as navigation shall continue open [...] Reluctant as we have been to resort to unusual means to settle Kansas with our friends, we feel that neither justice to ourselves nor our State will permit us any longer to be idle. We feel that an organized effort on the part of abolitionists to abolitionize Kansas requires and demands a corresponding effort on the part of those interested in slave property to protect their rights."

The Buchanan County organization lists Solomon L. Leonard as president, Armstrong Beattie as treasurer, Hall as secretary, and Silas Woodson and William L. Irvine as directors. Recipients are urged to establish corresponding organizations throughout Missouri and to coordinate their efforts before the spring migration season: "Promptness is desired. Delay may be fatal to our cause. By the beginning of spring we should, if possible, be ready to act."

Shortly after the circular was printed, the sectional contest in Kansas entered its most violent phase, including the sack of Lawrence and the Pottawatomie killings. The circular documents the organized political strategy underlying that conflict: Kansas was to be contested through the deliberate recruitment, financing, and movement of settlers intended to determine whether slavery would prevail in the territory.

The identities of Hall and Green give the circular an additional significance in relation to the Civil War. Hall's appearance here as an organizer explicitly defending

slaveholding interests complicates his later career as one of Missouri's leading Unionists. In 1861 he served in the state convention that rejected secession; after the pro-Confederate governor Claiborne Jackson fled Jefferson City, Hall became lieutenant governor in the Union-recognized provisional government under Hamilton Gamble. He succeeded Gamble as governor in 1864. Hall thus belonged to the substantial body of Missouri political leaders who supported slavery yet rejected dissolution of the Union.

Green followed a very different course. During the late 1850s, as a United States senator and chairman of the Committee on Territories, he became one of the Senate's strongest advocates for slavery's expansion and the constitutional right of secession. After leaving the Senate in March 1861, he worked with Governor Jackson and other secessionists in the unsuccessful effort to carry Missouri into the Confederacy.

A substantial document of the political organization behind Bleeding Kansas, linking the struggle over slavery's expansion in the territories directly to the later division of Missouri during the Civil War.

\$2,500

9a-13

the efforts of abolitionists to settle
his State. These efforts com
until the present time. Their
frontier. The misguided men
have already been in arms to
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WILLARD P. HALL
Buchanan Pro-Slavery Aid So

[CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH - SACRAMENTO - CHOLERA
EPIDEMIC - ILLNESS - MINING - SANDWICH ISLANDS
- MAINE] [LOCKE?], SAMUEL

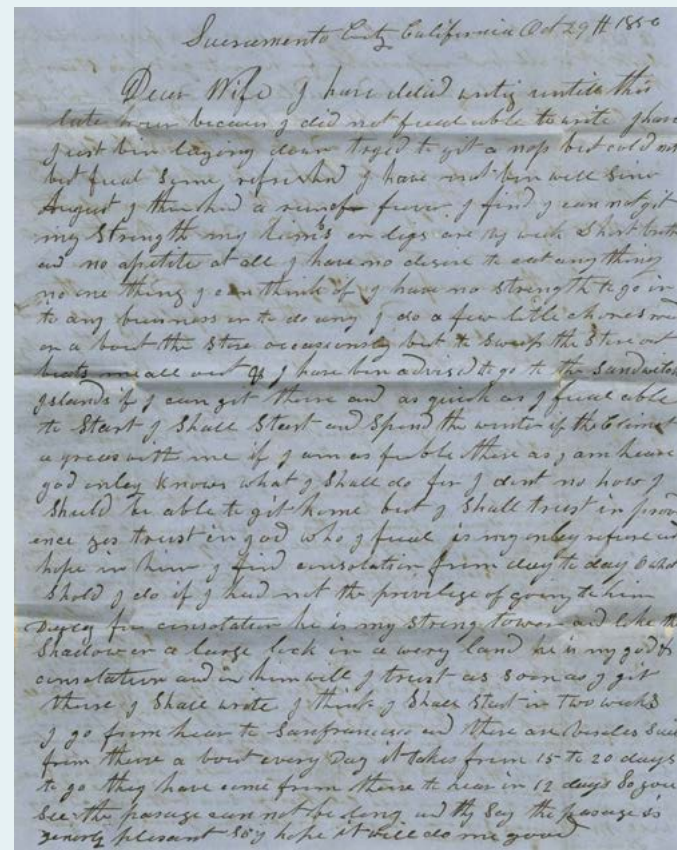
1850 Letter from Sacramento Describing the Cholera Epidemic, Failed Mining Ventures, Violent Crime, and Emigrants Too Sick and Impoverished to Return Home: "O How I long to get out of this place".

Sacramento City, California: October 29 - 30,
1850. Autograph letter signed "Sam'l L[ocke?]"
to his wife in Belfast, Maine. 6 pp. Stampless
folded letter with clear circular "SACRAMENTO
CITY / CAL." postmark and "40" rate handstamp;
manuscript notation recording receipt in Maine on
December 19, 1850. Light soiling; very good.

A bleak California Gold Rush letter written during the
1850 Sacramento cholera epidemic by Samuel Locke,
a Maine emigrant suffering from prolonged fever and
unable to regain his strength. Surrounded by sickness,
failed mining ventures, violent crime, and men too poor
or ill to return home, Locke plans to seek recovery in the
Sandwich Islands while relying upon his religious faith for
consolation.

Locke had been ill since August and was now so weak
that ordinary work exhausted him:

"My limbs or legs are very weak, short breath and no
appetite at all. I have no desire to eat anything, not one
thing I can think of. I have no strength to go into any
business or to do any. I do a few little chores round or



about the store occasionally, but to sweep the store it
beats me all out [...]. O how I long to get out of this place.
Can't get any strength, don't know as I can anywhere, but
I long to try."

Friends advised him to spend the winter in the Sandwich
Islands. He expected to travel first to San Francisco and
then make the fifteen- to twenty-day passage to Hawaii,
though he feared that continued illness might leave him
unable either to support himself there or return to Maine.
He states that he will "trust in providence, yes trust in
God who I feel is my only refuge".

Locke gives a grim account of California's climate and the
spread of cholera through Sacramento, claiming that the
climate in California prevented the sick from recovering

CONTINUED

1850 Sacramento Mining Letter.

their strength, as the "air is very light & bad, middle of the day very hot, and nights very cool." The previous week's report had stated forty dead, but "nothing near all the cases were reported," with Locke himself knowing of several unreported cases personally. A local blacksmith died overnight after his companions borrowed Locke's syringe, and "We can hardly see a healthy looking individual in the streets."

The letter also records the uncertain fortunes of men from Locke's home region scattered through the mines. William Beckett and his partners had spent the summer constructing a mining dam, had struck gold on the first day, and then immediately "the dam was washed away, so they lost all their summer's labor." Other acquaintances had moved to Kelsey's Bar, the southern mines, or Oregon, or were preparing to return east by way of Panama. Some remained convinced that California would reward perseverance, while others had "seen enough" after accomplishing nothing. Locke regarded success as largely accidental:

"Thousands are here and in the mines who want to get home and cannot—not able to do seamen's duty and no money to pay, but they have got to stay in the mines and do the best they can. Some it is true have been lucky. It is all luck. If they happen to hit a good place, they do well."

News that cholera had entered the mining districts increased his alarm. Locke feared especially for men living in tents as the rainy season approached, with poor food and little protection from exposure. Sacramento

itself was marked by nightly violence:

"There are murders or robberies about every night. One man killed in front of our house a few nights ago. We heard him holler and heard the blows. Next morning he died. His head was dreadfully mangled."

Locke closes with an emotional message to his wife and children. His health, finances, and prospects all appeared uncertain, and he repeatedly asked his family and church to pray for him:

"Tell the dear Children to be good and if they never see me again when I am gone they will have the satisfaction [...] of knowing they [acted] as thy Father requested [...]. Pray for me, ask the Church to pray for me, indeed I know I have your prayers and you have mine often."

A particularly bleak account of the human cost of the California Gold Rush, documenting epidemic disease, physical collapse, failed mining schemes, violent crime, religious faith, and the predicament of emigrants unable to escape California after their health and resources were exhausted.

\$1,250



[CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH - WOMEN - MARRIAGE
- MOTHERHOOD - QUAKERS - SAN JOSE - SAN
FRANCISCO - VERMONT] MINTURN, ANNA ROBINSON

Christmas 1849 Letter to California Hotelkeeper Lloyd Minturn, Describing Their Infant Son and Questioning the Gold Rush "Mania."

Ferrisburgh, Vermont: December 25 - 28, 1849.
Autograph letter signed "Anne R. M." to her
husband, Lloyd Minturn, in San Francisco, "Upper
California." 8 pp.; approximately 1,700 words.
With stampless cover bearing a black "NEW-YORK
/ 40" datestamp of January 17 and manuscript
routing "per Cherokee." Significant edge wear
and central vertical crease; text generally clear
and complete.

An intimate Christmas letter from Anna Robinson
Minturn of Ferrisburgh, Vermont, to her husband Lloyd,
then engaged in the hotel and real estate business at
Pueblo San José during the California Gold Rush. Writing
on the anniversary of his departure, Anna describes the
four-month-old son Lloyd had never seen, questions
whether California's speculative "mania" could last, and
repeatedly urges him to return home.

Lloyd Minturn had traveled to California in January 1849
with David Lion Gardiner and other eastern emigrants.
By November, Gardiner reported that Minturn was "at
Pueblo San Jose keeping a hotel and speculating in real
estate." [1] Anna's references to Lloyd's hotel and stables,
their rental, and the uncertain recovery of his investment
relate directly to his California business. He later appears
in San Francisco as a member of the Committee of

Ferrisburgh December 25th 1849 -
My own dearest Lloyd -
A merry Christmas - and many, many returns
of the same by thy quiet fire-side in Vermont - with thy wife and darling
child with thee - How much precious Lloyd I have thought of thee this day
and felt that thy thoughts were at home - has it not been so? - and feeling
as I could not bear to go to rest without writing thee a line - Thomas & Charles
have spent the day here else I could have written all my little story -
I cannot tell how many times I have wished thee here and often have
smiled in that wish.
28th I only write so far on Christmas evening - intending to finish before the
next day a severe headache - another the baby being restless & soon I am
then I am with only time to finish and hurry off in time to go by the
January steamer - if my letter is very dull & short thou wilt spare
me I am sure - oh how much I think about thee as the anniversary of thy
departure comes round - in some respects the year has passed quickly -
but the want of improvement in mind & heart I feel that it has indeed
gone too rapidly - but when I think of thee my dearest - all then what
a weary weary time it seems - when I think of thee - then know darling
that this is almost the whole time - and oh how much I wish for thee -
our little darling improves so rapidly, is so very lovely that I can hardly bear
to have thee away - the sweet love how melancholy it made me feel
when I heard that Dr Stone had returned - how intensely happy his
family must be - I have not seen the Dr yet - but father went to see
him soon after his return - and he told him about thee - I was
very glad to hear that thou was well - and glad too that at last
the object of thy pilgrimage seemed attainable - oh may God in

Christmas 1849 Letter to California Hotelkeeper Lloyd Minturn.

Vigilance of 1851, with his place of business on California Street and his residence at the Mansion House.[2]

Anna begins writing late on Christmas day, imagining a future holiday spent with Lloyd “by thy quiet fire-side in Vermont—with thy wife and darling child with thee.” Returning to the letter three days later, she reflects on the year since his departure:

“Oh how much I think about thee as the anniversary of thy departure comes round [...]. When I think of thee my dearest, ask then what a weary dreary time it seems [...]. Our little darling improves so rapidly, is so very lovely, that I can hardly bear to have thee away.”

News that another California emigrant, Dr. Stone, had returned safely made Lloyd’s absence still more painful. Although she understood that “the object of thy pilgrimage” at last appeared attainable, Anna wondered why the management of his property could not be entrusted to an agent, asking why “Mr. Ruckle” cannot “receive the rents & pay the former owner, and send thee thy portion of the profits.” However, she immediately checks her own advice with an observation on marriage and gender:

“You men know so much more how these things work than we, so that it is rather labor wasted to advise much, and I do hate to see a woman trying to rule her husband—don’t thee?”

Anna feared that Lloyd might remain away, sacrificing his domestic life, only to lose the anticipated reward. Her

skepticism extends to the Gold Rush itself:

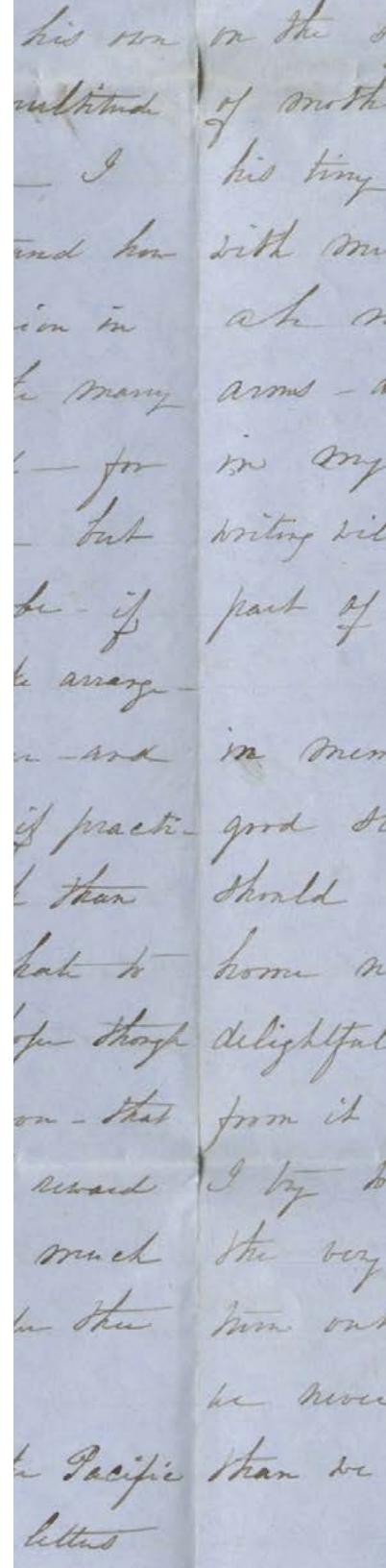
“I do hope though that the man who has taken your property will be able to pay you—that would be so bad to stay away so long—sacrificing so much & lose thy reward entirely—don’t thee suppose this mania in California will end much as the land speculation did here, seems to me it must. I hope thee won’t get drawn in.”

Much of the letter is devoted to their infant son, whose birth Lloyd may initially have learned of from another returning emigrant because of the “shamefully neglected” Pacific mails. At four months the boy weighed eighteen and one-quarter pounds and had “cheeks as hard as little apples.” Anna encloses a lock of his hair, explaining that she had kissed it before sending it.

The contrast between California and the Vermont household runs throughout the letter. Anna describes the snow, distant mountains, sleighing, baked apples, and buckwheat cakes, while Lloyd remains in a place known to her mainly through contradictory reports and unreliable correspondence. She cites Bayard Taylor’s account of portions of California as suitable wheat country, while noting that other observers claimed wheat could not be grown there at all, remarking on the “contradictory accounts about California” that make it hard to “tell what to believe.” Her anxiety was heightened by reports of cholera progressing toward California. She closes by asking Lloyd to protect his health and praying that he might be restored to her “in sound health, both body & soul.”

Anna was a daughter of Rowland Thomas and Rachel Robinson of Rokeby, the prominent Ferrisburgh Quaker family whose home later became known for its role in the Underground Railroad. Other letters from Anna to Lloyd

CONTINUED



Christmas 1849 Letter to California Hotelkeeper Lloyd Minturn.

during his California absence survive at the Bancroft Library and the Smithsonian.[3] Overall a substantial and affecting account of the Gold Rush from the perspective of a wife left behind.

[1] David Lion Gardner, Letter to Juliana McLachlan Gardiner, November 30, 1849, David Gardiner Letters, BANC MSS 2006/127, box 1., The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[2] Anna Robinson Minturn, Letters to Lloyd Minturn, 1849-1851, Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Subject Categories: Steamboats, box 1, folder 6, J-L, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

[3] Anna R. Minturn, "Anna R. Minturn to Mr. Lloyd Minturn, Ferrisburgh, December 2, 1849," California Gold Rush Letters, BANC MSS C-B 547, box 5, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

one of his letters speaks of it as a good white country in some parts
by he says the authority of respectable men who have resided for some
in the country - others say what can man be raised in any part
to now which shall we believe - or has there not been sufficient
opportunities of judging to give an opinion. Then can imagine how
beautiful Vermont is now - covered with snow - with those beautiful mountains
the distance - the sky so blue - the air so crisp & sparkling - how
I then hear my own dear darling husband. He has such nice baked
apples - buckwheat cakes - etc - oh I could tell how often when I sat
particularly nice light cake - I wish for the poem to transfer it to me
I have to eat them for you & me too.

The baby was four months old yesterday - when Stephen
is old he weighed eighteen pounds & a quarter - he is a fat little fellow
back arms & legs. his face is not one of those great sprawling imbeciles
as that babies sometimes carry on the front of the head - but a tidy
little face - with a high forehead & somewhat chubby cheeks as hard as
apples - not hanging down but sticking out.

Mother has today a head headache but she has not had
many as common this fall dear Mother. she has exerted herself
for the last six months - she & I often talk of this - indeed
is often head joined with many expressions of kind regard & love
all want then to see thy boy - but they are becoming so much
attached to him that I don't know that they could ever be for us
even to the other house. He is indeed a darling just - doubly precious
his father's sake - Father is well - carrying yet the same pleasant
not heart - Aunt Ann is the baby's head nurse - & loves him
adfast to him the little fellow will - unfortunately just now his
is about filling up is on him - I am sorry for he makes himself
by - he is eighty-eight years old - think of that - we should forgive
him in that age I know - he seems well to us - is very spry -
visiting a good deal. George has as usual a violent cough & has
ch of his healthy feeling as winter deepens - he says he has a great
to Carl. The little man is fixed - he has Frank Forrester's child
is going to make a hunt of the baby - going to steal him from us
have him for his - he often wishes that was at home he wants to
so much - there is one of his especials - Thomas & Charlotte are
happy as two little birds - All send the warmest love - I do hope
precious husband then will take every care of thy self that Providence may
at the cholera progressing round California makes me very uneasy
but I pray that thou may escape & be restored to my in sound health
today & soon. Dear! dear! my paper full & I have not written half
to be - but I must close - I am very well I forget to mention that
not then once some of the baby's hair but as the boy may not leave me it
- another lock. I have kissed it - adieu my precious, best beloved - & forever
taken off a month ago. I always the fondly attached, Anna

[CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH - YREKA - HAWAIIAN AND CHINESE MINERS - WATER RIGHTS - EXPRESS COMPANIES] BARNARD, J. G.

1850s Letter from Yreka Describing Hawaiian and Chinese Miners, Competition for Water, and the Failure of Gregory's Express.

Yreka City, California: December 21, 1853 - January 3, 1854. Autograph letter signed "J. G. Barnard" to his wife in Mexico, Maine. 3 pp. With stampless folded cover bearing circular "SACRAMENTO / CAL." postmark and "10" rate handstamp. Remarkably fresh; very good.

A northern California Gold Rush letter describing the diverse population of the Yreka diggings, competition for scarce water and construction of a major water project from the Shasta River, and the risks of sending money east through private express companies. Writing from a cabin outside Yreka, Barnard also records high food prices, the growth of farming and settlement, land speculation, and reports of possible renewed conflict in the Rogue River Valley.

Barnard and several companions were living about a quarter mile outside the city, subsisting principally on flour at thirty cents per pound, beef at twenty-five cents, tea, and occasional potatoes at fifteen cents. The first snow had quickly become "mud, mud, mud almost over boots," though the return of water allowed miners to resume washing for gold. Barnard describes an international mining population "fighting & quarreling"

Yreka City Dec 21st 1853

Dear Wife — I wrote to you a short time since but as Mr. Mann & myself are alone tonight in the cabin, I will write a line to you. We are living in a cabin about a quarter of a mile from the City. we buy our flour at 30 cents per pound, have got 2.00, pounds, & with fresh beef at 25 cents per lb. which is fat & nice, & tea, constitutes our main living, though we occasionally have a few potatoes at 15. cents per lb. last night the first snow that we have had about two inches, but it is now mud, mud almost over boots. The miners are beginning to have water to wash their gold but the mines are crowded with Chinese, Kanakas, who are the natives of the Sandwich Islands, & people from all parts of the world & they are fighting & quarreling about the water, but they have at last begun the great work of turning the Shasta river some 27 miles, on to the flats here which will supply all by paying for it. The boys Mr. Mann & myself are all in good health, George & David had each a letter last Express, from Mr. Liles & Co.

for access to water, with mines "crowded with Chinese, Canakers, who are the natives of the Sandwich Islands, & people from all parts of the world." Relief was expected from an ambitious project to bring water approximately twenty-seven miles from the Shasta River to the Yreka flats, though miners would be required to pay for its use.

Barnard had recently sent his wife seven and one-half dollars in gold and planned to remit additional money through Adams & Company. His confidence in Adams was sharpened by the experience of a fellow brick mason from Roxbury, Massachusetts, who had "sent one thousand dollars home by Gregory Express, which has failed, & he has lost it all." The letter itself was delayed so that it could travel by the newly available United States mail. Barnard explains that waiting several weeks

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1850s Yreka Mining Letter Discussing Hawaiian and Chinese Miners.

reduced the charge from the two dollars demanded by private express services to the federal rate of ten cents.

By January, Barnard was working steadily as a mason and sometimes had more business than he could accept. He expected to remain in California only until he had accumulated "a small pile," but he was also participating in Yreka's transition from mining camp to settled community. He had taken up a four-acre lot that he hoped to sell in the spring, while nearby farmers were sowing large wheat fields despite seed prices of ten dollars per bushel. The recent arrival of emigrant families, he believed, had already improved local society.

Barnard also notes the presence of several Native women near Yreka, while Native men had left the vicinity for reasons unknown:

"There are a few Squaws about here now, but the Indian men have all left the vicinity for some reason, we know not what. They yet steal Cattle & horses about Rogue River Valley & some say they are preparing for more war."

A varied account of northern California during the later Gold Rush, with particularly notable references to Hawaiian and Chinese miners, competition for water, mining infrastructure, private expresses, federal mail, and the emerging agricultural and commercial settlement at Yreka.

my 30 1854
I wish you, Sarah, Elizabeth
M. Ann, Stephen, & Hiram with Jarvis &
the little Doctor & Anna a Happy New Year —
It is a long time since I commenced
this letter & the reason I have waited is
that the U.S. Mail is to start from here
this week & instead of paying ^{for letters} two dollars
will get them for ten cents, I can hardly
see to write in the evening in our dark
cabin & this morning I am waiting for brick
& lime I have plenty of business sometimes
more than we can do. The weather here
warm & pleasant days but cold nights there
is not a speck of snow except on the Butte
& they are sowing hundreds of acres of wheat
some 10 acres close in front of our cabin
one man Mr. Newton has sowed 150, acres
several 100 acres & the seed is 10, dollars per bushel
ten dollars per bushel, Jarvis what think of that,
500, & to seed 100 acres — I have taken up a
lot about 1/2 acres that I think will sell
well in the spring, Alva wrote last night
he just got a letter from John — I hope
to hear from you next mail, Wallace & Alva
& Stanley are living in our cabin there is
little water & the miners can do but little
hoping to hear from you & that you enjoy
the comforts of this life & that I shall see you
this year I write, Your Affectionate Husband —
H. Barnard

[CALIFORNIA - PHOTOGRAPHY - THEATER -
MASQUERADE BALLS - SAN FRANCISCO] BRADLEY &
RULOFSON

Mammoth-Plate Albumen
Photograph of San Francisco
Oysterman Joseph Giusti
as "Witch & Devil," Winner of
First Prize for "Best Original
Character" at the 1875
Mechanics' Institute Carnival
Masque Ball.

San Francisco: Bradley & Rulofson, 1875. Hand-colored mammoth-plate albumen photograph, 24½ x 18 inches overall, mounted to the original paperboard mount. Bradley & Rulofson imprint beneath the image. Printed caption below reads: "First Prize Awarded to J. Giusti, 105 California Market, For the best Original Character, 'Witch & Devil,' at the Mechanics' Institute Masque Ball, November 19th, 1875." Moderate fading, mat burn, surface wear, and spotting from display, principally affecting the mount and margins; image stable and retaining substantial applied color.

A large-format portrait of Joseph Giusti, an oysterman associated with San Francisco's California Market, wearing the costume "Witch & Devil," for which he received first prize for "best original character" at the Fifth Carnival, or Masque Ball, held by the Mechanics' Institute on November 19, 1875. City directories place Giusti at 105 California Market, corresponding to the business address printed beneath the photograph. The costume presents Giusti as two connected figures, with a devil carrying an elderly witch upon his back.

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Mammoth-Plate Albumen
 Photograph of San Francisco
 Oysterman Joseph Giusti as
 "Witch & Devil."

Contemporary coverage in the *San Francisco Chronicle* described the costume as "a representation of the Devil and his grandmother." The ball featured historical, allegorical, comic, occupational, and grotesque characters, with prizes awarded in several categories.

The event was held at the Mechanics' Institute Pavilion at Mission and Eighth Streets, the exhibition hall used for the Institute's industrial fairs and related public entertainments. It followed the Institute's Tenth Industrial Exhibition, held earlier in the 1875 season, and formed part of a recurring series of public carnivals combining costume competition, dancing, theatrical display, and civic entertainment. The pavilion should not be confused with the Institute's Post Street library building or with the later Mechanics' Pavilion near City Hall.

Bradley & Rulofson was formed in 1861 by Henry William Bradley and William Herman Rulofson, both of whom had begun photographic work in California during the Gold Rush. Bradley opened a San Francisco studio in 1850 and later developed a substantial photographic supply and publishing business. Rulofson began by photographing miners from a mobile daguerreotype wagon in the Sonora district before joining Bradley and taking primary responsibility for the partnership's portrait work. Their "Photographic Art Gallery" at Sacramento and

Montgomery Streets became one of the city's principal portrait studios, photographing visiting actors, politicians, military figures, writers, and other public personalities. The studio was also known for its elaborate scenery, imported props, and large-format portraits. Rulofson was closely associated with the studio's monumental portraiture and theatrical clientele. He died in 1878, three years after the present photograph was made, after falling from the roof of the gallery. The firm subsequently encountered financial difficulties and eventually closed. The large scale, printed identification of Giusti by his California Market business address, and evidence of prolonged display suggest that the photograph may have been exhibited at his oyster establishment or another public commercial setting.

\$2,500



AWARDED TO J. GIUSTI,

[CIVIL WAR - SHIP ISLAND - NORTHERN RACISM]
 VARNEY, ALMON L.; VARNEY, ELMA L.; "DAN"

Collection of Civil War Letters
 Mainly from Almon Varney of
 the 13th Maine Volunteers,
 Discussing Guarding Prisoners,
 Conflicts with African
 American Soldiers Who
 Cannot "be made my superior
 or even equal by virtue of
 legislation", and the "inglorious
 idleness" of War.

Mississippi, Louisiana, Virginia, Massachusetts,
 and Maine: August 1862 - December 1865. Nine
 letters totaling 33 pages. One repaired with
 archival tape, the remainder in excellent
 condition; overall very good to excellent. See
 inventory for detailed condition information.

A collection of nine Civil War letters mainly written by
 Almon Libbey Varney to his cousin Cyrus Bede Varney,
 then at Bowdoin College; with one from his sister Elma
 Ladora Varney and one from "Dan", likely also a relative.
 After attending Bowdoin College, Almon Varney (1839-
 1922) was appointed Lieutenant with the 13th Maine
 Regiment and served in the lower seaboard theater of
 the Civil War. He was promoted to captain in 1862 and
 was a career military officer, retiring as a colonel in 1904.

Varney first writes from Ship Island, Mississippi, where
 he is on guard duty at the prison; prisoners include
 those who broke parole, "political offenders", a few
 judges whom he deems "swarthy Lotharios", and even
 several women who are "regular Amazons". The latter
 includes Eugenia Levy Phillips, wife of former Alabama

Ship Island August 21st 1862

Dear Cousin

Your last I received
 lost week and would have answered it
 in proper season, but unfortunately I was
 up to the head of the island. Plover shooting
 with Lieut. Withers, our 2^d Lt. yesterday when
 the steamer came from New Orleans and
 we could not get back in season to send
 a letter by her notwithstanding we crowded
 all suit on our little boat. We had a nice
 time shooting though your letter will be delayed
 till next steamer - sometime next week.
 I don't have a first-rate chance to write
 at best. I have to look over the
 guard on about every other day, and
 then my time is pretty well taken up. We have
 about twenty prisoners; and among them three
 women - regular Amazons, and whenever I get
 my pen to write a word I am obliged
 here to hear "corpsal of the guard post six"
 and then I must lay all aside and go to
 look after the temporal wants of the women etc.
 "post six" besides that the corporals do not
 allow them any contraband luxuries except
 an always calling for something such as ice, &c.
 that they can't have. We have all sorts of
 prisoners here - 6 were taken at fort Jackson
 who violated their parole d'honneur. 4 judges
 regular "swarthy Lotharios", and 2 or 3 political

CONTINUED

Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

Representative Philip Phillips. The island was occupied by General Butler's expedition in 1861. It was a strategic point for operations in the theater, and became a Confederate prisoner of war camp and a base for the Louisiana Native Guards, an African American unit with which Varney takes particular issue—in an 1863 letter from Fort Jackson, he complains at length about the idea “that a negro could be made my superior or even equal by virtue of legislation and commission alone” and that African Americans could command “the intelligent sons of New England.”

From Fort Jackson, Varney complains of the tediousness of his war experience, having “seen nothing of the privations of long, tedious marches and hard fighting”, which he would have chosen over “this inglorious idleness”. At other points he compares his experiences with those of his brother Edward (1842–1863) who fought at Antietam. Edward was imprisoned at Belle Isle and then Libby Prison, and Elma's letter copies a letter from an anonymous fellow prisoner reporting on Edward's illness and death at Libby.

Overall the letters document, in great detail, both life in the Union Army outside of combat and the attitudes of many elite Northern army men towards the Confederacy and towards their African American fellow soldiers.

1. August 1862 Letter from Ship Island, Describing Confederate Prisoners and the Civilians Fleeing from Impressment in the Confederate Army.

Four page letter measuring 8 ½ x 10 ½ inches, with

envelope postmarked New Orleans and addressed to “Cyrus B. Varney Windham Maine”. Dated August 21, 1862. Excellent.

Varney writes from guard duty at the prison on Ship Island off the coast of Mississippi, describing the prisoners held there: “about twenty prisoners; and among them three women – regular Amazons”. The men include “6 men taken at fort Jackson who violated their Parole d'honneur – 4 judges regular ‘swarthy Lotharios’ and some other political offenders”, and the women include “a Mrs La Rue sent here for wearing a secesh flag in the streets of New Orleans” and Eugenia Phillips:

“Mrs Phillips wife of senator [sic] Phillips who made such a stir and was imprisoned in Washington last Summer is one of our female prisoners. Her husband is here visiting her. I've been out to sail with him to day. He is a very sensible man and favorably disposed toward the union; but his wife is a regular [tyro?]. She thinks pretty well of me though I guess – she has given me a book to remember ‘my prisoner’ by. I use her as well as I can without ‘overstepping’ my orders of course.”

Eugenia Phillips had first been detained under house arrest—for Confederate sympathizing and suspected spying—in Washington, D.C., and fled with her family to New Orleans after her release. When she was accused of mocking a deceased Union soldier, General Butler had her imprisoned on Ship Island, from which her Unionist husband Philip Phillips was able to secure her release after several months.

Varney describes the reinforcements being sent in from the North for the war effort around New Orleans, and the effects of Union control of the region:

CONTINUED



Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

"The rascals are very busy down here and we have to look out for them on all sides. They are forcing everybody into the service native and foreign. There is a great deal of distress in Miss. and Alabama on account of scarcity of food. It is sublimely absurd for them to say our blockade is ineffective. Great numbers of refugees are daily arriving from the Main land to escape [*sic*] starvation and impressment into the service. Six men came today from Mobile. They, the people who are left in the city, are cursing the 'Yankees' that they don't take the place and relieve them from the oppression of their rulers and give them something to eat."

He predicts that if the "rebels [...]" are not eminently successful in the fall that "they are done forever", especially given the Union's numbers ("But the way how the new regiments come on I guess 'Old Abe' is going to 'give it to em curious'. Six hundred thousand more men! What an army!"), and cautions Edward Varney against joining.

2. November 1862 Letter from "Brooks Station," Virginia, Discussing Insufficient Provisions for Union Men and a Death from Exposure.

Three page letter measuring 7 ¾ x 9 ½ inches, from Almon Varney headed "Dear Brother", i.e., Edward Varney. Dated November 29, 1862. Excellent to Near Fine.

Varney writes to his brother following a journey to get winter clothing to his regiment, a mission which "two had tried before & failed". He describes the death of a soldier from lack of sufficient clothing:

"One of our Regt. is just being buried and his Company are firing volleys, three in number, over his grave. He was a great stout rugged man when he entered the service and had his health discharged by exposure resulting from the want of necessary clothing. He was anxious to do his duty & marched many a day with bare feet or in his stocking feet. I tried hard to get him a pair of shoes but could not find a pair in the brigade large enough."

He comments on the state of railroads in the area and the dwindling size of Union forces:

"Everything here connected with the railroad was burned last summer or otherwise destroyed. The country about here is filled with men. But the regiments are most all small. Do not say to yourself there is five thousand men in a brigade, where you read five Regts. We could carry into action not over four hundred & fifty men. What has become of the rest I cannot tell."

3. December 1862 Letter from Ship Island Comparing His Experience There with Edward Varney's Experiences at Antietam and Expressing a Rising Pessimism about the War.

Four page letter measuring 5 x 8 inches, from Almon Varney to "cousin", likely to Cyrus Varney. Dated December 2, 1862. Excellent to Near Fine.

Back on Ship Island, Varney complains of the boredom of garrison life, comparing his war experiences with those had by his brother Edward at Antietam:

"I shouldn't be surprised if we were kept here till the end of the war if it ends during our natural lives. We've been here already nearly a year, and part of us have never heard a rebel shot. None of us have ever felt them. I am

CONTINUED

*Yours of
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Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

very uneasy and impatient. I want to have a finger in the pie. [...] Ed. is seeing some of the realities of war. He gave me a description of the field at Antietam. It was horrible. [...] For us - we have a little amusement occasionally watching the maneuvers of the fleet in harbor. Two or three nights since our ears were startled by the report of a 130 pound cannon and the whizzing of a shot directly over our barracks. I rushed out and saw the gun boat Pinola under full steam making for a strange looking steamer also under a pressure of steam - with lights out - sailing along directly under the Miss shore. The Pinola kept on in silence till she found the unknown was gaining on her and then she blazed away. If your imagination is big enough to comprehend it you can tell what kind of noise 15 or 20 130 pound cannon[s] would make. It sounded something like war I can tell you. I have heard nothing like it since the bombardment of fort Jackson."

Compared to earlier letters, Varney seems to feel pessimistic about the war; though he vows that he will "never consent to making peace with these infernal rebels till they are thrashed or we are ruined", he states that "We don't begin to show the energy and determination that they do. They fight with little or no food not sufficient clothing and yet our well fed troops can't cope with them." The Confederate Army had just raised its maximum age limit to 45 years old, and was ruthless in its conscription; Varney compares this with what he sees as the subpar efforts of the Union Army:

"There is 'a leak' somewhere. A man escaped from Biloxi

CONTINUED



Fort-Jackson Louisiana March 2

My dear Cousin

It has been quite long since I've heard anything of you and still longer since you have received from me - I believe you wrote last. I'll endeavor to make the prolixity of my correspondence for delay - if length is any recommendation. - You see I have taken a sheet - confidently believing in my own strength - I have enough in my shallow pen to fill it. "Grandissime locutus!" ^{you exclaim} but now I know what that means though "Shoulder Arms" or "By the right of Companies to the rear in to" would sound more familiar to me. I shall see how the result comes out with intention. In the first place let me state one of the principal reasons why I have written before. Doubtless you have seen this on the account of certain "commotions", "uprisings", "insubordinations", "disgraceful conduct" (as it has been called by different writers) at Ship Island when your humble self has been stationed for the past year. Angus, has done its usual amount of

Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

the other day who gave me an order from a Capt. and enrolling officer, ordering him to report to Camp Mays on Wolf river in Miss within 8 days or be considered a deserter. He was also ordered to take with him his blanket and three days rations. That is a little different from the way our troops are raised - with 2 or 3 hundred dollars bounty. We can't whip them without we put forth more energy."

4. March 1863 Letter from Fort Jackson, Louisiana, Explaining at Length a Conflict Involving Varney Refusing to Fight Alongside African American Troops.

Six page letter measuring 8 x 9 1/2 inches, from Almon Varney to "cousin". Dated March 24, 1862. Some pages repaired with archival tape; very good.

An indignant Varney describes his side of "certain 'commotions' 'uprisings' 'insubordinations' 'disgraceful conduct' &c &c" on his part that had been reported home in various news sources. The conflict involved Varney's refusal to fight alongside the Louisiana Native Guard, an African American regiment. Varney writes:

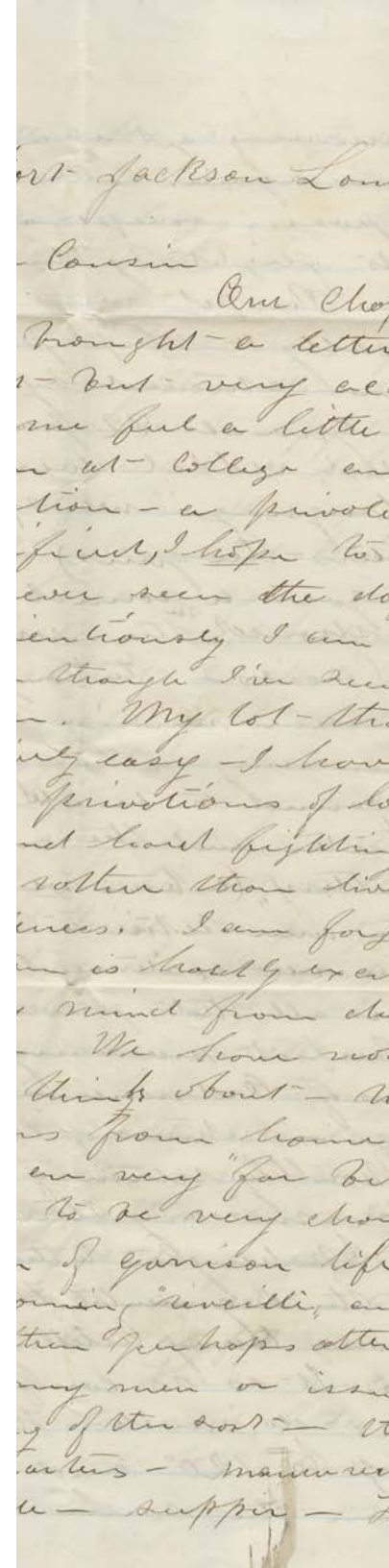
"As you know, I suppose, my Co. and Co. F. of this Regt. (Capt C.R. March) have garrisoned [at] Ship Island for the past year under command of our col. Henry Rust. When Banks came we tried to get a position in the [ban?] - and finally it was [promised]. But the promise was never fulfilled The order was once issued for us to concentrate at Baton Rouge but it was immediately countermanded and Col. Rust was ordered to take command of these two forks on the Miss. and 7 Cos. of a Negro Regt under Col.

[Nathan W.] Daniels were sent to reinforce us at Ship island. And in passing allow me to correct one statement of the press. Col. Daniels is neither a 'French officer' nor a 'gentleman' as was alleged. Nor is he wealthy. [...] He is a low-born vile besotted gambler. [...] When Col. Rust found he must leave (No lions in Daniel's den) us he went to Col. D. and told him it be folly to attempt 'to compel New England soldiers to obey Negroes for officers' and still more foolish to 'attempt to compel an accomplished and educated officer of our army' to do so. Col. D promised in bona fides that the duties at the Pot should be as separate as they always had been and that the white soldiers should not be mingled with the Black. But he was false as H-II. He never intended to fulfill his agreement. Col. Rust had not left the harbor before I received a written order for the consolidation of my Co. with that Negro robber[.] I protested in writing [...] I knew it would spoil my Co. I have a fine Co. and I am proud of it; and you may be sure the thought was humiliating and revolting in the extreme that these men should be demoralized and spoiled by such associations.

I did not care what they did with the [n-rs] I am willing they should make soldiers or anything else of them - But I was unwilling to admit that a negro could be made my superior or even equal by virtue of legislation and commission alone. Negro officers are well enough in their places perhaps - but let them command Negroes not the intelligent sons of New England. It has been said that these Colored officers are refined and educated. They are as much so and more than one could possibly expect of a race so down trodden and oppressed as the African - especially here in Louisiana".

Varney "positively refused to obey any such orders" and, after two days of "wrangling" and "call[ing] him a coward", he "prevailed upon Capt. March to endorse" his written refusal. Varney and his fellow officers "were all arrested

CONTINUED



Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

[...] Charges were prepared against us and sent to Gen. Banks for approval." Banks "didn't approve them" but instead the men were sent to Fort Jackson "where we are at present and may be for a considerable time to come."

In an aside within his tirade, Varney comments on the state of African Americans in Louisiana, where "slavery can be seen in its worst and most malignant form": "The bloodhounds we read of in Uncle Tom's Cabin are by no means beasts of fable; and slaves scarred by their teeth are by no means a rarity."

5. June 1863 Letter from Fort Jackson Expressing the Boredom of Garrison Life and Loathing for Louisiana.

Four page letter measuring 8 x 12 ¼ inches, from Almon Varney to "cousin". Dated June 12, 1863. Excellent.

Varney describes the monotony of life at Fort Jackson:

"My lot though has been comparatively easy – I have seen nothing of long, tedious marches and hard fighting, yet I would choose it rather than live in this inglorious idleness. I am forgetting all I ever knew – there is hardly excitement enough to keep my mind from dwindling into nothingness. [...] The routine of garrison life is dull enough. In the morning 'reveille' and roll-call – breakfast – then perhaps attend to drawing rations for my men or issue a little clothing or something of the sort – then dinner – policing quarters – maneuvering our guns – dress parade – supper – [?] – go to bed and in the morning get up and go through with the same again."

The most excitement he experiences is when the occasional "ship passes and our ears are stunned by the noise of the signal", at which point men "scramble" to the artillery; but "When everything is found to be all right the retreat is beaten [...] the men retire to their quarters to wait for a new excitement".

After describing the insects—especially mosquitoes—and alligators, Varney comments:

"This part of the Southern Confed. is a pestiferous place indeed – if it's all like this I would respectfully recommend Uncle Abe to give it up to the indigenous race. If they are not like the Pontic Monarch of old who fed on poison they will die. I do not wonder these Southern chivalrous gentlemen are so full of venom They imbibe it with the air they breathe."

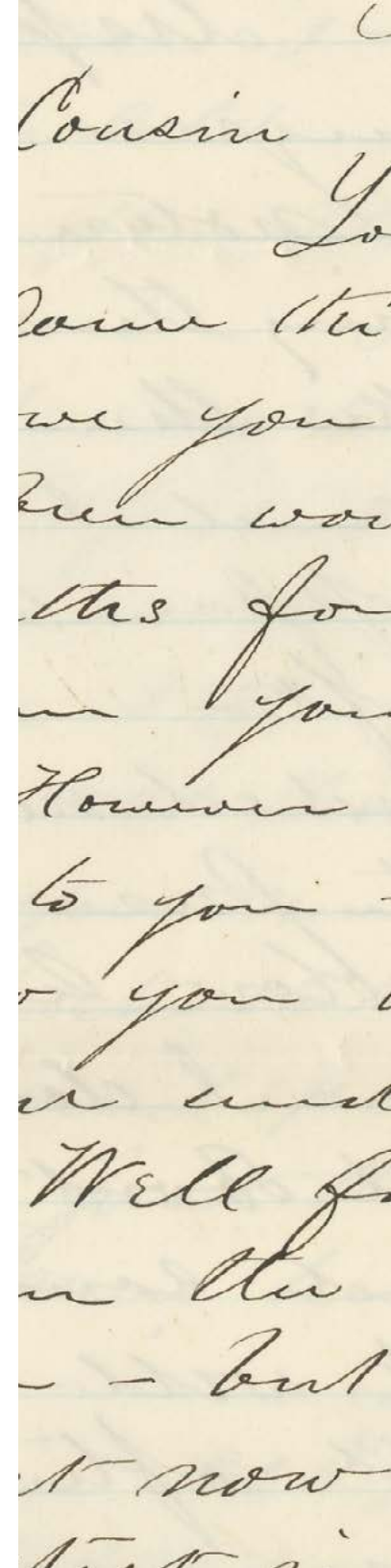
6. September 1863 Letter from "Dan" in Arlington Heights, Virginia, Reporting on the State of the War There.

Three page letter measuring 5 x 8 inches from "Dan" to his "cousin", possibly also Cyrus Varney. Dated September 16, 1863. Excellent to Near Fine.

A letter from "Dan", possibly a relative of the Varney family, in Arlington Heights, Virginia. Dan provides his "cousin" with updates on his activities, including digging trenches, guard duty, and "a temperance meeting at the Chaplain's tent tonight", which he is skipping in order to write. He remarks:

"I think this war is all a speculation and most of the boys are sick of the 'show' we have a chance to see something of it although not much, don't know but I have enjoyed myself here as well as I should at home".

CONTINUED



Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

When he gets home, Dan writes, his first order of business will be to go to a Shaker meeting, and then get to haying.

7. February 1864 Letter from the US Arsenal in Watertown, Massachusetts, Discussing Lincoln's "spiteful" Ten Percent Plan.

Four page letter measuring 5 x 8 inches, from Almon Varney to "cousin". Dated February 23, 1864. Excellent to Near Fine.

From the US Arsenal in Watertown, Varney writes to his cousin about the conflict between Lincoln and Congress, likely over Lincoln's Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, also known as the Ten Percent Plan:

"You know of course of the wrangle between Congress & the Pres. The President now seems inclined to issue a proclamation that the Country is in a state of peace despite the opinions of Congress. If he does that the nature of those acts in-creasing the Army in 1863 makes them null and void - and I and scores of other appointments are cut adrift. It is a piece of 'bull-headed-ness' on the part of the Pres. - just a spiteful blow levelled at Congress. I dont feel much concerned about it - I guess I can find something to do though it will seem rather awkward after having been in the army so long.

But I shall be rid of one inconvenience which is really serious - I shall not be ordered about from one place to another at the pleasure of other people. [...]

One disadvantage of this 'butt-headed-ness' of

CONTINUED

Brunswick May 3d 1864

My dear cousin

I recd your very kind letter dated April 22nd and have been waiting in vain for some good news that I might have something interesting to write to you. Mother has recd several letters from different persons who were prisoners with Edvard on Bell Island. I will copy one of them. March 28th 1864

Mrs Varney I went out to day to see the flag of truce boat. A load of prisoners have just arrived here and I have been trying to hear something from your son Edward but I could not hear any thing about him. You wished to know the particulars of his sickness. He was taken sick the first of Dec of Chronic Diarrhea and failed very fast. When we carried from the Island poor fellow he was nothing but a mere shadow, and so weak that we had to carry him

Collection of Civil War Letters from Almon Varney of the 13th Maine Volunteers.

the president is that I intended to be married in May - If he shows me out it will slightly disarrange my plans".

8. May 1864 Letter from Elma Varney, Reporting on the Death of Edward Varney at Libbey Prison.

Three page letter measuring 5 x 8 inches, from Elma Varney in Brunswick, Maine, to "cousin". Dated May 3, 1864. Excellent to Near Fine.

A letter from Almon and Edward's sister Elma, in which she copies a letter sent to their mother by an unknown man who was imprisoned with Edward at the infamous Belle Isle military prison in Richmond, Virginia. The man writes:

"He was taken sick the first of Dec of Chronic Diarhea and failed very fast. When we carried from the Island poor fellow he was nothing but a mere shadow, and so weak that we had to carry him in a blanket. [...] He had no medical attendance at all while on the Island. He slept in the same tent with me, it was an old tent all full of holes, and when it rained we were wet all the time. Our bed was the bare ground with one blanket over us. The box of provisions you sent to him never came. It was confiscated by the rebels. He wrote considerable more but I will not dwell any longer on the subject. Last Tuesday we read his name in the paper in the list

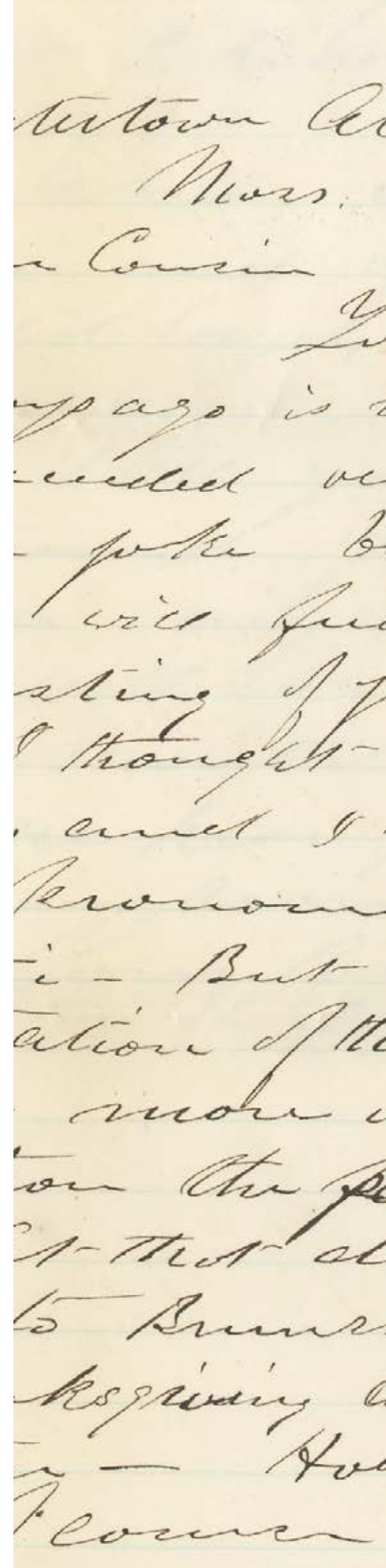
of names of those who had died in a hospital attached to Libby prison. It is a rebel account and we hope to hear it contradicted."

9. December 1865 Postwar Letter Reporting His Marriage Plans.

Two page letter measuring 5 x 8 inches, from Almon Varney in Watertown, Massachusetts, to his cousin Cyrus Varney in Waverly, New York. With stamped envelope postmarked Watertown, MA. Excellent.

In the final letter in the collection, Varney reports to his cousin on his Thanksgiving activities back home and on his plans for marriage.

\$3,250



[CUBA - SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR - SPANISH LOYALISM] [RAMON BLANCO Y ERENAS] DE CIRIA Y VINENT, MANUEL; GOMEZ DE LA MAZA, PABLO; FRANKI, RAMON; MESA Y DOMINGUEZ, ANTONIO

Marianao ¡Viva España! [...] ¡Viva el General Blanco!! [Illustrated Broadside Celebrating Spain's Last Captain General in Cuba]

Marianao, Cuba: Imprenta Obispo num. 62, 31 August 1898. Illustrated broadside, approximately 24 x 16 inches, printed on both sides, with photographic portrait of Ramon Blanco, Marques de Pena Plata, and a large allegorical illustration captioned "Paz y Trabajo." Old folds, with a few small repairs along folds; scattered edge wear, toning and signs of handling; complete.

A survival from the final weeks of Spanish rule in Cuba: a large illustrated patriotic broadside proclaiming "¡Viva España!" and "¡Viva el General Blanco!!" printed when Spanish sovereignty over the island had effectively come to an end. The broadside was issued at Marianao on August 31, 1898, in honor of Ramón Blanco y Erenas, Marqués de Peña Plata, Governor and Captain General of Cuba and commander of Spanish forces on the island.

Only nineteen days earlier, on August 12, Spain and the United States had signed the Protocol of Peace suspending hostilities. Its first article provided that Spain would relinquish all claims of sovereignty over Cuba, while another required the immediate evacuation of Spanish forces from the island. Against this backdrop, officials and military authorities at Marianao offered Blanco an emphatically public declaration of loyalty:



"El pueblo de Marianao, y las fuerzas militares aquí residentes, cumplen este día el grato deber de felicitar sinceramente á V.E. reiterándole el testimonio de su leal afecto y de su inquebrantable adhesión."

The testimonial is signed in print by Marianao's municipal and military leadership, including Mayor Pablo Gómez de la Maza and the Marqués de Cervera, military commander Manuel de Ciria y Vinent. Blanco had appointed the two as part of the conciliatory policy instituted after he replaced Valeriano Weyler in late 1897.[1]

The date appears to have been chosen for Blanco's name day, August 31, the feast of San Ramón. The Marianao sheet thus may have begun as a conventional ceremonial tribute, but the circumstances of August

CONTINUED

Marianao ¡Viva España!

1898 transformed it into something considerably more charged. Its most substantial text, headed "¡ESTABA ESCRITO!", is signed in print by the Marqués de Cervera, who confronts the consequences of Spain's defeat and calls for the remaining Spanish and Spanish-loyal population of Cuba to abandon factional divisions and preserve a common identity:

"Ahora solo nos resta salvar del naufragio el interés común y para salvarlo es preciso que hagamos el sacrificio de nuestros particulares ideales, de nuestras pasiones de secta ó de partido; que la concordia se restablezca, que empiece el reinado de la armonía; y el sentimiento de raza nos encuentre á todos—peninsulares é insulares—unidos en una aspiración común."

He concludes by turning the old patriotic formula away from war and toward reconciliation:

"Todos conocemos los sacrificios, las abnegaciones, la nobilísima conducta del General Blanco; inspirémonos en su ejemplo patriótico y levantado y al exclamar hoy con toda la efusión del alma ¡viva la paz!, digamos también: ¡Honor y gloria al General Blanco!"

De Ciria y Vinent, the Marqués de Cervera, is a significant figure in this context. A Cuban-born Spanish loyalist and former military commander at Marianao, he later emerged as an advocate for the *cubanos fieles*, those Cuban-born subjects who had remained loyal to Spain and wished to preserve Spanish citizenship following independence. In 1901 he addressed a manifesto to

the Queen Regent and the Spanish Cortes arguing for their rights on the basis of a continuing historical and cultural identification with Spain.[2] His appeal here to unite "peninsulares é insulares" under a common identity anticipates the position he would later articulate in defense of the *cubanos fieles* who wished to retain Spanish citizenship after 1898.

The broadside captures an unusual moment of Spanish officials in Cuba publicly proclaiming "¡Viva España!" after Spain had already agreed to relinquish the island, while simultaneously beginning to formulate the rhetoric by which Cuban loyalists would understand their place after the empire's collapse. We locate no other copy in the institutional, bibliographic or trade records searched.

[1] Marta Maria Valdés López and Miriam Marrero Rodríguez, *Historia de La Lisa* (Editorial Universitaria, 2014).

[2] Magdalena Díaz Hernández, "El marqués de Cervera y el derecho de los cubanos fieles a ser ciudadanos españoles después del 98," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 65, no. 2 (July-December 2008): 225-245.

\$1,500

son pueblos sin alma, y los pueblos sin
Alejandro Dumas—son entidades muertas
no era un pueblo sin alma, no era un
un pueblo identificado con las glorias
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hubieran sido inquebrantables si España
ido así.

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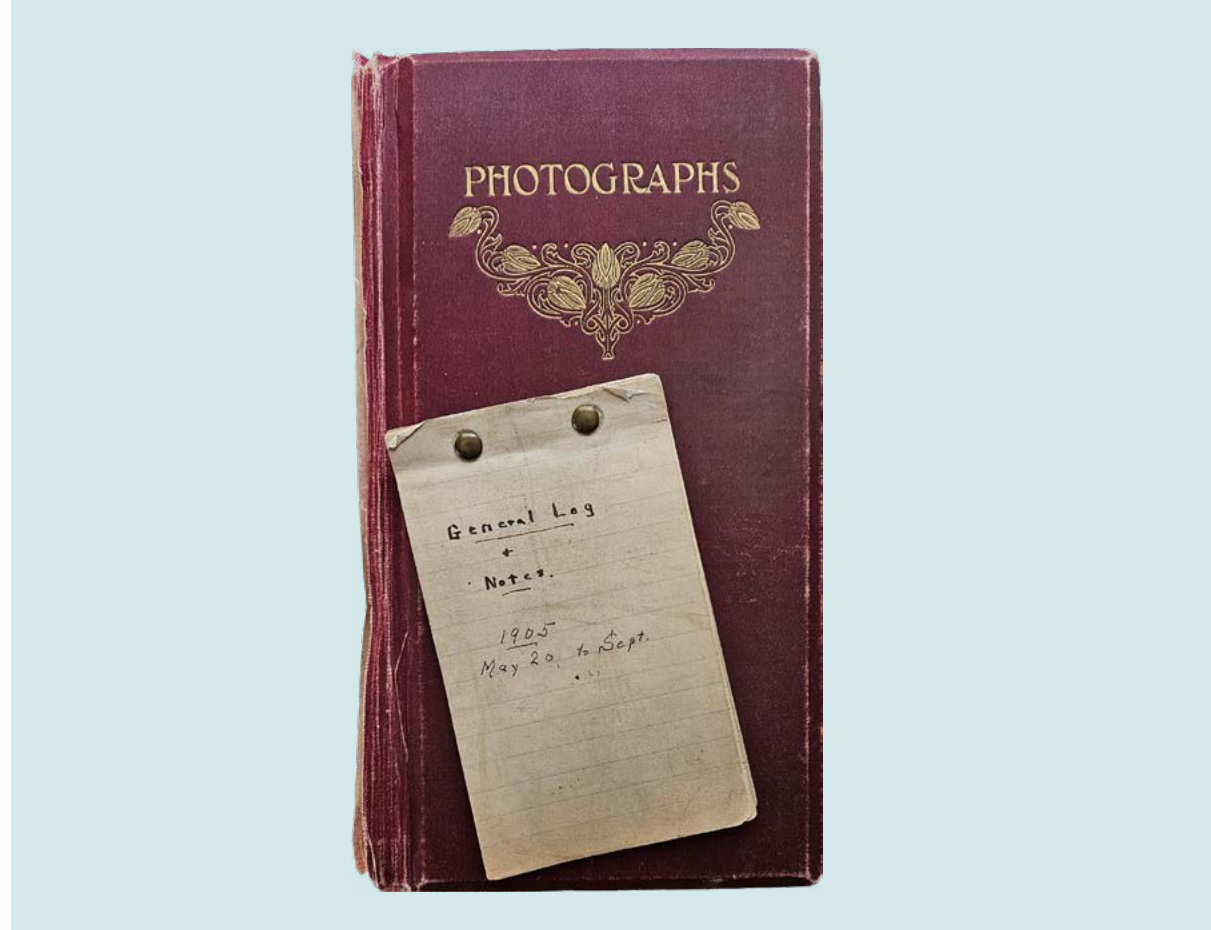
del año 1878, marcó un movimiento
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do dos años, escasos ha desaparecido

[ENGINEERING - SHIPBUILDING] EVERETT, HAROLD A.

1905 Photo Album and Notebook of Engineer Harold A. Everett on a Trip to Scotland and Germany to Study Ship Construction.

Scotland and Germany: 1905. 56pp notebook measuring 3 ¼ x 5 ¼ inches, excellent. Photo album measuring 5 ½ x 10 inches, containing 90 3 x 4 inch photographs, many with manuscript captions. Cover of album with wear and scuffs, spine detached, and covers mostly detached. Pages delicate with chipping; photographs excellent with generally very good contrast. Overall very good.

A photo album and notebook belonging to naval engineer Harold A. Everett (1880–1970), then a professor of naval architecture at MIT. The pieces document a 1905 trip Everett took to Scotland and Germany to examine the state of the art in ship mechanics and construction. The late nineteenth to early twentieth century was a period of rapid innovation in ship engineering, in terms of the materials and techniques used—for example, the use of steel affected both the economics of shipbuilding and the structural details of the ships themselves—and also the industrialization of the shipyards.[1] Germany and Great Britain, especially on the Clyde in Scotland, were sites of significant development in the field. Both countries were developing their military fleets, making them bigger, faster, and stronger; and Great Britain's HMS *Dreadnought*, built in 1905–1906, would kick off a naval arms race between the countries in the period leading up to the First World War.



Everett's photographs mainly document shipbuilding in Scotland, and seem to be mostly of the River Leven yard of the pioneering firm William Denny & Brothers. The photographs include shots of the yard, its buildings, ships under construction, and personnel at work, with remarks like "Note Bulkhead", "Note Method of Dk Plating", and "Begin'g Erection of Frame / Aprox 5 Hours Work / Note Stern Post on Bogie / Shoes for Shifting Shears". Some shots are marked as taken in Germany, but most of the documentation of working shipyards seems to be Scotland. The accompanying notebook records visits to other prominent shipyards including William Beardmore & Co. in Dalmuir, and Kaiserliche Werft, Germania, and Vulcan in Germany. Interested in engines as well, Everett also notes a visit to the Harvey

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1905 Photo Album and Notebook of Engineer Harold A. Everett.

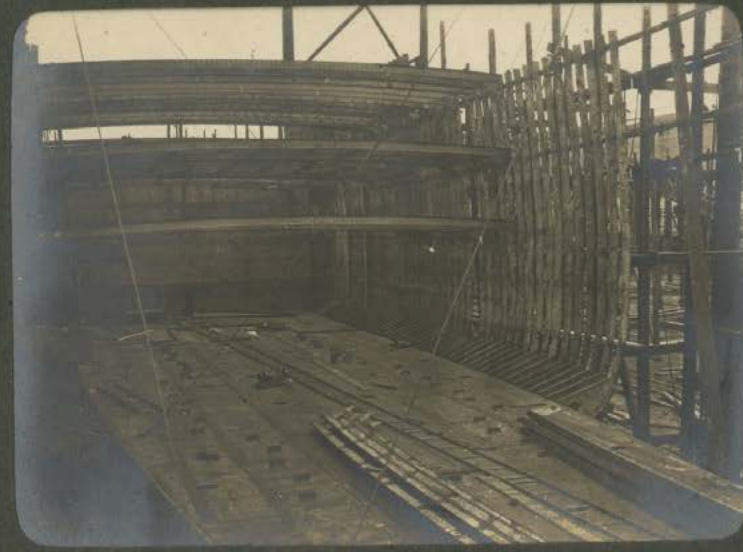
Engineering Company in Glasgow, which manufactured steam engines and sugar mill equipment. Many of the notes are technical, including diagrams and comments like "Frames should not be joggled within 15" of Margin Plate on either side" and "Brass rimmed N.T. windows slide vertically - $\frac{1}{2}$ " Pl. Glass about 18" x 24" each". He also notes social activities, both personal and work-related; for instance, in Germany:

"Tuesday -- Went to Navy Yard (Kaiserliche Werft) about 10 AM - lunched + went to Germania yard left cards etc and returned at 3.30 + was showed over the works by E. Cerio, who dined with us + accompanied us to call on Capt Howard (U.S. Naval Attache in Berlin) at the Krupps Lagerhaus. L[?] Evers (German) was there + invited us over the next A.M."

Everett would be appointed the first Professor of Marine Engineering at the US Naval Academy's Postgraduate Department in 1916, as the Navy expanded its technical training programs before entering World War I. This collection documents a piece of the international exchange of technical knowledge that would help modernize American shipbuilding in the early twentieth century. Of interest to historians of naval architecture, especially in Imperial Germany and Britain's Clyde shipyards.

[1] David H Pollock, *The Shipbuilding Industry: Its History, Practice, Science and Finance* (Methuen & Co., 1905).

\$1,250

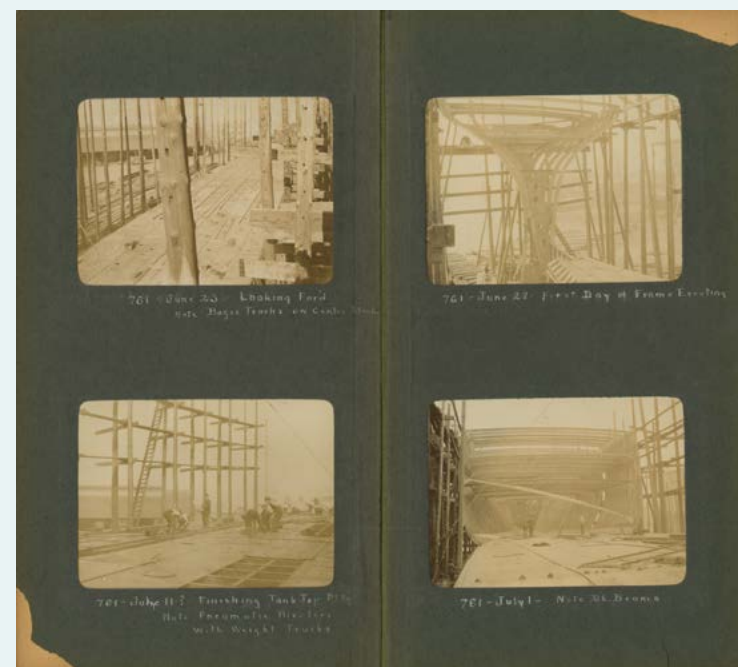
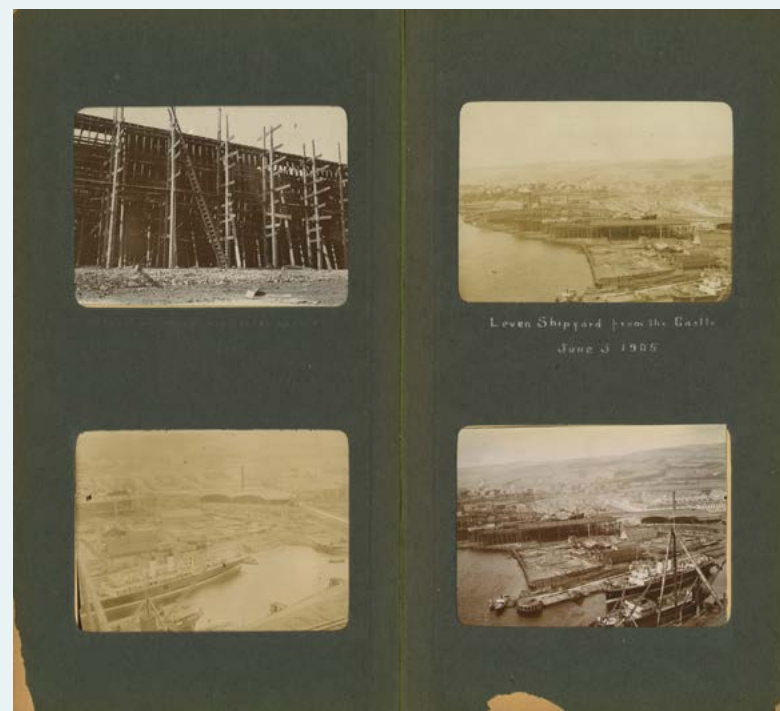


761 - July 11 - Note Bulkhead



761 - Aug 1 - Finished Framing
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1905 Photo Album and Notebook of Engineer Harold A. Everett.



[ENSLAVEMENT - FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND -
FREDERICK DOUGLASS - PRESBYTERIANISM] MACLEOD,
MARY; ET AL.

1845 Scottish Presbyterian Letter Condemning the Free Church's Acceptance of Money from American Enslavers, Written before Frederick Douglass's "Send Back the Money" Campaign.

Isle of Mull, Scotland: March 5 - 31, 1845.

Autograph letter signed by a female member of the MacLeod family, with an additional message signed "Mary McLeod," to the Rev. John Neil MacLeod in New York. 4pp measuring 9 x 7 inches. Addressed to "The Rev'd J. N. Macleod D.D., Presbyterian Minister, New York, United States, North America." Postmarked at Tobermory, prepaid "1/-," with London transit markings and intact black wax seal. Folded with very small holes at folds; excellent.

A Scottish family and ecclesiastical letter containing an early direct condemnation of the Free Church of Scotland's acceptance of donations from slaveholding Presbyterians in the American South. Written in March 1845, the letter predates Frederick Douglass's arrival in Scotland and the public campaign urging the Free Church to "Send Back the Money." It demonstrates that criticism of the church's American fundraising was already circulating privately within Scottish Presbyterian networks before Douglass helped transform the controversy into a major transatlantic abolitionist cause.

Following the Disruption of 1843, the newly established

My very dear Cousin
25th March 1845
I have just received from Miss Parsonage that your church there was suddenly summoned to meet last Sat. This I do hope the only time that ever as ever occurred Sat. I do not do these poorings of spirit to us who are still preachers in the land of the living and the place of hope. I do not see a dead, strong, healthy looking woman the only complaint in this, that it comes down their every day unless Monday, and one Wednesday at 2 in the morning breathless and last without a sign in the house of, and only child - from Mary's letter to Spring Bank the next day - since then I have seen not look from her but hope from her to do so, as was given last summer about her, the short to her much have been great, she has however speaking vigorously to her to her family, but once husband in the whole day. I to console her, she could not have been a good reason for doing, and she (but she could) can make up the loss, and by justifying this appalling her own heart, and the weakness that is within, I have caused them to defend some subject on her own and on his face. Still a heavy question, and deep, a deep, regretful, by all who live upon it - May death have been the commencement of life to her who is gone - her life was made up of much trial and suffering - she was patient & uncomplaining - she should speak attention & affection to her husband's relatives. And I bless God she for the last few years of her life enjoyed peace & quiet under the roof of her amiable & kind son in law - I heard from her last time about the week before I heard of her death and had just concluded replying to her letter the day I received the intelligence of her death. In that letter she

Free Church sent representatives to the United States to raise money. Contributions from southern churches and slaveholding ministers generated growing criticism, particularly because the Free Church presented itself as a purer and more principled form of Presbyterianism. The writer identifies what she regarded as the central contradiction: the church refused communion with ministers who remained in the established Church of Scotland while recognizing slaveholding American ministers as Christian brethren and accepting their money. She writes:

"What can you think now of their disclaiming to hold communion with any of their Bretheren in the Establishment, and avowedly & publicly countenancing and holding communion with the Slave holding Ministers

CONTINUED

1845 Letter Condemning the Free Church's Acceptance of Money from American Enslavers.

in your Southern States. Their coffers have been largely augmented by donations from these States and the leaders of the Free recognize them as Bretheren and write and speak of them with the greatest respect."

Her criticism is directed as much at the church's financial expediency as at its inconsistency:

"This has opened the eyes of some as to what they will resort to get money—this Church that professed to be a pure Church. Oh does it not clearly show the inconsistencies of man, nay even of Christians, what a different view these leaders may take of Slavery from what your respected Father had."

Douglass began his Scottish campaign the following year, when he and other abolitionists repeatedly challenged the Free Church to return the money received from American slaveholders. Writing to William Lloyd Garrison in April 1846, Douglass declared, "Scotland is a blaze of anti-slavery agitation—the Free Church and Slavery are the all-engrossing topics." [1] The present letter records essentially the same moral argument a year earlier, made from within the church's own extended religious and family networks: that accepting southern funds compromised the Free Church's authority and exposed the limits of its professed purity.

Addressed to the Rev. John Neil MacLeod in New York, the letter places the dispute within a transatlantic Presbyterian context. The writer invokes the antislavery views of MacLeod's father and questions whether the

recipient understood that a minister whom he had permitted to preach from his pulpit "advocated the course of the Southern Slave State Ministers so much", remarking "I should think not."

The letter also contains news of a bereavement and other family and church news about Scotland and America.

An important private response to the Free Church's American fundraising campaign, written before the controversy reached its fullest public expression through Frederick Douglass's "Send Back the Money" campaign. The letter documents the early moral opposition of Scottish Presbyterians who believed that a church claiming spiritual independence and purity had compromised both by accepting the support of American slaveholders.

\$1,750

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[ENSLAVEMENT - MARYLAND - LEGAL HISTORY] [ROGER B. TANEY] TANEY, ROGER B.

1802 Legal Pleading Written and Signed by Roger B. Taney in a Frederick County Debt Action for the Hire of "a Negro man Slave named Jim."

Frederick County, Maryland: ca. 1802. Manuscript legal pleading signed "R. B. Taney / Atty for Plff." 13 x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Old folds; light wear; very good.

An early Maryland legal pleading written and signed by Roger B. Taney, later Chief Justice of the United States and author of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, in a Frederick County debt action over the unpaid hire of an enslaved man named Jim. The document dates from Taney's early law practice and shows him participating in the ordinary county court enforcement of slave-hire contracts decades before the better-known public episodes that would define his historical reputation.

The suit was brought by John McIlhaney against Thomas Johnson the 3rd and James Montgomery, described as yeomen of Frederick County, Maryland, and otherwise as men of Loudoun County, Virginia. Taney's declaration states that Johnson and Montgomery had obligated themselves on April 10, 1801, to pay McIlhaney \$160 by January 1, 1802:

Frederick County to wit
Thomas Johnson the 3rd and James Montgomery
late of Frederick County yeomen, otherwise called
Thos Johnson and James Montgomery of the County of
Loudoun and State of Virg. were summoned to answer
unto John M. McIlhaney in a plea that they under the
hand and seal of sixty dollars which to him
they owe and from him unjustly detain and for
and whereupon the said John by R. B. Taney his
Attorney saith that whereas the said Thomas and
James on the tenth day of April in the year of our
Lord eighteen hundred and one by their certain writing
obligatory did obligate themselves their heirs executors
and administrators to pay or cause to be paid on
the first day of January eighteen hundred and two
to the aforesaid John by the name and description
of John M. McIlhaney his heirs or assigns the said
sum of one hundred and sixty dollars current
money, it being for the hire of a Negro man
slaves named Jim unto that date. - Nevertheless the
said Thomas and James the said sum of one hundred
and sixty dollars current money have not paid
to the said John, altho the said Thomas and James were
afterwards to wit on the first day of January
eighteen hundred and two at Frederick County
aforesaid and often afterwards at the County
aforesaid by the said John requested, but the
said sum of one hundred and sixty dollars current
money to him the said John hitherto to under or
pay they the said Thomas and James have altogether
refused and still do refuse, wherefore the said John
saith he is the worse and hath damage to the value
of two hundred dollars current money, and therefore
he brings his suit and so forth and the said John

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Letter on St. Augustine Property and Politics during the Early Florida Statehood.

Now for the principal subject of your last, which is particularly noted—as the merchants say. I don't know but you are wise in getting rid of your Farm. I do not think you would ever make anything by it. And to retain it merely as a residence would be paying dear rent, particularly as I doubt whether you & the little wife would like to shut up there during a long winter.

No, the climate & manners of the South are both more congenial to your feelings, but you must find something to do. Now this place is exceedingly depressed at present & I see no certain prospect of its rise, tho the interior is just filling up—under these circumstances I shall be very cautious how I purchase for you. Would it not be better that you come & look about yourself? Take a house & see how you like living here. Yet if a good bargain should offer before I hear from you again, I will draw on the funds you have placed at my disposal."

Her distinction between St. Augustine and "the interior" captures an important feature of Florida at statehood. The old city remained socially prominent and connected to Atlantic commerce, but settlement, plantation development, and political influence were increasingly concentrated inland. The author recognizes that St. Augustine's depressed market might produce bargains, but warns Wynns against mistaking low prices for future prosperity.

She considers two substantial properties, then the homes of "Perpall" and "Major Putnam" (though the writer owns and rents out the former), describing their construction, internal arrangement, outbuildings, rental

income, and legal complications:

"Perpall's House I am not certain will be sold badly—expressed, but you'll understand me—in fact we have lately thought there was a difficulty in the way [...]. The House is as I represented & in a most desirable situation, either for residence or business. One of the stores below, & the upper part rent at present for only \$25 pr month. There was a prejudice against the house & I let it low that it might be overcome by being inhabited by another family. There is also a storehouse in the yard, carriage house & stable which I can let separately.

I have been told that Mr. Putnam has said he would sell his house for \$3000—now if he were really in earnest I would take it for you even at that price provided he would take my note for the balance—and if he really would take that sum, I dare say, that for the cash down, he would take five hundred less, which I would not hesitate to give him.

The situation is most excellent—the House partly wood & partly stone, new & well finished. The store & a room adjoining it below rent for \$11, very low; the other half of the house rents for \$16, and that occupied by the family is neat & convenient, consisting of dining room, passage, pantry & closet below, drawing room with folding doors above, opening on the balcony, & two bedrooms on the west side of the passage [...]. At the bottom of the lot next [to] the bridge, there is a neat well furnished office, just complete, cost more than \$300. Now if I could buy all this for the sum you have allowed I would not hesitate."

The account shows the mixed residential and commercial use of St. Augustine property, with houses divided into stores, offices, apartments, and guest rooms. Her description of the recent death of a Mr. Drysdale provides another measure of the weakened

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Letter on St. Augustine Property and Politics during the Early Florida Statehood.

market: his newly furnished house had cost twenty thousand dollars but might now be sold by his widow for twelve thousand. The writer contrasts its lavish furnishings with the uncertain position of the family left behind:

"That House, now completely furnished, extending from one Street to the other, she would sell 'at a great sacrifice.' It cost \$20,000, she would take twelve thousand!! for it now. What do you think?

Don't you suppose—well, I moralized not a little, as well as grieved, when at his funeral I saw it for the first time thrown open for the reception of his friends & the 'cuhzins in general,' & I have no doubt many went, to get a look at the splendid furniture with which it was filled. How much more would the money it all cost have been fitted than for whose sake he lavished it, had he placed it at interest for their support in case of the event which has taken place."

The clearly financially savvy writer was herself engaged in small-scale urban development. She reports purchasing what she calls "the negro lot" adjacent to the room formerly occupied by Wynns and employing a carpenter to convert the existing building into rentable commercial space for "an office, or dry goods store." The exact local meaning of "negro lot" is uncertain; it may have referred to slave quarters, a parcel associated with Black residents, or a property known locally by that name.

The political portion of the letter records a resident's response to Florida's transition from territory to state.

The writer complains about the replacement of federal officeholders by the Polk administration, the success of radical Democrats in the first elections, and the quality of the new state's legislators, incorrectly predicting that David Levy Yulee would not have a political career:

"The new President has pursued the system of most of his predecessors and displaced many an honest man that he might Polk his favorites into office. I see Mr. Arthur has been removed—these things are very vexatious, but I hope in this instance all will turn out for the best... You will hear that Loco focos carried every election & a pretty set have they sent to Legislate for the young State. Westcott, who acknowledges himself a rascal, in the Senate, where Sec'y Levy hopes also to be, but his Alienism will certainly exclude him—as soon as taxes are levied his worshippers will fall off."

The author also looks beyond St. Augustine toward Fort King and Alachua County, where members of her circle were considering land and plantation opportunities. Her comments lead directly into the letter's discussion of the Arredondo claim:

"John is talking strong of the country round about Fort King & William seems willing to try—but I hope something will cast up to prevent it, for I can't fancy him a planter, tho he seems to think his turn lies that way. He thinks however there would be an opening for him in the interior otherwise.

The great Adondo claim has been decided at last—a Col. Lewis from Alabama got a good slice of 60,000 acres in behalf of his wife who was daughter of a man whom he proved to have been a partner in the House of A. & Son at the time the grant was made. This settlement will throw a great deal of land into market—the owners will now be able to sell."

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Letter on St. Augustine Property and Politics during the Early Florida Statehood.

The principal Arredondo grant encompassed nearly three hundred thousand acres in the Alachua region. Although the Supreme Court had confirmed the grant in 1832, division and derivative claims continued afterward.[2]

The surviving Wynns family papers place the letter within a wider regional network. Thomas Wynns had written for years from Turks Island about commercial matters and family business, while his brothers' papers concern Florida farms, buildings, crops, enslaved labor, and the movement of enslaved people from North Carolina to Florida.[1] The present letter appears to represent another branch of that network: capital and household situated in the Turks Islands, with a trusted correspondent managing funds in St. Augustine and the possibility that Wynns might redirect both his family and his investments toward the newly admitted state.

Although unidentified, S. P. A. appears to have been a well-connected woman of some independence. She prepared executor's and guardian's accounts, managed rental property, oversaw construction, advised on mortgages and purchases, held Wynns's funds, and followed local politics closely.

A detailed account of St. Augustine at the beginning of Florida statehood, documenting an old Atlantic city confronting depressed property values and diminishing

political importance while watching population, plantation development, and capital move into the interior. The letter connects local real estate and family investment with Polk-era patronage, the formation of Florida's first state government, the resolution of Spanish land titles, racialized urban property, and longstanding commercial ties between Florida and the British Caribbean.

[1] State Archives of North Carolina, "Wynns Family Papers, 1824-1927," MfP.91, updated November 2019, accessed August 2, 2026, https://appx.archives.ncdcr.gov/findingaids/MfP_91_Wynns_Family_Papers.html.

[2] *United States v. Arredondo*, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 691 (1832), <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/31/691/>.

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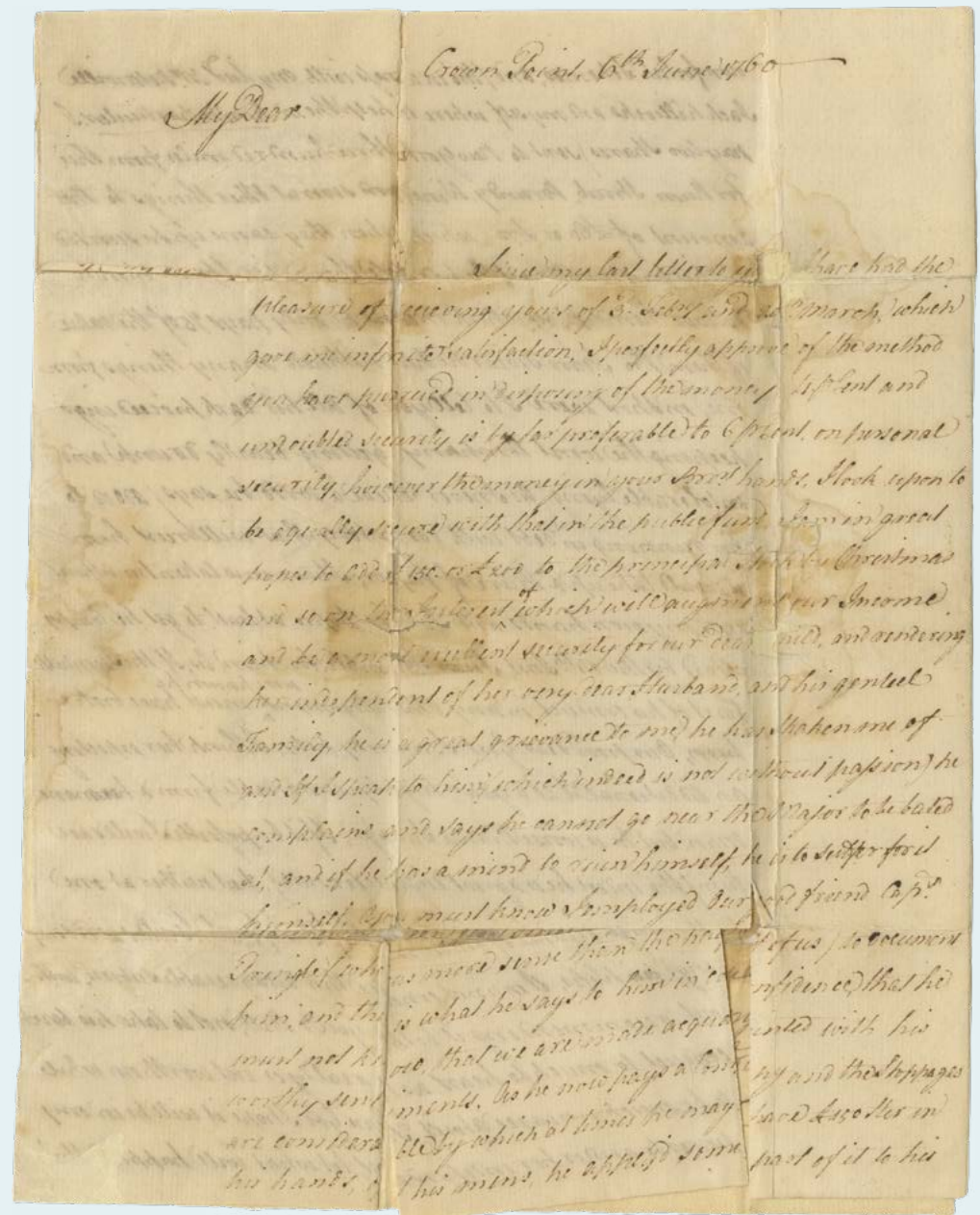
[FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR - BRITISH ARMY - WOMEN
- CROWN POINT] GORDON, ARCHIBALD

1760 Letter from Major Archibald Gordon at Crown Point, Describing His Son-in-Law's Drinking, Debt, and Misuse of Company Funds in the British Army.

Crown Point, New York: June 6, 1760. Autograph letter signed by Archibald Gordon to his wife in Dublin, Ireland. Folded letter with "New / York" two-line postmark, manuscript packet rating, London Bishop mark backstamp, and manuscript rating. Some wear, staining, and faults; good.

A long and intimate French and Indian War letter written from Crown Point, one of the principal British positions on the Lake Champlain-Lake George corridor, during the final campaign against French Canada. Archibald Gordon, an officer of the 27th Foot, writes to his wife in Dublin after the British capture of Crown Point and less than three months before the fall of Montreal.

The letter concerns Gordon's son-in-law, Thomas Auchmuty, a lieutenant in the same regiment and husband of Gordon's daughter Bell. Gordon describes Auchmuty's drunkenness, debts, misuse of company funds, poor company, and resistance to correction, while attempting to preserve both his commission and Bell's financial security. The account includes details on officers' credit, stoppages, mess arrangements, liquor ordered from New York, and the dependence of women



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1760 Letter from Major Archibald Gordon at Crown Point.

connected to the army across the Atlantic:

"I perfectly approve of the method you have pursued in disposing of the money 4 prCent and redoubled security is by far preferable to 6 prCent, on personal security [...] the Interest of which will augment our Income and be a most excellent security for our dear child, and rendering her independent of her very dear Husband, and his genteel Family [...] He is a great grievance to me, he has shaken me off [...] You must know I employed our good friend Capt. Pringle [...] to document him [...] as he now pays a [...] and the stoppages are considerable by which at times he may have £150 Ster. in his hands, agst his men's, he apply'd some part of it to his own foolish schemes, and [...] sent to New York three hundred miles from this, for Rum, Shrub, Brandy, Wine, and several other things to the amount of £60 or £70, which when they came up he secreted and hid from us all as if he had sold them [...] in short were I to tell you of all his dark proceedings, keeping the worst company, getting beastly drunk, and intolerable lying [...] added to his running in debt with everybody that will trust him, it would take up a quire of paper. I have now taken his affairs into my own hands and I am in hopes at least to get his Company cleared by the 24th Inst. [...] if the twentieth part of his conduct in any other Regiment were known he must have broke. Our poor dear girl I sincerely pity [...] I have declared to him several times that I will not support him [...] nor [...] rob my dear child to indulge that fellow in his cursed vices [...] Tell Bell not to grieve, but depend upon me."

The letter is particularly strong on the overlap between military discipline and private family management. Gordon takes control of Auchmuty's affairs in hopes of clearing his company accounts, but repeatedly insists that the young officer's failures must not consume Bell's resources. Gordon's 27th Foot had gone to America in 1757 and remained within the British imperial war effort through the final campaigns in North America and the West Indies. Overall, a detailed and unusually revealing French and Indian War letter from Crown Point, showing the intricacies of family dynamics within the foreign forces.

- [1] Library and Archives Canada, "Archibald Gordon Papers," Archives / Collections and Fonds, R17225-0-2-E, MG40-G6, accessed July 24, 2026, <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?IdNumber=97667&app=fonandcol&ecopy=>.
 [2] Ian Macpherson McCulloch, "Ticonderoga Portraits," *Electric Scotland*, accessed July 24, 2026, <https://www.electricscotland.com/history/scotreg/mcculloch/story7.htm>.

\$1,750

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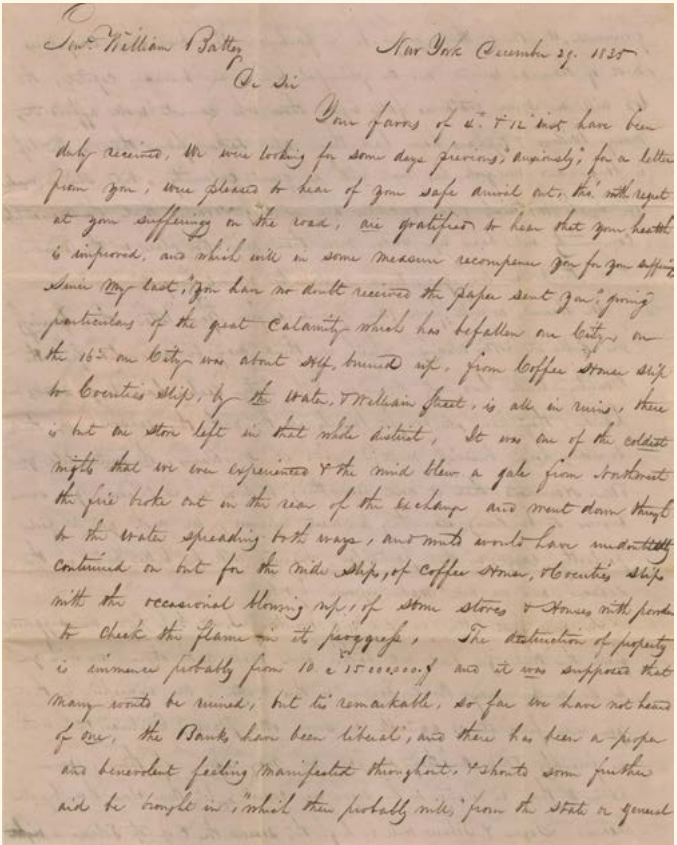
[GREAT FIRE OF NEW YORK - COMMERCE - INSURANCE
- NEW ORLEANS - FLORIDA INDIAN REMOVAL] BAKER &
MOORE

Letter Describing the Great Fire of 1835 and Its Immediate Effects on Insurance, Commodity Prices, and Trade with New Orleans: "Our City was about half burned up."

New York City: December 29, 1835. Autograph letter signed by the merchant firm Baker & Moore, 4 pp., addressed to General William Battey, care of Dr. Charles Luzenberg at the Franklin Infirmary on the Pontchartrain Railroad, New Orleans. Stampless folded letter with red circular "NEW-YORK" December 31 datestamp and manuscript "25" rate. Appx. 1000 words. File folds; otherwise very good.

A lengthy commercial letter written thirteen days after the Great Fire of New York, describing the destruction of the city's mercantile district and tracing its immediate effects through insurance capital, banking, commodity prices, and trade with New Orleans. Written by the New York firm of Baker & Moore to their associate William Battey, the letter provides a near-contemporary account of the fire, an assessment of the city's financial resilience, and instructions for exploiting the resulting fluctuations in the markets for brandy, wine, raisins, tobacco, iron, and copper.

The fire began on the evening of December 16 during an extraordinary cold spell and northwest gale. Frozen hydrants, wells, cisterns, and hoses left the city's



Dear William Battey
 New York December 29, 1835
 Dear Sir
 Your favor of 21st 12th has been duly received, we were looking for some days previous; & finally for a letter from you, were pleased to hear of your safe arrival into the north regret at your sufferings on the road; are gratified to hear that your health is improved, and which will in some measure recompense you for your sufferings. Since my last, you have no doubt received the paper sent you, giving particulars of the great calamity which has befallen our city, on the 16th our City was about half burned up, from Coffee Street slip to Coenties Slip, by the water, & Wall Street, is all in ruins, there is but one store left in that noble district, it was one of the coldest nights that we ever experienced & the wind blew a gale from the northeast the fire broke out in the rear of the buildings and went down through to the water spreading both ways, and much would have undoubtedly continued on but for the wind shifting, of Coffee Street, & Coenties Slip with the occasional blowing up of some stores & houses with ponds to check the flame in its progress. The destruction of property is immense probably from 10 to 15 millions, and it was supposed that many would be ruined, but too remarkable, so far we have not heard of one, the Banks have been liberal, and there has been a paper was benevolent feeling manifested throughout, & should some further aid be brought in, which then probably will, from the State or General

volunteer fire companies largely unable to contain it. By the following day, the fire had destroyed much of the commercial district between Wall Street and the East River, including the Merchants' Exchange and hundreds of stores and warehouses. Buildings were eventually demolished with gunpowder to create firebreaks at Exchange Place and Coenties Slip. Contemporary estimates varied, but approximately 674 buildings were destroyed, with losses eventually placed at twenty million dollars or more.[1]

Baker & Moore begin by describing the extent of the burned district, the severe weather, and the use of explosives to arrest the flames:

"Since my last, you have no doubt received the paper

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Letter Describing the Great Fire of 1835.

across a lot to do, you may make it answer & pay us well. Copper, if you can buy low enough, may pay something. We thought hay might pay out, but tis so high we cannot buy to send.

We are of opinion that goods generally will be higher in consequence of this fire, yet when we consign goods, we wish them sold when they can, to pay, and we wish Eastman & Co. to sell and close up our affairs in their hands."

The concluding paragraph briefly introduces events in Florida. The Second Seminole War had begun that month, following mounting resistance to the forced removal of the Seminole people from Florida. Baker & Moore believed that the conflict might affect the movements of a brig expected in New Orleans:

"We observe that trouble is anticipated with the Indians in Florida & if so, our Brig may not get a load of them & be in N. Orleans earlier than we anticipated, tis uncertain what will be the result, they may detain her longer until they can get them on board."

The wording appears to indicate that the vessel was expected to transport a group of Native people, although the letter does not identify the brig, its owners, or the precise circumstances of the contemplated voyage.

The recipient, General William Battey, was then in New Orleans, apparently acting as Baker & Moore's commercial representative while also attending to his health at the Franklin Infirmary. The firm gave him

considerable discretion to supervise consignments, collect funds, purchase goods when opportunities arose, and forward current market information to New York. The address places him in the care of Dr. Charles Aloysius Luzenberg, who founded the Franklin Infirmary with municipal support in 1835 and subsequently helped establish the Medical College of Louisiana, the forerunner of Tulane's medical school.[2] Baker & Moore appear to have been commission or importing merchants whose own affairs escaped direct damage, but whose trade was immediately altered by the destruction of competing inventories. The letter thus follows the fire from the burned commercial district into the decisions of a New York firm and its representative in New Orleans.

A substantial contemporary account of the Great Fire of 1835, documenting the destruction of New York's commercial center and the disaster's immediate movement through insurance, banking, commodity markets, interregional credit, and trade with New Orleans. We find no similar examples on the secondary market or in auction records.

[1] Herbert Asbury, "The Great Fire of 1835," *The New Yorker*, July 26, 1930.

[2] Louisiana Historical Association, "Luzenberg, Charles Aloysius," in *Dictionary of Louisiana Biography*, accessed August 2, 2026, <https://www.lahistory.org/resources/dictionary-louisiana-biography/dictionary-of-louisiana-biography-l/>.

\$2,750



[HAWAII - CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH - MISSIONARIES
- SAN FRANCISCO] BISHOP, ARTEMAS

1848 Letter from Missionary Artemas Bishop in Oahu on the California Gold Rush, San Francisco Wages, Gold Fever, Measles, and California as a Missionary Field: "My opinion is that the great emigration now going on here will drain the islands of nearly all the foreigners & of multitudes of the natives who are equally anxious to go."

Ewa, Oahu: October 17, 1848. Autograph letter signed by Rev. Artemas Bishop to his son Sereno Edwards Bishop in Rochester, New York. Folded letter with address panel and postal markings. [4]pp. Old folds, some wear and separations; very good.

An early California Gold Rush letter written from Hawaii only months after news of the discovery reached the Pacific. Artemas Bishop, a longtime American Board missionary,[1] describes the immediate effects of the rush on the Hawaiian Islands: merchants shipping goods to California at large profits, vessels passing between Honolulu and San Francisco, foreign residents leaving or waiting for passage, rising wages, and the diversion of missionary activity toward the new settlement.

Bishop also fears that the migration will draw away Native Hawaiians and mixed-race residents, remove foreign capital from the kingdom, and weaken church and civic life. His account runs between direct

Ewa, Oahu, Oct. 17th 1848.

My Dear Son

I wrote you a letter in July last by way of Canton & England. In that I stated some of the difficulties in the way of your returning to these islands to settle, and proposed that you take into consideration the subject of a residence in California. All that I then said in reference to a rapid settlement of that country, is already being realized. The immediate effect produced at these islands, by the discovery of a gold deposit, was a great stir among the merchants in shipping goods to C. by which they are realizing immense profits. Another effect has been to drain off nearly all the foreign population ~~at the islands~~ at the islands to go in quest of gold. They have not all got away, but are only waiting for a passage, all with the exception perhaps of a few who are too snugly settled to leave. Vessels are now plying continually between Honolulu & California, making a brisk trade with goods & passengers. The Rev. S. D. Hunt who left the mission last spring, and commenced gathering an English Congregation at Hon. has been obliged to give up the attempt and follow his people to San Francisco, where he intends if practicable to settle. I have requested him to look about and see what are the prospects of usefulness to a young man in that region, as a preacher of the Gospel; and to ascertain what what are the facilities afforded for the support of a minister. I propose to correspond with him on that subject. But I have no doubt, what will be the state of things there a few years hence. There will be an immense rush of immigration to California from America and Europe, by adventurers in quest of gold. It is said on good authority, that the deposits are inexhaustible for the present generation. The probable consequence of this discovery will be to throw a surplus of gold into the markets of the world, and hence 50 years there will be a fall in the value of gold, or in other words, a rise in the price of goods & all kinds of work. Such has already been the effect here. The price of a day's work for a mechanic has risen from \$3.50 to \$4.00. And in San Francisco, mechanics are now receiving from 15 to 20 dols per day, and all sorts of merchandise has risen 100 & 200 per cent. A man will not work at his trade for less than what he can realize at the mines. But this state of things cannot always continue. When the government shall have taken possession of the mines, and closed the free digging, & when the supply of

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1848 Letter from Missionary Artemas Bishop in Oahu.

observation, economic speculation, and missionary concern. He writes:

"The immediate effect produced at these islands, by the discovery of a gold deposit, was a great stir among the merchants in shipping goods to California by which they are realizing immense profits. Another effect has been to drain off nearly all the foreign population at the islands to go in quest of gold [...] Vessels are now plying continually between Honolulu & California, making a brisk trade with goods & passengers. [...] The price of a day's work for a mechanic has risen from \$3 to \$4. And in San Francisco, mechanics are now receiving 15 to 20 dollars per day, and all sorts of merchandise has risen 100 and 200 percent [...] the gold diggings have paralyzed every other business in California. They are now dependent for their bread upon foreign supplies [...] The society is indeed all in a chaotic state, without a government, a gospel, or Sabbaths [...] Drunkenness, gambling, fighting & horse racing are their pastimes [...] California, which is as much a missionary field as China, and will soon be filled with a teeming population from all parts of the civilized world [...] My opinion is that the great emigration now going on here will drain the islands of nearly all the foreigners & of multitudes of the natives who are equally anxious to go—especially the half breeds & the more enterprising of the full blooded natives [...] I fear this new feature of things will retard the progress of civilization of

the nation now slowly going on."

Bishop also reports that measles had recently reached Hawaii and was spreading rapidly through the kingdom, with the sick and weak "falling before it like grass before the scythe." The letter closes with instructions for sending mail through Panama and San Francisco, reflecting the new commercial and communications routes forming between Hawaii and California.

A substantial early Gold Rush letter from Hawaii, with immediate observations on trade, migration, wages, missionary activity, and the effect of the rush on the Hawaiian kingdom, and the first letter we have encountered describing the California Gold Rush from the Hawaiian perspective.

[1] "Artemas Bishop," Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive, accessed August 4, 2026, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/14060>.

\$3,750



[IMMIGRATION - PRISON REFORM - SWEDEN -
MISSIONARY WORK - ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY]
STRALE, FREDERICK A.

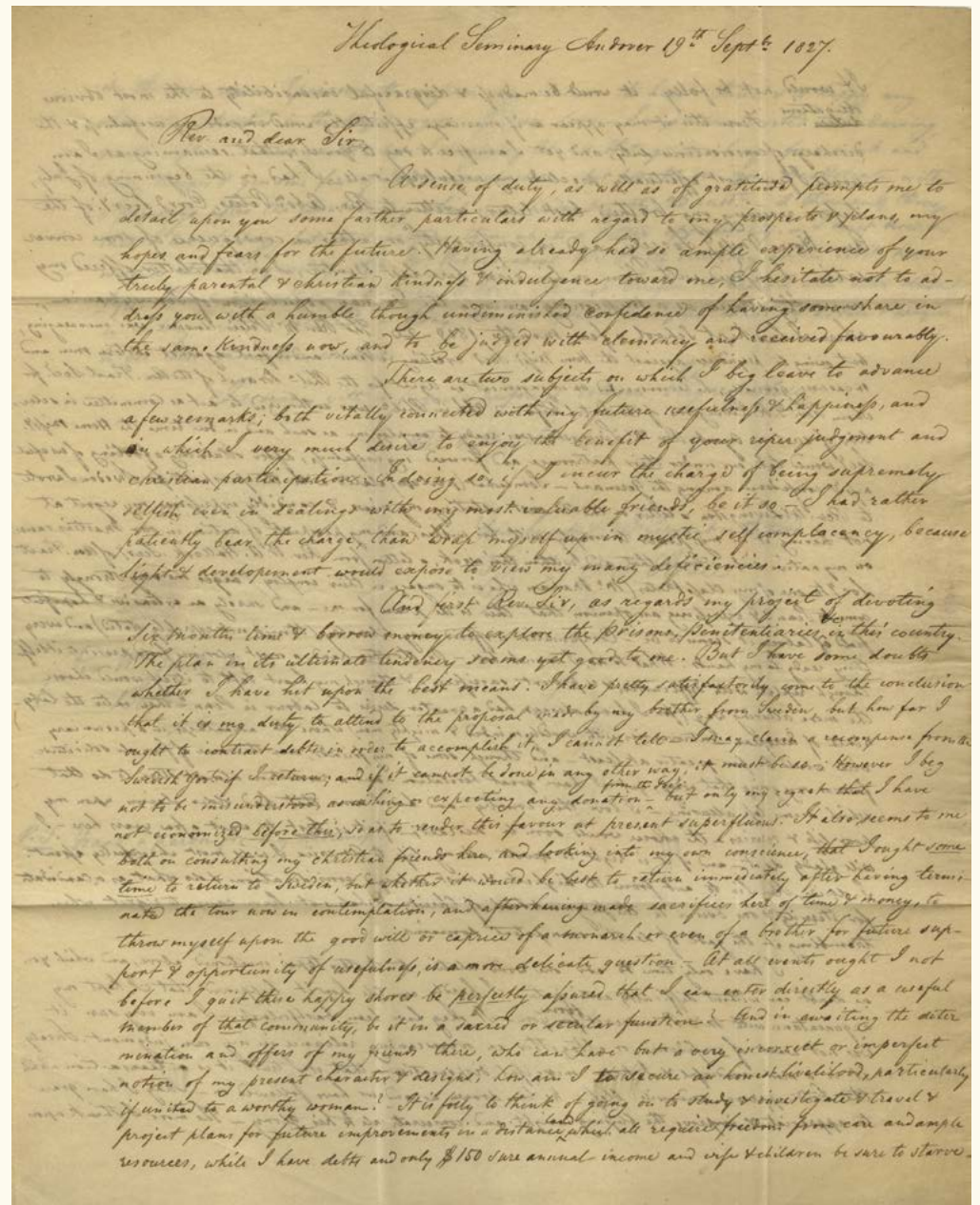
Letter by a Swedish Immigrant Proposing a Survey of American Prisons while Weighing a Return to Sweden against Missionary Work and Marriage in the United States: "if it is right to devote all my life to America, I will most cheerfully assent."

Andover, Massachusetts: September 19, 1827.
Autograph letter signed, 4 pp., addressed to the Reverend William Jenks, D.D., Boston. Stampless folded letter, postmarked September 20 with red circular "ANDR / MS" datestamp, matching red "PAID" handstamp, and manuscript "6" rate. 3 pp measuring 10 x 8 inches. Folded with very small holes at folds; excellent to Near Fine.

A long and reflective letter by Frederick A. Strale, a Swedish immigrant completing his studies at Andover Theological Seminary, describing a proposed investigation of American prisons and penitentiaries while deciding whether to return to Sweden or remain in the United States. Writing to the Boston minister William Jenks, he seeks advice on matters "vitally connected with my future usefulness & happiness." Strale had arrived in America by 1820, enlisted in the United States Army at New York, and later entered Andover, graduating with the class of 1827.[1]

The recipient, the Reverend William Jenks (1778-1866), was a Harvard-educated Congregational minister, biblical and Oriental-language scholar, and prominent

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Letter by a Swedish Immigrant Proposing a Survey of American Prisons.

figure in Boston's religious and philanthropic life. After pastorates and a professorship at Bowdoin College, Jenks returned to Boston, where he helped organize religious work among seamen and became pastor of the Green Street Church in 1826; at the time of this letter he was also serving as chaplain to the Massachusetts Senate. Strale addresses him as an established mentor whose "parental & Christian kindness" he had already experienced, seeking his counsel also on missionary employment, financial obligations, and marriage. Jenks's background made him an appropriate adviser for an immigrant seminarian attempting to choose between reform work abroad and a permanent vocation in the United States.

One possible course was a proposal, apparently originating with Strale's brother in Sweden, that he spend six months examining American penal institutions:

"And first Rev. Sir, as regards my project of devoting six months time & borrow money to explore the prisons, penitentiaries in this country. The plan in its ultimate tendency seems yet good to me. But I have some doubts whether I have hit upon the best means. I have pretty satisfactorily come to the conclusion that it is my duty to attend to the proposal made by my brother from Sweden, but how far I ought to contract debt in order to accomplish it, I cannot tell. I may claim a recompense from the Swedish Govt. if I return.

It also seems to me both on consulting my Christian friends here, and looking into my own conscience, that I ought some time to return to Sweden,

but whether it would be best to return immediately after having terminated the tour now in contemplation, and after having made sacrifices here of time & money to throw myself upon the good will or caprice of a monarch or even of a brother for future support & opportunity of usefulness, is a more delicate question."

The plan fits into a period when American penitentiaries were attracting international attention as models of discipline, labor, and moral reform. For Strale, however, the prison tour was inseparable from the practical risks of return migration. He feared returning to Sweden without secure employment or sufficient income to make him "a useful member of that community," particularly if married, and especially because of his current debt and insufficient income.

Strale also had opportunities within American evangelical networks. Absalom Peters of the American Home Missionary Society had encouraged him to work among German-speaking communities in Pennsylvania, where Strale had taught school in 1819-1820. Gerardus R. Livingston and William A. Hallock of the American Tract Society were prepared to employ him, offering a possible route into permanent missionary work:

"I in that letter offered my unworthy services as a Missionary among the German population of Pennsylvania, where I had kept school a few months 1819-20. Since that, and within this week, a letter from Rev. W. A. Hallock, Sec'y of Am. Tract Soc'y to one of my classmates [...] urges me very strongly to come to Penn'a & expressing an opinion that this is the place for me—and surely an extensive & hopeful field of labour it seems to be. Compensation is offered very liberally [...] and everything ready at my hands. What to do, I cannot tell."

CONTINUED

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it may appear as if marriage
our duty, and yet I am free to
Virtually, preclude my usefulness
brother's last letter, writing
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Rev W. Livingston was ready to en
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d will bless - He has drawn us
the blessing a right and consue*

Letter by a Swedish Immigrant Proposing a Survey of American Prisons.

Strale's language and European background made him useful to American missionary organizations, while his American theological training might allow him to carry reform ideas back to Sweden. He nevertheless admitted that his attachment had shifted toward his adopted country, and would "most cheerfully assent" to "devot[ing] all my life to America."

The final section concerns his intended marriage to a woman identified only as "Mrs. P." He treats marriage as part of the same decision about the course of his career, with many of the same considerations, worrying that marriage may "effectually [...] impede my usefulness", though he is certain that remaining single would "preclude my usefulness at all." Strale ultimately remained in the United States and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister at New Lebanon, New York, in 1829.

The letter preserves an articulate account of an immigrant deciding whether to transfer American institutional knowledge back to Europe or build a permanent life within the missionary networks of his adopted country.

[1] *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts, 1808-1908* (T. Todd, [1909]), 96.

the more reason I perceive to confirm my choice - the heart throbs & is happy any
where when planted in the blessed regions of pure love - I might have coveted more learning,
water influence & more wealth - but I cheerfully let all that go in exchange for a meek and
by temper & genuine fear of God. I must close - but hope to see you, dear Volante, within
few days after the Anniversary which is on Wednesday, the 25th inst. - A thousand things
at I have to say, but must postpone them all to a better opportunity. - I must however
mention that I inquired of Rev. Mr. Wines about Mrs. P. the other day at his visit here,
before I made any ultimate disclosure to her - I cannot therefore be charged with utter blindness
in rushing on so precipitately - Pray Rev. Sir grant me your christian advice & prayers
all the momentous concerns.

I remain with unfixed & profound esteem, Very respectfully

Rev. & Dear Sir

Your humble & Obedt. Servant in the Lord

J. A. Strale.

Yours D.D.
Boston

a pardon for my hastiness

[INDIAN TERRITORY - U.S. ARMY - CAPITAL
PUNISHMENT - CALIFORNIA GOLD RUSH] WINGATE,
BENJAMIN

1849 Letter from Fort Gibson
by the Future Namesake of
Fort Wingate, Comparing
"barbarous and savage"
American Capital Punishment
to Indigenous Customs and
Considering Resigning His
Commission for California.

Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation: January 10, 1849.
Autograph letter signed "Benj. Wingate," three
pages, with integral address leaf to Arba L.
Hardy, Lexington, Scott County, Indiana, bearing
manuscript "Fort Gibson C.N." postmark, dated
January 8, and manuscript "Paid 10." 7 ¼ x 10
inches. Light toning and edge wear, otherwise
very good.

A substantial letter by Benjamin Wingate, Mexican-
American War veteran and future namesake of Fort
Wingate, New Mexico, written during his frontier service
at Fort Gibson in the Cherokee Nation. Responding to
news that the execution of a man named Clark had been
delayed, Wingate launches into a lengthy and forceful
rejection of capital punishment:

"You speak of Clark's execution in your letter, that it did
not take place at the appointed time, but to express
an opinion on the subject I hope that it never did take
place; do not understand me to say that I want him
to go unpunished. I should be very sorry to hear that
there has been a man hanged in old Scott. I know but
little of the circumstances concerning the case, but if

CONTINUED

Fort Gibson C.N.
Jan 10th 1849

Dear Sir,

In this day, recd your letter, bearing date Dec 26th in which I am happy to learn that you and Eliza Jane are well besides it gives me great pleasure to receive letters from any of my friends, and I am sorry to have it to say that some of them neglect writing to me from some cause I now not what is the cause, you speak of Clark's execution in your letter, that it did not take place at the appointed time, but to express my opinion on this subject I hope that it never may take place, I should be very sorry to hear that there has been a man hanged in old Scott. I know but little of the circumstances concerning this case but if indeed he be guilty of murder - he should be punished, and that punishment ~~could~~ should be such as not to take his life as there is doubtless many other ways of inflicting punishment besides taking life, and ~~be perfectly safe and secure from like efforts~~ I hold this opinion to be a sound one that man should not risk the life of his fellow man except in self defence and then not if it

1849 Letter from Fort Gibson on American Capital Punishment, Indigenous Customs, and California.

indeed he be guilty of murder, he should be punished, and that punishment should be such as to not take his life, as there is doubtless many other ways of inflicting punishment besides taking life [...] I hold the opinion to be a sound one that man should not take the life of his fellow man except in self defense and then not if it could be avoided. I look upon the law of punishing capital offences as being barbarous and savage in the extreme. It is a subject that the attention of the law making or legislating power should be called to act on."

Living amid the Indigenous nations of Indian Territory, Wingate makes a comparison with the customs around him:

"The present law is more barbarous if possible than the laws and customs of the Indians in this part of the country. If a rich Indian kills a poor Indian he can make atonement for the crime by paying a certain sum of money, but if one Indian kills another Indian and is not able to pay for him, they kill him in return."

Fort Gibson, established within Cherokee country, was one of the principal U.S. military posts in Indian Territory, and Wingate's comments come from a young Army officer living within that environment. The comparison is striking precisely because he uses what he understands as Native retaliatory justice as the measure by which to criticize American law.

The letter then turns to family gossip and politics. Wingate jokes that the election of Zachary Taylor meant

"that the Whigs are as badly whipped as they was when they elected J. Tyler," anticipating that Taylor would "doubtless have to take a trip up salt river, if he is not burnt in effigy by the Whigs before that time." More appealing personally was the news then pouring out of California. In January 1849, with the Gold Rush only beginning to transform American migration westward, Wingate was already considering abandoning the Army:

"I have been thinking very strong for some time of resigning and going to California but I am not off yet, nor I don't know that I will get off soon if at all. But whether I should or should not go, it is certainly a very great opening for a young man to make a fortune in a short time if there is any confidence to be placed in reports."

He remained instead in military service. Wingate had fought in Mexico at Cerro Gordo and subsequently served on the frontier in Oklahoma, Texas, Utah, and New Mexico. He was mortally wounded at the Battle of Valverde during the Civil War; Fort Wingate, established in New Mexico later in 1862, was named in his honor. The Filson Historical Society preserves correspondence of Wingate and the allied Hardy family, including Arba L. Hardy, the recipient here.[1]

An appealing early Wingate letter, combining an extended argument against capital punishment with observations from Indian Territory and the immediate lure of California at the opening of the Gold Rush.

[1] "Wingate, Hiram (1778–1875) Papers, 1833–1914," Filson Historical Society, Mss. A W769.

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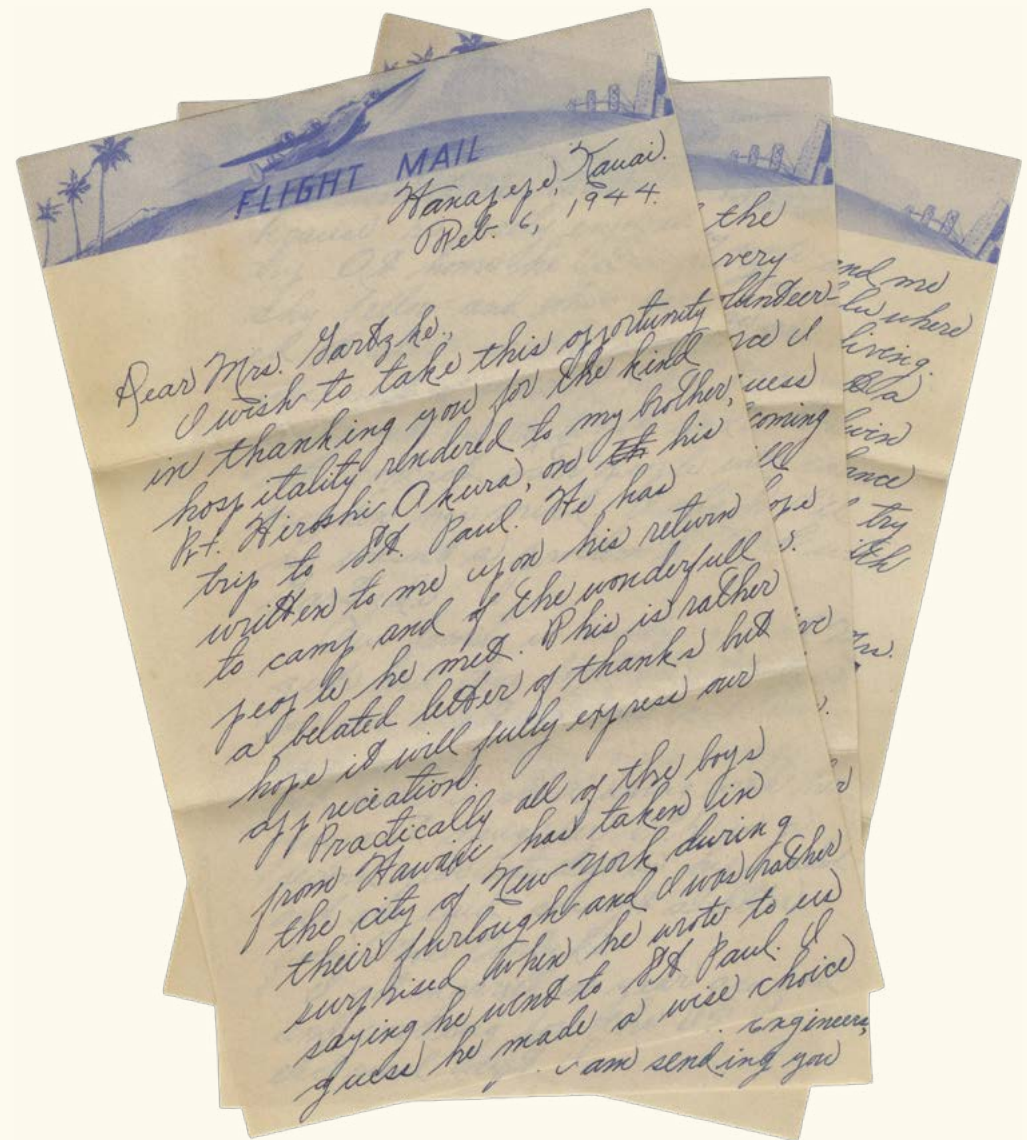
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[JAPANESE-AMERICAN - HAWAII - WORLD WAR II]
TASAKI, TOMA; HIRANO, TAKESHI; OKURA, FLORA;
TANAKA, LARRY; ET AL.

"Do you think I'm silly if I told you that I blubbered with joy?": An Archive of Nisei Wartime Correspondence Documenting the MIS and 442nd, the Hawaiian Homefront, and a Globe- and War-Spanning Network of Friendship.

Hawai'i, Minnesota, Florida, Australia, and others: 1943-1946. Fifty-six letters: four from 1943, 31 from 1944, ten from 1945, six from 1946, and five undated. A few letters are damaged or have been redacted by cutting; otherwise in generally excellent condition. A full inventory of the archive is available by request.

An archive of 56 letters written principally by Hawaiian Nisei servicemen and their families during the Second World War, covering military service, the home front, and postwar readjustment. Among the principal correspondents are Military Intelligence Service soldiers Toma Tasaki and Takeshi Angel Hirano, both associated with the 475th Infantry and MARS Task Force; Flora Okura, the teenage sister of 442nd Regimental Combat Team artilleryman Hiroshi Okura; and MIS interpreter Hiroshi "Larry" Tanaka, whose overseas letters offer some of the archive's most revealing observations on morale, displacement, and friendship. The correspondence is largely addressed to Bill and Cora Gartzke of St. Paul, Minnesota, whose hospitality to Nisei soldiers training at Camp Savage and Fort Snelling became the basis of an extraordinary wartime social network spanning from Hawai'i to Minneapolis-St. Paul.



An Archive of Nisei Wartime Correspondence.

to Australia, Burma, the Philippines, Italy, and occupied Japan.

Family on the home front attend highschool, work the cane and pineapple fields until “whatever time the boss wants us to,” buy war bonds, request goods from the mainland that are scarce on the islands, and especially deal with the pressure on Japanese Americans to demonstrate unwavering loyalty to the US: teenaged Flora Okura writes of “lots of people on Kauai who call us Japs” even though “We’re just as American as they are.” Their deployed husbands and brothers, including several who served with the famous 442nd or as language specialists with the MARS Task Force—described by one veteran as “the most forgotten unit in the most forgotten theatre of that war”[1]—rely on the Gartzkes for comfort and familiarity while “cut off [almost] entirely from civilization” as they report on casualties, “Japs on the run”, Nisei WACs, the unfamiliar customs of the Japanese in Japan, and “blubber[ing] with joy” to hear from each other.

These relationships prove meaningful enough to maintain in the postwar period. The GIs reunite with each other a number of times, including a “grand get-together we had out in Honokaa” involving “quite a number of our ex GI’s whom you [...] befriended while they were stationed in Minn,” and wish that the Gartzkes could join. The conversation turns to ordinary life: college decisions, Hawaiian statehood, and the postwar sight of “young fellows roaming around not knowing what to do.”

The archive documents the perspectives on work, race,

and culture of young Nisei on the Hawaiian homefront, the powerful relationships between Nisei servicemen, and the ways in which these experiences affected the courses of young lives, all beginning from one Minnesotan family’s hospitality.

The Hawaiian Home Front

Most of the lengthier Hawaiian home front letters come from chatty and gregarious teenager Flora Okura, likely the sister of highly decorated 442nd artilleryman Hiroshi Okura (a letter from brother Thomas Okura mentions Hiroshi by name; the Sons & Daughters of the 442nd hosts a lengthy biography of Hiroshi[2]). A student at Waimea High School, Okura in her letters commingles the high school trivialities of coursework and sports—though basketball is off-limits, as “our gymnasium was turned into a U.S.O.” (April 1, 1944)—and her self-understanding as a patriotic American, with the realities of living under scrutiny for her race and in essentially plantation conditions. Students only have school until Thursdays so that Friday through Sunday can be spent either in the fields, if one is 14 or older, or in the canneries if older than 16. She writes in early 1944:

“Our Fridays are spent out in the canefields and pineapple fields. We are trying our best to help in the war effort by helping in the fields. We also have a ‘Victory Corps’ in which all field workers are eligible. [...] We also have a large war bond drive in school. We’re trying to sell a thousand dollars worth of bonds and [?] to purchase a barrage balloon for the army. Our goal will be reached if we purchase about \$300 more. We’ve already purchased a jeep, amphibious jeep, and a [?] for the army.” (February 4, 1944)

She views agricultural labor as part of her patriotic duty, remarking that “My job is terrible and I don’t like it a bit,

CONTINUED

Dear Mrs. Gartzke
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I'll send them

An Archive of Nisei Wartime Correspondence.

but I guess lots of people are doing things they don't want to nowadays" (July 16, 1944). Her mother "is turning out for field work daily", as she "Says it takes her mind off of things, especially my brother" (*ibid.*).

Okura's patriotic American identity and the cultural assimilation of Japanese Americans are of central importance to her, underscoring the pressure on young Nisei to demonstrate loyalty to their country. She takes the topic up in her studies, focusing on the issue of language and making the telling remark that "Lots of the soldiers here don't understand" Hawaiian Pidgin:

"You see, we're in a spot now and it's really comforting to know that some people understand our position. I really hope there were more people like you. There are lots of people on Kauai who call us Japs and we resent it very much. We're just as American as they are and we hate Japan more than they do because they've placed us in such a spot. I've written essays in school concerning this matter and I've produced a prize winning one. [...] I also spoke on the Freshman Forum and my speech was entitled 'Speak American.' You see, the majority of the youngsters in Hawaii speak a jargon called pidgin English. It's a strange mix up of the English language and I'm quite sure you won't be able to understand it. Lots of the soldiers here don't understand it. The schools are trying their best to rid students from speaking pidgin English." (February 10, 1944)

The speech, which she mails to the Gartzkes in April, reminds listeners to "avoid using any foreign language, especially the Japanese language, since that is the

language of the key enemy in the Pacific" (April 3, 1944). Nonetheless, she later remarks somewhat regretfully that she failed to take language school seriously, and therefore "can't speak a line [of my language] without stuttering or mixing it with English" (May 29, 1944).

Other homefront correspondents request goods unavailable on the islands such as silk and nylon stockings and lace trimmings; describe other wartime work, such as Faye Hara (likely the wife of Mike "Peep Sight" Hara, whose interview on topics including the liberation of Dachau is available from the Japanese American Military History Collective[3]) at Pu'umaile Hospital in Hilo; and thank the Gartzkes especially for their hospitality to their military family. As Chieko Hirano paraphrases her husband, MARS Task Force man Takeshi Angel Hirano, "there is no place like Minnesota next to Hawaii" (July 6, 1944).

Nisei Soldiers on the Mainland

From training, the military men write to the Gartzkes about social events at their camps and what the other members of "the gang" are up to. At Fort Snelling, Toma Tasaki (whose experience is also documented in recorded interviews[4]) updates the Gartzkes:

"Angel [Hirano] and I are in the same room up here as we belong on the same team - Pop Koga and his team are in the opposite wing, at the other end of the building, otherwise we do the same things around here - like calisthenics this morning, hike yesterday afternoon, and maybe another hike this afternoon. Koga usually goes out with his gang now though - as it should be eventually - and so we don't get together except on special occasions. Oh yes, he was supposed to move to Camp Savage to do some special translation work." (May 31, 1944).

CONTINUED



An Archive of Nisei Wartime Correspondence.

They also keep the family abreast of the activities of friends who had already been sent abroad and of Hawaiians in the war effort generally; Minden Hamada writes from MacDill in Florida:

"According to what I think, Mike and the others are on the west coast of Italy. Advancing towards Pisa. The 442nd Inf. took part and acted as spear heads on the coast going up to [?] but met very strong resistance. The 522nd must be there too. My friend who left early to replace some 100th Inf. casualty in the early part of the year is no more with us. He was killed in mid-May. The first casualty from my little community and the first boy I had in my Scout troop. As for the 'Indian'. If his apo is New York he must be in India Burma theatre. [...] There are Nissei [sic] Wacs. They are being taken in. It was only a few months ago they started. There isn't any training stations for them in Hawaii although they may have soon because Wacs have been pouring into the islands recently according to Sister. Hawaii is or was a combat zone but since its pretty safe now I guess Wacs will take over most of the mens job and relieve them for active service. The Wac who was here (I don't see her now) was a Hawaii girl and was in the States. A U. of Hawaii Student, I hear there is another at Panama City, Fla, an Air Wac. I don't think the other branches are open to Nissei girls yet." (July 12, 1944).

Hamada comments that when he can take his furlough "its twin cities for sure" and that if any of his fellows are without a place to go, "I'll bring him along."

CONTINUED

In Australia
May 13, 1944

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Lantzke:

If any one ever told me that I would be walking on Australian soil a year ago; I certainly would have summoned a physician to get his head examined. But here I am, adapting myself to the many peculiarities such as walking on the left side, weight and measure and above all the monetary system of pounds, shillings and pence. It was indeed bopping at the beginning; however, I am fast adjusting myself to the conditions here, so please do not worry.

Well, it required many days to complete my journey but I finally reached my destination few days ago. We are located near a big city but not permitted to disclose the name of the city. However that means we are not cut off entirely from civilization. Considering the fact that we are overseas, the facilities here isn't so bad. Already I have visited the city but my impression wasn't so encouraging. All I can say is that Australia is approximately fifty years

An Archive of Nisei Wartime Correspondence.

The Nisei Soldiers Deployed

After the “uncertainty” of waiting for orders, which “is really tough on a person” (Toma Tasaki, May 19, 1944), the military correspondents are deployed, and the significance of their relationships with each other sets in. From Australia, Larry Tanaka puts it straightforwardly:

“Much as I hate to, I must admit I miss [the ‘old gang’] terribly. I recall the days of our training and I can’t help but lie awake for [?] thinking of the wonderful friendship that existed between us. Frankly speaking, I’d give anything to have Toma with me.” (May 23, 1944)

Anxiously awaiting a letter from Tasaki, he comments that “Never in my life I considered correspondence as a mean[s] to divert my attention from other recreational indulging – [but] it is turning [out] to be a true fact” (July 28, 1944). Finally hearing from him in September, he writes:

“To say that I was relief [sic] to hear from Toma and Angel is putting it mild[ly]. I received two letters from Toma, one at noon and the other in the evening. Do you think I’m silly if I told you that I blubbered with joy? Of course his letters were long and interesting as usual – it made up for all the days of waiting. [...] Incidentally, my youngest kid brother was inducted in the army. The last I heard was that they had left the Island and headed for the main land. Whereabout they will be stationed I do not know. I only wish it will be somewhere in the mid-west. Mrs. Gartzke – I have a request to make – if he will be stationed near Minn. I’ll write to him and give your address.” (September

13, 1944)

Angel Hirano writes that “Since Toma is so far away from me, writing to him became a necessity”, that he has not “heard from Koga for a long spell now”, and that “Tonaka writes often” (February 8, 1945)—correspondence itself is frequently the subject of correspondence.

A few letters convey more conventional theater-of-war reports—such as Tanaka’s note that “The Japs are on the run” (July 11, 1944) and Robert Ogata’s description of the destruction of Manila and having “the opportunity of serving Gen. MacArthur, President Osmena and Gen. [Valdes]” (July 14, 1944)—but always couched within their relationships to each other and their unique standings not just as “yanks” (as Tanaka puts it), but as Nisei. Tanaka remarks that though there are “other A-J [American-Japanese] in camp [...] I’m the only one in [this] dept.”, and follows up the declaration that “every one is really nice to me” with the comment that “It is difficult for me to get adjusted” (July 28, 1944). From Manila, Ogata writes:

“As a whole most of the Filipinos who I have come in contact [with] are friendly to us Niseis. Many of them are so friendly that they even invite us into their homes. I have an easier time getting along with the natives here than I ever had in Brisbane or back in the States.” (July 14, 1944)

Nisei Postwar

The final portion of the archive follows the network of friends into their postwar life, with some briefly in occupied Japan and many back at home in Hawai’i. R. Higashi is stationed in Okayama, and writes a telling account of his experience as a Nisei in his parents’ homeland:

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An Archive of Nisei Wartime Correspondence.

"Yes, this is my first trip to Japan, and while a lot of their customs here are already familiar to me, I find that I really know very little of their more formal and polite customs. We were told, before we landed, that if we were in doubt about what to do at any time, do just the opposite of what we thought should be done and we would most likely be right – their customs are almost opposite of ours. Fortified with this, and plus the little I learned from my parents, I still find myself doing the wrong things instinctively, and it's a source of embarrassment to me. However, the people are understanding and just take it as a big joke." (January 15, 1946)

The friends back in Hawai'i have a "grand get-together [...] out in Honakaa" that included "Larry and Kotake and Ben (Larry's brother-in-law) [...] Koga, Akiyama, Angel, myself and a couple of others" (Toma Tasaki, March 3, [1946]). Tasaki reports that he sees the Hirano family regularly but Pops not "for quite a while now", that Koga's family "must be fairly well settled in Pakala", and that "Larry comes into town on 'business' off and on" and "Akiyama is always in and out of Hilo" (*ibid.*). For his part, unlike some of his fellow veterans, he has settled into postwar normalcy:

"As it was, [the school in Hilo was] short of teachers, school reopened after the Christmas holidays – and so I felt I'd be shirking were I to stay away too long. [...] I guess it was just as well that I got down to business right away (the way Angel did too) – we see so many young fellows roaming around not knowing what to do – finding time heavy on their hands and yet undecided as to what

to do. [...] I've been thinking about studying up there too, and the University of Minnesota is among the top schools I'm thinking of." (*ibid.*)

Overall the letters offer a notably dense account of the Nisei wartime experience at home and abroad. Large historical subjects—Japanese American identity and loyalty, wartime labor in the plantations of Hawai'i, the famed 442nd and the Nisei military experience—are recorded through the everyday concerns of the people who experienced them. Just as importantly, the correspondence preserves the social network that connected these experiences to each other, from the Gartzkes' generosity through the war and its end.

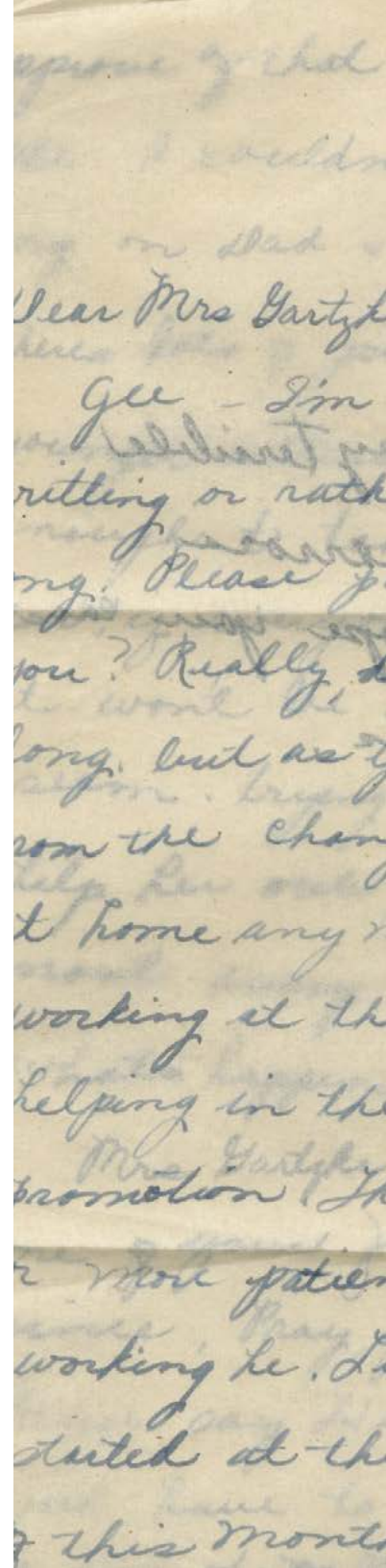
[1] Captain Richard Hale, "The Mars Task Force in Burma: A Personal Memoir," George William Haupin & the MARS Task Force, accessed August 28, 2026, <https://haupinmarsman.com/accounts-of-other-marsmen/captain-richard-hale.html>.

[2] "Soldier Story: Hiroshi Okura," Sons & Daughters of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, 2022, accessed August 28, 2026, <https://442sd.org/learn/soldier/hiroshi-okura/>.

[3] Mike Hara (narrator), Michelle Dojiri (interviewer), and Go For Broke National Education Center, "Mike 'Peep Sight' Hara oral history interview, part 1 of 6, April 3, 2003," *Japanese American Military History Collective*, accessed August 28, 2026, <https://ndajams.omeka.net/items/show/1049586>.

[4] Toma Tasaki (narrator), Tim Yuge (interviewer), and Go For Broke National Education Center, "Toma Tasaki oral history interview, part 1 of 2, June 24, 2007," *Japanese American Military History Collective*, accessed August 28, 2026, <https://ndajams.omeka.net/items/show/1052858>.

\$16,500



[LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES - LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES] [IRVING A. LEONARD] MORROW, DWIGHT W.; MONCADA, JOSE MARIA; DE MADARIAGA, SALVADOR; ET AL.

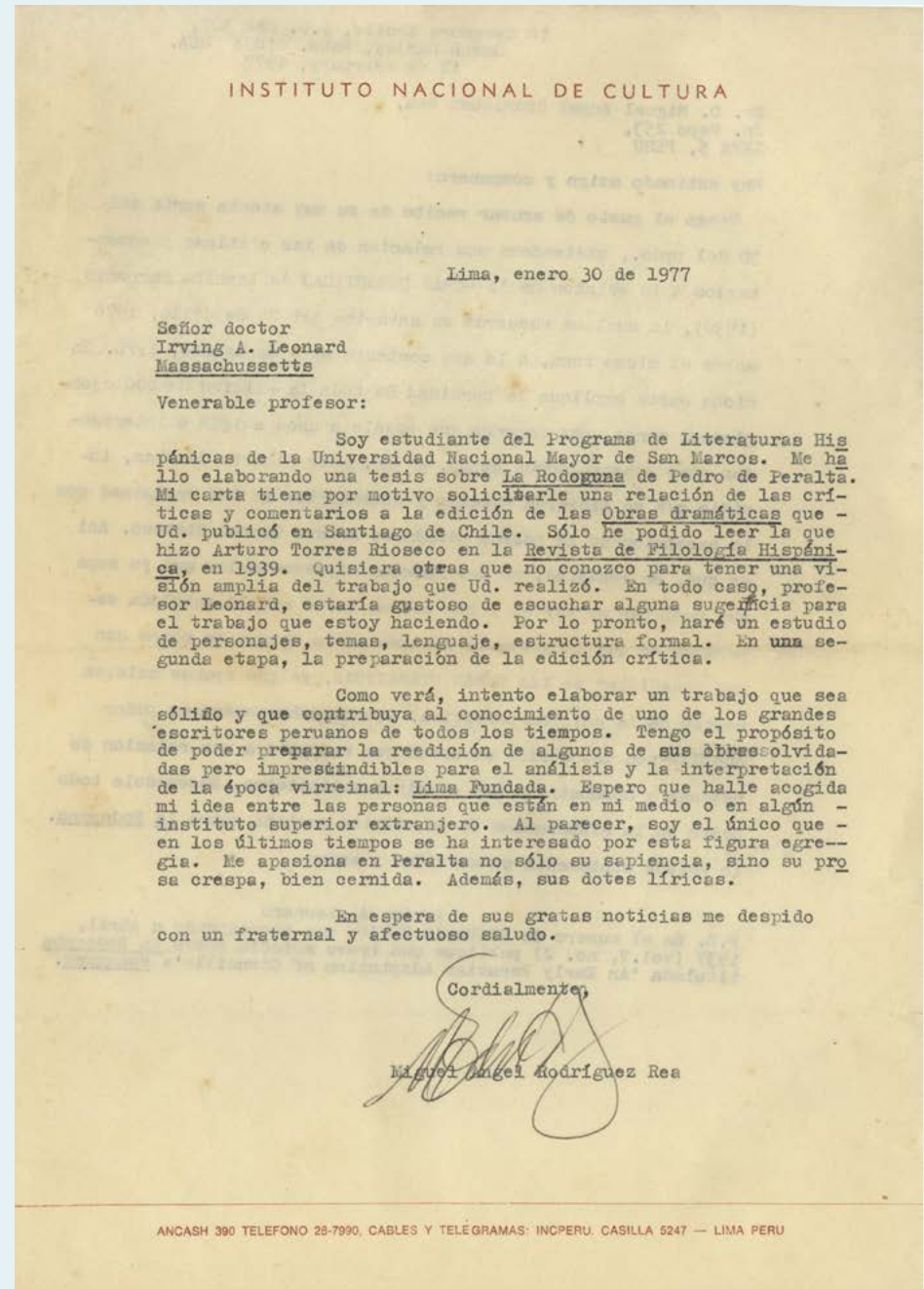
Collection of Correspondence and Ephemera of Irving A. Leonard, Pioneering Historian of Spanish America.

V.p.: 1929 - 1977. Appx. 55 pieces: appx. 30 letters, 13 photographs, and 12 pieces of ephemera. Conditions vary; generally very good plus.

Irving A. Leonard (1896-1996) was a pioneering historian of Latin America, specializing in the cultural and intellectual history of its colonial era, particularly the literature of Spanish colonists as it influenced the intellectual life of the colonies. He is best known for *Books of the Brave* (1949), a study of the literature that Spanish conquistadors and settlers brought to the Americas, which argues that their literature shaped how they understood their experiences and uses shipping and customs records to demonstrate the circulation of literature in Spanish America.

Offered here is a collection of correspondence, photographs, and ephemera belonging to Irving Leonard. The collection is highlighted by the correspondence, which came to Leonard from a number of major figures in Latin American history at the time, including US ambassador to Mexico Dwight Morrow, Nicaraguan president José María Moncada, Spanish diplomat and

CONTINUED



Correspondence and Ephemera of Irving A. Leonard.

historian Salvador de Madariaga, Spanish historian Rafael Altamira, and Mexican writer and diplomat Alfonso Reyes; and other figures such as poet Archibald MacLeish and publisher Alfred A. Knopf (who rejects Manuel Gálvez's *La Maestra Normal* as "too slow," "not very original," and "too remote from us to interest many").

Most of the correspondence concerns Leonard's *Don Carlos de Sigüenza Y Góngora* (1929), an early work based on his Berkeley dissertation about the Mexican criollo intellectual. In a copy of a 1929 letter to Dwight Morrow, Leonard explains that:

"I think it well that we Americans should realize that during the seventeenth century at least Mexico enjoyed a more advanced culture and civilization than contemporary New England though that may come as a shock to some. I think it significant that Don Carlos was setting forth his views on the rational nature of comets while Cotton Mather and others desisted from their witch-burning activities to sermonize on these phenomena which they were pleased to call portents of coming evil". (October 3, 1929)

Most letters are thanking Leonard for copies of *Don Carlos* and praising his work; for instance, Rafael Altamira states that Leonard's "work on these Spanish subjects" gives him "great pleasure" (February, 1934, trans.), and Salvador de Madariaga writes:

"I believe that historians of your type are rendering great services to true history by showing up all the absurdities which ignorance and bias have propagated with regard

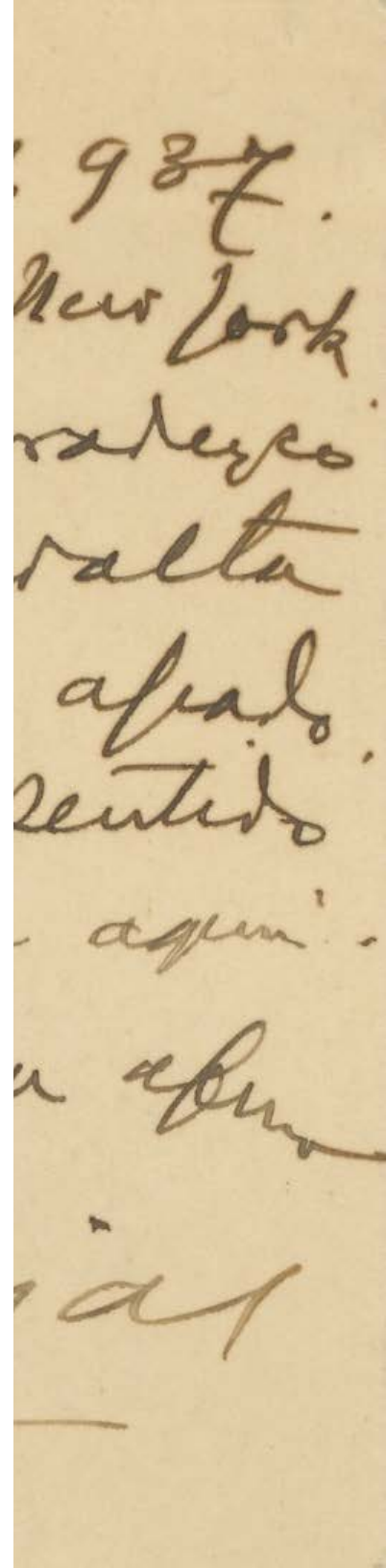
to that truly [epical?] period of the occupation and civilization of the New World by the Iberian people." (August, 1933)

Some correspondents comment on work of their own. De Madariaga writes that English audiences had received his *The Rise of the Spanish American Empire* (1947) with "an opener mind than the Americans" who had "been inclined to take the old fashioned narrow-minded point of view" (March, 1948); Archibald Macleish expresses surprise that his work "was printable in Franco Spain" and describes having "wholly lost my heart" to Harvard compared to Yale (November, 1956).

One extracurricular letter comes from William Sanders, a fellow delegate to a 1939 conference in Santiago de Chile related to the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, an advisory committee to the League of Nations. The Santiago conference, the First Conference of Committees on the American Continent, was one of only two related conferences in the Americas and is fairly understudied in the literature.[1] Sanders remarks on a letter sent to Leonard by politician and future Peruvian Prime Minister Luis Alberto Sánchez expressing dissatisfaction with the "results of the Santiago Conference", "the point of view that we maintained with respect to" questions of intellectual property raised at the conference, and with the "excess profits of booksellers". Moreover, he writes:

"Apparently Sánchez looks upon our failure to comment on the resolution relative to the Indian problem as an indication of indifference. I need not tell you, of course, how important this problem is to most of the Latin American countries. [...] I believe, however, that the American National Committee is not qualified to intervene in the matter, in our own muddled Indian

CONTINUED



Correspondence and Ephemera of Irving A. Leonard.

problem in the United States and much less in the greatly more complex situation in Latin America." (1939)

Also included in the collection are photographs—mainly portraits of Leonard, though with several images relating to cycling, a lifelong hobby of his—and several pieces of ephemera, including three cards from Alfonso Reyes thanking Leonard for various books sent to him and book reviews by or of Leonard.

The collection provides a personal view of Leonard's place within the international intellectual networks that shaped the study of Latin America in the first half of the twentieth century. Of interest to scholars of Latin American historiography and the cultural and intellectual relations between the United States, Spain, and Latin America.

[1] Alexandra Pita, "Peace? Debates on Intellectual Cooperation in America. Santiago, 1939," in Elisabet Carbó-Catalan and Diana Roig-Sanz (eds.), *Culture as Soft Power: Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy* (De Gruyter Brill, 2022): 121-146.



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

México, October 18, 1929.

My dear Dr. Leonard:

I returned a few days ago from a holiday in the United States, to find your kind letter of October 3rd, which in my absence was acknowledged by Mr. Dawson of the Embassy Staff, and I have just received the copy of "Don Carlos de Sigüenza", which you have been good enough to autograph and send me. I want to thank you heartily for your thoughtfulness. I shall read the book with great interest at the first opportunity.

With kindest personal regards, believe me,

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Irving A. Leonard,

University of California,

Department of Spanish,

Berkeley, California.

[MEDICINE - OBSTETRICS - CONGENITAL ANOMALIES
- WOMEN'S HEALTH - UPPER CANADA] WILSON,
WILLIAM

1835 Letter by an Upper Canadian Physician Describing the Birth and Death of His Infant Daughter with a Fetus-Like Parasitic Appendage, and the Practice of Frontier Obstetrics.

Lanark, Upper Canada: May 21 - June 8, 1835.
Autograph letter signed "Wm. Wilson" to his brother, Joseph Wilson, surgeon, Rutherglen, Scotland. Stampless folded letter posted at Perth, Upper Canada, June 9, with Perth double split-ring datestamp, straight-line "PAID" handstamp, and manuscript "1/2" prepayment to the port of departure. Boxed "LIVERPOOL / SHIP LETTER" backstamp; initial "1/8" charge canceled and replaced by "1/7," representing inland postage, landing charge, and local fees; double-line "GLASGOW / PENNY POST," boxed halfpenny wheel-tax handstamp, and partial Glasgow August 6 receiving mark. Light folds; fine to very good.

This description contains graphic medical content that some may find disturbing.

A detailed physician-to-physician account of an exceptionally rare congenital anomaly observed by William Wilson in his own newborn daughter, followed by a compact record of childbirth, maternal injury, hemorrhage, and medical practice in rural Upper Canada. Wilson, a Glasgow-trained surgeon who had established himself in Lanark County, describes a fetus-like body attached to the occipital region of the infant's skull,

Received this 6th Aug 1835
Lanark 21st May 1835
Dear Brother,
I received your letter of 28th November and was deeply pained well. On the 10th current at 10 o'clock P.M. my wife was delivered of a daughter and to the inferior posterior central portion of its occipital bone was attached a boy nine inches in length and about four in breadth formed by the common [?] of the cranium and in the inferior part of this boy there was an opening three fourths of an inch long running transversely from which escaped a brownish colored fluid so profusely as rendered me under the necessity of applying a ligature above the aperture to keep its clothes clean. I untied the ligature morning and evening and allowed the fluid to escape which apparently relieved the infant until the fluid in that part of the boy burst the occipital bone a hard substance contained about the size of a chicken egg, its internal appearance I cannot describe as my feeling would not permit me to depict it and I sent for Mr. Wilson of Perth whom I immediately was indisposed and personally examined the occipital bone and removed the parasitic body with my fingers. The fluid immediately and profusely escaped and I was very much surprised to find it was no pus but a brownish fluid. I was no pulsation perceived in the mass. The child was born small and weak and so frail at birth as it lay in bed could not undertake to walk. The mother was so weak and experienced little pain but became very weak and oppressed on Friday morning and died on Saturday. I shall enjoy myself as much as I can and shall be very glad to hear of your recovery. I shall be very glad to hear of your recovery. I shall be very glad to hear of your recovery.

his attempts to manage the fluid draining from it, his examination for evidence of an encephalocele, and the child's death several days after birth:

"On the 10th current at 10 o'clock P.M. my wife was delivered of a daughter and to the inferior posterior central portion of its occipital bone, was attached a boy nine inches in length and about four in breadth formed by the common [?...] of the cranium and in the inferior part of this boy there was an opening three fourths of an inch long running transversely from which escaped a brownish colored fluid so profusely as rendered me under the necessity of applying a ligature above the aperture to keep its clothes clean. I untied the ligature morning and evening and allowed the fluid to escape which apparently relieved the infant until the fluid

CONTINUED

1835 Letter from a Frontier Obstetrician Describing a Case of Parasitic Twinning.

commenced again to accumulate. In that part of the boy next the occipital there was a hard substance contained about the size of a chicken egg, its internal appearance I cannot describe as my feelings would not permit me to dissect it and I sent for my friend Dr. Wilson of Perth, who unfortunately was indisposed and consequently unable to grant my request. I examined the occipital bone very minutely and could detect no deficiency of osseous matter. [It] was quite moveable, there was no pulsation or resemblance to Encephalocele. The child was of small size and so feeble at birth as obliged me to allow a considerable space of time to elapse ere I could undertake to divide the umbilical cords. [It] seemed to experience little pain, but became gradually weaker and expired on Friday evening and its immortal soul has gone to a place where it shall enjoy eternal happiness."

Wilson's description appears consistent with a severe form of asymmetric or parasitic twinning, although the absence of dissection or pathological evidence prevents a definitive diagnosis. His statement that his feelings would not permit him to dissect the attached formation places professional curiosity against the grief of examining his own child.

The letter then broadens into an account of a frontier doctor's obstetric practice. Wilson describes being summoned immediately after another woman's delivery and diagnosing a partial inversion of the uterus. After administering seventy drops of laudanum, he manually restored the organ and reports that the patient recovered quickly. He attributes the injury to the

inexperience of the woman attending the birth, the rapid expulsion of the child, and a short umbilical cord.

A second case ended fatally. Wilson reached a woman six hours after an abortion and found her suffering repeated attacks of syncope from severe hemorrhage. He called another surgeon, but she died approximately forty-eight hours later; Wilson states that "I would have tried transfusion had I had instruments." He also reports the recovery of a woman following the removal of a tumor and discusses the economics of maintaining a medical practice against unlicensed and fee-cutting competitors, including one practitioner whom he threatened to prosecute as a "Mountebank." The letter closes with immigration and family news and an account of a winter so severe that cattle died from starvation and frost.

Wilson wrote during the formative years of teratology, when physicians were beginning to classify congenital duplications systematically. Apart from Everard Home's celebrated late-eighteenth century account of the "Two-Headed Boy of Bengal," very few comparable cranially attached parasitic twins entered the nineteenth-century medical literature, and no closely matching published account of Wilson's fetus-like occipital appendage has been located. Modern medical literature estimates heteropagus, or parasitic twinning, at approximately one case per one to two million live births. An attachment to the skull of the kind Wilson appears to describe would represent a still rarer anatomical form, although the absence of dissection prevents a definitive diagnosis. Overall an unusually substantial early Canadian medical letter, combining a physician's clinical description of the fatal congenital anomaly of his own child with a firsthand account of childbirth and emergency obstetric care in rural Upper Canada.

\$3,500

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[NATURAL DISASTERS - CANADA - GREAT MIRAMICHI
FIRE - DISASTER RELIEF] MCLEOD, GEORGE

1825 Letter Describing the Collection of 230 Bushels of Potatoes and Clothing for Survivors of the Great Miramichi Fire.

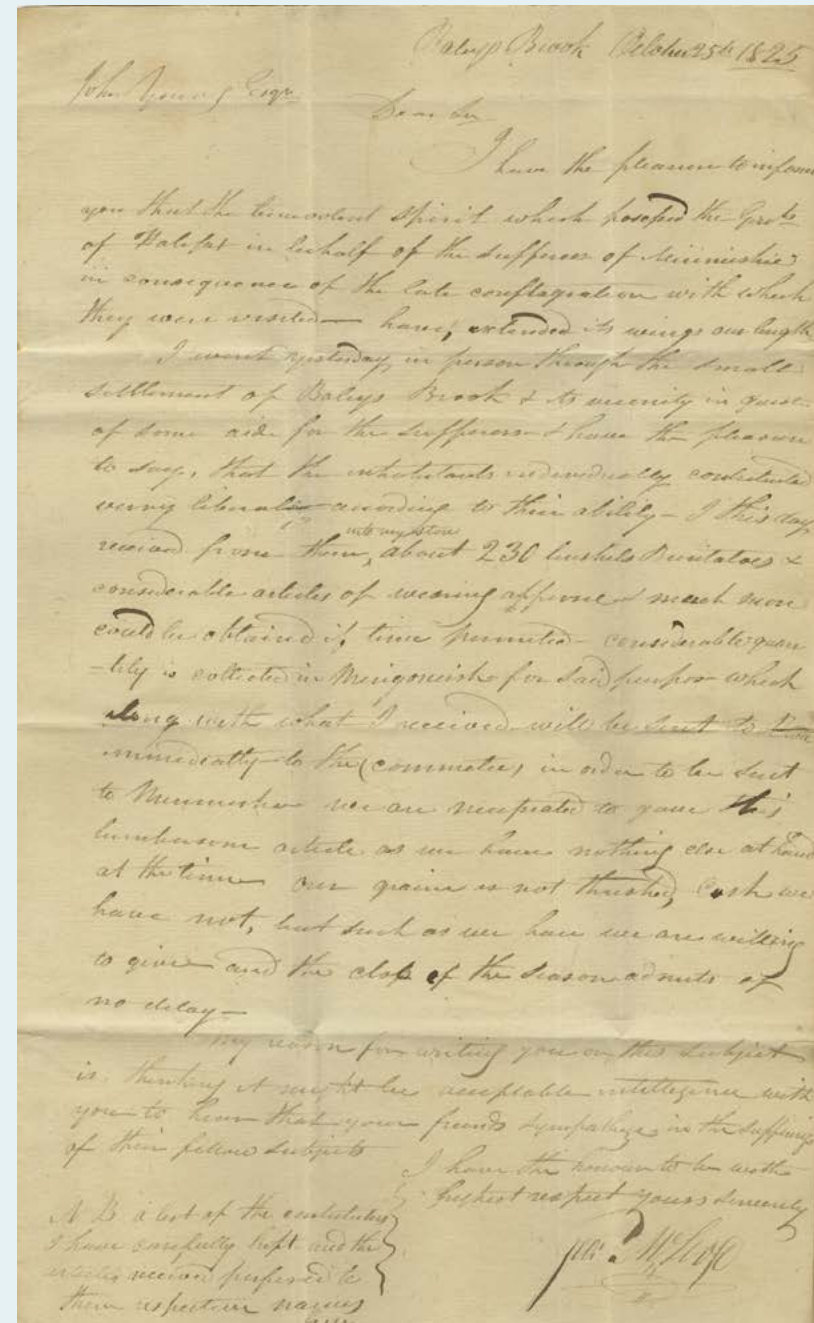
Bailey's Brook, Nova Scotia: October 25, 1825.
Autograph letter signed "Geo. McLeod" to John
Young, Esq., Halifax. Stampless folded letter
with manuscript "7 / Paid" rate, "Post Paid"
notation, and a clear "POST OFFICE PICTOU /
PAID" handstamp. Light filing folds; very good.

A contemporary account of rural relief organized for survivors of the Great Miramichi Fire, written only eighteen days after the disaster. George McLeod reports traveling personally through Bailey's Brook and the surrounding settlements to solicit provisions and clothing, gathering approximately 230 bushels of potatoes together with "considerable articles of wearing apparel" for immediate shipment through Pictou:

"I went yesterday in person through the small settlement of Bailey's Brook & its vicinity in quest of some aide for the sufferers & have the pleasure to say, that the inhabitants individually contributed very liberally according to their ability. I this day received from them, into my store, about 230 bushels buntatoes [sic] & considerable articles of wearing apparel & much more could be obtained if time permitted."

The letter is particularly revealing about the material

CONTINUED



1825 Letter on Relief for the Survivors of the Great Miramichi Fire.

circumstances of disaster relief in a cash-poor agricultural community. The residents had little money available and "nothing else at hand" as their grain had not yet been threshed, and the lateness of the season required them to contribute whatever could be gathered and transported without delay—nonetheless, they were "willing to give."

McLeod notes that additional supplies had been collected at Merigomish and would be combined with those from Bailey's Brook, sent to the committee at Pictou, and forwarded onward to Miramichi. He also records keeping a list of the individual contributors and the articles supplied under each name.

We find no other examples of documents or primary source materials relating to the disaster in commerce or in auction records. A focused primary document of one of the largest fires in early Canadian history, with a detailed description of the mechanics of relief.

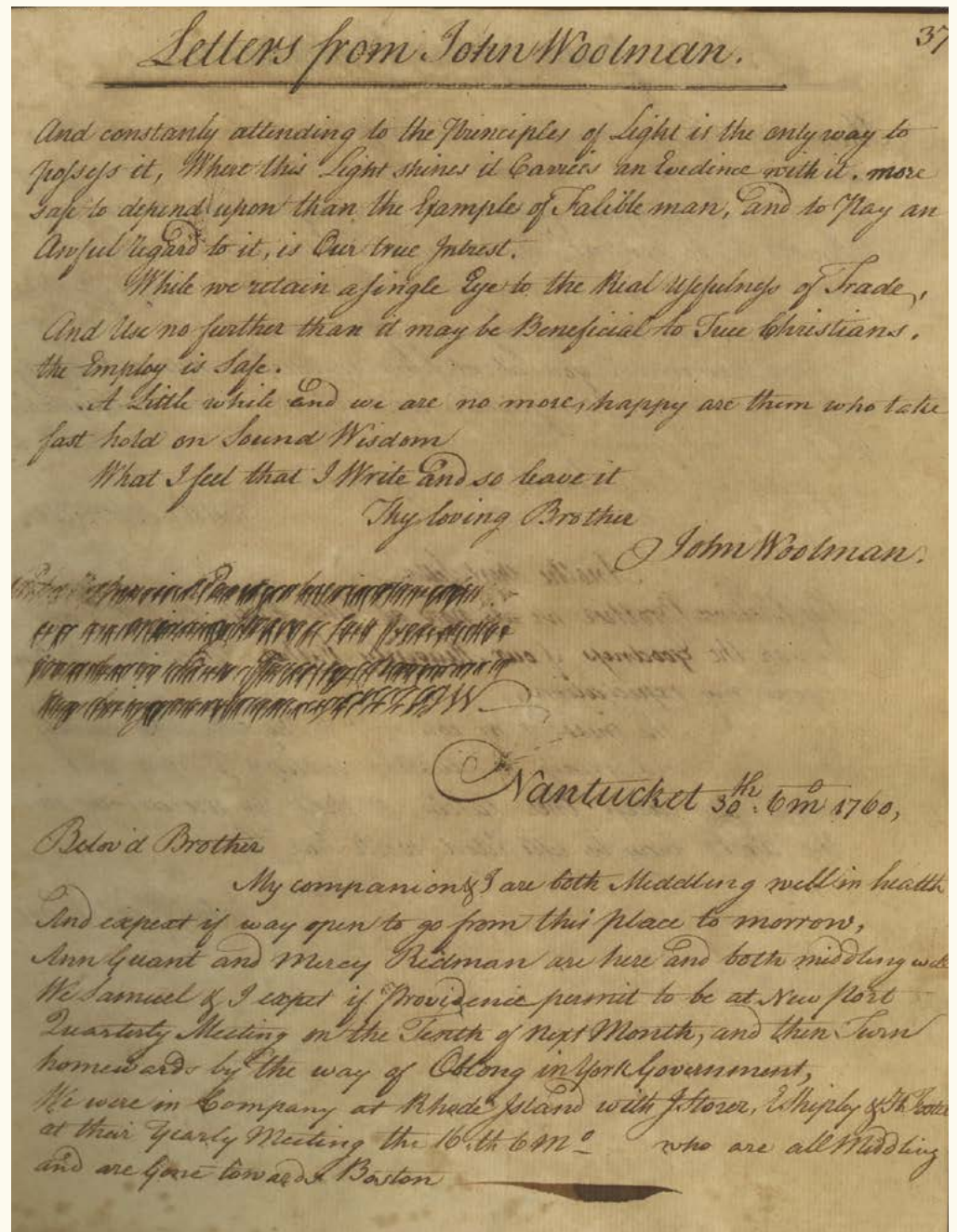
...to be obtained of time per-
-sely is collected in Merigomish,
along with what I received
immediately to the committee
to Miramichi we are now
humbly some article as we had
at the time our grain is
have not, but such as we
to give and the close of the
no delay—
My reason for writing
is, thinking it might be accep-
you to hear that your friends
of their fellow subjects I have
A B a list of the contributors
I have carefully kept and the
articles received purposed to

[QUAKERS - WOOLMAN FAMILY - NEW JERSEY]
 [WILLIAM HUNT] WOOLMAN, JOHN; HUNT, WILLIAM;
 KING, JAMES; ET AL.

Letterbook, Legal Documents,
 and Images Spanning Over 100
 Years of the Prominent New
 Jersey Quaker Woolman Family,
 Including Unpublished Letters
 from John Woolman and William
 Hunt and Accounts of their Final
 Days in England.

New Jersey: c. 1758 - 1855. Appx. 43 items:
 letterbook, 26 documents related to properties
 in New Jersey, and 15 images. Letterbook 9 x 7
 ¼ inches, 58 pp, totaling appx. 17,500 words.
 Front cover detached and covers generally quite
 worn though spine intact, contents excellent;
 overall very good plus. Document conditions vary,
 fair to excellent, with some damaged or partial,
 generally very good minus. A full inventory
 of the contents of the letterbook and legal
 documents is available on request.

A multigenerational archive of the Woolman family
 and its allied Hunt, Burr, Haines and other families,
 documenting nearly a century and a half of Quaker family
 life in southern New Jersey. The collection is highlighted
 by a letterbook preserving copies of letters from
 prominent Quaker minister and colonial-era abolitionist
 John Woolman (1729-1772), his cousin and fellow minister
 William Hunt (1733-1772), and several others, written to
 John Woolman's brother Uriah. These include a number
 of unpublished letters, from authors including Woolman,
 Hunt, and others. The collection also contains a number



Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

of legal documents relating to family land holdings, including an illustrative 1769 document concerning the division of a tract of land inherited by the Woolman brothers on the death of patriarch Samuel Woolman in 1750.

Besides several memorials, poems, and copies of letters of Mary Peisly, the letterbook contains two letters from Woolman that have not been published in full, eleven unpublished letters from Hunt, and two unpublished letters from friends in England concerning Woolman and Hunt's deaths there from smallpox in 1772. The letterbook was likely maintained by Uriah Woolman's wife Susanna Burr Woolman, as an inscription on the first page reads "Phebe Woolman, 1st Mo. 10th, 1823 / given by Susana Woolman"; Susana Woolman was Phebe Woolman's great aunt. A full inventory of the contents of the letterbook and the legal documents can be found at the end of this description.

Unpublished Letters of William Hunt, 1758–1771

The unpublished Hunt letters come from the late 1750s to early 1770s, and trace the North Carolinian's path along the Quaker networks of the US's east coast, up to New York and down to the "very pleasant" Delaware capes (May 5, 1771), and finally to Europe. Hunt, John Woolman's cousin, was born in Pennsylvania and emigrated to Virginia and eventually the Quaker settlement of New Garden (now Greensboro), North Carolina. He began his ministry before he turned fifteen, and by twenty had begun traveling to minister; his Memoirs state that he visited meetings at every North American colony.[1] Like his cousin John Woolman, Hunt preached against

enslavement. He reported feeling so disturbed by the practice while in Pennsylvania that he nearly abandoned food and drink entirely, feeling that consuming goods made by enslaved people would be participating in their oppression.[2]

The first two letters from Hunt in the letterbook were likely sent from home in New Garden, though they indicate that he had already made at least one journey north; in the first (undated) letter, he writes:

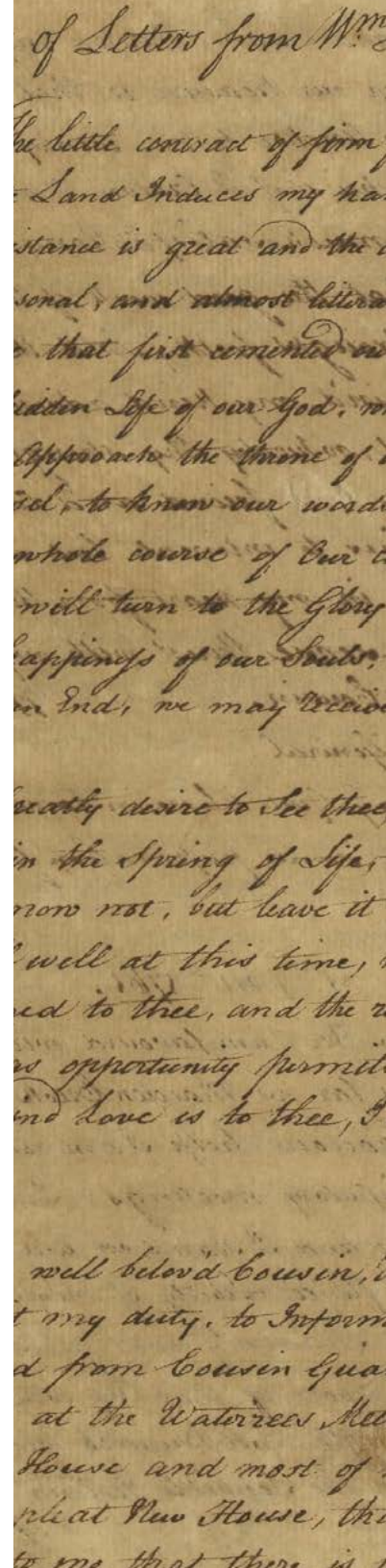
"The little contract of firm friendship, Occasion'd by our small Acquaint's in this Remote Land Induces my hand to paper at this time to Lett thee know that tho' the distance is great and the days are many since I Saw thee, we being depriv'd of personal, and almost littoral Converse with each other, yet that Spring of infinite love that first cemented our hearts together, Remains with me unchangable in the hidden Life of our God [...]" (N.d.)

He states that he feels drawn "in the Spring of Life, towards your Land, but the Time when as Yet I know not". The next letter is dated to 1758, and also seems to report on home affairs, and a visit to New Garden by Uriah Woolman:

"we are well in General at this time I also heard from Cousin [Grantt?], not long since; they were then well and settled at the [Watterrees?] Meeting, Brother Cl[earor?] had the Misfortune to have his House and most of his Household Goods Burnt, and allso a pretty Compleat New House, that he built since thou wast here [...]" (August 13, 1758)

He again comments on coming north, stating that "I dont see my way quite Cleare in Coming to that province this fall, tho' I have made some preparation for it, and expect

CONTINUED



Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

it to be my Lot ere long."

In 1761, he traveled to Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.[3] There are two letters to Woolman in the letterbook sent from this journey, the first reporting on meetings:

"Dear cousin by this I may inform thee that I am favour'd with health, through mercy, I have visitted meetings as far as Maiden Creek [likely Pennsylvania], and this day am going to the forest, through gracious help I am come thus far pretty safe, having had some satisfactory meetings; Deare Cousin it is the desire of my mind, that though and I stand in real obedience to our duty which brings true peace and perfect Liberty of mind, not to be cramped or fetter'd with those things that suddenly end, nor subject unto our own Passions we might become freeborn of that City which John Saw [...]" (July 31, 1761)

The next reports on a planned visit to the Woolmans:

"I hereby convey my dear love to thee as also to lett the know, that through gracious favour I am as well as common, and intend to be in Town on [?] day come Week, if the Lord permitt; if thou hast opportunity please to let Cousin Asher know the Time as he desired me, I may further acquaint thee that my companion intends directly home from Town, and if it should be agreeable I should be glad if thou or Cousin Asher could go with me into Buck's County". (August 13, 1761)

The letterbook states that this letter was sent from "Willinstown". This is possibly the Willistown meeting

(Newtown Square, Pennsylvania); though that meetinghouse was constructed in 1798, its website states that there was a history of Quaker worship there before its construction.[4] It could also be from Williamstown, New Jersey. Both locations are fairly close to the Woolmans' Mount Holly homestead.

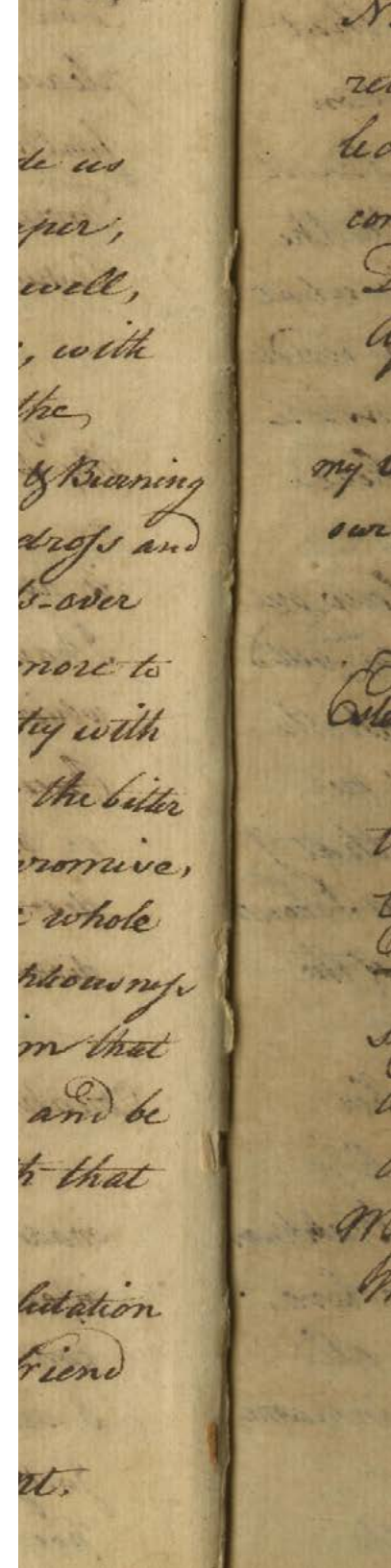
The next two letters, dated to 1766, were likely both written from home, with one identified as sent from New Garden. This would have been during one of the brief periods of Hunt's life wherein he did not feel called to travel, instead spending the time with his young family. In the earlier letter, dated April 11, Hunt tells Woolman, "I conceive my spirit often united in a secret sympathy with thy deep trials and close besetments". In the later dated letter, he weighs in on the value of some land owned by Woolman:

"I understood by John Unthank that thou desired I with some others would view thy Land and send an account of our Judgment upon the price, it is the mind of many that One hundred pounds is the Value, but I think if thou would send Orders to sell it for One hundred and twenty pounds it would fetch it readily". (September 3, 1766)

The next letters date from 1771 (NB: four letters are missing according to the letterbook's numbering, meaning likely a single page has been lost), and find Hunt on the journey of ministry that would take him to England, Holland, and his eventual death. In January he reports:

"Much esteemed Relations by these you may understand how far we have got on our journey, we have been at most of the meetings along shore up to Raway [likely Rahway, New Jersey], where Last night at New York, it looks rather likely to my present view we shall return to

CONTINUED



Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

your City towards spring in order to Embark, but leave it to the wise disposer who best knows his Secret purposes concerning us". (January 11)

The next was written from the Delaware capes, where Hunt and his companion, nephew Thomas Thornburgh, were aboard the Mary and Elizabeth.[5] Hunt writes:

"After my very dear Love saluting thee and thy Wife these may inform that we are well had a good and Comfortable Night, are likely to get past the Capes this Evening Divine regard extending his sweetning presence which seems to make this little habitation likely to be very pleasant and easey, beyond what I expected". (May 5)

The latest unpublished Hunt letter was sent from London in June of that year, and appears to be the first written to Uriah Woolman upon Hunt's and Thornburgh's arrival. Hunt is less than impressed with the English Friends:

"I have to Inform thee, that we are safe arrived in London, having had a short and very agreeable passage we Landed in this City the 28th day att 6 OClock, in the morning after parting with thee which was little more than twenty Seven days I have been at a few meetings, wherein there seems a number of well disciplin'd friends, but these alass are every where but small in comparison of the great number who profess the Glorious Truth, but being ignorant of its working are Dead weights and Burthens to those who are Baptis'd in and with the Seed [...] my dear companion was very Sick the first two Weeks at Sea, but after got [?]; Our Capt. Treated us with great respect". (June 4, 1771)

Unpublished Letters of John Woolman, 1760 and 1763

Woolman's letters follow a similar tack to Hunt's, though he is more scrupulous about including the full names of Friends he encounters, making them promising material for further research into the northeast's Quaker networks. He writes from Nantucket in June 1760:

"My companions & I are both middling well in health and expect if way open to go from this place tomorrow, Ann Grant and Mercy Richman are here and both middling well. We Samuel & I expect if Providence permit to be at New Port Quarterly Meeting on the Tenth of Next Month, and then Turn homewards by the way of Oblong in York Government,

We were in Company at Rhode Island with J. Storer, E Shipley & Th Foster at their Yearly Meeting the 16th 6mo. who are all middling and are Gone toward Boston —" (June 30, 1760)

In this same letter, the former merchant Woolman makes a remark characteristic of his views on wealth and accumulation, expressed to his merchant brother Uriah:

"I have had renew'd occasion since I left home to consider the excellency of that Doctrine, Of being Satisfied of the Trueness of Things, or in Scripture phrase 'Having food and Raiment therewith to be content,' the desire of Wealth and outward Greatness leads many into snares, hard to get out of; for whose sake I have in their Journey been Often sorrowful".

Fixated on the Quaker belief in plain living, Woolman did not object to commerce per se, but instead believed that the practice could only be "safe" if "we retain a single Eye to the Real usefulness of Trade, And use it no further than it may be Beneficial to True Christians" (May 3, 1759) [6]. In a later letter, he expands:

Grant from the Council of Proprietors
the fourth Day of November Anno
seventy eight Requiring the Locators
eighty acres and three quarters of
the City of Burlington any where
New Jersey, below the falls of Delaware
in the Surveyor Generals Office at
Philadelphia Q. L. 348

the Hand and Seal of the said Wille
the aforesaid Month in the same year
and forty three acres and three quarters
Deed of Conveyance duly Executed
to Eleazer Tenson of fifty acres from
at Day of July One thousand seven
hundred and seven hundred
years of the same year

But Deputies hath made
and for the said Samuel Haun
in the Township of Northampton
Division of the State of New Jersey
the 10 day of October 1760
by field no bounded as followeth
the tree being the second corner to a lot
chased of Isaac Burroughs stands
to Creek or Branch of Patisto alias East
and runs thence 1/2 North seventy three
to said Haun then 1/2 North fifty
is then 1/2 South sixty three degrees
corner to Isaac Burroughs Land
chains Twenty links to a pine tree
and twenty three links to the
two acres and two Rods

CONTINUED

Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

"A Belief in the Allsufficiency of God, and in his care in providing for those that fear him hath often afforded comfort to me, not only in regard to my self, but also with Relation to my fellow creatures, whom I love, and who have the same need of this Fatherly help as I have.

They who dwell on Lands as their Inheritance, who Eat the food which they raise, and wear Garments of their Own Work, and of many others appear to be the least exposd to Temptation; Even these stand dayly in need of Divine Assistance to support their Minds in Uprightness before the Lord.

But when I think on the Various kinds of Trafic which are in some degree connected with that spirit which works in disobedient children, and on the difficulties and Temptations which attends Trade in the present Condition of Countries,

I have often felt a particular tenderness towards and care for those who depend on Merchandize for a living, And when my mind have been thus filled with care and affection, mix'd with a feeling of the Manifold difficulties Attending Business, A fresh sense of Gods goodness in guiding his People in Quallifying with sound Judgment, to distinguish things which differ; and in preserving them from inward dangers, hath felt very precious to me, and thou hath often on this Account been the Object of my hearty desires". (June 4, 1763)[7]

This letter is quoted partially in Geoffrey Plank's John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom (2012), but to our knowledge has never been published in full.

Woolman had had a successful retail business in Mount

CONTINUED

I have an Evidence that I shall gain an ad-
his Church Triumphant far above the Hea-
My dear love is to all them that Love the

The following Coppies Letters from
To his Brother Uriah Woolman

Beloved Brother,

In that thy late affliction, I have seen
fellow feeling with thee, and have had a secret hope
that it might please the father of mercies to raise
thy troubles into a Benefit.

That thou being more fully acquainted with
the world's sturges and sorrows, may feel the cloathing
and may be enabled to resist that spirit which
simplicity of the blessed Truth.

We may see our Sins Exposed and halting,
By as to things pleasant and easy, find our
weak to stand upright.

Things too hard for us are possible with God,
being subjected to him, all Temptations are seen.

This work of subjecting the Will, when spoken
Ghost, is compared to the Mineral in the silver
which through fervent heat, is reduced from

He shall sit as a refiner, and purifier of
He refine them as silver is refined. Zach 13 C. 9

Whence these Comparisons, but that the Holy
be instructed, in the Necessity of the Melting
hand of God upon us, to prepare our Hearts
him, and Manifest that adoration, by imma-
that Spirit in all its Workings which is no

Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

Holly, but had mostly retired from business to devote his time to ministry. In his Journal, he discusses how the experience during his merchant years of writing a bill of sale for an enslaved person belonging to a fellow Quaker had solidified his abolitionist beliefs.[8] In addition, he felt strongly that the drive to acquire wealth and land was in itself harmful, and warned fellow Quakers against the practice, including acquisition with the aim of distributing it through inheritance.[9]

Woolman Family Land Division Document, 1769

In the context of John Woolman's beliefs, the 1769 land document is especially interesting. Samuel Woolman had, like many other Quakers in the area, acquired significant land holdings specifically to distribute them to his sons—of which, by the time John left home, there were seven, alongside six sisters.[10] The document divides the land as follows:

"Asher Uriah Jonah and Abraham Woolman Made an assay to divide their Cedar Swamp into Two Equal parts: One half to be held by Asher & Abraham. And the Other half by Uriah & Jonah. And in order thereto Run a Line though ye Swamp from the north Side about Thirteen Chains & half from ye Lower Corner of ye Up[p]er fifty Acres: South thirty nine [illegible] to a post for a Corner of ye South side of ye Swamp. Which is agreed shall Stand at a Division Line between ye Two Lots; & the day following they all mett at Jonahs House; And there Unanimously agreed: that Assher & Abraham Should hold as their full part and Share of ye Swamp: That Lot which Lays on ye Easterly side of sade Line And that Uriah & Jonah shall have for their [text missing] Residence of sd.

Swamp saying on ye [text missing] That part of ye lower fifty acre [text missing] sold. —

And also at ye Division Asher & Abraham Agrees that Uriah & Jonah shall have one half of ye part of ye money due from Jos. Moore for a Lot sold him by Company. In Consideration of ye parts being thought to be of Less Value yn-ye other.

NB It is agreed yt ye above mentioned Line through ye Swamp shall be Esstablish as it now stands & ye trees mark'd where the Line is open: without any alteration: whether ye Line should prove straight or not

As a Confirmation of ye above the Parties have here unto set their hands & seals

Sealed & Deliver'd }
in the [illegible] of
Sarah Mullen
Aaron Wills

Abner Woolman
Uriah Woolman
Jonah Woolman
[?] Woolman"

For his part, John Woolman had already inherited his portion of his father's land in 1750, and it was this land that financially supported his ministry as he steered away from what he called "the road to large business." [11] He turned to various vocations primarily with an eye not to accumulation but to the basic need to provide a living for his family and support his ministry, mainly through small-scale agriculture and a business in tailoring. The document itself is possibly in Woolman's own hand; checking against attributed documents available online suggests a similarity between the handwritings, though with differences in some letters. In fact research suggests that Woolman had drawn up a large number of legal documents in his life, with seventy identified and suggesting the existence of many more.[12] Moreover, it is interesting to see a legal document from the family outlining the very process warned against by Woolman.



Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

Two Unpublished Accounts of Hunt's and Woolman's Deaths, 1772

In 1771, Woolman would travel to England and Holland and join with Hunt and Thornburgh, where like his cousin he would contract smallpox, dying within a month of Hunt in the fall of 1772. Thornburgh would also die from smallpox after a visit to Europe, in 1787.[13] William Tuke's letter to Rubin Haines about Woolman's death, included in the letterbook, has been published.[14] However, the letterbook also contains two lengthy letters on their deaths which, from our research, do not seem to have been published. One was sent from James King of Newcastle to Thomas Smith of London, and describes Hunt's final days and death in detail:

"Wm Hunt came to my house on the 26th past from Holland with his Nephew Thomas Thornbrough. Accompanied by Morris Berbick of Settle [North Yorkshire]; they attended our week days meeting on the 27th, Return'd to my house with several friends (About a Mile from Town) and dined and appear'd to be very well, next day he complain'd of his head, and after dinner stept into Town [...] And next morning he layed Longer than usual, I stept into his room and found he was hott, He told me he intended to go into the country to dine at my Brothers in a Carriage to prevent catching more cold; I said I could not give consent to that til my surgeon pronounced it safe for him to go; who upon paying of him a visit, order'd him to keep close in bed all day, (being the 29th) he grew worse on the 30th, And then I call'd in a Physician to attend him; who discoverd the smallpox appearing on the 31st: for on the 29th & 30th he was extreemly sick and had a continual Braiding & Vomitting

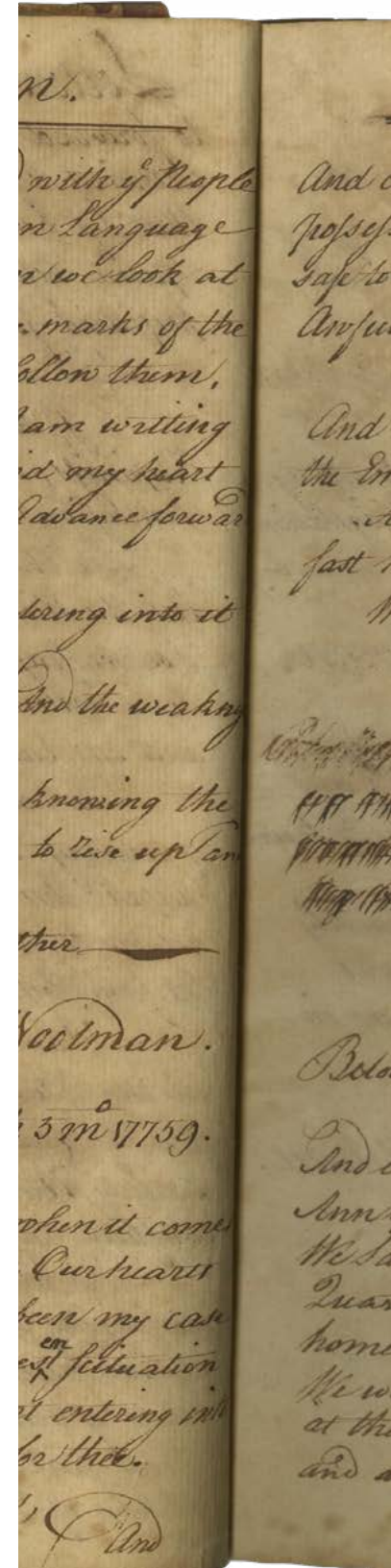
with a slow-fever, they filled pretty well, and appeard promising til Second day last, (the 7th) Atho' they were of the confluent kind, when he was first attack'd with the second feaver very smartly of the Putrid kind, and indeed we almost lost hope then [...]

The physitian attended twice a day, and on the 7th three Times, and staid with him from 5 till 10 OClock at Night, and came next morning about 5 OClock, discovering a great anxiety for the preservation of so valuable a Life, And on the evening of the eighth instant, I went to bed in good hopes of his getting through; but alas, alas; I was call'd up before one this morning, A Sudden alteration for the worse had taken place, the fever run high, and Just att 3 OClock, he departed this Life; And make no doubt he is translated to his Eternal rest; to our deep concern and Sorrow for the Churches sake – and for the sake of his dear Wife and Eight Children, but his Great Gain [...] Both Physician & Surgeon who constantly attended him, remark'd the steady Calm, and patient nammer wherein he bore his Affliction, The former Saying this is a man of Men, indeed the serenity of his countenance denoted the Tranquility of his mind, Being rais'd from Earthly to contemplate on heavenly things – Saying about an hour before he departed (on my hearing) Friends Truth is over all – in a sweet frame of mind – being preserv'd sensible to the Last." (September 9, 1772)

The second comes from Thomas Thornburgh himself. Thornburgh's letter also mentions the health of Sarah and Debbey Morris, updates his recipient on the locations of Robert Willis, Samuel Emlen, and Samuel Neal, and requests his letter be forwarded to John Pemberton, Israel Pemberton, John Parish, and their families. He also opens with an account of Hunt's passing:

"[H]e was taken unwell the third day after our return

CONTINUED



Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

from Holland, where we spent about Nineteen days, to Good satisfaction; as he express'd in his last illness, on reflecting on our journey thereto; it seemed always to afford satisfaction; we thought when he was first taken ill it proceeded from a Cold he had got at Sea, but in about three days it appear'd to be the smallpox; Then it was thought advisable for me to leave him, which was a sore trial upon me but he would not allow me to be about him; tho' before he would always have me with him, their was a skillful physician and Apothecary call'd in, who did all they could but to no effect; there was two friends whom he lov'd much that attended him night and Day to the Last; He express'd much satisfaction in their Company, and with their care over and for him; He was very full and continued about twelve Days in perfect resignation to the Lord's Will; And then Quietly departed this Life, with these Expressions; Truth reins over all, the 9th of the 9mo 1772." (December 10, 1772)

At Hunt's funeral at the Newcastle Friends Burying Ground in September,

"there was a large and comfortable meeting upon the occasion, in which there was several Living and Precious Testimonies born for the promotion of that Great cause for which he was engaged and did so faithfully labour to spread and propagate among the Children of Men".

Thornbury then describes the final days of John Woolman:

"Some time after the Burial of my Dear Uncle, I came to York to their Quarterly meeting where I mett with our

Aforesaid Friend, he complained a little, but attended most of the sittings of the Meetings, but grew worse, And in a few days appear'd to be the smallpox. I was with him till after they began to come out, upon which he was desirous I should leave him, the perfect resignation and sweetness of his mind was truly comfortable, I heard him say he did not know he had a Will in it either to Live or Die; he Continued 13 or 14 Days, and then in A very sweet fame of Mind departed this Life, without Sigh or Groan or Struggle; The 7th of the 10th Month, and was deacently Buryd in Friends burying Ground at York the 9th of the Same; Some little time before his departure he Ask'd for Pen & Ink, it being very difficult for him to speak Intelligibly, And at several Times wrote thus, I Believe my being here is in the Wisdom of Christ I know not as to Life or Death".

Images

The collection also includes fifteen images—photographs with one painted porcelain portrait, stamped KPM—and one lock of hair held in a mother-of-pearl egg. Most are unidentified; the identified subjects belong to later generations of the Woolman family. A quarter-plate daguerreotype of Alan Wood Lukens (1836–1885) is captioned "grandfather of Rev. H.C. Lukens"; Alan Lukens's son Frank Lukens was married to Edith Starr Churchman, the great-great-granddaughter of Jonah Woolman, John Woolman's brother. Churchman and Lukens's child was the aforementioned H.C. (Horace Churchman) Lukens. A printed photograph of Edith Anna Woolman, Jonah Woolman's great-granddaughter and Edith Starr Churchman's mother, is captioned "grandmother of Rev. H.C. Lukens." Also identified is a framed photograph of Elizabeth M. Haines and her daughter, Edith Anna Woolman. Haines was married to Thomas Burr Woolman, Jonah Woolman's grandson. Unidentified are three ambrotypes, four daguerreotypes,

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Letterbook, Legal Documents, and Images of the Prominent New Jersey Quaker Woolman Family.

three photographs, one porcelain portrait, and the lock of "Nana's" hair.

[1] *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt, Taken Chiefly From Their Journals and Letters* (Uriah Hunt & Son, 1858), 19.

[2] *Memoirs*, 47–48.

[3] *Memoirs*, 37–38.

[4] "History Of The Meeting House," Willistown Friends Meeting, accessed September 7, 2026, <https://willistownfriendsmeeting.com/menu>.

[5] *Memoirs*, 74.

[6] From the letterbook; this letter appears in *Friends' Review* V, no. 39 (June 12, 1852): 611.

[7] From the letterbook; this letter is quoted in Geoffrey Plank, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 116, but to our knowledge has not been published in full.

[8] John Woolman, *A Journal of the Life, Gospel Labours and Christian Experiences, of that Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, John Woolman* (Friends' Bookstore, Philadelphia, 1883), 31.

[9] Geoffrey Plank, *John Woolman's Path to the Peaceable Kingdom* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 91.

[10] Plank, *John Woolman's Path*, 11.

[11] John Woolman, *Memoir of John Woolman, Chiefly extracted from a journal of his life and travels* (Tract Association of the Society of Friends, 1856), 13.

[12] "John Woolman's Testamentary Experiences," *Friends Journal* 1, no. 18 (October 1955), 274–282.

[13] *Memoirs*, 24–25.

[14] William Tuke, "Letter from William Tuke, On the Death of John Woolman," *Friends' Miscellany* vol. VIII, no. 5 (April 1836): 229–239.

[15] Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, *American Samplers* (The Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1921), 325.

\$17,500



[SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR - PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR - USS OLYMPIA - HONG KONG] MARSHALL, JOHN FRANCIS, JR. [ATTRIBUTED].

Two Exceptionally Candid Letters from an Officer aboard Dewey's USS Olympia at Hong Kong, Describing the Crew's Carousing in Hong Kong, Richmond Pearson Hobson, and Suspicions that the American Consul Was Supplying Aguinaldo with Arms.

Hong Kong: May 30 and June 4, 1899. Two lengthy autograph letters signed "Doug," written aboard the U.S.F.S. Olympia to the writer's mother in Waco, Texas, with original transmittal cover and manuscript card bearing the names of Mrs. Whiley and R.P. Hobson. May 30: 5 x 8 inches, 8pp; folded with bottom third of all pages detached but present, very good minus. June 4: 8 ½ x 10 ½ inches, 6pp; folded with some holes along folds, very good plus. Overall very good.

A lively pair of letters from an officer aboard Admiral George Dewey's flagship *Olympia*, written at Hong Kong almost immediately after the vessel left Manila on the first stage of its celebrated voyage home. The correspondence captures a group of young naval officers abruptly released from the restrictions of wartime service: broke, drinking heavily, dancing late into the night, gossiping about fellow officers and local personalities, and entertaining a circle of American women ashore and aboard ship. Interspersed with the revelry are significant observations on Richmond Pearson Hobson, Admiral Dewey, and U.S. Consul

CONTINUED

Mrs. Whiley -
Mr. R.P. Hobson.
5/30/99.
My Dear Mother:-
No more are we
locked up aboard ship at
night, where we can't see the
girls or spend our money.
No more are the search
lights working all night,
and an old seat in the
case of six pounds has
disappeared for the first
time in a year or more.
Things aren't what they
were. Our folks strange
roaming round at night
on the beach. Our seems
strange talking to girls
in the dark. Our seems
strange without any money
in his pocket. But such

Two Letters from an Officer aboard Dewey's USS Olympia at Hong Kong.

Rounseville Wildman, whom the writer states was "very strongly suspected of aiding Aguinaldo in arms and ammunition."

The writer appears to be John Francis Marshall, Jr. (1874–1948), a native of Waco and Assistant Engineer aboard the *Olympia* at the Battle of Manila Bay.[1] The cover is addressed to Mrs. Jno. F. Marshall at 724 South 3rd Street, Waco, and Marshall appears on the *Olympia*'s officer roster with many of the men referred to familiarly in the letters. The unexplained signature "Doug," however, leaves the attribution somewhat tentative.

The May 30 letter opens with an almost giddy sense of release:

"No more are we locked up aboard a ship at night, where we can't see the girls or spend our money. No more are the search lights working all night, and our old seat on the case of six pounders has disappeared for the first time in a year or more. Things aren't what they seem. One feels strange roaming around at night on the beach. One seems strange talking to girls in the dark. One seems strange without any money in his pocket. But such things are and it is a change for the better. Plenty of liberty and an empty pocket is better than riches in prison. All of us have already spent all the money we could get hold of and we are wondering what will become of us when we have finished all these ports."

He had taken responsibility for the officers' wine stores and was preparing accordingly for the voyage:

"Judging the rest of the trip by this part of it we are going to have a pretty rapid time and I have laid in plenty of wine stores. I have been wine caterer for some time but we have never had as much aboard as we have now. Our mess of wine was bought \$900.00 from one firm this time."

The same passage records the replacement of the ship's experienced Chinese mess attendants as the *Olympia* prepared to return to the United States: "We [had] the best boys on the ship but none were naturalized and we could not take them home." Their Japanese replacements had "never been aboard men-of-war and ain't much good," though he thought them "bright and willing."

Hong Kong offered a considerable change of pace. At one gathering the revelry of the officers and their companions outlasted the machinery providing their music:

"The band played for a couple of hours and after that we danced to phonograph music. At least we started when the phonograph did and kept on long after it had run off the end of the cylinder. [...] We had the Virginia Reel, several danced the skirt dance and others had a cake walk, to say nothing of numerous waltzes and two steps. We made so much noise that everybody in town must have heard us. Mrs. Whiley tried to stop it but she couldn't."

Richmond Pearson Hobson—the young naval officer who had become a national celebrity after the Merrimac episode at Santiago—appears repeatedly, stripped of the heroic aura surrounding him in the American press. When Hobson paid his first call, he managed to offend the *Olympia*'s Ward Room by sending down his card

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Two Letters from an Officer aboard Dewey's USS Olympia at Hong Kong.

rather than appearing personally:

"That made the Ward Room hot and they mailed him their card. People do the steerage that way all the time but it is rarely that anybody treats the Ward Room thus, especially such a young man as Hobson. Guess he hasn't seen much of the world. Has been shut up in a Navy Yard all his navy career."

A few days later the judgment had softened considerably. The writer thought Hobson "a little eccentric" and believed he had "certainly made a fool of himself," but also found him "a good looking fellow" with "a fine head, much better than his photographs show." One evening Hobson joined the party: "Miss Drum and Miss Whiley are very fond of dancing, so Hobson and I started up a phonograph they have and danced with them alternately for about two hours."

The June 4 letter reaches its comic high point during a luncheon given aboard *Olympia*. Nine women joined roughly seven officers in the steerage, where "we always play the mischief." Wine began to have its effect while everyone waited for ice cream:

"Somebody started the ball by throwing a flower. We were waiting for the ice cream to come on and the small cakes had already been put on the table. We immediately began to throw cakes and an occasional saucer or champagne glass. Was glad to see that Mrs. Beatty and Mrs. Hall discouraged it after they saw it was going too far, but they had some trouble in stopping it. However, as I said, there was no harm done, though we carried it to a degree

that wouldn't have been acceptable to an older crowd."

The same social circle brought the officers into contact with Hong Kong's expatriate community. A prosperous German resident is memorably characterized as one of the East's "good men that has no wife but plenty of children. No cares but plenty of money; no work but plenty of servants"—a man who, "from a woman's point of view," was "a thorough reprobate, but otherwise he isn't at all bad."

More consequential was the officers' attitude toward Rounseville Wildman, U.S. Consul at Hong Kong, whose relations with Emilio Aguinaldo and the Filipino revolutionaries had already become controversial. According to the writer, Dewey's ostensible illness was partly an excuse to avoid official social occasions at which Wildman would necessarily be present:

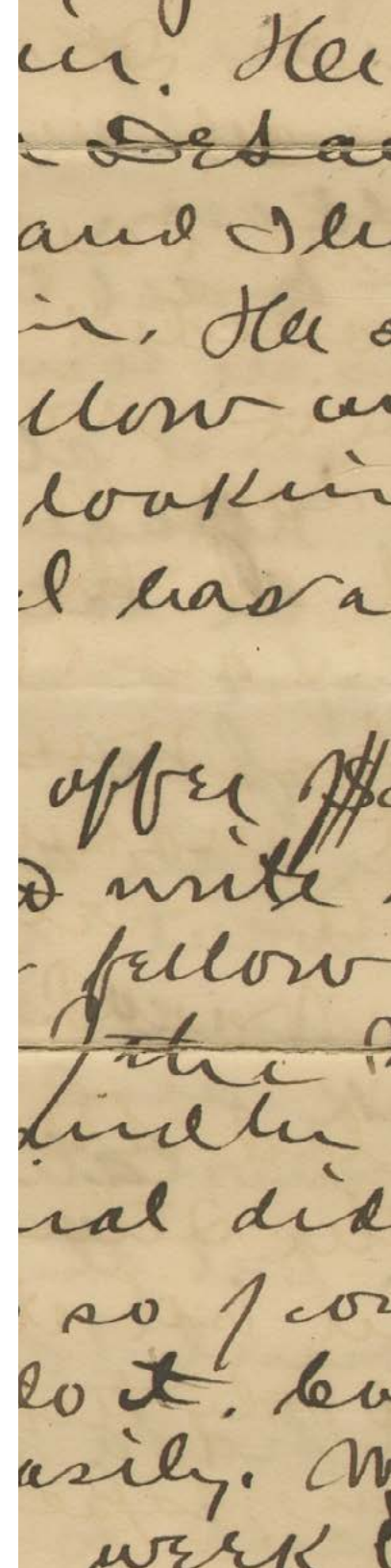
"The Consul has a very shady reputation and is disliked by every American in town and by many others. None of us has any use for him and the Admiral doesn't want to be entertained because he will have to be at the table with the Consul, who will necessarily be invited to all big official dinners, and he doesn't care to do it."

After a characteristically irreverent aside about Wildman's wife—"a very sweet wife though she uses too much paint"—he reaches the serious point:

"Don't much care to go. Not on her account, for she seems to be not unpopular, but on her husband's. He is very strongly suspected of aiding Aguinaldo in arms and ammunition."

The writer was observant enough that somebody in Manila had already offered him \$800 to chronicle the

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Two Letters from an Officer aboard Dewey's USS Olympia at Hong Kong.

Olympia's homeward journey. The Secretary of the Navy apparently approved the arrangement, but "The Admiral didn't want it written up so of course I couldn't do it." The surviving correspondence is, in effect, the informal account that never reached the newspapers.

The May letter closes with the ship itself emerging from wartime service. Hundreds of Chinese laborers were working aboard while the vessel was being repainted:

"Now she is almost any old color. Masts are peach, yellow, superstructure war color and the hull red-leaded. Tomorrow they will paint the two latter white and then we will have the same old appearance we did before the war, and that was always the prettiest."

An unusually lively pair from the *Olympia's* first days out of Manila, the letters catch the crew in a brief, exuberant interval between wartime service and the long voyage home. They also catch something of the unruly cosmopolitan world around the American presence in Asia, far removed from the more formal rhetoric of empire and naval triumph.

[1] "J.F. Marshall, Newspaper Director, Dies," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, February 18, 1948.

\$1,500

W-S-F-S. Olympia,
Hongkong, June 4, 1898

My Dear Mother:-

A mail came yesterday by steamer from Fisco and one today by transport from Manila. The former brought me two letters from you, the latter one from you and one from Daughter. But for you the my mail wouldn't amount to much.

Daughter's letter said something about Aunt Annie wanting me to get her some Turkish rug and some silver. She said that you would write me about it, my next letter to you will be from Singapore so I thought I would write immediately and tell you that Aunt Annie must send me the money she wants me to get any thing for her. She may say that she will send me the money when I send on the stuff. But the stuff may not please her and then she would hate to give up the money. Secondly I have got a cent and don't want to borrow it. This trip will use all my salary without much trouble. I'm not particularly anxious to get things for her because they give a lot of trouble

[TEXAS - LAND SPECULATION - COLONIZATION - COTTON] LOCKWOOD, GEORGE

Letter from San Augustine Describing the Texas Land Boom, the Purchase of Headrights from Poor Settlers, and a Proposed \$5,000 Family Speculation, Months Before the Texas Revolution.

San Augustine, Texas: July 28, 1835. Autograph letter signed "Geo. Lockwood," addressed to his uncle Uriah Lockwood at Newburgh, New York. Five pages, 7 ¼ x 9 inches, over 900 words. Folded with some wrinkles and small tear at seal; excellent.

A substantial firsthand account of the speculative economy of Mexican Texas on the eve of the Texas Revolution, written by a recent arrival who had traveled through several of the principal Anglo-American colonies and was seeking capital to acquire large tracts of East Texas land. Lockwood describes land grants, investment from New York and Boston, and the expanding cotton frontier, urging his father and his uncle, Newburgh businessman Uriah Lockwood, to supply \$5,000 for a family land venture.

Lockwood had arrived in Texas in late May after traveling from New York through New Orleans and Matagorda. From the coast he proceeded inland through San Felipe and the empresario colonies toward San Augustine:

"Matagorda is a new Town & must ultimately become a place of some importance. From Matagorda, I went

CONTINUED

San Augustine, Texas, 28th July 1835

My Dr. Uncle, I arrived in Texas the latter part of May after a pleasant passage from New York to New Orleans & twenty days & from thence to Matagorda down the Bay of Mexico in 5 days. Matagorda is situated on a bay of the same name into which the Rivers Colorado & Sabacan empty. Matagorda is a new Town & must ultimately become a place of some importance. From Matagorda I went to San Philip about 100 miles up the Country & on the River Brazos, from thence through Austin Burnett's, Peckham's & Fawcett's Colonies, the last of which I am now in. This Colony is situated on the Sabine River & this & the Country North to Red River is decidedly the most healthy & best part of Texas, it is well watered & timbered with oak, Hickory & some pine. The land on the coast for 60 miles back is high & rich prairie with bad water & little or no timber & is quite desolate. By the Colonization Law, every man with a family after taking the oath of citizenship is entitled to one league (equal to 4628 acres) of land for which he

1835 Letter from San Augustine Describing the Texas Land Boom.

to San Phillip about 100 miles up the country & on the River Brasos, from thence through Austin, Burnett, [—] & Zavala Colonies, the last of which I am now in. This Colony is situate on the Sabine River & this & the country north to Red River is decidedly the most healthy & best part of Texas; it is well watered & timbered with oak, hickory & some pine—the land on the coast for 60 miles back is level & rich prairie, with bad water & little or no timber & is quite sickly. By the Colonization Law, every man with a family, after taking the oath of citizenship, is entitled to one League (equal to 4428 acres) of Land for which he pays the Government fees & the Survey, in all about \$140."

The region through which Lockwood traveled was deeply entangled with organized American speculation. The New York-based Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company controlled the colonization interests associated with David G. Burnet, Joseph Vehlein, and Lorenzo de Zavala and employed agents, surveyors, and salesmen to promote settlement. George A. Nixon, land commissioner for the Burnet, Vehlein, and Zavala colonies, was issuing titles for hundreds of leagues of land during precisely the period of Lockwood's visit.[1]

Lockwood gives a particularly candid account of the secondary market developing around the inexpensive grants available to settlers:

"Texas contains much good & some very poor land, it has a population of over 100,000 & is very rapidly increasing—it presents perhaps, at this day, the greatest field for speculation of any other country & many capitalists from

the States are investing their money here—indeed there are companies in New York & Boston which have their agents here buying up lands.

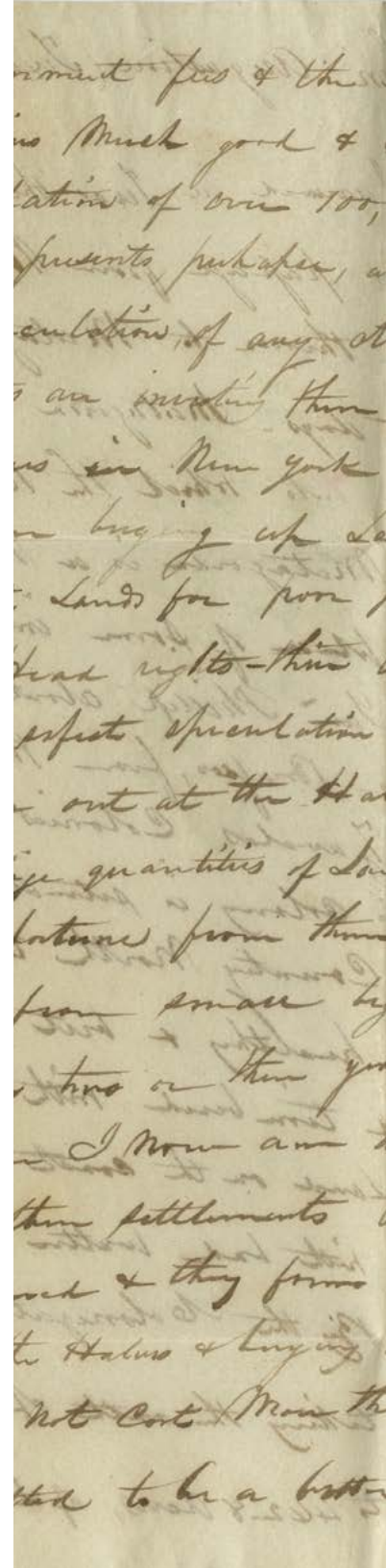
The mode of speculation is to clear out lands for poor people at the halves & to purchase head rights—there is also some dealing in old Spanish Claims. The safest speculation is to purchase Head Rights & to close out at the Halves. Many in this way have accumulated large quantities of Lands & some have already realized large fortunes from them. I could name a number who from small beginnings have in this way become, within two or three years, rich.

Lands around the district where I now am are worth from one to \$5 an acre & other settlements become equally valuable as they are formed & they form rapidly. Lands got by clearing out at the Halves & buying head rights of the very poor people here do not cost more than 7 cents an acre."

His estimate of more than 100,000 inhabitants was greatly inflated, but the passage vividly captures the speculative enthusiasm of the moment and, more importantly, the mechanism by which investors with ready cash could accumulate extensive holdings from settlers possessing land rights but little capital. Cotton supplied the economic logic:

"Texas is admitted to be a better Cotton country than Mississippi or Alabama, where land sells from \$10 to \$40 per acre & by a comparison you will find that Texas possesses nearly equal facilities in Market, & far better in its products & nothing can retard its advancement. You may think me visionary, but I assure you that I give you the opinion of thousands & if you could be here & see its advantages & the advancements made, you would not wonder. The planters are fast settling in Texas."

CONTINUED



1835 Letter from San Augustine Describing the Texas Land Boom.

The recipient was Uriah Lockwood of Newburgh, an established businessman and therefore a logical target for such a proposal. In 1825 Uriah was among a committee of Newburgh sloop owners investigating steamboat service for freight and passengers on the Hudson, and he later served as secretary of Newburgh's whaling company, a substantial joint-stock enterprise. In 1844 he became a director and secretary of the \$100,000 Newburgh Steam Mills, organized for the manufacture of cotton goods.[2] George had already approached his father and now asked Uriah to join him:

"I have written to papa on the subject. My wish is that you would join him & together raise about \$5000 & you come out here & join me in speculation & we all share equally in the profits. You need not be absent from home more than 5 or 6 months unless you choose to stay longer. I will remain & take care, & dispose of the property. I hazard nothing in declaring to you that it will be the best investment you ever made or ever could make."

The lands Lockwood favored lay north of San Augustine toward the Sabine and Red Rivers, where surveying and title issuance were proceeding rapidly:

"The district of country north of this Colony & on the Sabine & Red River is now being surveyed, the Commissioners are appointed to make the titles & the Land is fast being taken—had I the means I could get a few Leagues here to clear out on the halves & I shall endeavor if possible to keep them out of other hands till fall.

It is a district of country the best in Texas & has

been settled many years, but no titles given—the settlers are mostly poor. I should consider the possession of 20 Leagues there as a certain fortune of 1/2 a Million of Dollars in 5 years."

An earlier auction appearance of the present letter in a 1991 sale may help explain Lockwood's unusual command of surveys, titles, and particular tracts after only two months in Texas: a Richard C. Frajola catalog described him as "in the employ of the Land Bureau." [3] We have not independently confirmed that employment, and "Land Bureau" does not appear to have been the formal name of a San Augustine institution, but the attribution is consistent with the contents of the letter. Lockwood himself claimed an advantage over other speculators:

"I have taken much pains to inform myself of the country & where are the most desirable land & think I possess a decided advantage over most of the speculators, for I know the difference between good & bad Land & I think I am acquainted with the geography of the country much better than 9/10 of those who visit here."

Unable to wait for Uriah to decide whether to travel, George finally asked that at least \$1,000 be sent immediately so that he would not "lose the opportunity of having some land on the waters of Red River."

The letter offers an expansive view of Mexican Texas immediately before revolution from the perspective of land, capital, and economic migration, with Lockwood's declaration that "nothing can retard its advancement" capturing the extraordinary confidence of the speculative boom at the moment Mexican authority was beginning to unravel. Moreover, the revolution did not extinguish the land economy Lockwood describes: Mexican titles issued before the revolutionary

CONTINUED

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1835 Letter from San Augustine Describing the Texas Land Boom.

government closed the land offices in November 1835 continued to be recognized, while settlers who had arrived before independence but had not yet received Mexican grants could seek first-class headrights under the Republic of Texas. The traffic in claims, certificates, and speculative acreage therefore continued long after Mexican sovereignty ended.[4,5]

Lockwood's descriptions reveal that transformation in detail, with poorer claimants transferring headrights to men with capital, New York and Boston investors sending agents into Texas, cotton planters moving westward, and speculators attempting to consolidate thousands of acres before the best lands passed into other hands. His detailed calculations, unabashed discussion of acquiring claims from "the very poor people," and solicitation of substantial New York capital provide a compelling contemporary account of the speculative forces reshaping Texas on the eve of revolution.

[1] Andreas V. Reichstein, "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 4, 2026, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/galveston-bay-and-texas-land-company>.

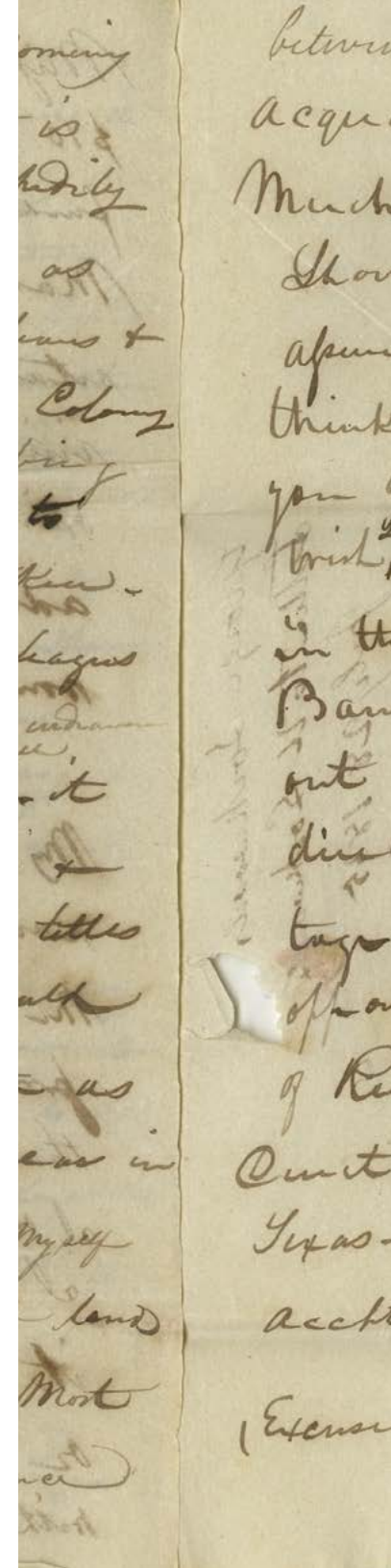
[2] Edward Manning Ruttenber and Lewis H. Clark, "IX. - INCORPORATED COMPANIES," in *History of Orange County, New York* (Everts & Peck, 1881), 293-294.

[3] Richard C. Frajola, Inc., "(San Augustine, Texas) July 27, 1835" (lot 166) in *United States Postal History. Auction Catalog 46*, accessed September 4, 2026, <https://www.rfrajola.com/catalogs/rcf46.pdf>.

[4] Seymour V. Connor, "Land Speculation," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 4, 2026, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/land-speculation>.

[5] Aldon S. Lang and Christopher Long, "Land Grants," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed September 4, 2026, <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/land-grants>.

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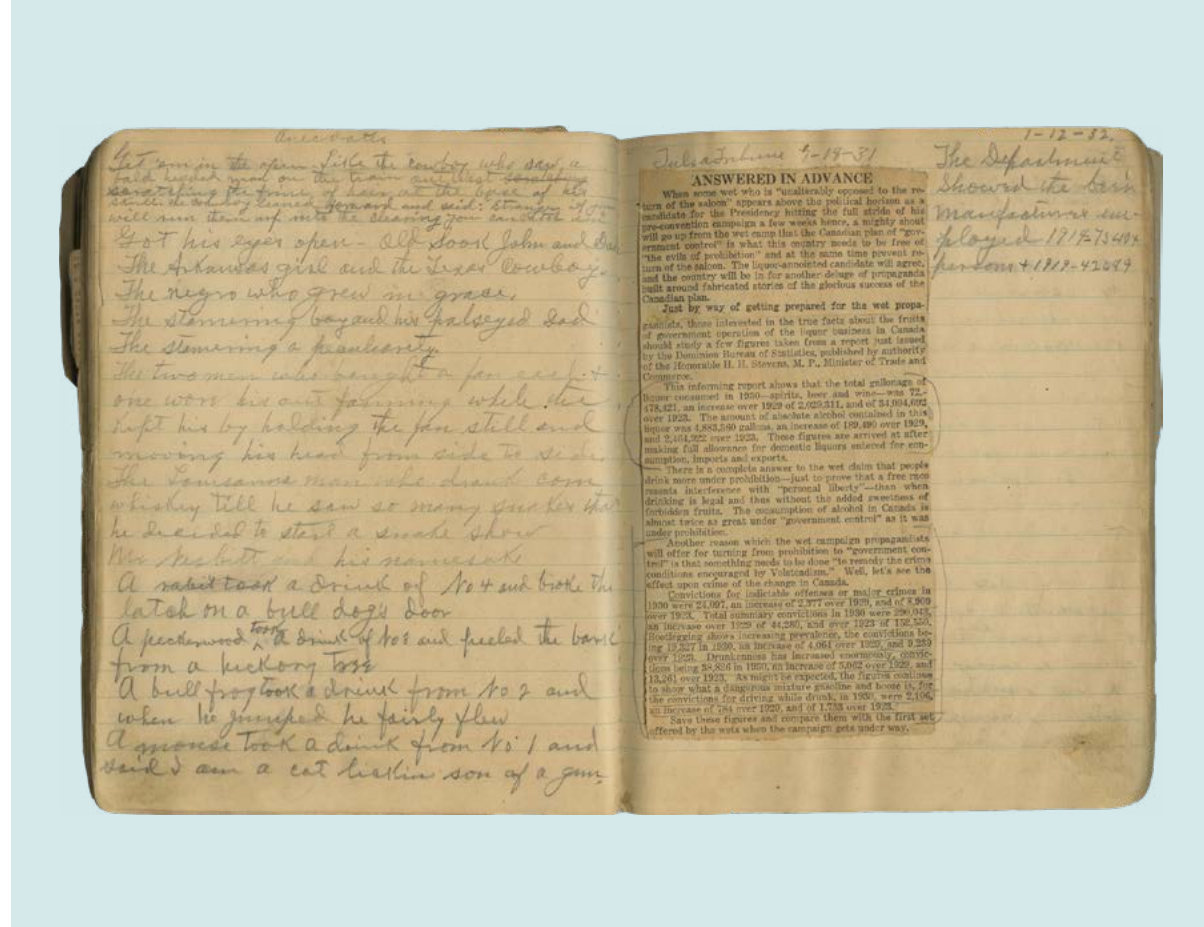


[TEXAS - PROHIBITION] GARRETT, REV. CHARLES B.
(LIKELY)

1900s–1930s Scrapbook Journal and Papers of a Texas Preacher Wrestling with the Alcohol Question Before, During, and After Prohibition: “It is boy[’s] nature to do what you say he shan’t.”

Texas: c. 1900s - 1930s. Journal measuring 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, 67 double-sided pages filled thoroughly, with many loose newspaper clippings tucked inside. Many pages with newspaper clippings pasted over writing, some fairly loosely attached. Cover heavily worn, good; contents worn and somewhat delicate though generally very good or better. With appx. 200 sheets of other material, mainly 5 x 8 inch note papers, generally good to very good. Overall very good.

The scrapbook journal and papers of a Texas preacher, likely the Methodist reverend Charles B. Garrett, documenting his anti-alcohol stance and his efforts to come up with convincing empirical arguments in favor of Prohibition. The journal begins in about 1900 or 1901, starting with numerous newspaper clippings concerning alcohol-induced killings, domestic violence, and other tragedies. Alongside the clippings are Garrett's own notes and writing. These include some fully thought-out short essays on topics like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, and drinking rates, alcohol-related death rates, crime, and so on. For example,



Garrett writes:

“These boys and girls who are determined to drink because the government has prohibited the sale of intoxicants, come, as a rule, from fathers and mothers who have failed to endow their sons and daughters with elemental [sic] decency. Yet the wets make the best of this. It is a fact. Drinking, flask toting and cocktail jerking is not done in the best American society. [...] Bottle made conversation is never worth listening to, only fools are entertained by such.”

He also comments on certain Texas happenings in particular, including the impeachment of anti-Prohibition Governor James Ferguson, appearing to blame Ferguson's behavior on drink. Next to clippings about

CONTINUED

Scrapbook Journal and Papers of a Texas Preacher Wrestling with the Alcohol Question.

Texas v James E Ferguson, he writes:

"A self confessed degenerate / An impeached Governor / A proven grafter, using the state money to pay his own debts [...] a. To hell with these cigarette smoking boys, my pockitt book is my principal / b. I am a degenerate son of a noble sire".

However, his writing is typically tempered with the acknowledgement that "this is a public question with two sides and this is a free country or is supposed to be therefore each individual has the right of choice." His aim seems to have been to construct an argument for Prohibition using, rather than moral rhetoric, as much convincing empirical evidence as he could; entries often include specific statistics such as crime and car accident rates before and after bans on alcohol sales in Texas counties. He also shows great consideration for the opposing side's arguments; for instance, a more stream-of-consciousness entry reads:

"1 The all important Q, is shall a man be deprived of selling what he pleases - this is an inalienable right.

2 Any man has the absolute right to buy liquor. Minors ar[e] not allowed. We got ar[sic] right to do these things - it is God gave it. Dont 14 chapter on thithing[sic]. There is the whole field of the liquor question covered. [...] The law provides that it may be sold for every purpose [...]

Prohibition is violation of the Holy Scriptures / Will one of you who laughed at his ridicule tell where he found the scripture / No man[?] new wine in old bottles / (The ax is laid at the root of the tree.) / Paul said take wine for the stomach sick / We don't prohibit we

regulate.

[...] Our forefathers fought for these rights / Sam Houston, and others [...]"

In another similarly free-associative entry, his reasons against prohibition include that "It is boy[']s nature to do what you say he shan't", "Can't make men good by law", and "I drank boat loads of it but harmed nobody"; and he remarks that "Men who have strong opinions on one side of a subject will not see the other side." These stream-of-consciousness entries sometimes veer into the bizarre, such as the following entry titled "Anecdotes":

"Get 'em in the open. Like the cowboy who saw a bald headed man on the train out West scratching the frin[g] e of hair at the base of his skull. The cowboy leaned forward and said: 'Stranger if you will run them up into the clearing you can catch em' / Got his eyes open - Old Sook John and Dad / The Arkansas girl and the Texas Cowboy. / The negro who grew in grace. / The stam[m] ering boy and his palseyed Dad / The stam[m] ering a peculiarity. / The two men who bought a fan each + one wore his out fanning while the [other] kept his by holding the fan still moving his head from side to side. / The Lousanna[sic] man who drank corn whiskey till he saw so many snakes that he decided to start a snake show / Mr Nesbitt and his namesake / A rab[b]it took a drink of No 4 and broke the latch on a bull dog's door / A peckerwood took a drink of No 3 and peeled the bark from a hickory tree / A bull frog took a drink from No 2 and when he jumped he fairly flew / A mouse took a drink from No 1 and said I am a cat lickin son of a gun."

The journal continues throughout and after Prohibition. An entry from during Prohibition, again focusing on opposition arguments, reads:

CONTINUED

Scrapbook Journal and Papers of a Texas Preacher Wrestling with the Alcohol Question.

"The U.S. has stood the depression better than most any nation. We have had to lend several of the soaking wet nations money to keep them out of bankruptcy. Irving Fisher.

Why do you oppose the 18A? It destroys my personal liberty [...] / When I want a drink I want to walk right in and take it / Women didnt drink till the 18th A was adopted / Pro. made bootleggers / It interferes with my personal liberty [...] / Americans will not stand for any one saying they shall not they shall not do this or that."

After the repeal, his focus shifts somewhat to the moral responsibility of nonvoting "drys" for the evils resulting from legalization. He writes:

"The wets now refer to repeal of the 18A. without [sic?] emphasizing the overwhelming majority for repeal and many drys swallow that like they swallowed the diabolical propaganda against the 18A. [...] No honest person wet or dry will vote for or give their consent to anything that will double drunkenness and increase car accidents and crime if they know it [will,] but that is exactly what every wet voted for and drys who didnt vote consented to and became responsible for if they knew what it was."

The loose materials mainly seem to be sermon notes, though they also contain a significant amount of Prohibition-related material. These include anecdotes

about alcohol-related car accidents; a letter from the Texas Liberal Legion favoring Roosevelt's Beer and Wine Revenue Act (with many of Garrett's notes on the back); and mailers with statements and sets of statistics from the Anti-Saloon League of America and the Methodist Episcopal Church's Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals.

Overall an engaging if sometimes strange document of a religious leader grappling with the task of convincing people of the Prohibitionist viewpoint. Of interest to historians of Texan prohibition and anti-alcohol views before, during, and after Prohibition.

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[WAR OF 1812 - RIVER RAISIN - PRISONERS OF
WAR - KENTUCKY - NATIVE AMERICAN CAPTIVITY]
MCCALLA, JOHN MOORE

1814 Letter by a Former River Raisin Prisoner Reporting Kentucky Soldiers Still Alive in Native Captivity and One Sold to French Inhabitants near Lake Michigan.

Lexington, Kentucky: January 23, 1814. Autograph letter signed "John M. McCalla" to his father, Andrew McCalla, in Philadelphia. 3 pp measuring 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Stampless folded letter with black oval Lexington January 23 postmark and manuscript "25" rate. Contemporary docketing reads in part, "Drum Major Thos. Fant taken at Raisins was still alive." Some staining and fold wear; otherwise very good.

A War of 1812 letter by John Moore McCalla, himself a veteran and former prisoner of the River Raisin campaign, reporting the survival of Kentucky soldiers previously believed killed at Dudley's Defeat and the River Raisin. Writing from Lexington a year after his own capture, McCalla relays intelligence brought by recently returned prisoners concerning men still held among Native and French communities in the Great Lakes region:

"Several soldiers who were supposed to be killed in Dudley's defeat, have come in, within the last week, who give intelligence of many more still among the Savages, and Patterson Clark from Clark Cty is still alive and among them. One who came in last night says that he left Patterson among the French at the extremity of Lake

Lexington January 23 1814

Dear Father

I wrote to you by last Monday's mail; but in consequence of the death of Mrs. Parke, I now write again to notify you of it, and of my intended course in consequence. He died on Friday and Mrs. McCalla arrived on the Monday before. Mr. Clark & myself went out the evening after his death and took possession of his things. We have brought in all the moveables, except a few articles for cooking and bedding, which are together with the provisions and the children left in care of Biddy Cross until tomorrow. The court meets in 2 weeks when by Mr. Clark's & Clark's advice I shall in your name apply for letters of administration on the estate and for an order to sell the effects. I had thought to leave the things which are remaining at the place in the care of Biddy until court meets, as there are some pieces for the room, which a man by the name of Patterson promises in that case to weave. And also in order that the stock there may be taken

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1814 Letter by a Former River Raisin Prisoner.

Michigan 250 miles from Detroit. He had been sold by the Indians to the French for 2 years by his consent. He did it in order to get clear of the savages. He says that there were 7 in the same village he lived in and mentioned one who was taken in Winchester's defeat. You know him; it is our little Drum Major Thos. Fant. He says he saw him among the Indians."

The contemporary docketing singles out the news of Fant's survival, suggesting the importance attached to the report by McCalla's family. McCalla had served as adjutant of the 5th Kentucky Volunteer Regiment, fought at the River Raisin, and been captured during the American defeat in January 1813.[1] His account was therefore written by a recently returned prisoner reporting news of soldiers who had shared the same campaign.

The remainder of the letter provides a cross-section of wartime Lexington life. McCalla reports several local deaths, including that of a young woman whose death was attributed to dancing at a ball without adequate winter clothing and then walking into the cold while overheated. He also describes taking possession of a deceased man's estate and preparing to seek letters of administration. A lengthy postscript concerns the proposed sale of a tract of land, with one-third payable immediately and the balance payable in gunpowder.

McCalla closes with news of a sermon and collection for the local Bible Society.

A varied wartime Kentucky letter whose principal passage preserves intelligence concerning missing prisoners from the River Raisin and Dudley's Defeat, written by a man who had himself recently survived capture in the same theater.

[1] John McCalla Family Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

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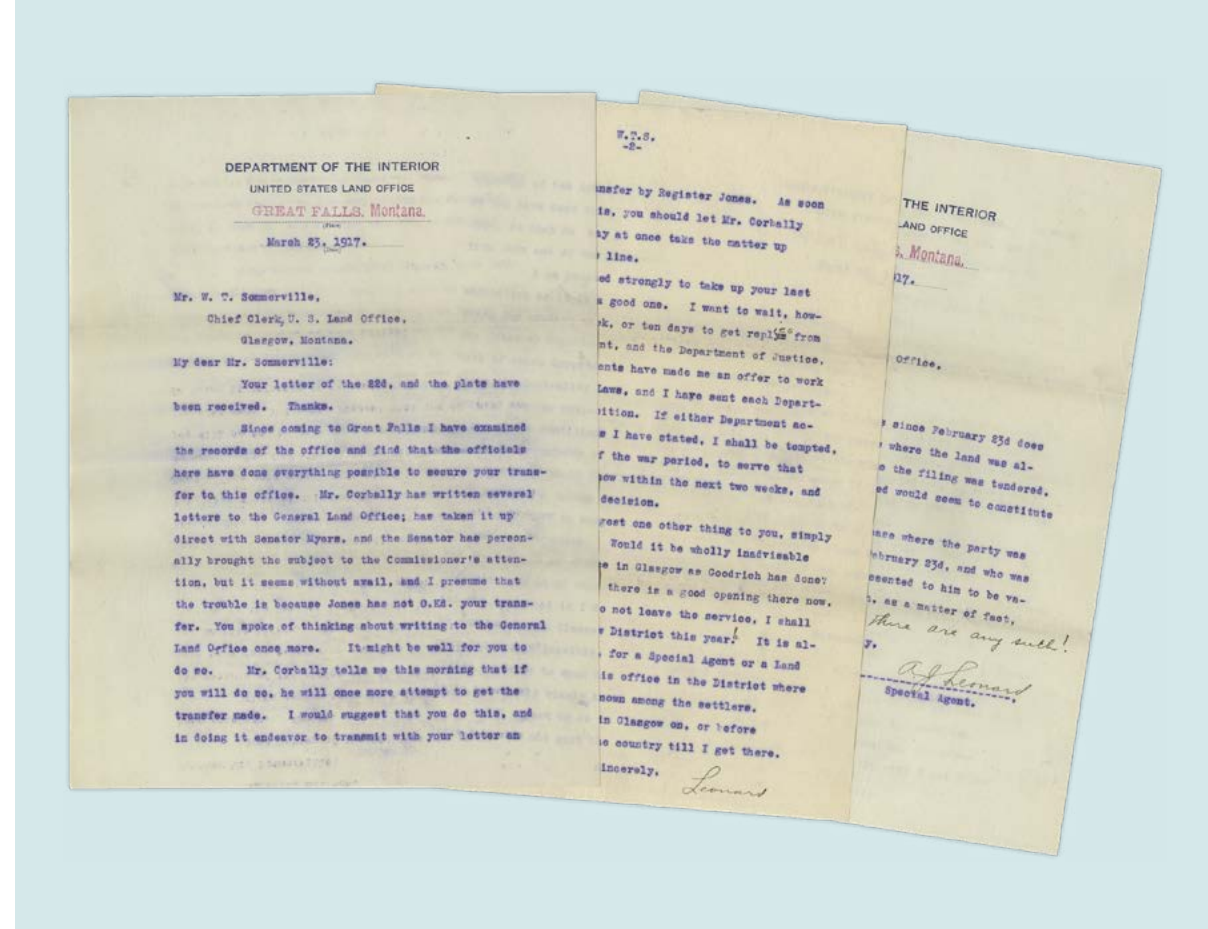
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[WESTERN AMERICANA - US GENERAL LAND OFFICE - CIVIL SERVICE] SOMMERVILLE, WILLIAM T.; ET AL.

“Most everything is in mighty poor shape & the records are a fright”: Correspondence Archive of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family, 1909–1939.

Spokane, Washington; Coeur d'Alene, Idaho; Glasgow, Montana; and others: 1909 - 1939. Appx. 157 letters: 65 from 1909 - 1914, 23 from 1916 - 1919, 3 from 1920 - 1929, and 66 from 1930 - 1939. Generally excellent.

Established in 1812, the US General Land Office oversaw the surveying, administration, and sale of the federal public domain, shaping the settlement and development of the American West. The public domain itself was of course not an empty “frontier” but land taken from or ceded by Indigenous nations through treaties, coercion, and conquest, with large swathes ultimately placed into private ownership by the operation of the GLO. With booms of Euro-American migration throughout the century greatly enlarging the land business, Congress quickly recognized the call for a significant bureaucratic apparatus, and district land offices spread across the new territories.[1] These district land offices were immensely powerful as arms of the federal government in newly acquired land, creating the history of the region as we know it; as historian Louis Pelzer put it, “who will say that the operations of the land office at Marietta or



Zanesville are less worthy of the work of historians than are events like the taking of Fort Ticonderoga or the battle of Bunker Hill?”[2]

By the 1910s and 20s, the agency was in a transitional period, as much of the remaining public domain required increasingly complex administration rather than simple disposal, making its local land offices important centers of the expanding federal civil service. Its services turned more towards leases, grazing fees, and mineral royalties—now functions of its successor agency, the Bureau of Land Management. The US was then solidifying what historian Robert Wiebe called an “experiment in bureaucratic order”: the transition during the late 19th and early 20th centuries from a US comprised of “islands” of autonomous locales towards a

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Correspondence of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family.

centralized, bureaucratized system of management.[3]

Offered here is an archive of correspondence between land agent William T. Sommerville (b. 1891), members of his family, and his fellow land agents. Comprising approximately 157 letters written between 1909 and 1939, these letters cover Sommerville's time working in district land offices in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and Glasgow and Great Falls, Montana; and in a later unidentified civil service position—possibly Army Corps of Engineers or Bureau of Reclamation—in Seattle, Washington. Rather than documenting the disposition of specific land claims, the letters are personal and concerned with the daily routines of government office work: workload, transfers, office politics, and balancing this with the needs of one's family in strange new lands. Taken together, they provide an uncommon ground-level view of life within one of the federal government's most important administrative agencies.

Early letters frequently come from Sommerville's wife, Lucie "Lou" Eppinger, who was living in Spokane while her husband worked at the land office in Coeur d'Alene. The burden on land agents of living apart from their loved ones for long periods of time is a theme in the letters; in a 1917 letter, a fellow agent, M.S. Hubbard in Glasgow, Montana, writes to Sommerville:

"I must go and that too if possible before July as my wife is not at all well and I fear being so far away in the case of an emergency. Just think it would take 36 or more hours if suddenly called home. I tell you it is no fun being obliged to live so far away from ones dear ones as I have

been forced to do these many years past, and I want to dut [sic] it out as soon as I can." (April 17)

Even if their families could accompany them, agents did not necessarily enjoy the opportunity to live in various "strange" locales. Coeur d'Alene agent Harris F. Shaw writes in 1913:

"I have talked over the matter with Mrs. Shaw and she says she cant see me taking a special agent's job for dust, leaving her alone in a strange town, as much as we could use any possible increase in stipend. A year so ago I was anxious to get into the field provided I could choose my territory, Sharps division or the San Francisco division, but I have rather given up any idea of even that. So far as the office here is concerned the work has fallen off just about the way we predicted it would last winter, altho we are still running maximum safely." (November 19)

Sommerville's job takes him to Helena and Miles City, Montana, and then Glasgow in 1914. From Glasgow, Sommerville writes a number of letters describing the day-to-day experience with land office work:

"I have been at work all day & have got a pretty good idea of the way things are handled here. Most everything is in mighty poor shape & the records are a fright. The first thing I am going to do is change the method of handling all applications & proofs, & am going to try & get some system running before the 16th when there are several new townships to be opened & a big bunch of entries made. I certainly have my work cut out for me if I get this office into any shape at all, but I have the backing of both the officers & the G.L.O. so in time I ought to come out all right." (April 7, 1914)

A few days later, he writes:

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Correspondence of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family.

"I got started all right today & things are beginning to go a little in the right way But it will be a big job to get everything right & will take lots of time. There is an awful lot of work comes in each day. We assign anywhere from 50 to 150 serial numbers a day. Our serials run up to 027300 now & I expect there will be several thousand more this summer. I am not going to work very hard tonight or tomorrow. Just look over & root out all that is piled on my desk & get it in shape so Wolfe, the other clerk here can handle it. He is a new man on probationary appointment & not as familiar with this work as he might be, but if he takes his time I think he can handle it all right. I have had one man working out our [blanks?] & getting up a requisition & this afternoon I started making up a supply requisition. I'll probably finish it tomorrow sometime & we can get them off Monday." (April 11)

Based on location and timing, Sommerville was likely put to work on claims coming from the 1908 Fort Peck Allotment Act. The act provided for the survey and allotment of the land that is now the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, with the surplus land after this allotment sold. This reservation is home to members of the Assiniboiné and Sioux nations; according to the 1908 act, each household received 320 acres of land, with further parcels set aside for Indian Agency use, schools and churches for the reservation, and land for the Great Northern Railroad. In 1913, there were about 1.3 million acres of surplus land available for homesteaders. According to Sommerville's letters, though, interest in this land was not overwhelming:

"There were only 40 out of the first 100 [numbers?] that

selected land on the Reservation today and only 13 that filed in the land office. I am taking all the reservation filings myself so I will know the records are all right on them." (May 1)

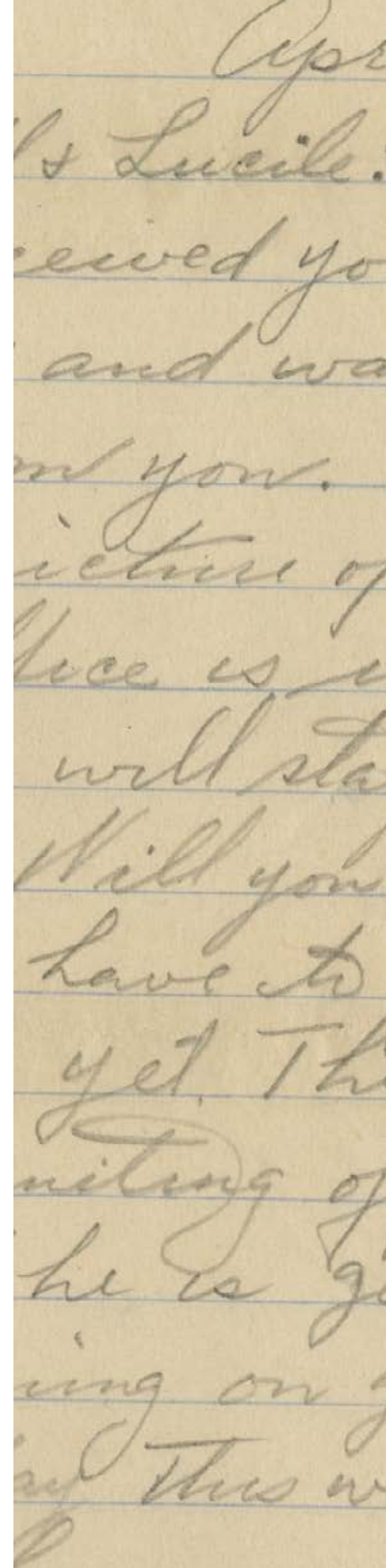
The following day, noting "only five filings on the reservation today" and that "only 84 out of the first 200 have selected land," Sommerville remarks that "This reservation is going to be a regular farce on account of the high price they put on the land" (May 2).

After a few years in Glasgow, Sommerville put in a request for transfer to Great Falls. From the latter, land agent A.J. Leonard writes:

"Since coming to Great Falls I have examined the records of the office and find that the officials here have done everything possible to secure your transfer to this office. Mr. Corbally has written several letters to the General Land Office; has taken it up direct with Senator Myers, and the Senator has personally brought the subject to the Commissioner's attention, but it seems without avail, and I presume that the trouble is because [Register] Jones has not O.K.d your transfer. You spoke of thinking about writing to the General Land Office once more. It might be well for you to do so. [...] I want to suggest one other thing to you, simply for you[r] consideration. Would it be wholly inadvisable for you to open an office in Glasgow as Goodrich has done? It would seem to me that there is a good opening there now, and you know that if I do not leave the service, I shall be working in the Glasgow District this year! It is always better, if possible, for a Special Agent or a Land Office employee to open his office in the District where he is personally widely known among the settlers." (March 23, 1917)

Leonard seems to be suggesting that Sommerville

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Correspondence of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family.

go into private practice of some kind. Note also his comment about the district's register, Jones. Land office registers had significant authority and power in their locales because they were able to interpret legislation, set their own standards for land claims, and advise potential claimants—especially wealthy and influential ones.[1] In a 1920 letter, Sommerville mentions that a friend, Walter Bennett, has "absolute assurance that he can be the next Register here, or possibly even Commissioner in Washington," should Bennet's "old school chum" Governor Frank O. Lowden be nominated as the Republican presidential candidate (June 1).

Nonetheless, in a letter after Sommerville's transfer has been approved, apprising him of office politics, Leonard states that their register is a mere "figure-head":

"Many hearty congratulations on your new assignment. I know you will like the office much better than in Glasgow. [...] I am leaving this letter, so that you may be on your guard about certain matters and not allow anyone to prejudice your mind in advance. 1. Mr. Corbally and I have talked office conditions over and I have told him that the proper and only way to do is to tell you you are to be Chief Clerk in every sense of the word and then let you alone to run the office. 2. The Register is a figure-head, now holding over his term and knows nothing of the office. Don't allow him to interfere with your duties as Chief Clerk at all. If he tries it, let him know at the start that you will run the staff room. 3. There has been some nasty misunderstandings between Miss Chapman and Miss Julia Mutschler. It is sufficient for you to know from me

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

Great Falls, Mont.,

March 28, 1917.

Sommerville:

Many hearty congratulations on your new assignment. I will like the office much better than in Glasgow. I may hope to meet you on Sunday next and talk over matters, but for fear I may be detained in Helena as I anticipate, I am leaving this letter, so that you may be on your guard about certain matters and not allow anyone to prejudice your mind in advance.

Mr. Corbally and I have talked office conditions over and I have told him that the proper and only way to do is to tell you you are to be Chief Clerk in every sense of the word and then let you alone to run the office.

The Register is a figure-head, now holding over his term and knows nothing of the office. Don't allow him to interfere with your duties as Chief Clerk at all. If he tries it, let him know at the start that you will run the staff room.

There has been some nasty misunderstandings between Miss Chapman and Miss Julia Mutschler. It is sufficient for you to know from me that Miss Julia is a sweet clean girl and all right; that Miss Chapman, though competent in the office, is a little bit of a dirty behind behind the curtains. Don't let her lead you into thinking she is what she appears to be on the outside.

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Correspondence of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family.

that Miss Julia is a sweet clean girl and all right in every way; that Miss Chapman, though competent in the office, is unreliable and dirty behind the curtains. Don't let her mislead you into thinking she is what she appears to be on the face of things." (March 28, 1917)

In his March 23 letter, Leonard also makes one of the few comments in the archive about the particulars of the work itself:

"The list of filings since February 23d does not seem to include any cases where the land was already appropriated at the time the filing was tendered, and so none of the cases listed would seem to constitute a violation of the statute. I am hunting for a case where the party was approached and located since February 23d, and who was shown the land, which was represented to him to be vacant and subject to entry, when, as a matter of fact, it was not. Dont suppose there are any such!"

On February 23, Congress had passed "An Act To punish persons who make false representations to settlers and others pertaining to the public lands of the United States", which made this exact sort of misrepresentation a crime punishable by a fine of up to \$300 and/or up to one year imprisonment. In a 1920 letter, Sommerville mentions that a friend, Mr. Nevlow, "has been indicted by the Grand Jury for mis-locating someone and is supposed to plead to the indictment tomorrow" (June 1), perhaps related to this statute.

Meanwhile, M.S. Hibbard updates Sommerville on his previous office in Glasgow, and the impacts of the First

World War on the pool of employees:

"The new chief clerk - Mr. Cunningham - is a fine fellow and I am quise [sic] sure that you would like him. He goes about the work very earnestly [sic] and quietly and slowly but surely we are gettingbout [sic] from under so that if there is no great rush in the near future we will be able to see the decks fairly clear by the first of June. [...] I am fighting along and making better progress every day so that now I am but 4 days back but do have hopes that by next Saturday I can close with the currant [sic] days work all done. [...] We now have eight clerks, four of them ladies. A Miss Mann from Miles City arrived on Monday and I understand that we will have a new girl soon which will mean that we will have to let one of the extras go. If this war keeps up I should not be at all surprised to see the majority of the clerks on the different officeis [sic] ladies in place of men as many of the men will probably enlist in some capacity with the management of the war." (April 17, 1917)

Another Glaswegian land officer, C.J. Roberts, has his request for transfer denied by the GLO, "owing to the many recent changes in the clerical force here due to transfers and resignations" (April 25, 1917). The Glasgow office seemed to have been notoriously disorganized and disagreeable work; Roberts remarks that "This is a chronic condition in this office", and states that they had "cut out the telephone" in order to catch up on their work.

In one letter, Sommerville describes actually travelling out to some of the homesteading land in question, though it is on a social call to a friend's "folks' homestead near Gilman" Montana:

"His folks have a homestead right out on the project and just about a half mile from the main irrigation ditch.

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Correspondence of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family.

The land all around them is withdrawn and they have no neighbors nearer than five miles. You can't see another house from their place and going east you can drive for miles across the prairie without seeing a house or finding a fence. It is certainly lonely out there, but the land is fine and it will be a fine country when it is settled up. [...] One fine thing they have out there is good water. There is a deep big coulee cuts through their west forty and the west side of the coulee is just one big spring. You can dig a hole anywhere and start water running and it is just as fine cold clear water as I ever saw." (June 1, 1920)

After the 1920s, Sommerville left the land office business and relocated with his family to Portland, Oregon. However, he did not leave the civil service, instead hopping to a different agency, indicating that he saw himself not as a "land office man" per se, but as a federal bureaucrat; to paraphrase Wiebe, identifying with his skills rather than his community.[3] The specific position he takes is not mentioned, though the agency has a "contract & purchase section" alongside an "engineering department" (October 10, 1936), suggesting Army Corps of Engineers or Bureau of Reclamation. Whatever the position, most of the culture of the office seems to be centered around drinking beer, "football & football pools" (October 28, 1936).

Sommerville's aspiration seems to have been to join the newly-formed Social Security Administration; he mentions hearing "from the Social Security Board in San Francisco" with a blank application and instructions to "get in touch with the District Director when he arrived from Washington", though "the Social Security Board

will only have a small office force at first as most of the work is being done by the Post office & Internal Revenue Dept's" (November 16, 1936). However, the Social Security office is "keeping busy now turning away people looking for jobs" (November 19, 1936), and Sommerville finds himself at the mercy of expanding bureaucracy:

"You asked me about what the Civil Service sent back to me. It was my application to take the exam for Direct & Field Clk The one I filed last January. All they wanted was a more detailed explanation of my experience in the land offices. I sent it back & that is the last I've heard. It's over seven months since we took that examination & still none of us have had any [notion?] of the grades received. They are sure taking a long time to grade the papers. I am trying to get another application from the Social Security so I can fill the same application in Seattle that I have here but will have to wait till I can get it from San Francisco as they have none here. It will be at least the first of the year before they do anything about a permanent force & by that time I'll have a chance to go up & see them in Seattle. [...] Well my land office experience was so long ago that it really won't amount to so much as the fact that I am in the service now & only asking for a transfer." (November 23, 1936)

While official records of the General Land Office survive in abundance, they reveal comparatively little about the lived experiences of the people who worked there. This archive, by contrast, records the everyday administration of the civil service as experienced by the civil servants who administered it—their office politics, transfers and promotions, piles of paperwork, and family lives take the fore. Moreover, it provides a firsthand illustration of the expansion and professionalization of the civil service and the growth of the bureaucratic system. Of interest to historians of the late settlement of the West,

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Correspondence of a Western Land Office Clerk and His Family.

administration of the public domain, and the civil service.

[1] Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837* (Oxford University Press, 1968).

[2] Louis Pelzer, "The Public Domain as a Field for Historical Study," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 12, no. 4 (1914), 575.

[3] Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order: 1877-1920* (Hill and Wang, 1967).

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Dearest Lucie:

Received your letter

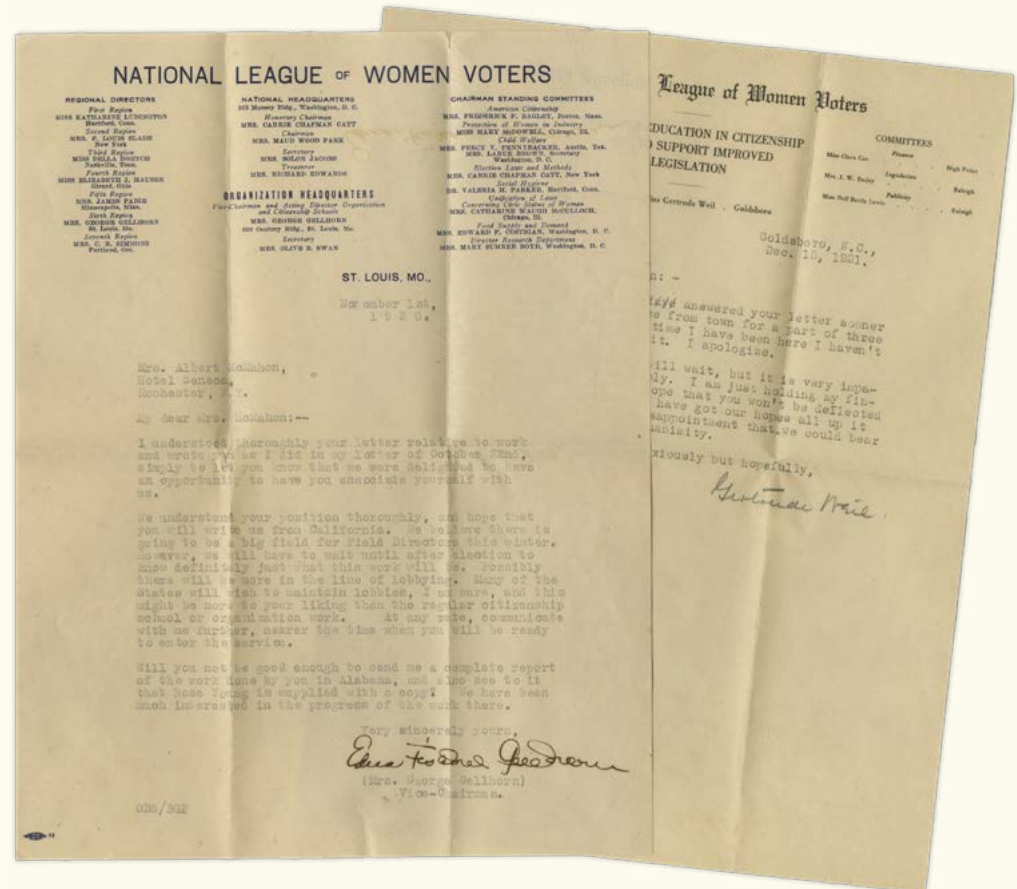
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[WOMAN SUFFRAGE - NINETEENTH AMENDMENT - POLITICAL ORGANIZING] [MARIA MCMAHON] CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN; MILLS, HARRIET MAY; RIDGLEY, MABEL LLOYD; UELAND, CLARA; UPTON, HARRIET TAYLOR; ET AL.

Correspondence Collection of Maria Saunders McMahan, Including Letters from Major Figures in the 1910s and 20s Fight for Woman Suffrage Praising Her Activism and Discussing the Realities of Political Organizing within the National Movement.

United States: 1880 - 1970. Appx. 110 items: 40 letters and 70 other items. 12 letters dating 1880 - 1901; 21 dating 1914 - 1922; and seven dating 1928 - 1960 and no date. Note that some letters are copies sent to McMahan, though sometimes signed; these are noted in the description when quoted. With 25 completed postcards (1910 - 1970), four telegrams, four greeting cards, five photographs, six pieces of suffrage or women's rights-related ephemera, and 26 pieces of other ephemera. Generally excellent.

The woman suffrage movement of the 1910s and early 1920s marked the culmination of decades of organized activism for women's political rights in the United States. Through protests, parades, petitions, and increasingly visible acts of civil disobedience, suffragists raised the momentum to that of a national—and successful, on



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Correspondence Collection of Woman Suffragist Maria Saunders McMahon.

many counts—political movement.

Offered here is the correspondence collection of a lesser-known but apparently quite influential suffragist, Maria Saunders McMahon (1871–1958). Unlike her correspondents, who include Carrie Chapman Catt, Harriet Taylor Upton, Clara Ueland, and others, McMahon was not well-known outside the movement—in one letter, Catt states of McMahon that public speaking is “not her forte”. Instead, McMahon performed the crucial behind-the-scenes work involved in political organizing, to the high praise of her better-known counterparts. Letters from her fellow organizers cover the time both pre- and post-ratification of the 19th Amendment, and both shower McMahon with praise and discuss with her the logistics of the work.

In a 1915 copy of a letter to Clara Ueland accepting a position as “organizer for Minnesota,” McMahon lays out the path she took to becoming a suffragist, starting with a lecture from Frances Squire Potter, which “converted me.” She moved with her family to Cleveland “in the summer of that whirl-wind campaign of 1912” to amend Ohio’s constitution:

“After seeing the Ohio women fight through that campaign, realizing the spirit that inspired such a splendid effort to accomplish the almost impossible, I felt that the cause which would make almost hundreds of women forget themselves entirely and count nothing too hard to do for an altruistic gain, was the cause to which I wished to devote my energy. In August, 1913, the Cuyahoga County Party asked me if I would organize for

it, giving all my time and having a salary. This position I held until after last fall’s (1914) election, working first in the city, then both in the county and city and then exclusively in the county. Later I also undertook, at the request of Mrs Upton, the organizing of three additional counties.” (March 9, 1915)

This began McMahon’s nation-spanning career as a professional political organizer, which took her from Ohio to Minnesota, New York, Delaware, and North Carolina. She had clearly found her calling, based on the praise she received. Harriet Taylor Upton writes: “I think you are a perfect wonder at organizing. Gee Whiz! New York or Pennsylvania ought to give you a good big salary, and you ought to drown your family and go there and work” (October 15, 1914). The Ohio Woman Suffrage Association writes in 1914 to tell her of a unanimous resolution “to send you a letter of thanks for your splendid help” (December 16); Clara Ueland “must tell you how pleased we all are at the progress you are making. We think you are doing wonders” in Minnesota (May 11, 1915); Harriet May Mills tells Ueland that McMahon “has won all our hearts and has done wonderful work for the Cause” in New York (November 3, 1915); and Mabel Lloyd Ridgely tells Mary Garrett Hay that McMahon “not only proved her worth to the women and so endeared herself to them that they gladly followed her leadership,” but also “won many men to support us because she gave them a new and favorable opinion of the Suffrage Organizer,” alongside increasing the number of auxiliary organizations in Delaware from one to 26 (June 19, 1920).

Besides the heaps of praise, the women’s letters discuss practical matters of political organizing, clearly valuing McMahon’s advice. For instance, Clara Ueland writes:

“There are two things I want to ask you about – first

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AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE
NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE AND
Mrs. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 171 MADISON AVENUE
TELEPHONE, 4819 MURRAY HILL
NEW YORK

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
CHAIRMAN
Mrs. CHARLES H. BROOKS
WICHITA, KANSAS
SECRETARY
Miss KATHERINE PIERCE
112 N. BROADWAY
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA

PRESS DEPARTMENT
Miss ROSE YOUNG, Director
171 Madison Ave., New York

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Mc Mahon:

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Correspondence Collection of Woman Suffragist Maria Saunders McMahan.

I believe it will be a good idea to have 'melting-pot' meetings; say in the month of June, for the Campaign states, and to make an effort to get the suffragists out in the state to do so also. [...] If you can get up many meetings [the money] might count up, and it is such good advertising, and such a fine motive, and to know such meetings are being held in many places is stimulating. [...] The second thing is quite important and I want your serious consideration of it and advice. A Mrs. Lutz in St Paul has wanted to do organizing work for us for some time but we have been able to turn it off, for various reasons, but now she says she will work for her expenses and a friend of hers offers to raise \$50 a month for two months if we will take her. My opinion is that she is not the kind of woman we want to represent us in any way. She is the widow of a Methodist minister. She speaks often, and is so emotional and has a camp meeting style, very strongly prohibition, always bringing that in. She is an 'entertainer' – singing songs and reciting. Some of her friends are on the board and will want to have the offer accepted. An alternative to having her do any organizing is to let her go out as a speaker, but I think that is just as much of a mistake, while she does interest certain kinds of people of rather an ignorant class, we do not want a woman like that as representing our state association, because she is apt to prejudice the cause in the minds of people of a higher class." (May 20, 1915)

Carrie Chapman Catt writes the only letter remotely critical of McMahan, concerning subpar press coverage of ratification in Delaware, and providing a close look at the relationship between the suffragists and the press:

"I am wondering what you did, if anything, to give publicity on the twenty thousand names gotten to the petition. You will remember that that was the subject of long and numerous conferences in New York. It was not enough to announce the news here that a million women had signed, but the news must be repeated over and over again until it reaches the last voter. That, I think, has not been properly looked after in Delaware. At least the news has not reached here. You had a splendid showing, but did the legislators know it? [...] Very bad publicity was coming from Delaware. It was all pessimistic and we had every reason to believe that all press facilities were being controlled by anti-suffragists. The Governor had given out that there was not much hope, and we concluded that he had reasons for doing so. Then the Woman's Party gave out still a worse interview, and we concluded that there must be some reason why it was considered advantageous to send out this kind of report. While we were cogitating over it, one of the most dependable newspaper women in New York came to us to beg that someone be sent down to get out the truth about Delaware. [...] Of course upon [Marjorie Shuler] arriving, we learned that two newspaper people had been engaged, a woman and a man, and that the only thing she could do was to feed them with material for press work they were paid to get out. [...] The press clippings from Delaware show that there has been much in your home papers. All this is influential on the situation there. But there is a national aspect, and these newspapers outside of Delaware were of equal interest to us; and Miss Shuler has done a splendid job in the reports sent to those papers. It has been an awkward situation for her, and very awkward for us, since we had the feeling that there was not perfect harmony and understanding among our workers there." (April 6, 1920)

Nonetheless, Catt planned to send McMahan to North

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Correspondence Collection of Woman Suffragist Maria Saunders McMahon.

Carolina to push for ratification, advising her to be strategic in her approach in the Southern state, the culture of which differed from McMahon's Northern home turf:

"The National will send you to North Carolina immediately upon your release from Delaware, if you will go, and will stand for salary and expenses up to the call of the legislature, and perhaps during the legislature. 'North Carolina is sensitive about outside influence.' All states have that disease, but the Southern states have it a little harder than any others. [...] I think, however, it will be a Democratic political job, just as it was a Republican political job in Delaware. There is however a white man's Republican party in North Carolina. It has never been big enough to control matters, but it is a wholesome influence which keeps the Democrats in order. [...] The situation is far better there in many respects than in any other Southern state." (*ibid.*)

The letter shows Catt as the strategist she was: though not a supporter of the white supremacist system *per se*, she noted as an argument that could be leveraged in Southern states that "White supremacy will be strengthened, not weakened, by woman suffrage." [1]

Letters from after ratification discuss potential future jobs for McMahon, such as "in the line of lobbying" (Edna Fischel Gellhorn, November 1, 1920); remark on the excitement of the new voters who "all want to take lessons at once and learn EVERYTHING before the November elections" (Gertrude Weil, September 1, 1920); and a letter from Catt to "our Ex-Field Workers"

commemorates "the long, dreary trail by which we pressed ever onward" (November 25, 1920).

Also from McMahon's organizing days come several pieces of scarce suffragist ephemera: a 1917 "Women Watcher's [*i.e.*, *poll watcher*] Certificate"; an undated report packet for the New York State Woman Suffrage Party for Jefferson County, listing towns and their "captains"; University of Virginia Record (V., no. 6, February 1920) concerning the "School of Citizenship" co-presented with the Virginia League of Women Voters, presumably teaching civics to the new voters, and a pamphlet for a similar program, Catt's "School of Education for Citizenship"; a pamphlet for the Victory Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association; and the Woman Suffrage Party NYC's "What A Woman Voter Must Know" booklet. A photograph shows a group of unknown women, one holding a sign reading "SUFFRAGE / SCHOOL & METHODS" and the others holding "VOTES FOR WOMEN" banners.

One large portrait of McMahon has a manuscript caption on the verso identifying her as "Lecturer, Personality + Practical Psychology"; alongside letters attempting to schedule her for a lecture series at University of Florida's extension school, we get some idea of her later career.

The remainder of the material comes from McMahon's and her family's personal lives, including a number of postcards from McMahon's friends and children, some 19th-century family letters, and a few mid-1860s manuscript receipts for the sale of cotton, presumably by or to her forebears.

Of interest to historians of the later woman suffrage movement and of political organizing generally, the collection provides a look at the work of organizing for

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COMMITTEES	
Education	Miss Nellie Roberson . . . Chapel Hill
Finance	Mrs. J. W. Cone Greensboro
Publicity	Miss Martha Haywood . . . Raleigh
Publicity Council	Miss Harriet Elliott . . . Greensboro
Ratification	
Second District	Mrs. William A. Lucas Wilson
Third District	Miss Bettie Windley . . . New Bern
Fourth District	Miss Lillian Thomson . . . Raleigh
Fifth District	Miss Louise Alexander . . . Greensboro
Eighth District	Mrs. J. P. Moore Salisbury
Tenth District	Mrs. C. M. Platt Asheville

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Gertrude Weil

Correspondence Collection of Woman Suffragist Maria Saunders McMahon.

women's rights through both professional and personal
correspondence.

[1] Carrie Chapman Catt (Ed.), *Woman Suffrage by Federal
Constitutional Amendment* (National Woman Suffrage
Publishing Company, 1917), 76.

\$8,000

OHIO WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

HONORARY PRESIDENT, FRANCES M. CASEMENT, PAINESVILLE

PRESIDENT
HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON
Warren

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
ZARA du PONT
1814 East 89 St., Cleveland

SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
DORA SANDOE BACHMAN
Eberly Building, Columbus

RECORDING SECRETARY
HELEN WISE MOLONY,
2 Hamilton Pike, North College Hill
Cincinnati



CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
ETHEL R. VORCE
1706 Euclid Ave., Cleveland

TREASURER
ZELL HART DEMING
Warren

AUDITOR
MRS. JULIUS F. STONE
Station A, Route 5, Arlington, Columbus

MEMBER NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
MRS. O. F. DAVISSON
307 Central Ave., Dayton

HEADQUARTERS: MASONIC BLDG., WARREN, OHIO

April, 5, 1915.



Mrs. Maria S. McMahon,
c/o Mrs. Andreas Ueland,
403 Essex Bldg.,
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mrs. McMahon:-

You do not need to thank me for anything
I have done, if you had not made good I could not have re-
commended you so you see it is up to you. Glad to have you
tell about your work. Hope everything will be all right.
We have a little wee bit of money now and ^{omitted}
the executive committee last Tuesday were wishing you were
homw so you could work for us. Did you ever know in your
life the way things turn up. You might have hung around
here all summer and we could not have used you, still this
might not be a permanent thing and it will probably be better
as it is in the long run.

Cordially yours,

Harriet Taylor Upton

HTU:T

[WOMEN - LAW - EARLY REPUBLIC - IMPRISONMENT
- POSTAL HISTORY] CHART, HEPHSIBAH

1812 Letter by a Massachusetts Woman Challenging a Federal Official's Refusal to Accept Bail for Her Imprisoned Husband: "I am done. I have no spirit left."

Beverly, Massachusetts: June 3, 1812. Autograph letter signed "Hephshibah Chart" to David Gelston, Collector of the Port of New York. Stampless entire with red manuscript "Beverly June 4th" dispatch marking and manuscript "17" rate for a single letter carried between 150 and 300 miles. Central filing fold; otherwise very fine.

An emotionally charged letter showing a married woman attempting to intervene in the administration of law on behalf of her imprisoned husband. Writing to David Gelston, the federal customs collector at New York, Hephshibah Chart argues that he possessed the discretion to accept the proposed bail and therefore bore responsibility for the suffering caused by his refusal.

Chart reports fainting before she could read Gelston's previous letter and accuses him of proceeding to "the extremity of the law." She questions the credibility of information supplied by "some low dirty fellow" and appeals directly to Gelston's conscience, telling him that he "ought to have feelings to act with wisdom to be done as you would wish to be done by." Although she held no formal position in the case, Chart evaluates the sufficiency of the bond, challenges the conduct of an

Beverly June 3-1812

David Gelston Esq

Sir With joy intermix with fear I received your letter and before I could read it I fainted for fear what the contents would be, Alas you have giving me no satisfaction ^{on the subject of bail} but I have my hope from me for I was greatly encourage by Salus Collectors that you would take such Bonds he said it would be unreasonable and he should think hard if you refuse; for sir I think it is in your power to take such Bail as you please and to write and just that you should, and if you Regret of the distress that has occasioned his friends and myself you will not refuse, and I think sir that you ought not to go to the Extremity of the law in such Case you ought to have feelings to act with wisdom to Done as you would wish to be Done by; Sir I will insteat on you once more to be my friend, for how can you wish to keep me in this distrest any longer, where we will secure you with undoubted Bonds how in Conscience can you ask any more of strangers in our Common to regard strangers where we must them and we shall be proud for it I think that you ought to be of favours as duty would allow and instead of that you went to the extremity of the law, and if you had information I think sir it came some low dirty fellow that would tell every story if he thought he should be benefited enough by it to get him self intericate; I think sir that you have been too severe with Mr. Chart, and you Conscience will tell you so in some future hour, sir if you don't want hour of death and that hour will surely approach us all Sir I do not wish you any harm for what you must arrive to as good degree of happiness is another word as you have made me miserable in this. Adieu Hephshibah Chart

I am done I have no spirit left

CONTINUED

1812 Letter from a Woman Challenging a Federal Official on Her Husband's Bail.

influential federal officer, and insists that legal authority be exercised with proportionality and mercy.

Her closing rebuke is particularly forceful: "I wish you might arrive to as good a degree of happiness in another world as you have made me miserable in this." After signing, she adds: "I am done. I have no spirit left."

Gelston was a veteran of New York's revolutionary government and a former delegate to the Confederation Congress whom Thomas Jefferson appointed Collector of the Port of New York in 1801. As collector, he exercised broad authority over customs enforcement, vessel seizures, maritime bonds, and prosecutions for violations of federal trade laws, making him one of the most powerful federal officials in the nation's principal port. The precise charge against Chart's husband is not stated. The letter nevertheless offers a clear example of the petitionary and moral arguments through which women without formal legal standing sought to influence public officials and protect their households in the early republic.

ought to have feelings to stretch
and wish to be done by;
more to be my friend, for how can
it be any longer, when we will
not. how in Conscience can you
be an Command to regard strangers
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[WOMEN - MIGRATION - NEW ORLEANS - NATCHEZ - SOCIAL LIFE] "S.E."

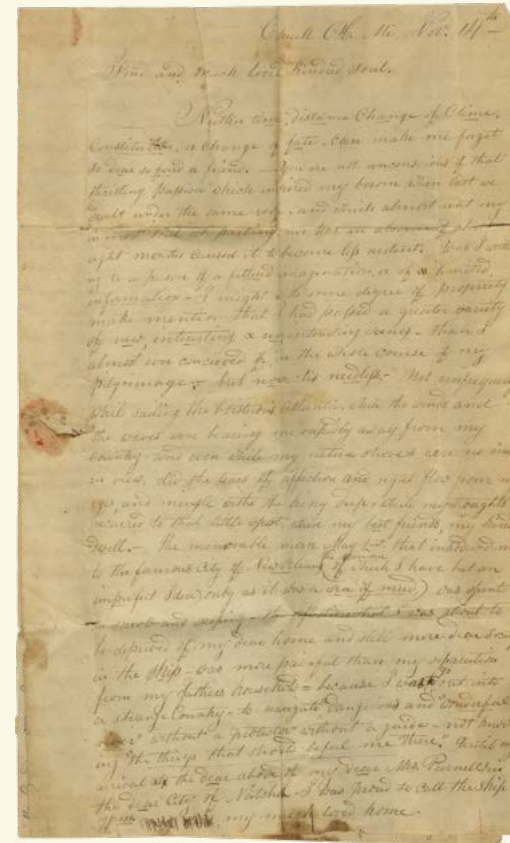
Letter by a Northern Woman Describing Mississippi and Warning Her Family Against Emigration to the Region: "Be contented in your present situation. You will not amend it by emigration."

Copiah Court House, Mississippi: November 16, 1824. Stampless folded letter, 4 pp., addressed to E. Goodrich, Esq., Richmond, Massachusetts, with manuscript "Copiah C.H. Mi. 16th Novr. 1824" postmark and manuscript rate. Uniform toning, fold wear, and several small losses affecting portions of the text; otherwise very good.

A lengthy letter by a young northern woman who had traveled by sea to New Orleans and continued through Natchez into the interior of Mississippi. Although addressed on the outside to E. Goodrich, the letter appears to have been intended chiefly for Goodrich's wife, whom the writer addresses as her aunt. The writer discusses local gossip about prominent members of society there, bemoans the "uncouth" and "superstitious" settlers, and ultimately warns her family against the idea of emigrating to the area.

She opens by recalling her arrival in New Orleans on May 1:

"The memorable morn May 1st that introduced me to the



famous City of New Orleans—the appearance of which I have but an imperfect idea, only as it was a sea of mud—was spent in sorrow and weeping. The reflection that I was about to be deprived of my dear home and still more dear society in the Ship, was more painful than my separation from my Father's household—because I was to go out into a strange Country—to navigate without a guide—not knowing the things that should befall me there. Until my arrival at the dear abode of my dear Mrs. Purnell in the dear City of Natchez, I was proud to call the Ship Wm. my much loved home. I aroused from this agreeable [reverie] and found myself alone. The name of Wybra is sacred to me as that of father, mother, sister or brother. You will embrace the same principle, and whenever the name of Harriette occurs to your memory, not a blessing to be invoked in which Capt. James Wybra

CONTINUED

Letter from a Northern Women Warning Her Family Against Emigrating South.

does not share a part—his tenderness, his politeness, his affection for me shall not be forgotten while life, or thought, or being lasts, or even while 'immortality endures.' He shall be blest, his posterity blest, and in a Heaven of bliss meet his sure reward."

She continues by describing an encounter with Judge Allen, likely Barnabas Allen, who would later become a substantial Copiah County enslaver:

"You have heard of Judge Allen. At the celebration of Independence I heard he was present. I was very anxious to have a peep at the old Gentleman. Accordingly a man about the size and possessing the same degree of dignity & diffidence of Rev. Wm. Allen, and about 26 or 8 years of age was introduced to me as the Judge! Never since my recollection was I ever thrown into more confusion, nor was I soon relieved from this perturbed state. He was made known to me as the particular friend of F. E., and after he expressed his happiness upon my safe arrival to this region of Country, and his best wishes that it might prove congenial to my constitution, he very modestly bowed, and retired. I was immediately informed that previous to the introduction, he had been told I expressed an ardent desire to have an interview with him!!"

The rest of the letter gives a detailed account of the gossip of Copiah County, especially about the wife of Mississippi Secretary of State John Grimball:

"How much like my luck!! I have often seen the Honorable Secretary, John A. Grimball—his place of residence

is Jackson, he often passes and always spends the night with us. In Oct. last he passed here on his way to Monticello to attend the Circuit Court. On Wednesday last he returned bringing with him a young wife about 18 years of age, who was a Miss Eugenia Bracy, from Columbia, Marion County, Mi. She is rich, learned, accomplished, genteel and handsome—the very belle of the State. After a severe struggle on the Secretary's part for more than two years it no longer remains a controverted point. The Secretary is about the age, a little taller, and in his person & features, complexion, hair &c., considerably resembles cousin A. R., not as [...?] expression, however—not as much education, not as much eloquence of speech—not as much sense. He glories and even boasts of his conquest Mrs. was clad in a crimson crape robe, a crimson satin coat, and boots—and a pink satin headdress very much resembling a Spanish hat turned up in front and shaded with a plume of white feathers—a dress more suitable for the assembly room, than the wilds of Copiah!! Her gracefulness, her accomplishments, her dress in this uncouth region, were so unexpected, that they were to me a [...?]!! Their [vehicle] for riding was as much of a curiosity to most of the inhabitants as it would be to witness in Richmond the ascension of an air balloon—a New Gig from Orleans!! The manners, customs and mode of living in this country differ as widely from yours as do the climate. [...] I think none of my relatives at the north would be happy in this climate or country. There are many privations, the inhabitants illiterate, irreligious and covetous. If there is on the Earth a place of heathenism, it is this. I think I could never throw away my own feelings and opinions & be content to locate myself in this region of superstitions, not only in matters of religion, but unless a person conforms to the uncouth manners and uses the vulgar phrases of the country, they are proud and subject themselves to the censure of fools who are the [...?] of

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Letter from a Northern Women Warning Her Family Against Emigrating South.

the place [...] Be contented in your present situation. You will not amend it by emigration. May you be happy in life & death."

Overall, the letter offers a detailed outsider's view of early settler society in Mississippi through the eyes of a Massachusetts emigrant, together with a substantial account of a woman's journey southward. We have been unable to identify the author definitively through genealogical research.

and mother I am glad to hear is yet alive. a letter from my father the last mail, in
 several marriages and deaths and of Aunt Mrs. illness - May the sick be comforted & filled
 I think of your father's care of my G. and attending to your little Domestic
 write the soon receive letters - Adieu
 Satin head dress very much resembling a Spanish
 hat turned up in front and shaded with a plume
 of white feathers - a dress more suitable for the
 assembly room, than the wilds of Copiah!!
 Her gracefulness, her accomplishments, her dress
 in this uncouth region were so unexpected, that
 they were to me a new dimension!! - Their attention
 for riding was as ^{much} of a curiosity to most of the inhabi-
 tants - as it would be to witness in Richmond the
 ascension of an Air Balloon & a New Gig from
 Orleans!!! The manners, customs and mode of
 living in this country differ as widely ^{from yours} as do the climate
 the first morning in Nov. I walked in our garden clad
 in a new plaid silk morning gown, a new lace cap trimmed
 with 6 yds of pink ribbon - an under dress of white mull
 trimmed with broad lace around the bottom, and tied with
 4 yds of pink ribbon - and made a wreath of nat. flowers
 and fancied I presented it to Aunt G. It was composed of
 pink, Norway glories, and the lilly of the valley - The cucumber
 vines are flourishing and ~~the~~ ~~xxxx~~ loaded with fruit -
 I think none of my relatives at the north would be
 happy in this climate or country - there are many
 pretensions the inhabitants illiterate irreligious and
 covetous If there is on the Earth a place of beatitude, it
 is this I think I could ~~overcome~~ ~~throw~~ away my ~~own~~ ~~fatigue~~
 and opinions and be content to locate myself in this
 region of superstition & not only in matters of religion
 but unless a person conforms to the uncouth manners
 and uses the vulgar phrases of the Country they are
 proud, and subject themselves to the censures of fools
 who are the "crown" of the place - I never arrived in this
 land to the goal of felicity. Change the side but
 not the pain" Be contented in your present situation

[WOMEN - TEXAS - NASHVILLE - ST. LOUIS]
 CHILDRESS, REBECCA; JENNINGS, ANN; JENNINGS,
 SARAH; JENNINGS, THOMAS; MORGAN, MARY; ET AL.

1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings Family, with Many from the Jennings Women Discussing the Elite Political and Social Circles of the Expanding South and West, Including the Fall of George Campbell Childress and the Personal Life of Henry A. Wise.

Nashville, Tennessee; St. Louis, Missouri;
 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and others: 1839 -
 1846. Thirty-seven letters. Conditions vary; see
 description for full condition information.

A collection of thirty-seven letters, written between 1839
 and 1843 primarily by the women of the Jennings family,
 whose marriages, friendships, and social positions
 placed them within a remarkable political circle. With
 a family network that included Henry A. Wise and the
 ill-fated Texas revolutionary George Childress, and
 acquaintances ranging from James K. Polk to Ashbel
 Smith and John Catron, the writers are in close quarters
 with the elite of social and political life of the antebellum
 South and West.

Generally centered around politically contested
 Nashville, to which much of the family had moved from
 Philadelphia, the writers describe the spectacle of Whig-
 Democratic contests and mass gatherings which "seem
 as if they never were to end"; "old friend" and "devoted"

CONTINUED

Nashville Wednesday

My dear Children

We arrived at this place
 this morning having a tedious though
 safe passage - The boat was so heavy laden
 and the ship ran up as the Cumberland -
 we have been well and as comfortable as
 we could be in a very crowded boat -
 I got Mr Crawford to enquire for Mr Childress
 on a boat that was just leaving for the south
 but could hear nothing of them -
 We think and speak of you often - And on
 Sunday followed Sarah and Mrs McIntosh
 to church - and in the evening Sunday and
 Monday we in imagination saw them
 bending their way to church - but Ellen
 remarked Mr Edgum would give them as
 good as it was such beautiful moonlight -
 Mr Briggs formerly of Steubenville came on
 the boat and says they are all well - I did
 not leave the boat as we expect to go in
 a few hours but I am told the water is
 so low that we cannot get further than
 Cincinnati by water - I find Mr & Mrs Crawford
 very ~~close~~ pleasant and kind - Ellen thought
 if Sister R was on the boat going south
 she would like to go back -

1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/White/McKay Family.

father Wise; Childress's enthusiastic return from Texas despite Sam Houston's "humbug", and the eventual collapse of his finances and prospects; and the future of St. Louis, "soon [to] become the most important city in America off the seaboard". The women judge politicians both politically and socially, speculate on marriages and prospects, watch mass meetings and rallies, and record the fortunes of their relatives and friends with candor. As the family's orbit shifts westward, St. Louis arises as a promising social and commercial locus, giving a broader view of the networks connecting the older South to the developing cities and territories beyond it.

Both Childress and Wise were married into the family: Childress to Rebecca Stuart Jennings and Wise to Ann Elizabeth Jennings, who had died in 1837. Childress appears as a constant worry to the family. While they report on his great enthusiasm for Texas (and his private opinion that Sam Houston is "the greatest 'Humbug' of the age"), they also express fears first that Childress would move his family to Texas for good; then, as Childress's career began to deteriorate, that he would be unable to support Rebecca and their children. Just under three months before Childress's suicide in Galveston, eldest brother Thomas Read Jennings writes to his mother Ann:

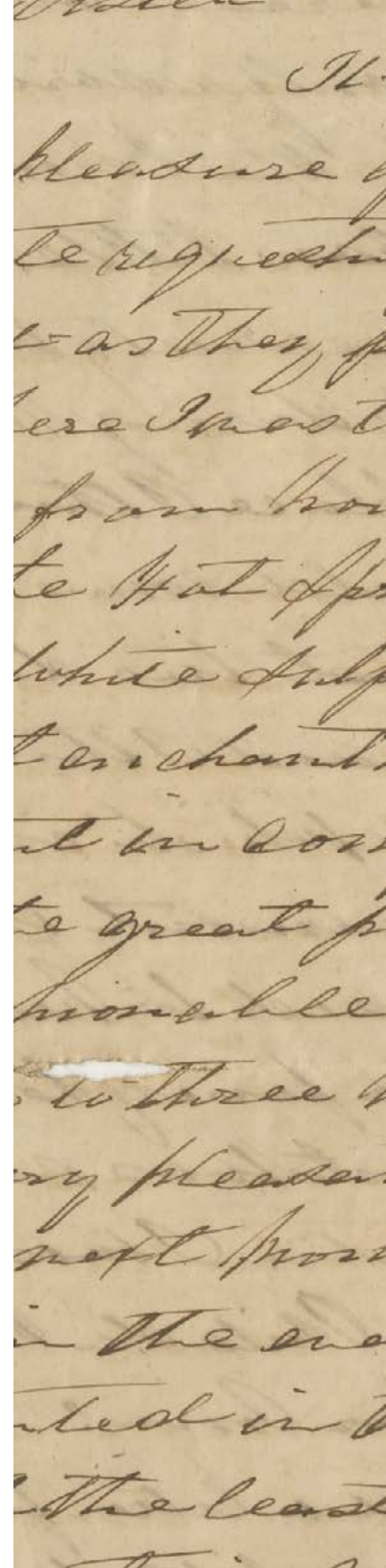
"In strict confidence I inform you that I have made up [my] mind to the conclusion that Rebecca and her children will be thrown on my hands. Mr Childress has wasted all the property which he owned at the time of his marriage and I fear has not the habits that will ever insure him success in his profession. His family is now

and has been for several months [dependent] on me and as he is in Galveston with means that must be very limited and without what I can believe is a good prospect for pursuing what will be necessary for the comfort and respectability of Rebecca I am unwilling (too) that she should yet leave me. [...] The talk which impudent people report to her respecting Mr Childress insolvency and dissipation keeps her constantly in a state of mortification and despondency. [...]" (August 31, 1841)

Wise, by contrast, is a close and beloved friend, especially to Sarah Jennings, who writes him intimate, gossipy letters, even reprimanding him for "showing my letter to Ma" instead of "burn[ing] it immediately on reading" before discussing her response to Wise's question of "if I ever thought of marrying a man I didn't love". Sarah Jennings also corresponds with Wise's relative (possibly sister) Sarah Wise, who is no less politically tuned in; she reports her distaste for the "rather much Democracy" in Pennsylvania, where "One man, thinks himself as good as another So he but has the Dollars, cents &&&—".

In fact, politics and ordinary gossip cross-pollinate throughout the collection—inevitably, as the politicians in question are often family or close friends. Rebecca Childress writes to Sarah Jennings that their sister, Mary Stuart Morgan, "ought not to invite Mrs. Catron to her house again" as "she is a vindictive woman" who had taken a dislike to "Reed" (possibly Thomas Read Jennings) because he "spoke freely of Judge Catron's pressures." Supreme Court Justice John Catron was Rebecca's brother-in-law, married to her husband's sister Matilda Childress. Rebecca continues, reporting that anti-abolitionist politician Dr. Ashbel Smith would "approach to your [...] ideal of a lover" and was "the most brilliant fascinating man", and that Tennessee Supreme

CONTINUED



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/ White/McKay Family.

Court Justice William B. Turley “drinks very hard and is as fond of looking at a pretty woman as ever and of eating a good dinner”. Thomas Jennings himself attempts a political career as a Whig; Sarah Jennings writes to Henry Wise that he “is as warm a party man as you ever could wish” and that his “first effort at stump speaking” was “highly complimented.”

The family were connected to the broader political scene as well, not just to that of their relatives. Several members and friends resided at an unnamed hotel in Nashville, from which they keenly observed—and to the extent afforded to them as women, partook in—the city’s political happenings. For instance, friend Elizabeth Stevenson writes to Sarah Jennings:

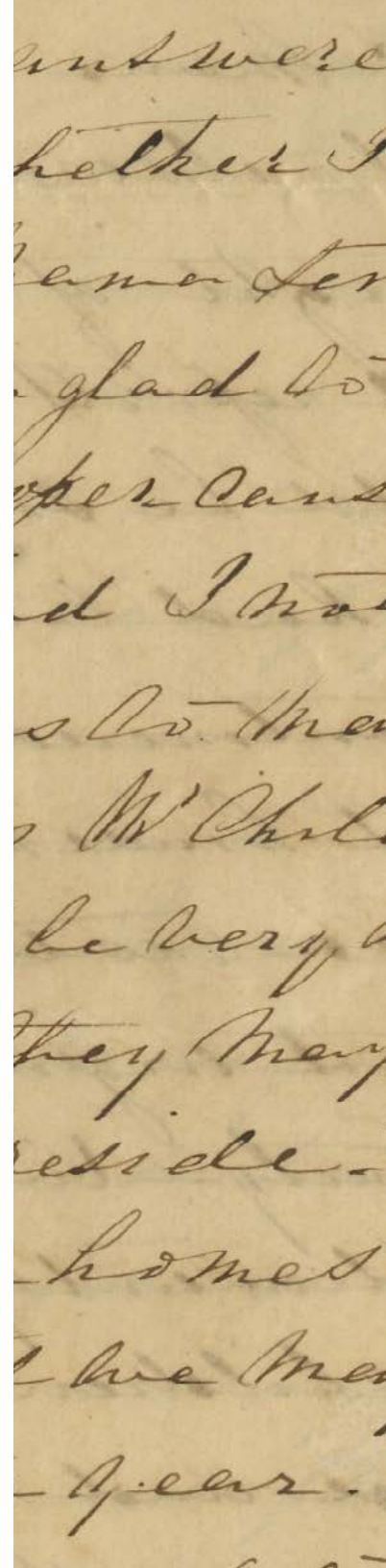
“Gen Jackson and Col Polk – or I should say Gov Polk live at the Hotel. The Col was invited to the Theatre last evening, and altho I had just returned from my full travels I went along in Mrs Polks place, she being a good presbiterian [sic]. The Theatre was brilliantly illuminated and all dressed with [?] and flowers or Eagles &c &c the house and street in front was crowded to see his excellency, the delighted ‘democrats’ raised such a shout that I thought the very earth was coming down. [...] The democrats are carrying on the Legislature entirely after their own notion, as you know they have so large a majority, we have just heard from the elections at Baltimore and Gen Polk looks all smiles [...]”. (October 14, 1839)

In another letter Stevenson describes the hotel “crowded with Whigs”, to whom “your dear Brother [Thomas

Jennings] is a great man [...] They expect him to do everything in the Legislature”. Another unidentified friend in Nashville describes the city’s 1840 Whig convention, which included speeches from Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden, “our friend” Balie Peyton, and others:

“The procession all came just past our door – and it really did begin to seem as if they never were to end – One company of the Military after another, each with their respective flags and Mottos making in all a splendid exhibition [sic] of enthusiastic [freemen?] – The yeomanry of some of the out countys forming a strong contrast, especially the Wilson County company of delegates – all to a man I believe in home-spun clothes – As they passed us each company would say some little thing in compliment to the Ladies, which was a considerable source of amusement to me.” (September 18, [1840])

The letters also record emigration of Easterners to the South and West. From Nashville, Elizabeth Stevenson remarks that “all of our old Phila beaux are here” alongside “a number of Philadelphians [...] that I never knew before”; and later that “almost everyone [in Nashville] is either dead or married or broke or – run off to Texas.” Sarah Jennings’ future husband Harrison McKay plans to move with her to St. Louis, writing that he is “completely charmed with all my prospects” there and does “not doubt being perfectly happy” surrounded by “so many clever people”, especially comparing the “refinement” of St. Louis with “the excessive formality of the old eastern cities.” Though Rebecca Childress remarks that “it [is] very doubtful” that Mary Morgan’s husband Franklin Henry Morgan “will leave Phila.”, a later letter from Mary Morgan tells Sarah “not [to] be surprised to see us all this Fall in St Louis”.



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/White/McKay Family.

Taken together, the letters provide a vivid picture of antebellum political and social life as it was experienced within a closely connected family network—in particular, from the perspectives of well-connected women who, though excluded from formal political participation, nonetheless were in proximity to political power and observing matters closely. The Jennings were firsthand witnesses to the ambitions of Childress and Wise, but even figures more incidental to the family such as John Catron, Ashbel Smith, Balie Peyton, and William Turley appear as subjects of correspondence between people who knew them personally. The letters consequently capture political life from an unusual angle, illuminating these figures' private reputations and opinions, alongside the effects of politics on personal and family matters, as the US shifted and expanded, sometimes uncomfortably, before the Civil War.

1. Ann Jennings in Louisville to Sarah Jennings, Discussing "enquir[ing] for Mr Childress" on a Southerly Boat, [1838].

Louisville, Kentucky: October 11, [1838]. Two-page letter. Folded with some very small holes at folds; excellent.

Ann Jennings writes from aboard a steamship in Louisville, reporting on her trip back to Philadelphia. The journey is "tedious though safe", and they are "well and as comfortable as we could be in a very crowded boat." Water levels are "so low that we cannot get further than Cincinatti [sic] by water." She "got Mr Crawford to enquire for Mr Childress on a boat that was just leaving for the south but could hear nothing of them". In 1838 Childress

had returned from his first, and not yet embarked on his second, trip back to Texas to attempt to establish a law practice.

2. Mary Morgan in Red Sulphur Springs, Virginia, to Sarah Jennings, Reporting on Virginia's Various Medicinal Springs and the "invalids of the worst kind" who Frequented Them, [1838].

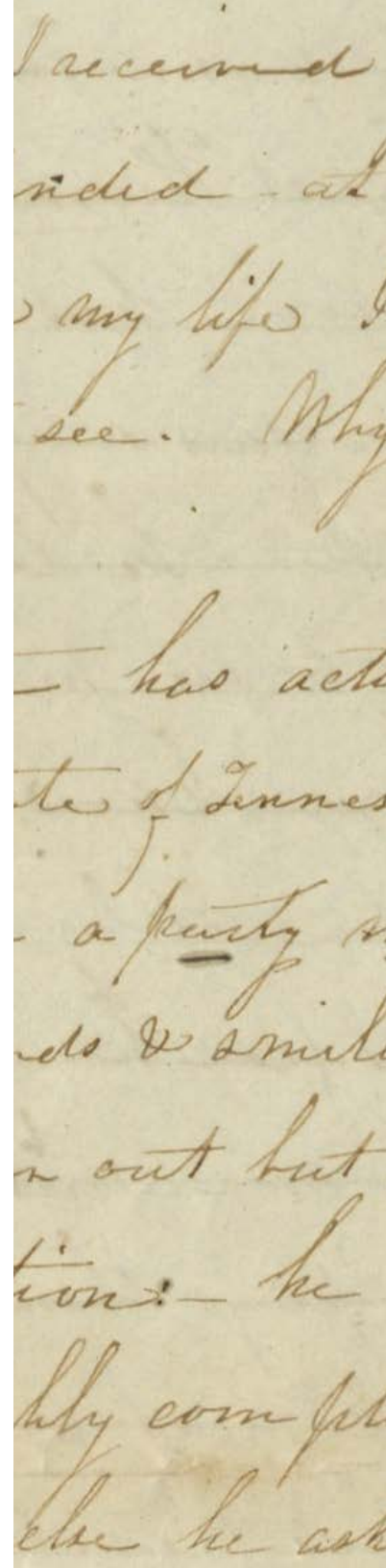
Red Sulphur Springs, Virginia: July 16, [1838]. Three-page letter. Folded with a few slightly larger holes along folds though generally legible. Very good plus.

Jennings's sister Mary Morgan describes her tour of several Virginia mineral springs—White Sulphur, Salt Sulphur, and Red Sulphur—and compares the scenery, accommodations, and clientele. White Sulphur is "most enchanting" but "deadly deficient in comforts", though it is "the great point of attraction for the gay and fashionable." Salt Sulphur is disappointing in appearance, "the least interesting in point of situation", but has "good fare and every comfort that can be procured"; while Red Sulphur is "the most pleasant of any in the mountains" and "a most romantic spot" then hosting "from fifty to a hundred persons". However, she complains that hot springs "are only resorted to by invalids of the worst kind." By this period many of the medicinal springs in Virginia had transformed from remote, inaccessible destinations for those desperate for better health into major resorts for high society.

3. Ann Jennings in Philadelphia to Sarah Jennings on "old friend" Henry Wise and the Hope that "Mr Childress will not be obliged to go to Texas", [1839].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: February 12, [1839]. Four-page letter. Some very small holes, inkblots, and a few

CONTINUED



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/ White/McKay Family.

stains. Excellent.

Ann reports that Mary Morgan is bedbound and recuperating in a boarding house, where “you never saw her looking better”. She states of Henry Wise:

“Mr. Wise called here on his way to N York, and I am now working for him on his [?] I think he appears satisfied that I have the care of the children, speaks of taking them down with him when Congress adjourns and [sending?] them back with little Ann in a month[.] Report says he is placed with a Miss Gardiner of Alexandria a very young lady and without fortune – I do not know where he could take a wife in the eastern [?]. [...] Mr. Wise came the evening before last & left this morning – Dr Reed came in to the City the evening & [hosted?] up here to see Mr W they met as old friends and the Doctor enquired most particularly for Thomas Mr Wise says he wonders you do not answer his letter.”

Of the Childresses, she states: “I wrote to dear Rebecca since I came to this house I hope she will write to me soon when she has pen in hand [...] I hope Mr Childress will arrange his business so as not to be obliged to go to Texas.” 1839 marked Childress’s second unsuccessful attempt to return to Texas and establish a law practice; Ann Jennings hopes that he simply settles down, likely in his home city of Nashville, instead.

4. Mary Morgan in Philadelphia to Sarah Jennings, Hoping that the Childresses “may give up this matter of going to Texas”, [1839].

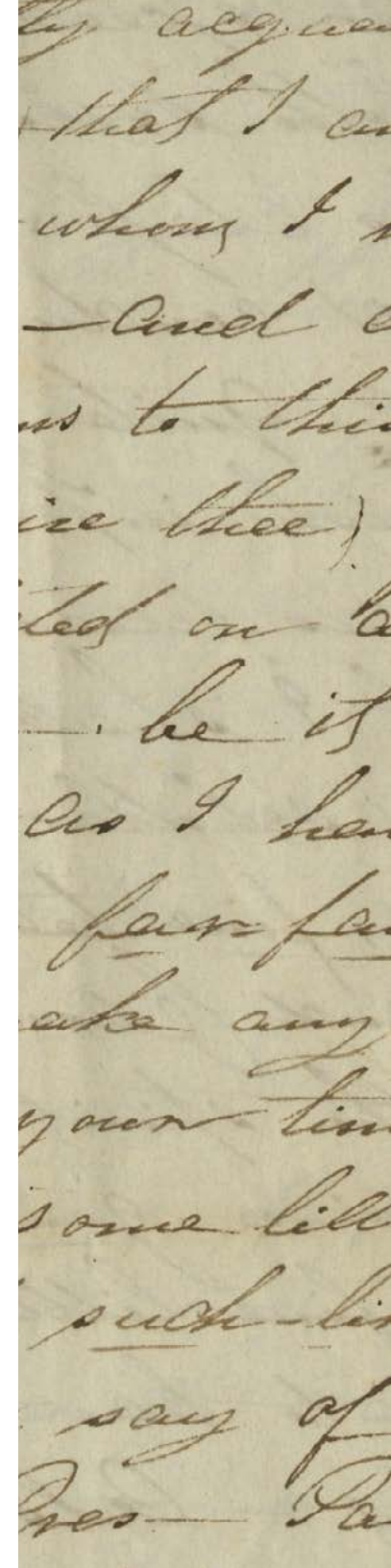
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: February 24, [1839]. Three-page letter. Folded, some staining, small tears with one larger hole and tear at seal, though generally legible. Excellent.

Mary Morgan reports on Henry Wise’s visit, George Childress away in Texas, and tentative plans of her own to move westward:

“I hope ere this Mr Childress has returned as I know Bee [Rebecca] must be very anxious whilst he is in Texas. I do wish they may give up this matter of going to Texas to reside. I cannot but entertain the hope that our homes will not be so far asunder, but that we may meet at least once or twice during the year. Franklin is already anticipating a removal to the west and thinks something of a residence near Lexington so then if Bee remains in Nashville and Reed continues there and Mama and Ellen will of course accompany us and you must make it a sine qua non with your [?] man that he will not take you to Red River or Texas we may all be united again. Mr Wise was here on his return from New York he still appears devoted to his children. They are the most affectionate children I have ever seen. [...] Henry I think was your favourite, as he is every one else’s – he had the impudence to ask his father when here last, if he was ‘going to marry another woman’ Mama was present and the question led Mr Wise to observe that he had not seen a woman that he thought of admiring although we have heard a hundred reports of his being engaged.”

She observes that, were Sarah to return to Philadelphia from Nashville, she would likely “feel the want of the society and many indulgences that you enjoy”; and regrets that she cannot visit “until the expiration of Mr Morgan’s engagement here”, though they will soon have “a long visit to the west [...] to select some spot for our

CONTINUED



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/ White/McKay Family.

future home."

5. Sarah Jennings in Nashville to Henry A. Wise, Divulging George Childress's "private opinion" that "His Ex-Majesty Sam Houston [...] is the greatest 'Humbug' of the age", [1839].

Nashville, Tennessee: April 22, [1839]. Four-page letter. Small tears and holes at folds, larger tear at and next to seal. Very good.

A letter from Sarah Jennings to her former brother-in-law, revealing their highly intimate relationship, Childress's comments on his return from Texas, and Thomas Jennings's political ambitions:

"Did you know that the Doctor [Thomas Jennings] has actually embarked in politics! He is a candidate for the Senate of Tennessee in opposition to Davy Craighead – and is as warm a party man as you ever could wish, goes about electioneering, shaking hands & smiling on everyone with the best grace in the world: He has been out but a week; his friends as well as himself are very sanguine about his election:– he made his first effort at stump speaking the other day, & was highly complimented. Bee & I opposed his coming out; but like everybody else he asked advice, & then acted according to his own feelings. I fear it will be much against his interest. Mr Childress has returned; is well, in fine spirits & enthusiastic about Texas, says he would rather live in Houston than any place he ever saw, the improvement since he was there last [is] wonderful & almost incredible. He expects to return in the fall

CONTINUED

Philadelphia Pa
My dear Sarah I can take the comfort
of your last letter for mine by saying your letter
long looked for and more than doubly welcome
had been more than a month since I had
a line from any of you and I beg of you to
letters to me and defer sending them until you
one from me as I sometimes as in the last
have averseness for putting off – And am be-
more and more averse to the pen but I
try and conquer the aversion if writing be-
means of hearing from my children –
I supposed you would all be surprised
say you were at our domestic arrangements
had them long under consideration and I thought
the whole it is the best – Mary has a very fine
boarding house in eight – near Walnut St & on
Raccoon on the first floor – She now by the Doctor
stays entirely on her Maternal though you need
her looking better she sees her acquaintance
I was there to day and Mr Gregg and others
I went down to call to see Mrs Judge
who with Miss Jacobson called to see me last
while I was out Miss Peters called – and your
as the Miss Charnaceys have called with several
of my acquaintances. Mrs Gregg told me she
had told her to enquire where I lived as
to call with her to see me – I enter this in
detail my dear children, that you may
think I am lonely or neglected – Do not
think I am lonely or neglected – Do not
think I am lonely or neglected – Do not

1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/White/McKay Family.

& carry Bee with him. You find Col Love is there. The famous Ms Florida White expects to reside there, her husband intends however first to carry her to Italy, let her remain a year or two to complete herself in Italian French &c whilst he returns to Texas to build her a marble palace on the seacoast – 'tis thought she will find it 'vastly agreeable' as Wilde you know is there.

His Ex-Majesty Sam Houston is expected here soon. Mr Childress & some others have got up a dinner for him [and] the ladies to hear his speech at the table which will no doubt be flattering to his vanity. Mr C is warm in his favor publicly, but his private opinion is that he is the greatest 'Humbug' of the age."

She reports that "Your friend David Dickinson has been here lately, he stayed at the hotel, with his sister, we saw a good deal of him, he talked of you as his greatest friend"—likely Tennessee Whig David W. Dickinson—and then turns to answering a highly personal question posed to her by Wise:

"You ask me if 'I ever thought of marrying a man I didn't love'? Never never!! I am a warm advocate for love and carry it as far as any romantic sentimental girl of sixteen I am not so ideal as to look for perfection; but I do look & aspire to a man of talents, of high moral principle and a good heart; & until such a one seeks & wins my heart, it shall be my own – [...] I appreciate & admire your sentiments about mercenary marriages – but 'tis no more than I expected from one whom I know to be far above such things."

Finally, she comments that "The Democrats here are

rejoicing over the elections in N York & Connecticut."

6. Sarah Wise in Holly Springs, Pennsylvania, to Sarah Jennings, Complaining of "rather much Democracy here for me", 1839.

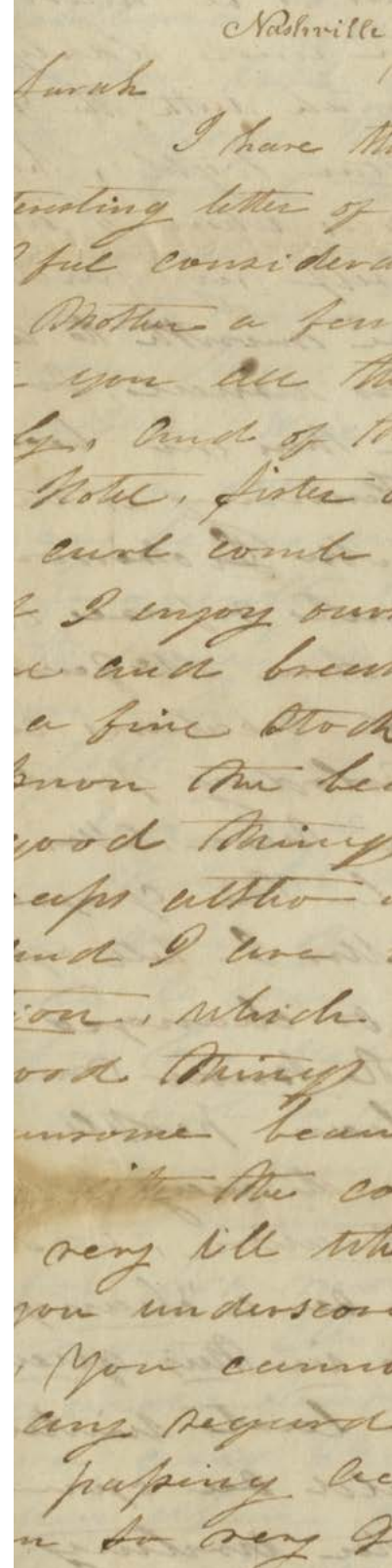
Holly Springs, Pennsylvania: May 25, 1839. Four-page letter. Small holes at folds; excellent to Near Fine.

Sarah Wise, Henry Wise's sister or another close relative, writes to Sarah Jennings describing the town of Holly Springs. She appreciates that society there is kind and considerate to her, and that the church and Sunday school are up to her standards, but dislikes the Democratic bent of the town:

"My reasons in favor of the place have been assigned – now for objections – First then, there is rather much Democracy here for me – One man, thinks himself as good as another So he but has the Dollars, cents & & – They think too that all ladies are alike, that is, they all love money, so well, that it is quite irresistible [sic]. And again, they think too much of 'Nashville ladies' to suit my conscience, not to say any thing here of inclination. Would that some of you young interesting girls were here, to receive the frequent visitors calling in every evening at 'Mrs Trimble's,' One or more of the gentlemen I take pleasure in conversing with But then again, where there is one of intelligence and dignity, sufficient to render them agreeable to me as visitors, there are dozens to the contrary. This place is made up of Bachelors and Widowers, a fine place for a young girl, (ambitious of attention from the 'Lords of Creation') to figure in."

She also notes that Thomas Jennings' political career is "gaining ground fast – I read the notices taken of his speeches in the 'Whig'."

CONTINUED



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/ White/McKay Family.

7. Ann Jennings in Philadelphia to Sarah Jennings, Reporting a Visit from Henry Wise and Requesting Money from Her Husband's Estate, [1839].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: July 6, 1839. Three-page letter. Tears and holes at folds; large piece missing from bottom of final page apparently only intersecting with signature. Very good minus.

Ann Jennings reports that Mary's health is improving and that "Mr Wise spent some days last week and expects to be here next week. He is going to the sulphur springs I believe in company with Mr D[?]'s family with whom he is very intimate." She asks Sarah to ask Thomas to send money from Obadiah Jennings' estate to pay for the musical education of Ellen, her youngest child, and questions Sarah rather mysteriously whether "those notorious characters [have] left the Hotel".

8. Elizabeth Stevenson in Nashville to Sarah Jennings, Describing a "very busy" Whig Party Meeting and the Hotel "crowded with Whigs", 1839.

Nashville, Tennessee: September 6, 1839. Four-page letter. Folded with stains and holes at folds, larger hole at seal, generally legible otherwise. Very good minus.

Friend Elizabeth Stevenson writes to Philadelphia to report on the "interesting situation" (i.e., pregnancy) of herself and "Mrs. C", possibly Rebecca Childress. She then describes a large Whig meeting in Nashville, centered around the hotel in which Stevenson and some members of the Jennings family resided:

"The Whigs have a meeting in town to day and the Dr and all the Whig party are very busy we had two hundred gentlemen more than usual to dine with us to day our table as well as the public one was crowded with Whigs, they toasted Mr Marshall and the Lady, and drank and smoked and in short cut up a great many [missing]; your dear Brother is a great man with them They expect him to do every thing in the Legislature they also say your Brother Wise is a great man".

Hotels in the city were centers of civic life, giving the correspondents who lived in them a close look at political goings-on. Stevenson could be living at the City Hotel, which the Nashville Banner described as "Whig headquarters" in the 1840s.[1]

[1] William E. Beard, "Red Letter Days in Nashville," *Nashville Banner*, April 5, 1925, 2.

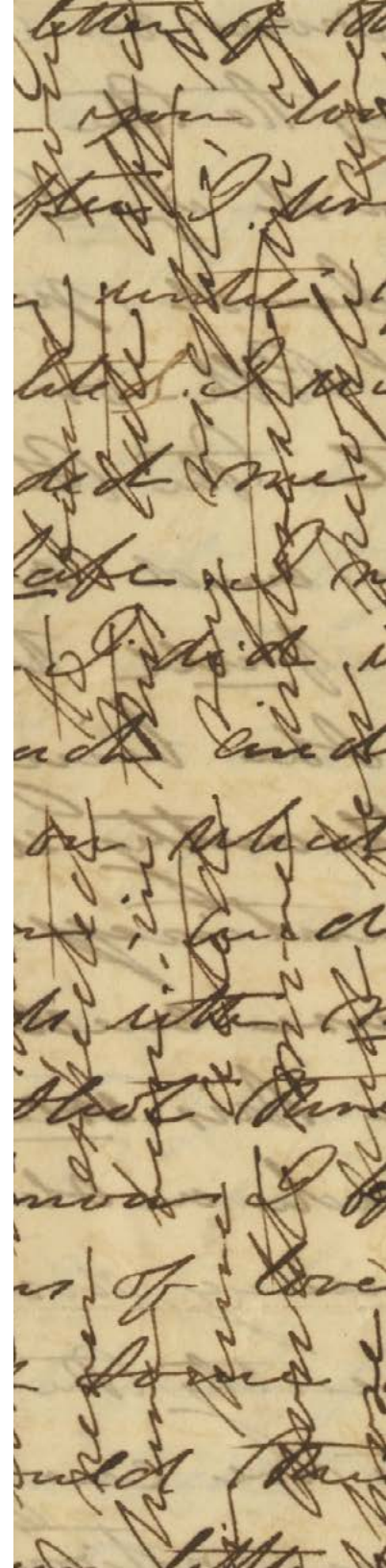
9. Elizabeth Stevenson in Nashville to Sarah Jennings Describing a Trip to the Theater as James K. Polk's Date, 1839.

Nashville, Tennessee: October 14, 1839. Five-page letter. Tears at folds with hole at seal, very good.

Stevenson first describes a deer hunting trip she took in Kentucky, and then describes Democratic affairs in the city—including a trip to the theater she took as a guest of "Gov Polk":

"Gen Jackson and Col Polk – or I should say Gov Polk live at the Hotel. The Col was invited to the Theatre last evening, and altho I had just returned from my full travels I went along in Mrs Polks place, she being a good presbiterian [sic]. The Theatre was brilliantly illuminated

CONTINUED



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/White/McKay Family.

and all dressed with [?] and flowers or Eagles &c &c the house and street in front was crowded to see his excellency, the delighted 'democrats' raised such a shout that I thought the very earth was coming down. We had very very fine playing greatly the best I ever saw in my life. The democrats are carrying on the Legislature entirely after their own notion, as you know they have so large a majority, we have just heard from the elections at Baltimore and Gen Polk looks all smiles, and so does V.K., did I tell you V.K. won fifteen hundred dollars on Polks election".

"The great crowd" in Nashville, Stevenson reports, "is truly astonishing", and it "looks quite like a city." She relates that "Mr and Mrs C leave next week for Texas", and that she is not in fact pregnant.

10. Elizabeth Stevenson in Nashville to Sarah Jennings, Relating That Their Nashville Cohort Was Mostly "either dead or married or broke or – runoff to Texas", 1840.

Nashville, Tennessee: April 21, 1840. Three-page letter. Near Fine.

Stevenson comments on migration West and some acquaintances of the Childresses:

"I could not give you – (on this sheet of paper) any idea of the dangers that have taken place here since you left and since I wrote you last, almost every one is either dead or married or broke or – runoff to Texas. [...] Well Sister Ewing and her daughters are gone to Phila at last, and left a nice name behind here, I may at least say a very

unenviable one – the last I heard of the old lady she was abuseing [sic] George Childress and Beck, I think she hates them if possible more than she dose [sic] me."

"Sister Ewing" is possibly a member of the Ewing family of Nashville, which produced several politicians prominent in the 1840s and 50s. This next to Stevenson's report that their acquaintances are mostly on their ways out of Nashville in one manner or another illustrates the volatility of social networks in the region—and especially the continual flow of people to the West.

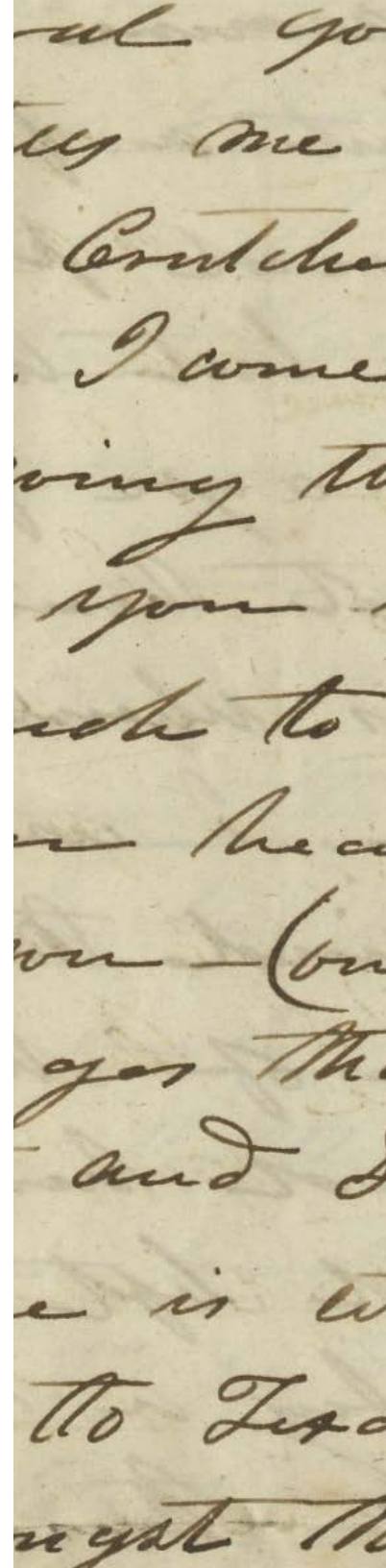
She also notes that "The Whigs here are making a great mourning over the death of Judge White", likely Hugh Lawson White, former Democrat and an 1836 Whig presidential candidate.

11. Elizabeth Stevenson in Nashville to Sarah Jennings Reporting on the Philadelphian Migration to Nashville, [1840].

Nashville, Tennessee: May [1840]. Five-page letter. Toned with very small holes at folds, tear to final page. Very good.

Stevenson tells Jennings of the sheer number of Philadelphians then in Nashville: "all of our old Phila beaux are here", along with "a number of Philadelphians here now that I never knew before some of them are up to the snuff-braid". Stevenson again illustrates the period's constant westward flow of Americans, especially the social elite.

12. Robert Arnad in Philadelphia to Harrison McKay Bemoaning Whig "pageantry" and "folly" and Describing His Own Time Venturing West, 1840.



1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/ White/McKay Family.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: May 6, 1840. Three-page letter. Tear at seal not intersecting with text. Excellent.

A friend writes to Sarah Jennings' future husband Harrison McKay; the letter was sent to Louisville then forwarded to Nashville. He comments that "In politics our friends are getting up so much steam, that I fear the results which have always followed excessive excitement – explosion + ruin", lamenting the "silly pageantry" in Baltimore and worrying that though Pennsylvania "may be carried by moderation", it "may also be very readily lost by the folly which too often controls the Whig crowds." Arnad is almost certainly referring to the Whig convention held in Baltimore that began on May 4, 1840, and involved massive numbers of marchers, cannon fire, log cabin floats, and plenty of hard cider; as historian Robert Gray Gunderson described it, the "normally sedate and aristocratic Whigs" were "adapt[ing] their campaign to the political realities" of the time.[2]

Arnad also regales McKay with a tale of his own days venturing West:

"Some years since – 'in the days when we went gypseying' – my friends thought that I had the consumption, + after exhausting the energies of lancet, cup + leach [...] – after depletion + starvation could find nothing more in me to conquer (except the disease – that was untreated) – I was ordered to travel. I went to the West on horse-back. I was young enough to turn the whole affair into a pilgrimage of romance. This was ten years ago – the West was then still full of the rough peculiarities of the parties, + as I selected the most unfrequented routes I saw much

that was both [?] + interesting. I remember that I had a quarrel with Rapp at his settlement on the Ohio. On the first day that I entered Ohio, I chanced to express my irritation in the crowded bar-room of a rough village. A sinister looking giant listened in silence, + after some time took me aside + said 'Stranger, you hate this Rapp – so do I –; he has insulted you – so he has me; now give me \$5 and I will shut him up for you.' Heavens! I said to myself is this the West? I would have had no objection to a collision with Rapp myself, but I turned pale at this blunt offer of assassination. I politely + gratefully declined the offer – ordered my horse – hurried off + did not consider myself safe till I got to the next town. I have no doubt now that this was a joke played off on a green-horn; but, in the course of my journey I met many real adventures which illustrated the harsh + wild features of the country [...]"

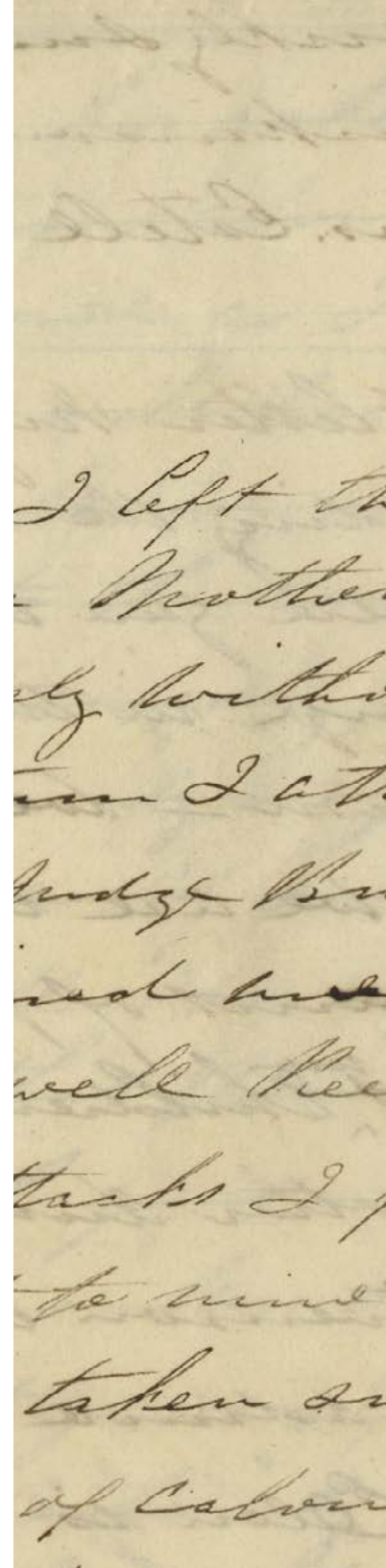
[2] Robert Gray Gunderson, "The Great Baltimore Whig Convention of 1840," *Maryland Historical Magazine* XLVII (March 1952), 11–18.

13. Unknown friend in Nashville to Sarah Jennings Describing Nashville's 1840 Whig Convention "ushered in, by a tremendous Cannon roar", [1840].

Nashville, Tennessee: September 18, [1840]. Four-page letter. Small holes at folds and hole at seal, very good plus.

Sarah Jennings's friend opens by contrasting Philadelphia, the "beautiful city of quietness and neatness", with Nashville, "the 'wild woods of the west' – as many of the Eastern people are pleased to call our town, even yet – altho our tall steeples soar quite high, and our city has attractions enough to bring together thousands of persons". Nashville also has the "ways and

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means to get the present chief magistrate out of his Princely Pallace, in order to place there in his stead the plain old Hero of North bend". To that end, the writer launches into a lengthy description of "the Convention" that took place the day prior:

"The morning of the 17th was a buisy [sic] one to the Citizens of Nashville generally – Twas ushered in, by a tremendous Cannon roar – from the log cabin – after which the drum and fife were soon heard, to assemble the military all up – Then was heard the ringing of bells – after which announcement the grand parade commenced in regular form to proceed to the grove, near Old Mr McGafrock to listen to the eloquent speeches of H Clay J J Crittendon, our friend B Peyton, Gen Combs and others, The dinner prepared by young D McGafrock was numerously attended I was told – I did not myself go on Monday to hear Clay – but listened to the praises bestowed on his musical voice (as some call it) by those who went from our house – We had Peyton, and D Dickinson to stay with us all the time – and as many more as our little House would comfortably accommodate. Twas truly an exciting occasion. The procession all came just past our door – and it really did begin to seem as if they never were to end – One company of the Military after another, each with their respective flags and Mottos making in all a splendid exhibition [sic] of enthusiastic [freemen?] – The yeomanry of some of the out countys forming a strong contrast, especially the Wilson County company of delegates – all to a man I believe in home-spun clothes – As they passed us each company would say some little thing in compliment to the Ladies, which was a considerable source of amusement to me. [...]

CONTINUED

Reed says it was very interesting in your room to go party with Cousin Mary - he got your letter and office and read it before I did

Nashville January 28

Do not fill up this part of your letter in fine fault with mine. I could easily retaliate not on of its being dissatisfactory but the time you permit before you answer mine - Tell Mary she has no to make an opinion on my letters they are better to tell my dear Mother I am expecting a long letter from her - Love to all - Mrs. P desires to be near to all - I wish you could induce Cousin Mrs. to visit Wash. with you

My dear Sister

I received yours of the 17th a few days ago and would have answered immediately but Reed expected to lecture on Sympathy the next day and I deferred writing in order to give you an account of his eloquence account of the weather it has been postponed indefinite period. This subject which is Magnetism was selected by Mrs. Stevenson. In regard to what Mrs. Paton told you of Lizzy's beauty you of course allowed for her of talking Liz. of always saying pleasant things regard to dressing her fine I assure you I had a ruffled dress or one with a skirt of a wash with the exception of the one you sent I dress my children neat and plain and take out with me because I am unwilling to be in the Hotel with servants and where she is so much danger from poishes and stairs. Tell Mary that Mrs. P. and myself think in practice to be well she ought not to mind

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A Steph[enson?] came down to sit in our little shaded Portico [...] the excitement seemed to help him as he is a very warm Whig ----".

The convention was apparently so massive and enthusiastic that Henry Clay had to be hidden from the crowds until he made his appearance; some estimate a mass of 25,000 people came to see him, including many women of Nashville.[3] The "strong contrast" that the writer draws between the "splendid exhibition" of flags and banners with the "home-spun clothes" of the "out county" men is interesting—the diversity of the Whig electorate was both a strength of the party and a part of its eventual demise. The writer apparently does not feel the need to see Clay speak, and she is well-connected enough to host David Dickinson and Tennessee politician Baylie Peyton at her home. Like the previous one, this letter also illustrates the period's strategic shift towards mass gatherings and political spectacle.

[3] Nashville-Gallatin Interurban Railway, "The Great Whig Convention of 1840," in *The Historic Blue Grass Line* (Nashville-Gallatin Interurban Railway, 1913), 39–41.

14. "V.C." in Nashville to Sarah Jennings, Reporting that George Childress "speaks so frequently of you in Texas", 1840.

Nashville, Tennessee: September 28, 1840. Four-page letter. Small tears at folds with large tear at seal. Very good plus.

A letter from "V.C."—possibly a Childress, as the writer

reports feeling "lonely without Mr. Childress"—to Sarah Jennings. She relates that Childress's friend "General Chambers" is in Nashville "and is quite a [lover?] amongst the girls. He says that he is very much disappointed in not finding you here as he has heard Mr. C. speak so frequently of you in Texas".

15. Rebecca Childress in Nashville to Sarah Jennings, Describing George Childress Having "lost all relish for society" and Leaving for Texas Again, "Judge Catron's pressures", "brilliant" Ashbel Smith, and Hard Drinking William Turley, [1841].

Nashville, Tennessee: January 23, [1841]. Four-page letter. Folded with small holes at folds and large hole at seal. Very good plus.

Rebecca Childress writes from Nashville to Sarah Jennings, discussing her husband leaving for Texas, John Catron, Ashbel Smith, and William B. Turley:

"Tell Mary that Mr. C and myself think that in justice to herself she ought not to invite Mrs. Catron to her house again but always call on her. I do not know what reason she has for declining your invitations but the Wise affair – she is a vindictive woman. When I returned from the South last spring I observed that Mrs. Catron and Mrs. Marshall were more formal than usual [and] I soon discovered that they had taken a great dislike to Reed on account of [Wheat?] but more especially about politics as he approved Col. Marshall and spoke freely of Judge Catron's pressures. [...] Mr. C. desires me to tell you that Fanny enchanted Gen. Chambers before he was aware of it. Gen. C. would not approach to your [?] ideal of a lover but we had a Texian here a few days ago that I think would – you have heard Mr. C. speak of Dr. Ashbel Smith he is a man of great acquirements

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an excellent physician studied in Paris and is the most brilliant fascinating man in conversation I ever heard. [...] I have not attended a party this winter Mr. C. seems to have lost all relish for society so that I think we are the most domestic folks in town. [...] Mr. C. will leave for Texas the first of next month I intended going with him to New Orleans but was afraid to venture with my children [...] The judges are here and sometimes gallant [?] to church – Judge Turly [*sic*] drinks very hard and is as fond of looking at a pretty woman as ever and of eating a good dinner – he said to me a few days since ‘O! Mrs. Childress this Hotel is not like it use to be when we had Mrs. Stevenson to listen to and Miss Sarah to look at’.

Judge John Catron’s “vindictive” wife was George Childress’s sister Matilda; the letter demonstrates how political disagreements—here between the Whig-aligned Jennings and Wises and the Democrat Catrons—could manifest in the personal lives of the social elite.

In 1841 George Childress was to embark on his final trip to Texas; he would take his own life in October of that year, making Rebecca’s comment that he had “lost all relish for society” quite foreboding.

16. Thomas Jennings in Nashville to Harrison McKay, Consenting to McKay Marrying Sarah Jennings, 1841.

Nashville, Tennessee: August 31, 1841. Two-page letter. Toned and torn at folds but legible. Excellent.

Jennings consents to McKay marrying his sister Sarah: “From sources of information on which I can rely I have

learned that you are a man of intellect of humour of unexceptionable habits and warm sensibilities. Without a word of admonition therefore I consent to resign my sister to your protection [...]”.

17. Thomas Jennings in Nashville to Ann Jennings, Warning that George Childress “has not the habits that will ever insure him success” Shortly Before His Suicide, 1841.

Nashville, Tennessee: August 31, 1841. Four-page letter. Tear at seal. Very good plus.

The same day that he wrote to McKay, Jennings wrote to his mother Ann both to update her on McKay’s proposal and to express serious concerns about George Childress’s ability to care for Rebecca and their family:

“P.S. In strict confidence I inform you that I have made up [my] mind to the conclusion that Rebecca and her children will be thrown on my hands. Mr Childress has wasted all the property which he owned at the time of his marriage and I fear has not the habits that will ever insure him success in his profession. His family is now and has been for several months [dependent] on me and as he is in Galveston with means that must be very limited and without what I can believe is a good prospect for pursuing what will be necessary to the comfort and respectability of Rebecca I am unwilling (too) that she should yet leave me. If she stays here this winter in a [tavern?] without society (for I can see her but rarely) she will live very unhappily. The talk which impudent people report to her respecting Mr Childress insolvency and dissipation keeps her constantly in a state of mortification and despondency. Mr. C. for all I can learn is not now dissipated for a while he was so but I have no fears that he will throw himself away after that fashion. What I fear is that being dependent as he now is on his

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[profession?] – he never will devote himself to it nor that it will afford him ever the means of livelihood. Let no one not even Rebecca know what I have written about Mr. C. It would only distress her prematurely and unfortunately”.

An exceptional letter containing a close family member’s account of Childress’s financial and personal crisis and its effects on his loved ones, written only about five weeks before Childress’s condition would drive him to suicide. Jennings lays out a brutal indictment of Childress’s character, describing his issues as being caused by poor work habits and excessive spending; he reports that he is no longer worried that Childress will ruin himself by excess, but rather that Childress simply would never sufficiently dedicate himself to his work to support his family. The letter underscores the Childress’s financial dependence on the Jennings, and indicates the attitudes of many of the Childress’s social cohort towards their situation: one of “impudent talk” that “mortified” Rebecca Childress.

18. Harrison McKay in Louisville to Sarah Jennings: “I could not love any being but yourself”, 1841.

Louisville, Kentucky: October 26, 1841. Four-page letter. Tear at seal and some stains around folds. Excellent.

The first of several effusive love letters from McKay to Jennings:

“Your question is already answered, with regard to the feelings produced by absence. – Is absence the test of love? Perhaps it is but it never occurred to me in that

light before – but it might have presented itself in that light if it had entered into my imagination that I could love anyone but you. But my dear Sarah, you, with all your distrust of men know that I could not love any being but yourself – or some one exactly like you.”

19. Harrison McKay in St. Louis to Sarah Jennings Describing St. Louis Social Calls, 1841.

St. Louis, Missouri: October 31, 1841. Three-page letter. Tear at seal. Excellent to Near Fine.

McKay reports on his social calls in St. Louis:

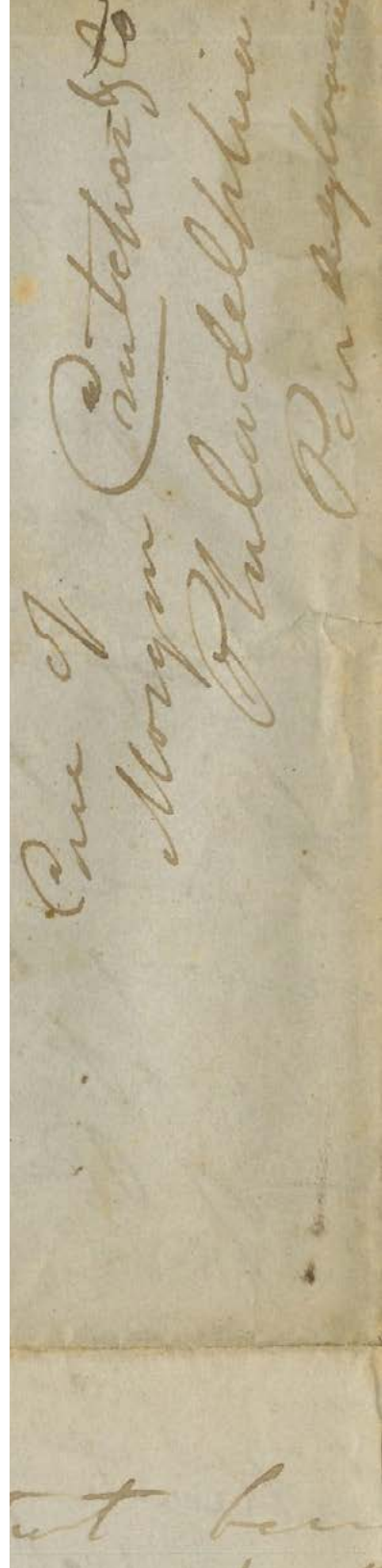
“[...] a friend called just as I had written the few preceding lines and invited me to pay some visits with him. [...] So we sallied forth and paid four distinct calls – the first on Mr. + Mrs. Gist + Mrs. Thompson, the second on a catholic lady (young + handsome) who sang for us – then we called on Mrs. Dean, the widow who made such a noise in Washington last summer. She is a perfect _____. [...] Next we went to the home of a Mr. Tevis whose father lives in the square just below you. [...]”

20. Harrison McKay in St. Louis to Sarah Jennings, Praising Charming St. Louis and All Its “clever people”, 1841.

St. Louis, Missouri: November 8, 1841. Three-page letter. Small holes at folds and hole at seal. Very good plus.

McKay relates his plans to travel to Philadelphia with a stop in Troy, Missouri, and then back to St. Louis “for the purpose of picking up some information with regard to some business matters which I will not trouble your head about”. He enthusiastically describes the city:

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"I am completely charmed with all my prospects in Saint Louis. I do not doubt being perfectly happy here, that is, as happy as it is possible for man to be with the loved one of his heart and every thing else smiling around him. I have never been in any community where I found so many clever people. Somehow or another it has leaked out that when I come home again I am to bring a wife with me. I really do not know to whose officious kindness I am indebted for the flattering report – but certain it is that the murder is out and almost every married lady I see asks me if I will not become a neighbor of hers – 'do take a house in our square won't you? we have so many agreeable people near us!' I really believe that there is not an unpleasant square in the city – certainly there is not if the ladies are to be believed."

McKay documents the city's rapid development and his efforts as an emigrant there to establish himself. Unlike his soon-to-be wife and in-laws, Kentucky-born McKay was technically a Southerner already. However, given his multitude of comments favorably comparing St. Louis with cities of the East, it seems he considered himself an outsider to the culture as well.

21. Harrison McKay in St. Louis to Sarah Jennings, Hoping to Acquire a House in St. Louis—Soon to Be the "most important city in America off the seaboard"—from Joseph B. Crockett, 1841.

St. Louis, Missouri: November 20, 1841. Six-page letter. Small holes at folds and hole at seal. Excellent.

McKay mentions "an old acquaintance of mine here from

Ky. Mr. Crockett a lawyer of eminence"—likely attorney and future California Supreme Court Justice Joseph B. Crockett. Crockett had just built a house which McKay had "taken a great fancy to – he will perhaps agree to let me have it and build another and larger one on the same lot for himself." Crockett also reports knowing Thomas Jennings "well and says he has strong hopes that the Doctor will turn his attention to St Louis", which McKay states "will soon become the most important city in America off the seaboard". By 1840, St. Louis, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, had one of the busiest river ports in the country, and was quickly becoming an important gateway to even further westward points.

22. Harrison McKay in St. Louis to Sarah Jennings, Consoling Her for the "singular and appalling end of Col. Childress", 1841.

St. Louis, Missouri: November 21, 1841. Five-page letter. Small holes at folds and tear at seal. Very good plus.

McKay had apparently just learned of the gruesome suicide of George Childress, which occurred over a month prior in Galveston. He writes:

"The singular and appalling end of Col. Childress and the deep sympathy you feel for your dear agonized sister in this hour of her desolate heart is well calculated to awaken feelings of gloom + sadness in you [...]. I have thought a great deal about the situation of your sister since I first heard of the death of her husband. [?] circumstances which you have mentioned to me I have no doubt that she would prefer your society to that of any other person in the world. [...] If I thought Mrs. Childress would be able to travel I would cheerfully go by Nashville and have her with me to Philadelphia – but I suppose

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she would not at any rate like to leave Nashville for some months to come."

McKay here documents the aftermath of Childress's death as experienced by the Jennings family. More optimistically, he continues to describe his love of St. Louis and its equitable social scene:

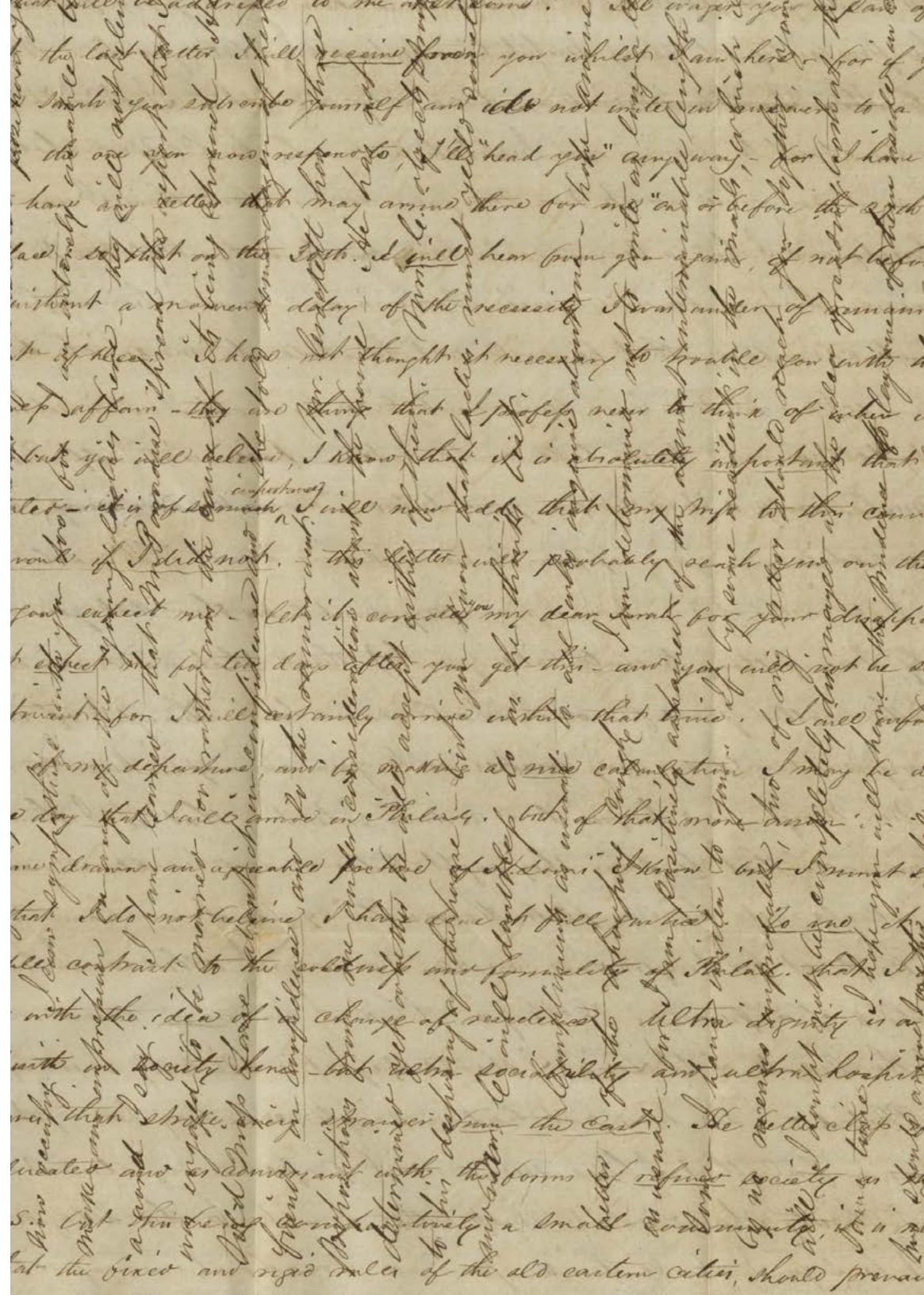
"As to friends they are more easily made here than in any place I have ever been in – and the society of St Louis has the refinement without the excessive formality of the old eastern cities. Here you will find all persons of the respectable class on the same footing – there are no divisions, no separate degrees among the refined class. You will come to St Louis a stranger but you will not long remain one."

23. Harrison McKay in St. Louis to Sarah Jennings, Tiring of St. Louis's "affected gaiety" and Glad that "Mrs. Childress bears up" after Her Loss, 1841.

St. Louis, Missouri: November 24, 1841. Five-page letter. Holes at folds and at seal with some tears at folds as well. Very good minus.

McKay reiterates how easy it is to make friends in St. Louis, though he is "really tired of all these people" and their "affected gaiety", despite the fact that "they are so kind and agreeable." Business is good, and he has rented a store "for which I pay a very high rent" and is "highly pleased with my prospects of success in St. Louis." Returning to Rebecca Childress, he remarks:

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"I am delighted to hear that Mrs. Childress bears up with [?] under her affliction – and now that I have learned that she talks, herself, of visiting Phila. I have no apology for not complying with my remarks in my last letter, and go by Nashville for her."

24. Harrison McKay in St. Louis to Sarah Jennings, Commenting on Kemper College's Medical Department and Criticizing "anti-phrenologist" and Grave Robber Joseph Nash McDowell, 1841.

St. Louis, Missouri: November 27, 1841. Four-page letter. Small holes at folds. Excellent.

McKay first continues his commendation of St. Louis, again comparing it with eastern cities:

"To me it [St. Louis] affords such an agreeable contrast to the coldness and formality of Philad. that I am positively delighted with the idea of a change of [?]. Ultra dignity is a thing scarcely to be met with in society here – but ultra sociability and ultra hospitality are the features that strike every stranger from the East. The better class of people here are as well educated and as conversant with the forms of refined society as they are anywhere in the U.S. but this being comparatively a small community, it is not thought necessary that the fixed and rigid rules of the old eastern cities should prevail."

He remarks that the Medical College of St. Louis (that is, the medical department at Kemper College), according to Crockett, had "offered and even pressed a professorship in that Institution on your father [*sic*,

brother?]" and that though the institution "at present, is not in a flourishing condition", nonetheless "it might easily be made the leading school in the west." His issue with the college centers around Joseph Nash McDowell:

"Dr. [J?] McDowell the great anti-phrenologist is one of its leading professors – and he I believe has had the happy faculty of embarrassing the prosperity of every Institution he has ever belonged to. When the college gets rid of this [Jonah?] it will undoubtedly flourish. I think it likely that your brother would object to joining an Institution in which Dr. McD. held a place."

It is interesting that McKay's issue with McDowell focuses on anti-phrenology views and financial straits, as McDowell was primarily controversial for cadaver dissection and supplying said cadavers via grave-robbing. He was of course correct about the value of cadaver dissection to medical education, and would head the medical school at Kemper, a predecessor to Washington University, for twenty years.

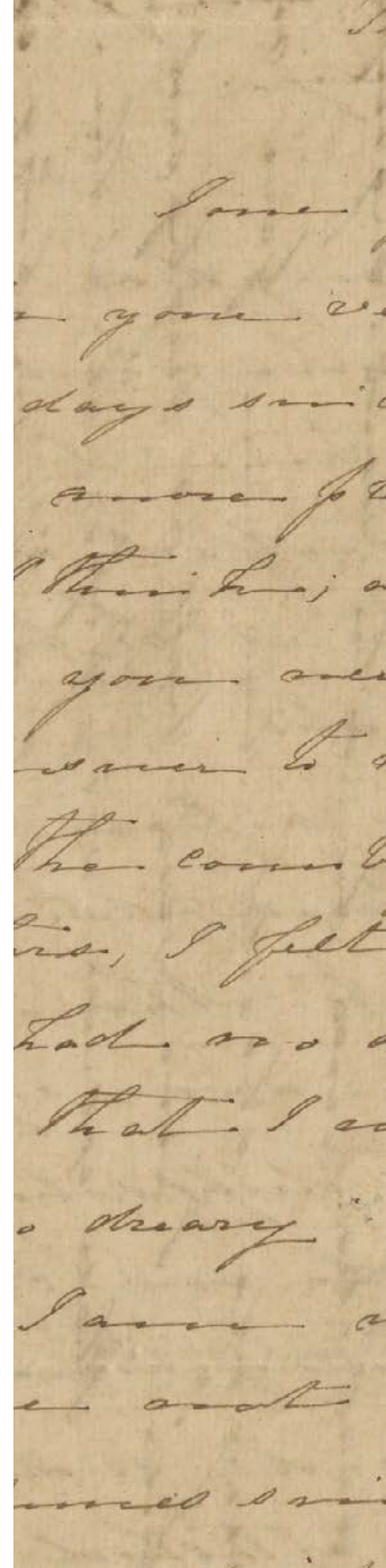
McKay also reports having had "a long conversation" with Mary Morgan about "the subject of Mr. M's settling here"; Mary believes "that if he will visit St. Louis and make himself acquainted with all its advantages that he will not hesitate to make it his place of residence."

25. Ellen Christy in Troy, Missouri, to Sarah Jennings, "most heartily sympathis[ing]" with Her Upcoming Move Away from Home, 1841.

Troy, Missouri: December 19, 1841. Four-page letter. Some larger holes at folds and seal. Very good.

McKay's sister Ellen Christy writes to Jennings to "most heartily sympathise" with her on soon having "to part

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from your Mother and dear friends", given her upcoming marriage to McKay and move to St. Louis.

26. Harrison McKay in Boston to Sarah Jennings, Relaying a Quip to Rebecca Childress, 1842.

Boston, Massachusetts: January 15, 1842. Three-page letter. Very small holes at folds. Excellent to Near Fine.

McKay reports being "used up by one nights travel" on the railroad, and that he plans to leave for New York City the following day. He tells Jennings to relay to Rebecca Childress "that I am not a Philadelphian she should not treat me as one - I know that what she said about visiting was only a [french?] compliment but still I acknowledge it as a compliment".

27. Lizzie N. Sergeant in Philadelphia to Sarah McKay (Jennings), "inconsolable" at the Loss of Her Friend to Marriage, 1842.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: February 23, 1842. Three-page letter. Some very small holes at folds. Excellent to Near Fine.

A Philadelphian friend laments losing her dear friend to marriage:

"I am inconsolable for your loss. It is the greatest trial to my feelings to call + see your Mother + Sisters, where I have so often been blessed with the sight of you. You have left a void in this aching heart, which time cannot efface - + which no other can fill."

28. Ann Jennings in Philadelphia to Sarah McKay on Caring for Henry Wise's Children and their Trip to Vermont, 1842.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: April 13, 1842. Three-page letter. Some inkblots. Near Fine.

Jennings reports family news to her daughter, including of the Wises:

"The children have not yet returned from [Vermont] I had a letter from Mr Wise saying that owing to the time of his election being changed he cannot bring them on so soon as he intended Sally Wise I expect will come with them". Sally is likely Sarah Sergeant Wise, Henry Wise's wife after Ann Jennings.

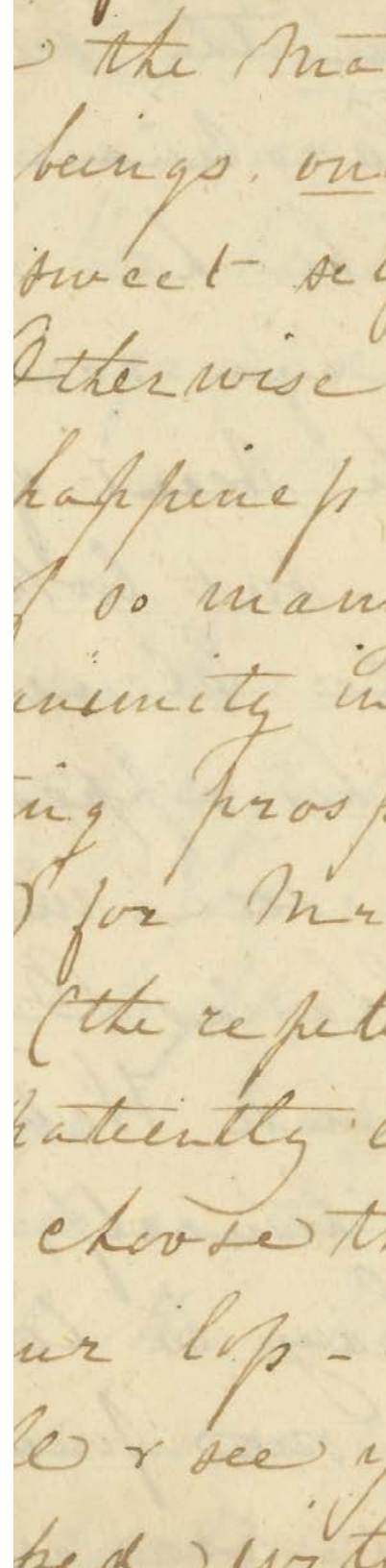
29. Thomas Jennings in Nashville to Sarah McKay, "fearful" of a Possible Duel between Henry Wise and Edward Stanly, 1842.

Nashville, Tennessee: May 28, 1842. Three-page letter. Holes at folds and seal, wrinkled. Very good minus.

Jennings attempts to clear up a misunderstanding with his sister, and reports on the threat of a duel between Henry Wise and Edward Stanly:

"You have been misinformed if you have heard that I have said anything of Mr. McKay to which you could take exception I have never spoken of him other than in terms of the highest respect [...] The late difficulty between Wise and Stanley has made me fearful that another calamity was impending over our family but I have been made relieved by a report now current that [the] quarrel has been amicably adjusted. I had a letter last evening

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from Mr Wise [?] dated the 20th of this month up to which time he says Stanley had not sent a challenge whilst he also speaks very very confidently in regard to his safety in a duel if one should take place".

Wise and Stanly had gotten into an altercation after the North Carolina politician had ridden his horse too close to Wise and Wise in return had hit Stanly with his cane. [4] Stanly requested that Wise meet him in Baltimore and waited there, not knowing that Wise had been arrested under anti-dueling laws. The disagreement was apparently resolved shortly via mutual friends.

[4] Benjamin Perley Poore, "Chapter XXII. The Capitol and the Drawing-Room," in *Perley's reminiscences of sixty years in the national metropolis*, Vol. 1-2 (Hubbard Brothers, 1886).

30. Ann Jennings in Philadelphia to Sarah Jennings on a Friend's Purchase of a 150-Year-Old Family Plot, 1842 [likely misdated].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: August 14, 1842. Three-page letter. Stained with some small holes. Very good minus.

Jennings reports having been quite ill but recovering. She mentions that a "Mrs. Bennett" visited the day before "and told me she had bought the place on the bay formerly her fathers it had been in the family 150 years she was going there to live in the spring". The letter was likely misdated by Jennings, as by 1842 Sarah's surname was McKay, not Jennings.

31. Rebecca Childress in Philadelphia to Sarah McKay on the Sisters' Plans to Stay in or Leave Philadelphia, 1842.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: November 2, 1842. Three-page letter. Some very small holes. Excellent.

Childress finds it "very doubtful whether Mr. M[organ] will leave Phila", although "Mary would be willing to go to St. Louis strange as you may think it". For her own part Childress "would prefer remaining here" as she likes "a large city and walking". She notes that Mrs. Wise had given "birth to a dead child and mourns over it just in her childlike way", while Henry was "has been very sick". The letter primarily documents Rebecca Childress's life and preferences after the loss of her husband, alongside further evidence of the westward shift of the family network.

32. Rebecca Childress in Philadelphia to Sarah McKay, on Childrearing and the Wises in Washington, 1842.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: December 30, 1842. Three-page letter. Some larger holes along the top quarter of the pages. Very good.

Childress is very busy caring for her children, who "occupy most of the day". Sally Wise "inquired most kindly for you" and "longs for the sands and fish of the Eastern Shore – does not like Wash."

33. Lizzie Sergeant in Philadelphia to Sarah McKay, Describing Society Marriages as "sacrifice[s] at the shrine of Plutus", 1843.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: January 19, 1843. Five-page letter. Wrinkled with toning, small hole at seal. Excellent.

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Sergeant updates McKay on society gossip, particularly engagements:

"Emma Worrell is on the eve of Marriage with no less considerable a personage than my Cousin Sam Fisher. She has been engaged since June, after an acquaintance of three short months. The Lover is twenty three years of age, has sandy hair & complexion, white eyes, a singularly ugly nose & uglier mouth. His figure is rather slight, he is of middle height, manners unpolished & his mind a waste. [...] I forgot to mention that the youth is worth one hundred thirty thousand dollars! Sarah Case's engagement to Edward Hopper is at last acknowledged. Another sacrifice at the shrine of Plutus."

Moreover, Henry Wise's son Henry is "in Washington, flourishing as a Beau. I spoke with a Lady yesterday who often sees him. She considers him inordinately vain & prefers George."

A gossiping and thus revealing letter about wealth, marriage, and social status, and how they were understood between young elite women at the time.

34. Mary Morgan in Philadelphia to Sarah McKay: "You need not be surprised to see us all this Fall in St Louis", [1843].

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: March 27, 1843. Three-page letter. Tears at folds with a larger tear on the third page. Very good.

McKay had recently had a child and the Philadelphian

family "were all delighted to hear of your safe recovery". She continues, "You need not be surprised to see us all this Fall in St Louis – Do you not think I am very accommodating to consent to emigrate to such a strange country?" Further documentation of the emigration of the Jennings to the West.

35. Thomas Jennings in Nashville to Sarah McKay on Political Competition with "obsolete" Thomas Claiborne, 1843.

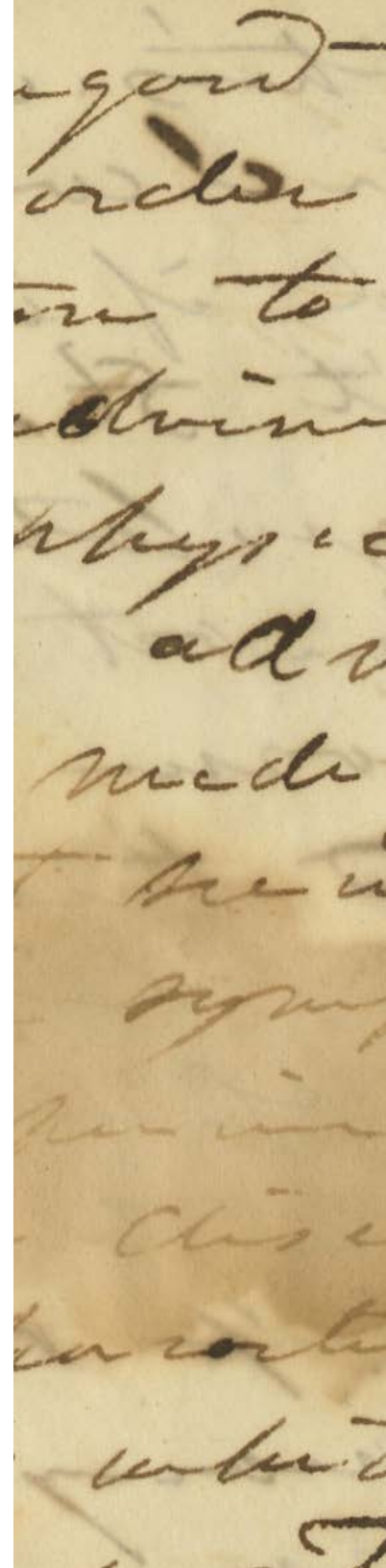
Nashville, Tennessee: May 24, 1843. Two-page letter. Large apparent water stains though fairly legible. Good.

Jennings advises his sister to retain a physician in St. Louis to help her recover from childbirth. He then describes the state of his political career:

"I am very much engaged and of course very much worried just at present and expect to enjoy but little respite until I am again released from my political obligations. I [...] intend if it be possible for me to do so to visit St Louis after the next session of our Legislature. I regard my re-election as almost certain. My competition Maj Claiborne though he has [?] before represented this country in the House of Representatives both of this state and of the U.S. is now obsolete and cannot persuade the people to take him down from the high shelf on which he was [?] deposited many years ago".

"Maj Claiborne" is almost certainly Thomas Claiborne, the Democratic-Republican politician from Tennessee. Whig Jennings' remark that Claiborne is "obsolete" is interesting—he may be commenting on Claiborne's age, his family's long history in American political life, or his more traditional and conservative standing as a Democratic-Republican.

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1839–1846 Correspondence of the Jennings/Childress/White/McKay Family.

36. Mary Morgan in Knoxville to Sarah McKay, Laying out a Trip around Tennessee, [1843].

Knoxville, Tennessee: September 26, [1843]. Two-page letter. Missing section of cover not intersecting with any text. Excellent.

Morgan relates a recent trip: "From Nashville we went to Huntsville, spent a [day] in Huntsville, which I think is one of the most pleasant villages in our country. On our return we spent two days in Columbia [...]."

37. Business letter from Philadelphia to Harrison McKay, 1846.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: July 20, 1846. Two-page letter. Hole at seal. Excellent.

A business letter to Harrison McKay in New York, written several years after the death of Sarah Jennings McKay. The letter agrees to sell merchandise with the McKay Brothers.

